"Ishmaelites" and the End of the World: Christian Reactions to the Rise and Spread of Islam

Stella Metcalf
Smith College '25

> "As many as the stars which cannot be counted. As multitudinous as the sand by the sea, And exceeding (the number of) the stars in the sky."

Pseudo-Ephrem

"The apocalypse of John has as many mysteries as words," remarked St. Jerome in 394.[1] By the late seventh century, verging on the eighth, Byzantine writers seized on the idea of apocalypse to explain the success of Islam, both as a religion and with respect to the military pursuits of the Islamic world. Christian writers in the early Islamic period described Islam as a forerunner of the Antichrist, as a sign of the impending end times. Starting with Pseudo-Methodius, these writers invented new paradigms that later dominated Christian theorizing about the end of the world. While these narratives and feelings lack a singular strain, their overlapping anxieties and concerns demonstrate the variety of responses to Islamic invasion, from the beginning to consolidated rule. Previous narratives during the early invasions of Arab forces offered fairly dry commentaries on the takeover, but later, after the end of the second fitna, these accounts became more frantic as Byzantine Syriac Christians witnessed the political strength and staying power of these rulers. These apocalyptic texts were written as Christians in the East contended with what this invasion meant in a world ordered by divine power, but also reveal their ultimate preoccupation with the fragmented nature of Eastern Christianity as the defining issue of their time.

---

[1] St. Jerome, Letter 53:9.

Accounts predating the second fitna—the civil war that shook Islamic leadership—depict the Islamic invasion in dry, non-catastrophic terms, as Syriac Christians felt the effects of this invasion and takeover far less than the previous Byzantine-Persian wars from 602 to 628.[2] Multiple regime changes in the previous decade meant that the shifting of political leadership in this territory seemed of little significance to the local Christian population. The earliest extant reference to the Islamic conquests, the Account of 637, occurs in a sixth century manuscript of a Syriac translation of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, scrawled in the margins.[3] This account, riddled with lacunae, offers a dry recitation of the events, without invoking theological explanations. The author notes that many "villages were destroyed through the killing by…Muhammad and many were killed." The account details that "the Romans fled from Damascus…many, about ten thousand. And the following year, the Romans came," and, after some missing words, "Romans were killed, about fifty thousand."[4] This rather neutral description makes sense in the context of the Byzantine-Persian wars that took place from 602 until 628, with four regime changes in rapid succession.[5]

These early accounts still attributed divine wrath against Christian misbehavior, but saw the Islamic invasion as a brief trial, rather than a world-defining and -ending event. A brief reference to the Arab military success by Maximus the Confessor, written sometime between 634 and 640, described these events as a "temporary divine retribution for Christian sins."[6] George of Khoziba, an ascetic of the monastery near Jericho, reportedly scolded Christian misbehavior, asking "[w]hat should deter [God] from loosing a flood upon the world or a rain of fire and sulphur to consume the earth like Sodom and Gomorrah?" George imagined a biblical reckoning, placing the conquering of Byzantine lands within a familiar narrative, rather than as an exceptional event. He continued his sermon by stating he "[was] in fear and tremble [sic] at the misfortunes that are coming to the world because of the wickedness we [Christians] practice."[7] George of Khoziba died in the 630s, but his biographers wrote in the 640s, and it seems probable that they tailored such predictions to fit the context of Islamic invasion. Similarly, a letter by the Catholicos Isho'Yahb III from the 650s, briefly notes that "at this time God has given them to rule over the world."[8] Isho'Yahb continues, describing how the new rulers

[2] Robert G. Hoyland "The Historical Background," in *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, Inc, 1997), 2, 12.

[3] Michael Philip Penn, "Early Syriac Reactions to the Rise of Islam," in *The Syriac World*, ed. Daniel King (New York: Routledge, 2018), 177.

