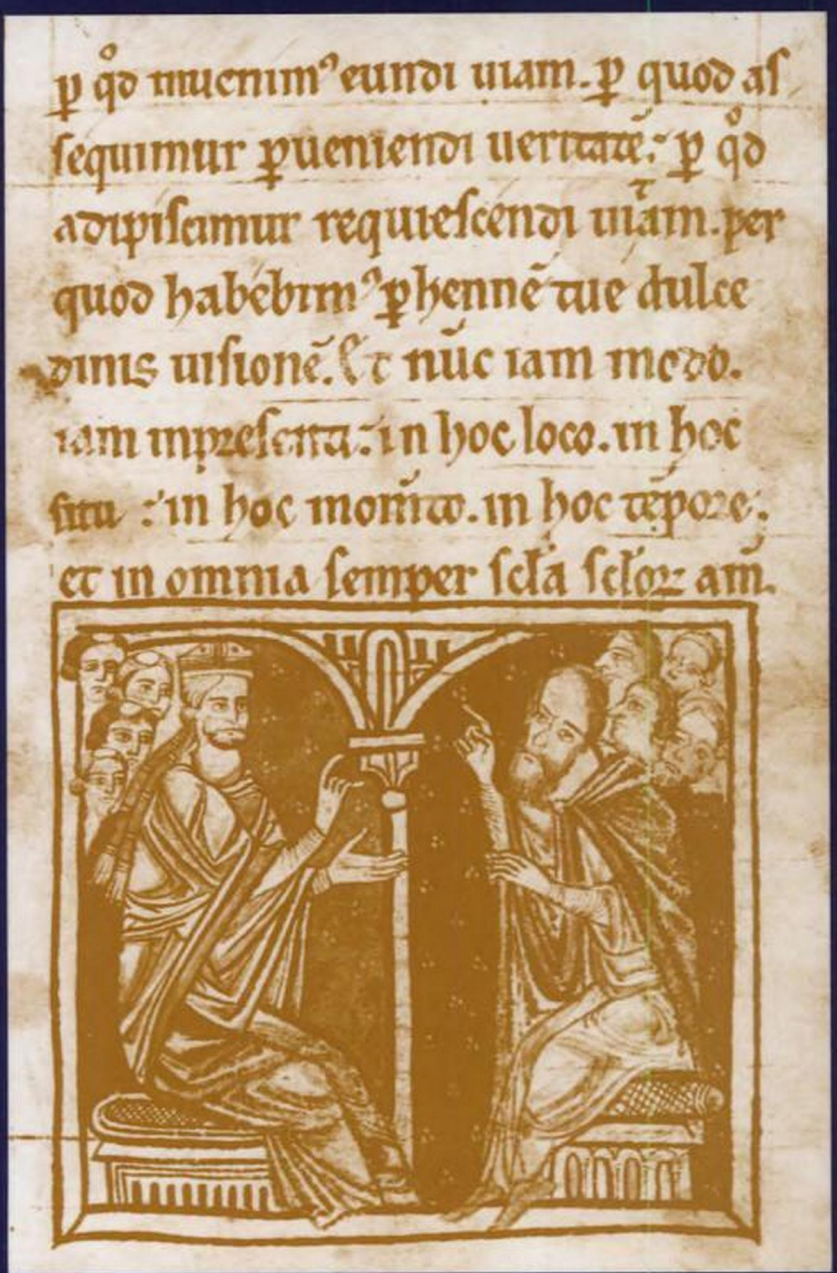
Lucy K. Pick

Conflict and Coexistence

Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain



Conflict and Coexistence

History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds

---

This interdisciplinary series promotes scholarship in studies on Iberian cultures and contacts from the premodern and early modern periods.

SERIES EDITOR

Sabine MacCormack, Theodore M. Hesburgh Professor of Arts and Letters, Departments of Classics and History, University of Notre Dame

SERIES BOARD

J. N. Hillgarth, emeritus, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
Peggy K. Liss, Independent Scholar
David Nirenberg, Johns Hopkins University
Adeline Rucquoi, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

TITLES IN THE SERIES

The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth
J. N. Hillgarth

Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633
Rachel L. Stocking

Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels
Thomas B. F. Cummins

A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority
Linda Martz

Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America
David A. Lupher

The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.
Sabine Hyland

Upholding Justice: Society, State, and the Penal System of Quinto (1650–1750)
Tamar Herzog

Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain
Lucy K. Pick

The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico
Osvaldo F. Pardo

CONFLICT and COEXISTENCE

Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain

Lucy K. Pick

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
Ann Arbor

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2004
All rights reserved
Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
♾ Printed on acid-free paper

2007 2006 2005 2004 4 3 2 1

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a
retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, or otherwise, without the written
permission of the publisher.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Pick, Lucy K., 1966–
Conflict and coexistence : archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews in Medieval Spain / Luck K. Pick.
p. cm — (History, languages, and cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese worlds)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-472-11387-9 (cloth)
1. Jimânez de Rada, Rodrigo, ca. 1170–1247. 2. Spain—History—711–1516.
3. Church history—Middle Ages, 600–1500. 4. Spain—Church history. I. Title.
II. Series.

BX4705.X5P53 2004
22′.092—dc22
[B] 2004051644

For Leo

Prologue

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was archbishop of Toledo between 1209 and 1247. This was an eventful period in the history of the Iberian peninsula, and Rodrigo stood at the centre of many of its events. In the land of his birth, he is well-known for a long and varied career during which time he acted as scholar, warrior, builder, and leader, all under the rubric of his role as archbishop. He was an instrumental force in turning back the tide of Muslim attacks on Christian Spain and restarting the process of Christian conquests in the peninsula.[1] The wave of victories he helped initiate was to be halted but never reversed. He was a prolific writer and his best-known work was a history in nine books of the Spanish kingdoms up to his own day, a monumental work on the history of Spain that begins with the world unified and cleansed under Noah before it is divided into regions by Noah's sons and fractured into linguistic groups by the fall of the Tower of Babel. This text established the standard narrative for the history of the peninsula to his time, a narrative that remained largely accepted until the last century. He also began work on the Gothic cathedral of Toledo that still stands in that city, replacing the mosque that had been used by archbishops of Toledo as a cathedral since the conquest of the city from the Muslims in 1085. In an age famous for its powerful "princes of the Church," Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's name does not have the familiarity to English-speaking readers like those of the archbishops of Canterbury Thomas à Becket and Stephen Langton or even Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, but for just the activities I have described here, he deserves to be better known outside his homeland.

Rodrigo was born during the 1170s to noble parents from both sides of the border between the kingdoms of Navarre and Castile. As a young man, he studied in Paris, the most advanced educational centre of his time, and from there he brought back the latest books, methods of study,

1. I use this term throughout to refer to the entire territory of the Iberian peninsula, and I understand it simply as a translation of the Latin *Hispania*. For example, Jiménez de Rada refers to the peninsula either as *Hispania* or in the plural, *Hispanie*, literally, "The Spains," as in his own preferred title *primas Hispaniarum*, primate of the Spains.

and theological trends. He returned to Spain, to the court of the king of Castile, Alfonso VIII, and by 1208 he was bishop of Osma before he attained his final post as archbishop of Toledo in 1209. The Toledo he ruled as both spiritual and temporal head was a polyglot, multiethnic city in which Christians, Jews, and some Muslims lived side-by-side. Even its Christians were a diverse group consisting of Castilians, "Frankish" settlers from beyond the Pyrenees, and the still largely Arabic-speaking descendants of those who had lived under Muslim rule. The members of this last group, called Mozarabs, still preserved their ancient liturgical rituals dating from the time of the Visigothic rulers of Spain.