[4] Account excerpted from Michael Philip Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People: Syriac Memories of the Islamic Conquests," in *Envisioning Islam: Syriac Christians and the Early Muslim World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 20. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt15jjdbx.4.

[5] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 21.

[6] András Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor *Topos* in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition," *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 256. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44173259.

[7] Robert G. Hoyland, "Greek Sources," in *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, Inc), 54.

[8] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 21.

"[n]ot only do not oppose Christianity, but they praise our faith, honour the priests and saints of our Lord, and give aid to the churches and monasteries." He uses this exemplary conduct to criticize those who convert to Islam, as they "themselves admit that the Arabs have not compelled them to abandon their faith, but only asked them to give up half of their possessions in order to keep their faith. Yet they forsook their faith, which is forever, and retained the half of their wealth, which is for a short time."[9] Though he likely exaggerated his praise of the treatment by Muslim rulers to harshly criticize conversion, this reference to Islam as a means of critiquing Christian behavior appears commonplace in the extant writings about the new rulers. These early accounts largely attributed the invasion to God and Christian transgression, making little reference to the invaders, their motives, or their morality.

The first casting of the invaders themselves into biblical terminology appears in the Khuzistan chronicle, written in the 660s. Descriptions of the battles largely lacked emotionally-charged language, in keeping with previous accounts that simply narrated the action. The anonymous chronicler of the Khuzistan account noted that "the Arabs dashed in and besieged Shush, taking it after a few days. They killed all the distinguished citizens and seized the House of Mar Daniel, taking the treasure that was kept there, which had been preserved on the king's orders ever since the days of Darius and Cyrus."[10] By the seventh century rise of Islam, Christian writers had already developed "a complex methodology of historical writing, one that was not merely concerned with preserving the history of past events, but which viewed contemporary and past events through the lens of the biblical narrative of history, from creation to the ultimate end as prophesied in the eschatological books of the Bible."[11] Therefore, fitting this conquest into an eschatological and sweeping chronicle seems a natural conclusion for the seventh century chroniclers. An anonymous East Syrian Christian wrote a chronological survey of the world's events, and described the Muslim invaders as "the sons of Ishmael," "Ishmaelites" or "sons of Hagar."[12] The author of this chronicle reassured his readers that the "victory of the Sons of Ishmael who overcame and subjugated their two kingdoms was from God."[13] Like most other early descriptions of the conquests, the Khuzistan Chronicle provided neither motivation for the Sons of Ishmael's actions nor morals to learn from their military success, despite using theological terminology to explain what took place.

During the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, both the number of converts to Islam and persecution of the sign of the cross increased, and the tone shifted in these accounts of the conquest, turning to apocalyptic explanations to understand Islamic rule. 'Abd al-Malik's rule from 685 until his death in

---

[9] Robert G. Hoyland, "East Syrian Sources," in *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, Inc), 181.

[10] Hoyland, "East Syrian Sources," 184.

[11] Jessica Lee Ehinger, "Biblical History and the End of Times: Seventh-Century Christian Accounts of the Rise of Islam," *Studies in Church History* 49 (2013): 52. doi:10.1017/S0424208400002011.

[12] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 21.

[13] Hoyland, "East Syrian Sources," 182.

705 ushered in various changes disruptive to Byzantine Christian life. As caliph, he changed the monetary system, circulating Islamic coins with his image, made Arabic the administrative language of his dominion, and experienced successful military campaigns against the Byzantines, cementing Muslim hegemony in formerly Christian lands.[14] Crucially, this included Jerusalem.[15] [16] The second fitna of 683 to 692 ushered in a period of turmoil followed by a devastating famine from 686 to 687.[17] In 690 or 691, according to some scholars, a Christian monk in the Sinjar region of modern-day Iraq wrote a text that became a seminal piece of apocalyptic writing, shaping future eschatological imagination for generations to come. The anonymous author identified himself as Methodius, the fourth-century martyr and church father. Under this claim, the author professed the text as a prophetic vision, beginning at creation and ending with the coming of the Antichrist and the sorting of peoples into heaven and hell. The anonymous author draws a parallel between biblical Israel and Moses and the current struggles. He explains that,