The Visigoths, with whom Rodrigo identified strongly, had been the Germanic conquerors of Roman Spain in the fifth century, and they made Toledo their capital. Always outnumbered by the Hispano-Roman people they conquered, they converted from Arianism to the Catholic Christianity of the majority in 589 and initiated a century-long persecution of the Jews who lived in the peninsula. Muslims invaded Spain from North Africa in 711, ending Visigothic rule. Their newly conquered land, which they called al-Andalus, was initially ruled by a governor who reported to the caliphs of Damascus. In 756, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, a member of the Umayyad dynasty displaced by the ʿAbbāsid takeover of the caliphate in the East, fled to Córdoba and established an emirate there. The emirate was nominally loyal to the caliph, until ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III assumed the title of caliph for himself in 929. By the end of the century, the Córdoban caliph was merely a puppet ruler under a military dictator, and in 1031 the title ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, small nuclei of Christian rule began to coalesce in the north. Kingdoms emerged in Leon, Castile, Galicia, and Navarre. These were consolidated, but only for a time, under the rule of Sancho III el Mayor (1000–1035). Of these kingdoms, that of Leon especially harkened back to the Toledan and Visigothic past. In the east were the county and later kingdom of Aragon, as well as a series of smaller counties among which Barcelona became preeminent, and to the west, the kingdom of Portugal emerged in the twelfth century. Competition for land and power was fierce between these rulers, and moments of cooperation against their Muslim enemy were far fewer than times of conflict between themselves. As the Christian rulers grew stronger and expanded their possessions southward from river valley to river valley, however, they attracted more attention from the Muslim rulers in the south. During the time of the caliphate, Christian leaders paid tribute to

it to protect themselves from attack. After the caliphate ceased, al-Andalus was divided into small principalities, called *taifa* states. This shifted the balance of power in the peninsula. Now, the *taifa* rulers paid protection money, called *parías,* to the Christian leaders. Christian and Muslim allies fought together against their enemies. The flood of money brought into the north by the *parías* expanded the possibilities open to the Christians, especially the kingdom of Leon-Castile, which, under Alfonso VI, was able to retake Toledo from the Muslims in 1085. This king was also instrumental in forming religious and dynastic alliances beyond the Pyrenees.

In order to redress the imbalance of power emerging within the peninsula, the *taifa* ruler of Sevilla invited the Almoravids of North Africa across the straits to help fight the Christians. The Almoravids were a puritanical religious sect of Islam whose nucleus was the Berber tribes of the Sahara. The remedy proved worse than the disease, however, and the Almoravids swept aside the *taifa* rulers. The rule of the Almoravids was short-lived, and in the 1140s, al-Andalus was fragmented again into control by local leaders. Another Berber religious and tribal group, the Almohads, defeated the Almoravids in Morocco and entered the peninsula in May 1146. The Almohad victory initiated a period of persecution against the Jews and Christians living under Muslim rule, and many sought safer homes elsewhere, including in Christian Toledo. The Almohads won a major victory in 1195 at Alarcos against the king of Castile, Alfonso VIII.

It was in this context of Almohad strength and Castilian vulnerability that Rodrigo became archbishop in 1209. Leon and Castile were fractured into two kingdoms hostile to each other. Toledo was on the very frontier where the Castilian kingdom abutted al-Andalus, and the city was subject to merciless Almohad raids. Into this milieu, Rodrigo brought ideas of crusade, imported by him from France, and helped to organize a huge Christian counteroffensive uniting the kings of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon. They defeated the might of the Almohads in 1212 at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. The Muslims never recovered from this victory, and Rodrigo capitalized on his success throughout the rest of his life, expanding his control of lands deep into formerly Muslim territory.

Rodrigo saw himself, and not the king of Castile, as the true heir to the unified Visigothic realm because of his claim to be primate over all Spain, and he harassed a series of popes about matching his title as

primate with effective jurisdiction. To support his claims of sovereignty, he used as his model the historic role of the archbishops of Toledo during the Visigothic period, liberally reinterpreted by himself. He also based his claims on papal assertions of the ultimate sovereignty of the Church over temporal rulers. At the same time, in practice, the pope was far away in Rome, while the kings were close at hand. His relations with the latter were close and productive for both sides, while the popes of his day must have often found him to be a thorn in their sides, with his demands for money, exemptions, and primatial power.

Rodrigo was also a scholar. The master narrative of Spanish history that he wrote was called the *Historia de rebus Hispanie siue Historia Gothica* (*History of the Affairs of Spain or Gothic History*—hereinafter *De rebus Hispanie*), and as its title suggests, it is focused around the Visigothic nation. He also wrote a paraphrase of sacred history from the Creation to the mission of the apostles to the gentiles and a series of histories of the peoples other than the Visigoths who inhabited the Iberian peninsula, including the first Latin account to concern itself exclusively with the Islamic world. He sponsored the work of others. He patronized a translation of the Qur'ān and created around himself a circle of like-minded individuals who shared a common body of theological opinions. He also wrote a work of anti-Jewish polemic, the *Dialogus libri uite* (*Dialogue on the Book of Life*).

The goal of the present book is to examine his relations with Muslims and Jews, a crucial part of his career, both as he idealized these relations on paper and as he worked them out in real life. Rodrigo used the writing of religious polemic directed against Jews together with conquest and settlement of Muslim-held lands and scholarly patronage and literary creation as different facets of a single program of activity. This program was aimed at containing threats, both internal and external, Christian and non-Christian, using practical means both derived from and reinforcing a vision of the world as essentially unified under God, although currently fractured by sin and history. The intended and actual consequences of this program were to allow Christians, Muslims, and Jews to live together under Christian hegemony. Rodrigo saw himself as living in a world that was ideally united under God but that had been fractured by sin. One consequence of this fracture was the division of the world, ideally united under one leader, into different polities. Another consequence was the existence in the world of groups of non-Christians, Jews, and Muslims. These divisions were undesirable but, in

a fallen world, were inevitable. Rodrigo was bound by practical necessity to find a means of accommodating these groups that was both effective and theologically satisfactory. This book studies this process of accommodation in relationship to Rodrigo's other goals as archbishop.

Rodrigo wished for his own hegemony to extend throughout Spain, and over the course of his life he went a long way to achieving his goals, extending the reach of Toledo far beyond what could have been imagined at the beginning of his archiepiscopacy and articulating his vision of Spain and its peoples in his historical, theological, and literary works. But his attempts to exert himself as primate devolved into endless struggles with competing bishops, archbishops, monasteries, and military orders over what he perceived as his rights, while the expansion of the frontier to the south left Toledo distant from the action. He died in his seventies, not quietly in his bed but by drowning in the Rhône River, returning from yet another attempt to impose his vision of his role on the pope, and Toledo never really reachieved the status of *urbs regia,* royal city, lost with the defeat of the Visigothic kingdom, for which he had worked for so long. Still, in an age before religious tolerance as we understand it, his vision of a world in which Christians could coexist with Muslims and Jews would endure, at least in Spain, for several centuries longer.

Acknowledgments

I have incurred debts of both friendship and scholarly assistance to so many people over the years it has taken to move this project from idea to dissertation to book. My first and happiest thanks are owed to J. N. Hillgarth, who has supported my studies from the beginning. He has read every word I have ever written on Rodrigo, from the first tentative seminar papers and the dissertation to later articles and, finally, this book. My gratitude to him as a reader and adviser is matched, however, by my thanks to him for introducing me to the world of medieval Spanish studies. Little did I think when I enrolled in his early medieval Spain seminar that I would plan to spend so much of my life there.