> Not because the Lord God loves you does he bring you into the Land of Promise to inherit it, but because of the sins of those who dwell in it. Just so with the sons of Ishmael. Not because the lord God loves them does he give them power to conquer the land of the Christians, but because of the sin and the lawlessness which have been brought into being by them. For nothing like their sin has arisen nor will arise in all generations. Why? Men put on the apparel of adulterous and wanton women and adorned themselves as women and stood in the streets and squares of the cities openly and "did change the natural use into that which is against nature" as the Holy Apostles say. Likewise women also did the same things as the men.[18]

In this apocalyptic vision, the "sins of Christians" brought on this invasion. Specifically, sexual sin and immorality caused this onslaught, and troubled gender roles. The alleged upset of a heterosexual gender regime allowed the complete upending of normalcy; those chosen by God—Christians—experienced defeat at the hands of this nascent religion. During this time period, Muslims began citing the military successes of the 630s as proof of the truth of Islam.[19] Additionally, anxieties about the depiction of the cross enter into this end of the world narrative; Pseudo-Methodius 'predicts' that "[m]any will deny the true faith and the life-giving cross and the holy mysteries, and without violence or punishment or ill-treatment they will deny the Christ and follow the apostates."[20] Sidney Griffith notes the author would have been witness to the rapid and irresistible advance of the

---

[14] Jacob Lassner, "'Abd Al-Malik and the Temple Mount: Revisiting S. D. Goitein and Oleg Grabar," in *Medieval Jerusalem: Forging an Islamic City in Spaces Sacred to Christians and Jews* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 84. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.9394056.12.

[15] Lassner, "'Abd Al-Malik and the Temple Mount," 84.

[16] Robert G. Hoyland, "Apocalypses and Visions," in *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, (Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, Inc), 263.

[17] Hoyland, "Apocalypses and Visions," 263.

[18] Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Garstad (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 39–41.

[19] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 51.

[20] Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius,* 49.

Arab armies in Mesopotamia, a large number of Christian conversions to Islam, and 'Abd al-Malik's erection of the Dome of the Rock in 691 on the temple site in Jerusalem.[21]After the second fitna, the increasing strength of the Islamic caliphate "made untenable the previous way of remembering the conquests as unfortunate but relatively mundane, temporary events."[22] Almost all extant examples of Syriac Christian apocalyptics were written under the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, suggesting that his reign in particular incited reaction among the Christian population.[23] Accordingly, local Christians saw his construction of the Dome of the Rock as the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem, something that earlier Christian apocalyptics ascribed to the Antichrist.[24]

The Pseudo-Methodius text drew on pre-conquest rhetoric about the Roman empire as it related to the end of the world. In pre-Islamic apocalyptic narratives, early Christian theologians saw Rome as a key aspect to narratives of the world's impending end. In the aftermath of Constantine's conversion, the Roman Empire became associated with the power to constrain the apocalypse. St. Jerome believed Paul's writings on the apocalypse pointed to the dissolution of Roman power as a harbinger of the apocalypse, with a decline in Roman imperial unity associated with the arrival of the Antichrist.[25] Pseudo-Methodius identified Rome as the Fourth Kingdom, an idea that became paradigmatic of the apocalyptic genre during this period. The existence of a Roman Empire, loosely defined, meant an apocalypse was yet to come.[26] Pseudo-Methodius also believed the Last Roman Emperor would appear, stave off the armies of Gog and Magog, and defeat the Antichrist, before giving his crown up to God, triggering the Day of Judgement. This Last Emperor figure was the "typological equivalent of the Old Testament judge Gideon, Emperor Jovian, and Alexander the Great…just as Gideon freed the Hebrews from the Midianite oppression in the fifth millennium, so will the Last Emperor defeat the descendants of the Midianites, i.e, the Ishmaelites, at the end of time."[27] Pseudo-Methodius appears to have invented this paradigm, or, at least, this text contains the earliest extant reference to this figure.[28]

---

[21] Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 182; Lassner, "'Abd Al-Malik and the Temple Mount," 93.