At an early stage in my research, Peter Linehan set me on the path of Rodrigo's *Dialogus libri uite,* and Francisco Hernández introduced me to the rich documents of Toledo. Ramón Gonzálvez in the archive and library of the cathedral of Toledo was generous and welcoming to a shy graduate student with little Spanish and has continued to be helpful over the years. Michael I. Allen believed in my abilities and gave me concrete help in so many ways. Roberta Frank has been a wonderful mentor, as all those who have the fortune to have been graduate students somewhere in her orbit know. Fellowship support from the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto, as well as an Ontario Graduate Scholarship and a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) doctoral fellowship, allowed me to complete the research for the dissertation out of which this book grew.

A postdoctoral fellowship from the SSHRCC brought me to the University of Michigan and then the University of Chicago. The Divinity School has kept me in Chicago and provided a wonderful intellectual home. The example of excellence and integrity of my colleagues at the Divinity School has pushed and stimulated me beyond what they can know, and I thank all of them, especially my two deans, W. Clark Gilpin and Richard Rosengarten. In my early years at the Divinity School, Willis Johnson was a wonderful partner in crime and a thoughtful reader of

sections of the manuscript. I have relied on my research assistants, Seonaid Valiant, Sharon Albert, who checked the Hebrew sources in chapter 4, and Julian Hendrix, who made the two maps and the bibliography. A sojourn at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library supported by a Heckman stipend allowed me to explore its wonderful microfilm collection. A talk I presented there gave me an early forum to try out some of the ideas that later found their way into the book. I am very grateful to Alan Deyermond for inviting me to give a talk at Queen Mary and Westfield College at which I could present my thoughts on the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* before committing them to paper. David Raizman very kindly loaned me his photograph of Ildefonsus of Toledo debating with a Jew, from BNM MS 21546. Rachel Barney, Tamar Herzog, and Ann Kuzdale always provided badly needed distraction.

I would also like to thank those who read the entire manuscript in its various different stages, Thomas Burman, Rachel Fulton, Sabine MacCormack, Bernard McGinn, David Nirenberg, Jim Robinson, and Barbara Rosenwein, for their universally thoughtful and helpful comments. The generosity of spirit and sheer time it takes to enter into an author's thought world, not as a reviewer or critic but in order to improve and make plain what already lies within a text, is truly humbling. The collective wisdom of all of my readers has freed me in the end to write the book I wanted to write, rather than the book I thought I should write.

I would like to conclude by thanking some people who may not have advised me about medieval Spain but have a share in this project nonetheless. My professors as an undergraduate at Queen's University, especially D. Catherine Brown, Paul Christianson, and Roberta Hamilton, introduced me to historical study and helped me pose the larger questions I am still trying to answer today. I want to thank my mother, Sheila O'Connor, and sister, Elizabeth, for their support through my long years of study. Finally I thank my son, Leo, to whom this book is dedicated, for always reminding me that truth, though elusive, is important.

Contents

Illustrations

Abbreviations

ACT	Archivo Capitular de Toledo
AHDLMA	*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AMT	Archivo Municipal de Toledo
BCT	Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid
Breuiarium	Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Breuiarium historie catholice.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. CCCM 72A–B. Turnhout, 1992.
BT	*Babylonian Talmud.* Trans. I. Epstein. 35 vols. London, 1935–48.
BU	Biblioteca Universitaria
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CLM	Codices Latini Monacenses
De rebus Hispanie	Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de rebus Hispanie siue Historia Gothica.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. CCCM 72. Turnhout, 1987.
Dialogus libri uite	Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historiae minores. Dialogus libri uite.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde and Juan Antonio Estévez Sola. CCCM 72C. Turnhout, 1999. 151–424.
fol., fols.	folio, folios
Glosa ordinaria	*Biblia latina cum glosa ordinaria.* 4 vols. 1480–81; reprint ed., Turnhout, 1992.
Historia arabum	Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historiae minores. Dialogus libri uite.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde and Juan Antonio Estévez Sola. CCCM 72C. Turnhout, 1999. 87–149.

MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Midrash Ps	*The Midrash on Psalms*. Trans. William G. Braude. New Haven, 1959.
Midrash R	*Midrash Rabbah*. Trans. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon. 10 vols. London, 1939.
mrs.	*morabetinos*
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina
Quoniam homines	Glorieux, P. "La somme 'Quoniam homines' d'Alain de Lille." *AHDLMA* 28 (1953): 113–369.
Regulae	Häring, Nikolaus M. (ed.). "Magister Alanus de Insulis. *Regulae caelestis iuris*." *AHDLMA* 48 (1981): 97–226.
Rendic. Accad. Lincei	*Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiale, e filologiche*

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction
Themes and Arguments

The history of medieval Spain demonstrates some of the ways people of different religions and cultures can interact in the same space. The meaning and nature of the centuries-long coexistence of Spain's Christians, Muslims, and Jews has long been investigated with this in mind.[1] This coexistence of different religious groups in medieval Spain is often described by the particular term *convivencia.* Américo Castro popularized this term to describe the productive tension between the three religious groups, Christian, Muslim, and Jewish, which intermingled to create Spain.[2] As *convivencia* is understood and used by historians today, it describes something far more problematic and interesting than simple tolerance between different groups sharing the same space. It describes a cultural situation in which potential cooperation and interdependence in economic, social, cultural, and intellectual spheres coexist with the continual threat of conflict and violence.[3]

---

1. Numerous studies have considered the interrelationship of Spain's three religious groups. For a recent list of some of the most important works in English, see the bibliography to *Medieval Iberia,* ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia, 1997).

2. Translated as "living-togetherness" in *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History,* trans. Williard F. King and Selma Margareten (Berkeley, 1971), p. 584. The idea of *convivencia* as a "culture of tolerance" has deeply influenced Maria Rosa Menocal's recent work on medieval Spain for nonspecialists, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston, 2002). Castro's formulation has been criticized by Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer for merely describing the fact of cultural contact without explaining the process by which acculturation occurred: "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11 (1969): 146–47. See also Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 3–13, and his more recent discussion of the topic in "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York, 1992), pp. 1–9. On Glick and Castro and the usefulness of the term *convivencia* in general, J. N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (1985): 32–35.

3. For example, Mark Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia* (Berkeley, 1991), p. 4.

The history of *convivencia* among the religious groups of medieval Spain, including its eventual failure by the end of the Middle Ages, illustrates the role that religion plays in collective self-perception and the perception of others as outsiders, and it marks the shifting limits of tolerance in medieval society. Relations between Christians and members of other religious groups, both in Spain and in the rest of Europe, are generally studied from the retrospective knowledge of their eventual breakdown—by the end of the Middle Ages, Jews were banished, forcibly baptized, persecuted; Muslims were defeated, expelled, assimilated. The question we usually ask today is how did this breakdown occur? How and why did the balance that existed between forces encouraging cooperation and those urging conflict and crisis shift definitively and finally toward the latter pole? What were the events and factors, be they economic, cultural, or political, that drove, or enabled, Western Christians to create unified, homogenous nation states by the Early Modern period? These questions have frequently been asked, especially in recent years, from a perspective, whether acknowledged or latent, that assumes identification and rejection of an "other" as a basic component of the human psyche. This perspective, when directed toward medieval history, is strongly influenced by the degree to which different groups are considered relatively more or less "other" in contemporary Western society.

This helps to explain why contemporary historiography of medieval Christian-Jewish relations differs so greatly from the historiography of medieval Christian-Muslim relations. The perceived breakdown in harmony between Jews and Christians is considered a puzzle, a problem, and different factors are adduced by scholars to explain this perplexing state of affairs. By contrast, conflict in relations between Christians and Muslims is taken for granted and seems to need no explanation. Scholarly attention devotes itself instead to describing "inevitable" conflict but querying moments of toleration and coexistence. Exponentially more attention has been given to the question of Christian relations with Jews than to their relations with Muslims, and this chapter, which reviews theories about the relationship between religious groups, necessarily reflects that fact. These differences in the kind and volume of questions posed about the past by modern scholars tell us more about modern perceptions of distances between groups than they explain about medieval attitudes, however. For medieval Christians, the prob-

lem of coexisting with Muslims was very similar to the problem of coexisting with Jews.

I suggest that we look at the history of *convivencia* in another way: that we ask not only why medieval *convivencia* failed but how, to what extent, and under what terms it was ever able to succeed. What structures, beliefs, and goals allowed medieval Christians, especially in Spain, to live side by side with those who had different religious beliefs and practices and to relate to them on professional, legal, and social levels? Economic interdependence and mutual self-interest were powerful forces tending to preserve coexistence and weaken barriers between groups.[4] David Nirenberg has argued counterintuitively that intercommunal violence, whether as a threat or in fact, also enabled different groups to continue to live together.[5] Like violence, religious polemic directed against the beliefs of another group would also at first seem to contribute to the breakdown of relations between groups. Indeed, the theological and exegetical content of these texts has traditionally been mined for evidence of the kind of worsening attitudes and hardening of stereotypes that made it impossible for Christians to live with non-Christians. Without denying the usefulness of this approach, I suggest here that polemic could serve to stabilize relations between Christians and others by defining the position of each group in relationship with the other. Firmly outlining the contours of belief and disbelief allowed Christians to permit themselves to live alongside non-Christians.

The interpretation of medieval religious polemic poses numerous difficulties for the modern reader. Today we tend to regard the writing of polemic directed against the beliefs of another religious group as, at worst, a mark of intolerance or bigotry and, at best, a case of bad manners.[6] It may be ethically correct to project these negative attitudes backwards against medieval authors of polemical texts, but such a projection does tend to forestall important questions about the contexts in which medieval polemic was used. We gain a better understanding of the place and meaning of religious polemic within medieval society by

4. Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia,* p. 271.

5. *Communities of Violence* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 7–10.

6. For a defence of apologetic, however, see Paul Griffiths, *An Apology for Apologetics* (Maryknoll, 1991), which argues that, under certain specific conditions, representative religious intellectuals have an obligation to engage in debate with their counterparts in other religious groups.

posing certain kinds of questions: What kind of people wrote polemic? Who read it and how did they use it? How did polemic fit into a broader pattern of military, economic, social, and/or cultural relations with those of different religions? Why write polemic at all? What purposes does it serve? These are the questions we must begin to answer if we are to understand the nature of the connection between the writing of polemic and the state of relations among religious groups in the Middle Ages.

My own preoccupation is with the significance of religious polemic written during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and its relationship to attitudes toward Jews and Muslims during this period, particularly in Spain. There was an enormous explosion in the writing of anti-Jewish polemic at this time in Europe, which has never entirely been explained. The chronological division of Heinz Schreckenberg's three-part study of Christian anti-Jewish writings is the best witness to this increase. Volume 2, covering approximately the period from the First Crusade (1096) to the first few decades of the thirteenth centuries, is the same length as its sister volumes 1 and 3, which cover the first to eleventh and the thirteenth to twentieth centuries respectively.[7] Anti-Islamic polemic has received far less attention from scholars, but this period saw the emergence of these texts as a new kind of writing in the Latin West. Best known of the earliest anti-Islamic texts are chapter 5 of the *Dialogi contra Judaeos* (*Dialogues against the Jews*) of Petrus Alfonsi (b. 1062–ca. 1110) and the *Liber contra sectam siue haeresim Saracenorum* (*Book against the Sect or Heresy of the Saracens*) of Peter the Venerable (b. ca. 1092–1156). Spain also witnessed an efflorescence of anti-Islamic literature written in Arabic during the twelfth century. The Arabic version of the *Liber denudationis* (*Book of Denuding*) was probably written in Toledo between 1085 and 1132; the *Letter of al-Qūṭī* is purported to have been written in the 1140s by a Toledan priest; *Trinitizing the Unity* dates from between 1120 and the early 1200s; *The Book of the Existing World* dates from the same time, and Aghushtīn, its author, may have been a priest in Toledo.[8]

We cannot understand the use and purpose of polemical writing merely within the context of developments in medieval intellectual his-

7. *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt, 1982–94).

8. Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200* (Leiden, 1994), chap. 2.

tory, nor simply in the context of Christian desires that Muslims and Jews be converted to Christianity. Rather, medieval religious polemic must also be interpreted as one strategy among others of Christian expansion, self-definition, and representation. These others can involve military conquest and economic expansion into lands and territories dominated by non-Christians. They also include what might at first seem to be the more benign activities of academic translation and study of sacred and other texts used by different religions. Moreover, taken as a whole, these endeavours need not be exclusively destructive of interreligious relations. They could support a Christian self-understanding that allowed Christians to permit certain non-Christians under particular circumstances to live in their midst.

Taken as a whole, these endeavours can appear to us at first as highly paradoxical. Such paradoxes can be discerned in the activities of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Like many of his contemporaries, he wrote a treatise against the Jews, called the *Dialogus libri uite* (*Dialogue on the Book of Life*). The text of the *Dialogus* is transmitted in only one manuscript, Salamanca BU MS 2089, copied in a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century hand.[9] The text itself is inherently interesting since it marks one of the earliest uses of rabbinic sources in an anti-Jewish polemic by someone born a Christian. But examining the text alone only begins to answer the crucial question of why Rodrigo decided to write, whom he envisaged as his audience, and where his writing fit into the broader pattern of his activity as archbishop. An exploration of the contexts in which Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada wrote his *Dialogus libri uite* supports my contention that polemic can be used to preserve co-existence.

We know a great deal about the environments—political, social, and intellectual—in which Rodrigo wrote his text. Documentary sources report that Rodrigo's contact with the real Jews of Toledo was positive, so much so that his own prebendaries complained to Rome that he favoured Jews excessively. This apparent paradox needs to be considered when questioning why Rodrigo wrote his polemic. Moreover, the work of contextualizing Rodrigo's *Dialogus* involves not only disentangling his textualized contact with Jewish exegesis and his relations with the Jews of Toledo but also his understanding of himself as a key player

9. Recently edited by Juan Fernández Valverde and Juan Antonio Estévez Sola in CCCM 72C (Turnhout, 1999) and first studied in detail by Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, "El *Dialogus libri vitae* del arzobispo Jiménez de Rada," *Salmanticensis* 9 (1962): 617–22.

in the conquest of Muslim-held Spain and what rights and obligations that entailed.[10] As I discuss in the prologue, Rodrigo is well-known for his contribution to the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), which broke the back of Muslim military strength in the peninsula and secured the expanded southern frontier of the kingdom of Castile. He is also famous for his *De rebus Hispanie,* a historical text that had a profound effect on how later generations in Spain perceived the medieval past, especially its Visigothic heritage, the Muslim conquest, and the so-called Christian reconquest.[11] Rodrigo's direct contact with Muslims was evidently limited. He dealt with Muslims primarily as military enemies, but in addition to writing his *Dialogus* against the Jews, he also wrote a history of the Muslim presence in Spain, beginning with the rise of Muhammed. Likewise, he sponsored translations of the Qur'ān as well as Islamic theological texts. Rodrigo's career came at a pivotal moment in the contest between Muslim and Christian Spain, and as shown here, he played a role in shaping that period.