[22] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 32.

[23] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 33.

[24] Emmanouela Grypeou, "'A People Will Emerge from the Desert': Apocalyptic Perceptions of the Early Muslim Conquests in Contemporary Eastern Christian Literature," in *Visions of the End: Apocalypticism and Eschatology in the Abrahamic Religions between the 6th and 8th centuries*, ed. Hagit Amirav, Emmanouela Grypeou, and Guy G. Stroumsa (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2017), 302.

[25] Anne A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800-1229* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2020), 538.

[26] Lorenzo DiTommaso, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in the Early Mediaeval Apocalyptic Tradition," in *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, ed. Andrew B. Perrin, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Shelby Bennett, and Matthew Hama (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 213. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1sr6k2b.14.

[27] Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor *Topos* in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition," 218.

[28] Kraft, "The Last Roman Emperor *Topos* in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition," 217.

Despite the transitory nature of the conditions under which Pseudo-Methodius wrote his text on the Islamic conquest as a harbinger of the coming end times, Christians across place and time used this apocalyptic and incorporated it into their own time and context. Peter the Monk translated the text, noting in a foreword "what was prophesied is more relevant to our own times 'upon whom the ends of the world,' as the Apostle Paul says, 'are come,' so that now through those very things which we discern with our own eyes we may believe to be true what was foretold by our fathers."[29] While some translators or copyists made no remark, the long-lived nature of the text demonstrates its continued re-use and relevance to Christian writers and thinkers, as they incorporated the concepts into their own time. Additionally, even without the text itself, Latin Christian authors mobilized several key ideas of the work into their own visions of the end times. Several tropes of the apocalyptic genre developed out of the Syriac work, making their way into Latin eschatological writing and thinking. The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius describes Alexander's enclosure in the form of gates against Gog and Magog. The wide transmission of the Greek version of the text, written between the years 700 and 710, spread this motif, influencing later Greek and medieval apocalyptic texts.[30]

Another text that used an apocalyptic narrative to understand these events, the Sermons of Pseudo-Ephrem, described the Muslim invasion and detailed the ensuing horrors. This text, according to Michael Penn, was relatively understudied, and likely came about in the late seventh century or around the year 700.[31] Pseudo-Ephrem, like Pseudo-Methodius, proclaims himself as a fourth-century Church Father, positioning the account as a prophetic text. The anonymous author writes that "They will separate a son from his father / and a daughter from her mother's side / They will separate a brother from his brother." He explained that God would release the armies of Gog, Magog, and other nations of the North to destroy the Sons of Hagar. After these tribes would be defeated by an angelic host, the author imagines a "second cycle of Roman rule" which would "conclude with the coming of the Antichrist, the eschaton, and the Last Judgment."[32] In this vision, the sons of Hagar are depicted as one of several forerunners of the end times and only briefly discussed. The Muslim invaders become one of many armies that invade, signaling the end of the world. Pseudo-Ephrem suggests that the Huns will return, as well as various others, as "rulers will arise, one against another."[33] The account speaks of a sign that appears in the heaven, the fear it will inspire, and then the eventual sorting of the faithful and the unfaithful, concluding that the "good will go forth into the Kingdom, And the bad will

---

[29] Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius,* 77.

[30] Emeri van Donzel and Andrea Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 30.

[31] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 22.

[32] Penn, "When Good Things Happened to Other People," 23.