Rodrigo's relations with both Muslims and Jews highlight the inherent tension between the temporal duties of an archbishop to protect, administer, and expand church holdings, as well as to preserve public order, and the demands made upon him as a Christian leader to guard and promote the Christian faith. To discuss *convivencia* in Toledo merely in terms of armed hostility against Muslims and a mutually beneficial relationship between local Jews and Christian leaders is only to describe one part of the story. Rodrigo's encounters with Muslims and Jews crossed military, economic, religious, and intellectual spheres. His polemical activity concerning Jews and Muslims, whether it is his *Dialogus libri uite* against the Jews, his sponsorship of translations of

10. I have in mind here Gabrielle M. Spiegel's approach to the relationship between textual production and processes of social structuration, especially her argument that historical context is not some given against which texts can be interpreted, in "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 75–78.

11. *De rebus Hispanie siue Historia gothica,* ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, CCCM 72 (Turnhout, 1987). On its influence in general see Derek Lomax, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada como historiador," *Actas del quinto congreso internacional de hispanistas* (Bordeaux, 1977), p. 587. On its influence on Alfonso X's *Estoria de España,* see Peter Linehan, "From Chronicle to History: Concerning the *Estoria de Espaõna* and Its Principal Sources," *Historical Literature on Medieval Iberia,* ed. Alan Deyermond (London, 1996), pp. 15–20. Also on Rodrigo's historical writing, Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993), esp. pp. 313–412; and Geoffrey West, "The Destiny of Nations: Treatment of Legendary Material in Rodrigo of Toledo's *De rebus Hispaniae,*" in *The Medieval Mind,* ed. Ian Macpherson and Ralph Penny (London, 1997), 517–33.

Islamic texts, or his presentation of both groups in his historical writing, must be factored into the equation. This is where the paradoxes emerge. Why would someone seemingly "tolerant" to local Jews write a polemical text against their religion? Why bother to have the Qur'ān translated when your goal is to place all of Spain under Christian rule?

Paradoxical relationships like these with non-Christians were not exclusive to Rodrigo, nor even to Spain, but were characteristic of the interactions of Christians with Jews and Muslims in the Latin West during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the one hand, at this time, the number of new polemical writings against the Jews increased, and their tone became increasingly strident. At the same time, the crusades in the Holy Land and the Christian conquest of Islamic Spain proceeded at a furious pace. This period also marks the beginning of ritual murder accusations in northern Europe[12] and fears of Jewish conspiracy in Spain.[13] In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Talmud was put on trial and burnt, and by the end of the century, the first host-desecration allegations surfaced in Paris.[14] These activities appear to some to be much of a piece, and R. I. Moore has spoken of the rise of a "persecuting society" with closely defined categories and ways of dealing both with those who were part of Christendom and those who fell outside its borders.[15] The canons of the Fourth Lateran Council stand as a convenient touchstone of this image of a Christendom that defines who is out and regulates who is in.

On the other hand, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mark an almost unparalleled period of peaceful scholarly cooperation between the three religions. This is the period in which teams of Christian translators worked with the assistance of Jews and Muslims to translate Arabic

---

12. On the origin of the charge of ritual murder and for a recent bibliography, see John M. McCulloh, "Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth," *Speculum* 72 (1997): 698–740. On both ritual murder and host desecration allegations, see Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge* (Paris, 1990), pp. 24–28.

13. Lucas of Túy blames Jewish poisoners for the death of Fernando of Castile in 1211: *Chronicon mundi*, in *Hispaniae illustratae*, ed. Andreas Schott, 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1603–8), 4: 110–11. Rodrigo uses the argument that if Jews were forced to wear the distinctive dress mandated by Lateran IV, they would flee to Muslim lands where they would conspire against Christians: Lucy Pick, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the Jews: Pragmatism and Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Toledo," *Viator* 28 (1997): 205. I discuss these fears further in chap. 4.

14. Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales* (New Haven, 1999), p. 40.

15. R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 6–11.

and Hebrew works into Latin: the works of Aristotle and his Muslim commentator Averroës; numerous astronomical, medical, and other scientific texts; but also works of Muslim theology and history, not least the Qur'ān.[16] Meanwhile, Christians in northern France consulted rabbis and even learned bits of Hebrew themselves as an aid to understanding the so-called Hebrew Truth: the Christian Old Testament. Biblical commentaries by people like Andrew of St. Victor sometimes even preferred the Jewish understanding of the literal sense of the Bible to the traditional Christian explanation of the letter.[17] Many scholars have observed these paradoxes in recent years. Most are content to note them as an example of how greater knowledge of the "other" does not necessarily lead to greater tolerance and in fact can spur increasing hostility against the perceived outsiders.[18]

These paradoxes were to a large measure a consequence of how contact, both intellectual and textual as well as real, of Christians with Muslims and Jews changed during that period. As I suggest in the preceding, the transformation of Christian contact with Jews and Judaism has been better studied and analyzed than that with Islam. Early Christians were confident they had complete knowledge of the Jews—anything worth knowing about the Jews was contained within the history of their rise under the patriarchs, their periods of glory under the kings, and their fall with the destruction of Jerusalem. They had access to whatever bits of Jewish biblical exegesis were worthwhile through the biblical commentaries of Jerome and others. But they believed that since the Passion, Jews had no other role than that assigned to them by Augustine—to stand as witness to the truth of the Old Testament and to be converted to Christian-

16. The bibliography on the transmission of science from the Arabic to the Latin scholarly world is immense. After the work of Charles Homer Haskins and Lynn Thorndike, see for example Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's article with its useful orientating bibliographical note, "Translations and Translators," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century,* ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 421–62.

17. Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1964), pp. 110, 163–65; Michael Signer, "Introduction," to Andrew of St. Victor, *Expositio in Ezechielem,* CCCM 53E (Turnhout, 1991), p. xxvii. On the Christian study of Hebrew and knowledge of Jewish exegesis in general, see in addition to Smalley, Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens,* pp. 239–307; idem, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en occident médiéval* (Paris, 1999), pp. 206–13, 359–87.

18. Amos Funkenstein, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 172; Karl Morrison calls this paradox an "irony," *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville, 1992), p. 82; Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 85–87.

ity at the end of time. They were a people whose national history and vocation had ended with their rejection of Jesus and the supposed forfeiture of their special relationship with God.[19]

Christians learned about Jews primarily from earlier texts Christians had written about Jews, and their knowledge of Judaism, whether they were in fact in contact with real Jews or not, was likewise chiefly textual. This attitude toward the Jews can be usefully compared with that which Edward W. Said has argued nineteenth- and twentieth-century French, British, and Americans held toward the Orient. The textual attitude of early medieval Christians produced what Said, following Michel Foucault, calls a discourse.[20] This discourse represented the Jews according to Christian needs for a static, unchanging, entirely superceded Judaism to contrast with the Christian present. For Said's Orientalists, as for the early Christians, power was knowledge and knowledge, as he says, is "surveying a civilization from its origins to its prime to its decline and . . . *being able to do that*. . . . To have such knowledge of a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it, to deny autonomy to it."[21] Prior to the twelfth century, anti-Jewish polemical treatises show a high degree of sameness both in their methodology, which was to stockpile collections of proof texts from the Old Testament that seemingly foreshadowed the New, and in their content.[22] Far from being pointless or vacuous, however, these texts served the important function within this discourse of reinscribing the Jews in their characteristic redundancy by explaining over and over again how the Jews have failed to understand Scripture and have fallen out of the divine plan, expressed through the medium of the history of salvation. It should not surprise us that these texts were copied and recopied and reworked with only minor changes. Their very sameness was intended to be a testament to

19. Jeremy Cohen, "Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 594–96. See also his " 'Slay Them Not': Augustine and the Jews in Modern Scholarship," *Medieval Encounters* 4, no. 1 (1998): 78–92, in which, following Marcel Dubois, he argues that Augustine used the Jews as a hermeneutical "other" against which he could define correct Christian behaviours and beliefs: pp. 85–86; and more recently, on Augustine and the doctrine of Jewish witness, *Living Letters of the Law* (Berkeley, 1999), pp. 23–71.

20. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), p. 3.

21. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 32.

22. Throughout, when I speak of the Old Testament, I am referring to the Latin text used by medieval Christians as distinct from the Hebrew Bible. The Old Testament contains sections not found in the Hebrew Bible, and these too were mined for proof texts by medieval Christians.

their comprehensiveness and the completeness of Christian supercession of the Jews. This idea of supercession, as described in these polemical texts, was one of the discourses that permitted a continued Jewish presence within contemporary Christian society.

Over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Latin Christians began to realize several things that fractured the old textual attitude. One was a consequence of their increasingly direct contact with Muslims in battle. As they began to deal with the Muslim threat beyond their borders more directly and more successfully, they came to regard non-Christians, including the Jews, as problems that could be dealt with. At the same time, increased contact with actual Jews living in their midst taught them that they did not have full knowledge of the Jews—that the Jews drew also on a large body of postbiblical writings. Judaism was not stable and archaic; it changed.[23] This realization presented both opportunities and challenges for Christians. On the positive side, they could and did appeal to a living tradition of Jewish exegesis to better understand the Scriptures.[24] On the other hand, they had to come to terms with the corpus of Jewish postbiblical writings. This they did in several different ways.

One approach was to argue that the rabbinic writings were heretical in terms of "true" Judaism. The convert from Judaism, Petrus Alfonsi (1062–ca. 1110), was the first author to make extensive use of the Talmud in an anti-Jewish polemic.[25] He ridicules certain *aggadot,* Talmudic sayings, especially those that seemed to anthropomorphize God, in order to attack contemporary Judaism. Peter the Venerable was among the first Christians to cite the Talmud in this way.[26] Peter attacks the Talmud in his

23. This was the message of Jeremy Cohen's groundbreaking *The Friars and the Jews* (Ithaca, 1982), whose argument is largely reprised in pt. 4 of *Living Letters of the Law.* My main point of diversion from Cohen's position is that, while he suggests one particular way Christians dealt with the knowledge that Judaism was not static, I argue that Christians relied on a number of strategies to deal with this knowledge.

24. For example, Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages,* pp. 102–5, 149–72, 189–93, 232–36, 338–55; Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh, 1963), pts. II and IV; Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens,* pp. 289–307; idem, *L'exégèse chrétienne,* pp. 376–87.

25. John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, 1993), pp. 22–25.

26. Both Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable were preceeded in this approach by Agobard of Lyons, whose brief *De iudaicis superstitionibus,* addressed to the Emperor Louis the Pious in 826–27, likewise attacks statements of this nature: CCCM 52 (Turnhout, 1981), pp. 199–221. His text exists in only one manuscript, and his line of approach was not

polemic and derides the Jews for accepting it in a famous passage: "I put before you in the presence of everyone, O Jew, O beast, your book, I say, that book of yours, that Talmud of yours, that famous teaching of yours, to be placed ahead of the books of the prophets and all authentic teachings."[27] Pope Gregory IX's decision to collect copies of the Talmud in 1239 for examination by the Mendicant Orders was ostensibly motivated by concern that Jews had allowed it to supercede the Bible as a source of authority.[28] Another way of dealing with the Talmud was to condemn it for attacking Christianity. This was the focus of the disputation at Paris in 1240.[29] A third, more subtle approach was to find testimony to the truth of the Christian faith in the Talmud and other Jewish texts, including the Cabala. Alan of Lille (ca. 1125/1130–1203) was the first to look to Jewish literature for support of Christianity. Instead of mocking Jewish adherence to this literature, Alan argues at one point in his *Contra haereticos* (*Against the Heretics*) that the Talmud itself contains passages that support the Christian belief that Jesus was the promised Messiah.[30] This method of argumentation would be highly

immediately influential: Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen âge* (Paris, 1963), pp. 163–67.

27. "Profero tibi coram uniuersis, Iudee, bestia, librum tuum, illum, inquam, librum tuum, illum Thalmuth tuum, illam egregiam doctrinam tuam propheticis libris et cunctis sententiis autenticis praeferendum." Peter the Venerable, *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem*, V, lines 32–33, ed. Yvonne Friedman, CCCM 58 (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 125–26. See also Friedman's introduction, p. xv.

28. Joel E. Rembaum, "The Talmud and the Popes: Reflections on the Talmud Trials of the 1240s," *Viator* 13 (1982): 205–7. For Gregory's letters on the subject, see Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1966), nos. 95–98. Rodrigo received one of these letters himself and, like most recipients, seems to have ignored it.

29. Isidore Loeb, "La controverse de 1240," *Revue des études juives* 1 (1880): 251–53; Rembaum, "The Talmud and the Popes," p. 205.

30. "In schola etiam Helie legitur quod mundus duraturus est per VI milia; et duo milia fuisse uanitatis quod refertur ad tempus quod fuit ante legem mosaycam, duo uero milia esse legis mosayce, sequentia uero duo milia Messie. Sed manifestum est plusquam quatuor milia annorum transisse, ergo manifestum est legem transisse et Messiam uenisse." Bern Bürgerbibliothek MS 335, fol. 102rb (*saec.* xii^{ex}). The source for Alan's statement is a passage from the *Tanna debe Eliyahhu*, which is quoted in BT *Sanhedrin* 97a–97b. The version of this passage found in PL 210, col. 410C, begins "In Sehale etiam loquitur Elias." This mistake has caused erroneous speculation as to the meaning of "Sehale" among those who have examined this passage, cf. Amos Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 2 (1971): 381 and n. 16. Marie-Humbert Vicaire, "'Contra Judaeos' meridionaux au début du XIIe siècle. Alain de Lille, Évrard de Béthune, Guillaume de Bourges," *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 12 (Toulouse, 1977): 272–73, 285, n. 13a, gives the correct version of the passage and hypothesizes that

developed in the thirteenth century owing to its use by Paulus Christiani at the disputation of Barcelona in 1263 and the disputation at Paris in 1269 and its consequent elaboration by Ramon Martí in his *Pugio fidei* (*Dagger of Faith*).[31]

These three responses to the discovery of Jewish postbiblical writings are well-known. No one of these ways of dealing with postbiblical Judaism was entirely successful, and none entirely displaced the old discourse, which is why it persists throughout the Middle Ages alongside the new approaches. Rodrigo took a different but allied tack. As shown in chapter 4, he castigates rabbinic biblical exegesis as either being made up of invented fables or for contradicting interpretations of other verses. His central charge against the Jews is their changeableness and inconsistency, which he opposes to Christian stability and faithfulness. I argue that this account, like the earlier textual attitude, provided a place for Jews to live among Christians.