[33] John C. Reeves, translated from Edmund Beck, ed., *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones III* (CSCO 320; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1972). https://pages.charlotte.edu/john-reeves/research-projects/trajectories-in-near-eastern-apocalyptic/pseudo-ephrem-syriac/ .

remain in Gehenna; The righteous will fly up to the height, And the sinners will burn in fire."[34] This description and conclusion of events broadly follows all apocalyptic narratives, demonstrating an unexceptional quality attributed to the Muslim invaders, as Persians and Byzantine rulers also usher in the end times.

After the initial spate of apocalyptic texts, Christian writings shifted away from this paradigm, as they settled into Muslim rule and with the death of 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Marwan in 705, whose particularly aggressive rule sparked such catastrophizing narratives.[35] In the 730s, John of Damascus wrote about Islam in his text on heresies, incorporating Islam into a plethora of forms of Christianity that he saw as out of line with proper Christian practice. He first asserts this by claiming that Islam came from worshippers of Aphrodite, when Muhammad "appeared in their midst." John assumes that Muhammad, "after having chanced upon the Old and New Testaments and likewise, it seems, having conversed with an Arian monk, devised his own heresy."[36] In this vision, unlike in Pseudo-Methodius or Pseudo-Ephrem, Islam remains as a "forerunner of the Antichrist," but only in the sense that all of the aberrant forms of Christianity signaled the coming end times. Before John of Damascus became a monk and wrote his treatise *On Heresies*, some scholars believe he worked in the service of the Caliph at Damascus, the capital of the Umayyad Empire. In this understanding, after Caliph al-Walid took power and increasingly desired to have a Muslim administration, John left and became a monk.[37] However, this narrative that he worked as a dignitary comes from an eleventh-century Arabic hagiography, calling into question the veracity of these claims.[38] Regardless, John inherited his father's position, either as a diplomat or a mere tax-collector for Christians in the territory.[39] This context may have informed his view of Islam as an offshoot of Christianity, given the fractious nature of Eastern Christianity. This interpretation of Islam also suggests that John saw the variety of Christian practice as the central catastrophe of his time, not Islam itself, which he relegated to third to last on his list of one-hundred and three heresies.

Similarly, John of Nikiu, as a Monophysite, positioned the practices of Orthodox Christians as the cause of Islam's success.[40] John, a Coptic Egyptian bishop, saw the Islamic conquest in the last

[34] Reeves, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones III*.

[35] Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*.

[36] John and Frederic H. Chase, "On Heresies," in *Saint John of Damascus: Writings* (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958), 153.

[37] Andrew Louth, "Introduction," in *Three Treatises on the Divine Images* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003), xii.

[38] John Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 116. https://doi.org/10.2307/1291209.

[39] Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," 117.

[40] Adam Folorunsho Olowo, *The Dialogical Evolution of Christian-Muslim Relations: From the Medieval to Modern Period* (paper presented at the GCRR International Conference on Inter-religious Dialogue, University of Cambridge, November 2021), 4.

decades of the seventh century as the result of "unclean persons" who "defiled the Church by an unclean faith, and they have wrought apostasies and deeds of violence like the sect of the Arians, such as neither pagan nor barbarian has wrought, and they have despised Christ and His servants."[41] This suggests that, more broadly across the areas conquered by Muslims, Christians fit the conquest into their understandings of the moral failures of different sects of Christianity. Rather than the spread of Islam, most Eastern Christians concerned themselves with their fellow Christians and their misuse of their religion. Though written around the same time as the Pseudo-Methodius text, he avoids mention of the apocalypse. This suggests that apocalypticism emerged out of the specific context of Byzantine Syriac Christian reaction.