At the same time Christians were beginning to learn about postbiblical Jewish traditions in the twelfth century, they were also expanding their exposure to Muslims and to the Islamic faith in several ways. Their direct contact with Muslims was increased through military encounters, especially the success of Christian crusades to the Holy Land. Christians, who had always taken Muslim military strength seriously, now began to pay thoughtful attention to Islam as an intellectual and religious threat. Christian knowledge of Islam grew to the extent that someone like Otto of Friesing, who never had direct contact with Islam, could reject the report that the Archbishop of Salzburg was martyred in Cairo because he destroyed the Muslim idols there, because he knew Muslims had no idols.[32] It is in this context that Peter the Venerable sponsored the translation of the Qur'ān and other Islamic texts in Spain

Alan might have found this argument in the same anti-Jewish compilation based on Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio Judaei et Christiani* that Jacob ben Reuben (twelfth century) used to write his *Milḥamot ha-Shem*. See David Berger, "Gilbert Crispin, Alan of Lille, and Jacob ben Reuben: A Study in the Transmission of Medieval Polemic," *Speculum* 49 (1974): 34–47.

31. Cohen, *Friars and the Jews*, chaps. 5, 6; Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith* (Berkeley, 1989), chaps. 5–7; Joseph Shatzmiller, *La deuxième controverse de Paris* (Paris, 1994), p. 20. On the origins and later development of Christian Cabalism, see Bernard McGinn, "Cabalists and Christians: Reflections on Cabala in Medieval and Renaissance Thought," in *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews*, ed. Richard H. Popkin and Gordon M. Weiner (Dordrecht, 1994), pp. 11–34.

32. R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 36.

during the 1140s. Albeit slowly and incompletely, Christians developed a textual awareness of Islam to go along with the textual understanding they held for centuries of Judaism.

Most of the textual contact they had with Muslims was not solicited with the aim of learning about Islam, however. During the twelfth century, Christians were engaged in a process of recovery and assimilation of classical literature, philosophy, and science, guided by the belief that everything created and creation's relationship to the divine were entirely open to human reason.[33] In numerous cases, these classical traditions were transmitted via the Islamic world in Arabic translations that Christians in turn translated into Latin. Christians also translated Arabic commentaries on these classical texts, as well as independent works of philosophy written by Muslims. These texts were then used by Christian authors to interpret their own tradition.

This recuperation of the heritage of classical antiquity was the central plank of the intellectual movement known as the twelfth-century Renaissance. The practical aim of this project of recovery of knowledge through translation was certainly not to gain a better understanding of Muslim thought but rather, in R. W. Southern's words, "to stabilize, make accessible, and defend an orthodox Christian view of the world against the attacks of heretics within, and unbelievers—or misbelievers—outside the area of organized Christendom."[34] Within this context, the writing of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim polemic can be situated as an outgrowth of contemporary Christian anxieties and concerns about their own beliefs and self-identity and concern with making reason Christian.

Several scholars have followed this path in recent years, especially with respect to Christian attitudes toward the Jews. Gavin Langmuir argues that what he calls Christian anti-Judaism was a central part of Christianity from its origins. Christians were originally able to accommodate Jewish disbelief by adopting what Langmuir calls nonrational reactions: belief that Jews were incapable of understanding beyond the literal meaning of the Bible, that they were deicides, and that their historical situation after the Passion was punishment for deicide. Langmuir argues that new irrational responses to Jews that produced anti-Semitism emerged after the turn of the millenium. These responses were

33. R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 30–35.

34. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, p. 4.

attempts to accommodate Christian doubts about the Incarnation and the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist. Christians suppressed their rational and empirical faculties in certain areas so they could continue to believe in Christian doctrine. This induced a concurrent suppression of their rational knowledge of Jews and allowed irrational fantasies of Jewish wickedness to take its place.[35]

Anna Sapir Abulafia has recently argued for a modification of Langmuir's claims. It was not merely the incongruence of visible reality and belief that produced irrational thinking in twelfth-century Christians. More important was their developing understanding of the powers of human reason, "the innate human capacity to perceive truth," which they were in the process of recovering from classical philosophy. It was the need to assimilate this legacy within Christian thought that caused these intellectuals to look askance at the presence of Jews within their midst. New confidence in the powers of human reason to understand Christian truths cast sharper focus on those perceived to be unwilling or unable to use their God-given reason for this purpose. Rationality was the hallmark of human beings; reason would inevitably corroborate the Christian faith; those who were not Christian were therefore irrational, even animal.[36] In another paradox, then, upholding the rationality of Christian beliefs and practices caused Christians to adopt irrational beliefs about Jews.

In the remainder of this book, I investigate some of the seemingly paradoxical stances toward Jews and Muslims, Judaism and Islam, that I have introduced here. Using the career of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, I dissolve these paradoxes by suggesting that scholarly cooperation should be seen as part of the same program as crusade, conquest, and colonization and that in Rodrigo's case all were underpinned by a belief in the originary divine unity of all creation, a return to which Christians could help foster by assimilating foreign peoples and bits of learning. Rodrigo makes an especially valuable case study for this kind of approach. One difficulty we have when we attempt to connect the theory of polemical

35. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 58, 127; and idem, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), chap. 14, esp. pp. 285, 291, 297–302. Mark Cohen also argues that anti-Jewish polemic was always an essential component of Christian self-definition. *Under Crescent and Cross* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 139, 161. Anna Sapir Abulafia summarizes Langmuir's arguments in *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (London, 1995), pp. 4–7.

36. Abulafia outlines her thesis on p. 6 of *Christians and Jews.*

texts to the lived interactions of Christians with non-Christians in medieval Europe is that we are necessarily comparing apples with oranges a great deal of the time. Polemic written by one author is, for example, evaluated against legislation and evidence of its enforcement issuing from another source. It is rare to find the range of activity we see in Rodrigo's career issuing from one person, or even from one tightly bounded centre.

Because we have so much evidence about different facets of Rodrigo's activity, we can watch him moving between theory and practice, rather than being forced to make that conceptual leap ourselves. Moreover, because all of this activity has its origin in one person, we are compelled to try to make sense of it as one program of effort. We can compare the written theory of his political theology as it appears in his histories, polemical texts, and other writings to the lived practice of his relationship with members of other religious groups. Although this book describes a relationship between theory and practice, however, it is worth stressing that I am not arguing that either one held precedence over the other. In other words, I do not suggest that Rodrigo was an idealist who attempted to apply a fully developed understanding of the way the world worked onto the political situation in Spain, nor that he elaborated a theory *post facto* to account for and justify what he was doing on the ground. Rather, I describe a process in which theory and practice worked together and defined each other in a dialogical, mutually reinforcing way in Rodrigo's thought and actions. Moreover, this system was flexible enough to allow for accommodation of the different concerns of those around him, as well as for a level of contradiction in some of his own actions and beliefs.

These links between theory and practice are made explicit by Rodrigo in the way he uses the persona of Alfonso VIII, king of Castile (1158–1214), to describe the connection between values and actions in his history of Spain, the *De rebus Hispanie*. Rodrigo presents Alfonso, grandfather of Fernando III (to whom the book is dedicated), as an ideal Christian and secular lord. Temporal and spiritual leadership are not represented as two separate virtues but are inextricably linked by Rodrigo through their intimate connection with the highest virtue of all, *fides,* the word he uses to encompass the intertwined qualities of fidelity, constancy, and belief. God, the Lord of lords, rules the world through faith because without it man would not subject himself to man. Since no one is sufficient unto himself, human society would perish without the

bonds that fidelity allows.[37] The proper conduct of human relations mirrors these bonds of fidelity between God and humankind, the Master and his servants. Alfonso VIII was the embodiment of this kind of fidelity from his earliest youth, and he reaped its rewards on earth. Successful conquest and settlement were both the reward of and evidence for the king's right faith and constancy:

> Alfonso, desirable son of Sancho, sought out fidelity from his youth and although he was very young, as it is said, and was almost deprived of his kingdom, by the industry and faith of his followers he recovered what had been lost, he acquired what he had not held before, and he rebuilt what had been abandoned when he laid the foundations of cities and raised high towers and repaired things destroyed over the ages.[38]

This was not merely empty praise to flatter the grandfather of his patron; these were the very standards to which Rodrigo held himself in his understanding of his own role as religious leader of all Spain and temporal lord over some of the most precariously held territory in Castile. It was not enough to conquer and destroy the enemy; virtue lay in recuperating, rebuilding, and repairing what had been lost, and all must be done under the mantle of correct belief. These standards defined his relations with the Church, his rulers, and his own family, as well as his relations with both Jews and Muslims, those who were defined by their lack of faith.