While a popular genre, the apocalyptic writings define only certain moments of interaction between Muslims and Christians. Relations between these groups often existed with blurred lines between the differing communities. Penn suggests that on the surface, in many parts of former Byzantine territories, Muslims attended Christian ceremonies, married Syrian Christians, and various groups existed in conversation with one another.[42] The momentary turn towards apocalyptic narrative happened concurrently with 'Abd al-Malik's various policy reforms, ones which made visible and cumbersome Islamic rule, as Arabic became the bureaucratic language, forcing many former Byzantine Christians to adapt in ways not previously required of them. While the apocalyptic genre remained a popular one, the region of Mesopotamia/Greater Syria largely moved on from this momentary trend in chronicling of accounts, a form of collective memory established in the aftermath of a political takeover that only later became relevant, as Muslims held up their military successes as proof of Islam's veracity. This trend in written reaction demonstrates the constant changeability of Christian-Muslim interaction, as well as the variety of feelings expressed and felt by Christians living under Muslim rule.

---

[41] Robert Henry Charles and Hermann Zotenberg, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu. Translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R.H. Charles* (London: 1916), 187.

[42] Michael Philip Penn, "Blurring Boundaries: The Continuum Between Early Christianity and Early Islam," in *Envisioning Islam: Syriac Christians and the Early Muslim World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 143. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt15jjdbx.7.

Bibliography

Charles, Robert Henry, and Hermann Zotenberg. *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu. Translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R.H. Charles*. London: 1916.

Chase, Frederic H. "On Heresies." In *Saint John of Damascus: Writings*. New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958.

DiTommaso, Lorenzo. "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in the Early Mediaeval Apocalyptic Tradition." In *Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel*, 205–50. Edited by Andrew B. Perrin, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Shelby Bennett, and Matthew Hama. Leiden: Brill, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv1sr6k2b.14.

Ehinger, Jessica Lee. "Biblical History and the End of Times: Seventh-Century Christian Accounts of the Rise of Islam." *Studies in Church History* 49 (2013): 52–62. doi:10.1017/S0424208400002011.

Garstad, Benjamin (trans.), *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius. an Alexandrian World Chronicle*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Griffith, Sidney H. *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Grypeou, Emmanouela. "'A People Will Emerge from the Desert': Apocalyptic Perceptions of the Early Muslim Conquests in Contemporary Eastern Christian Literature." In *Visions of the End: Apocalypticism and Eschatology in the Abrahamic Religions between the 6th and 8th centuries*, 291–310. Edited by Hagit Amirav, Emmanouela Grypeou, and Guy G. Stroumsa. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2017.

Hoyland, Robert. *Seeing Islam As Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*. Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, 1997.

Kraft, András. "The Last Roman *Topos* in the Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition." *Byzantion* 82 (2012): 213–57. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44173259.

Louth, Andrew. "Introduction." In *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*. Crestwood, NY: St

Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003.

Lassner, Jacob. "'Abd Al-Malik and the Temple Mount: Revisiting S. D. Goitein and Oleg
      Grabar." In *Medieval Jerusalem: Forging an Islamic City in Spaces Sacred to Christians and
      Jews*, 81–95. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017.
      http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.9394056.12.

Latowsky, Anne A. *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial
      Authority, 800–1229*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020.

Meyendorff, John. "Byzantine Views of Islam." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 113–32.
      https://doi.org/10.2307/1291209.

Olowo, Adam Folorunsho. *The Dialogical Evolution of Christian-Muslim Relations: From the
Medieval to Modern Period*. Paper presented at the GCRR International Conference on
Inter-religious Dialogue, University of Cambridge, November 2021.

Philip Penn, Michael. *Envisioning Islam: Syriac Christians and the Early Muslim World*.
      Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
      https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt15jjdbx.

____. "Early Syriac Reactions to the Rise of Islam." In *The Syriac World*. Edited by Daniel King.
      New York: Routledge, 2018.

Reeves, John C. *Pseudo-Ephrem*. Translated from Edmund Beck, ed., *Des heiligen Ephraem des
      Syrers Sermones III*. CSCO 320; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1972.

van Donzel, Emeri J., and Andrea Schmidt. *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and
      Islamic Sources, Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.