Each chapter of this book looks at Rodrigo through a different facet of his activities as archbishop, but in each can be seen this tension between theory and practice. "Conquest and Settlement" (chap. 2) discusses Rodrigo's primary concern throughout his archiepiscopacy, which was wresting land and power away from Muslim hegemony. Scholars mostly take for granted the idea that Christian Spain was animated by a desire for one, united Christian Spain, reconquered from the Muslims. This chapter shows to what degree these were ideals that Rodrigo possessed and fostered by importing the notion of the crusade into the centuries-long struggle of the Spanish kingdoms with each other and with Muslim Spain. Notable success regarding the latter was achieved in the Christian victory over the Muslims in 1212 at Las Navas de Tolosa, a

37. *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xviii, p. 240.
38. *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xviii, p. 241.

victory that was in great measure due to Rodrigo's recruitment and organizational efforts. We know from hindsight that this victory broke the back of Muslim power in Spain. The Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and Castile began a process of conquest, expansion, and settlement that ended only some forty years later in the reduction of the Muslim territories to the petty state of Granada, and I describe Rodrigo's share in this activity. But this chapter also demonstrates that Rodrigo was for a long time out of step with his peers in his desire for conquest and settlement of Muslim-held areas in a world still mostly preoccupied with defensive raids and the winning of booty rather than territorial gain. I show that Rodrigo managed to impose his own values on subsequent generations through the acceptance of his interpretation of events in his history of Spain, the *De rebus Hispanie*. It is usually understood that Rodrigo's aim was to recreate the Visigothic kingdom centred in Toledo under the king of Castile. I argue, using his histories as well as the documents and cartularies issued under his aegis, that his goal was less political unity under a secular ruler than a peninsula united under the archbishop of Toledo as primate of Spain.

In "A Theology of Unity" (chap. 3), I outline the theoretical underpinning of the political theology that motivated the actions and writings described in the previous chapter, and I begin making the argument that polemic could be used to stabilize relations between religious groups. First, I show how this theology is present in Rodrigo's own historical writing, in the myths he adopts about the early history of the world and about Spanish history. In the remainder of the chapter, I argue for the existence of a kind of school of thought in Toledo, influenced by the work of Alan of Lille and other members of the northern French schools. Toledan thinkers shared an understanding of divine unity that undergirded Rodrigo's strivings toward temporal religious unity. This chapter discusses the content of their thought, as found in Rodrigo's *Dialogus* and elsewhere, with respect to how statements may be made about God, the relationship between divine unity and plurality, and the cosmological understanding of the universe as a hierarchy of being stemming from God and encompassing all creation. This understanding of the relationship between unity and plurality left a place for non-Christians to live among Christians. A couple of the figures in this Toledan school were involved in translating Hebrew and Arabic scientific texts, as well as works of Muslim theology and the Qur'ān, and these activities were supported by Rodrigo. I relate Rodrigo's sponsorship and

their activity to a broader examination of the cultural significance of translating texts into Latin and argue that his patronage of scholarship was supported by the same political theology of unity that underpinned his military efforts.

"Rodrigo and the Jews of Toledo" (chap. 4) interprets Rodrigo's own polemical text, the *Dialogus libri uite,* in the context of what we can discern of his relations with local Jews. I compare his polemic to his favourable treatment of Jews to support my hypothesis that the writing of polemic was not a barrier to *convivencia* and could even help sustain relations between Christians and non-Christians. I begin by discussing the reasons modern scholars give for why medieval people wrote religious polemic, and I argue that the traditional connection of polemic in this period to conversion efforts has been overstated. Then I explore the innovative use Rodrigo made of rabbinic materials to support his conclusion that the Jewish understanding of the letter is rife with internal disagreements, contradictions, and invented fables, and I suggest that his concern with this material was sparked by internal, local Jewish debates about the Messianic Age and the World to Come. Finally, I contrast this awareness of contemporary Jewish concerns and rejection of Jewish biblical readings with documentary evidence of his favourable relationship with the Jews of Toledo. This evidence reveals a pattern of mutually beneficial cooperation shadowed by a degree of fear and mistrust but no effort to end a Jewish presence in Toledo.

I describe how Rodrigo's polemic relates to another plank in his program of Christian self-definition and representation in "Polemic and Performance: The *Dialogus* and the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*" (chap. 5). Here, I follow Karl Morrison's suggestion that polemic and religious debate is related to performance and the display of the Christian religion. In order to demonstrate the link between performance and polemic, I argue that there is a close connection between Rodrigo's *Dialogus* and the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (*Play of the Wise Kings*), a short play in Castilian about the encounter of the three wise kings with Herod after the birth of Christ, copied by a thirteenth-century hand at the end of a manuscript in the cathedral of Toledo. The central argument of the *Dialogus,* that Jews disagree about their own beliefs, is mirrored in the closing passage of the *Auto,* a passage that has proved resistant to interpretation by scholars, in which the Jews argue about the meaning of Scripture. Echoes of the preoccupations of the *Auto* can likewise be

found in Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie*. I contend that the *Auto* represents a text intended to be performed publicly to convey to a Castilian-speaking audience the defence of Christianity found in the Latin, scholarly *Dialogus*. Moreover, I show that this single text unites within its brief compass the themes of biblical interpretation, Christian military victory, and the transmission of knowledge that this book argues were connected by Rodrigo. Discussion of the content of the *Auto* thus serves both as a suitable capstone for this discussion of Rodrigo's career and as further justification for my position that these seemingly disparate, even paradoxical, acts are necessarily linked.

The value of studying Rodrigo lies not only in the examination of those of his positions and actions that were pioneering, although he was innovative in certain areas and had a formative impact on the way Spain's history has been viewed since his time. He was not utterly exceptional, nor yet was he just like everyone else. His career shows us how ideas current in the Europe of his day—ideas about crusade and non-Christians, about God and creation—could be synthesized into a program of activity. Through Rodrigo's person, ideas and concerns originating outside of Spain mingled with local perceptions, and both together were brought to bear on the Spanish context. Each chapter of this book demonstrates this in a different arena. Chapter 2 considers the importation of ideas of crusade into the contest with Spanish Muslims; chapter 3 shows how ideas from the northern schools became a useful theology for understanding local conditions; chapter 4 uses Rodrigo's polemical writing to resituate the larger context of European polemic; and chapter 5 discusses the implications of the entry of the northern dramatic literary form into the peninsula. Rodrigo's career serves as a useful window for viewing the connections between Spain and the rest of Europe at this time.

In sum, this book suggests that we should regard scientific translations and scholarly encounters, theological translations and polemical works, and successful conquest and settlement as inextricably linked together. The context for interpreting Rodrigo's *Dialogus* against the Jews is not simply Rodrigo's own relations with Jews, nor yet the place of his treatise within a larger genre of polemical writing. Rather, his *Dialogus* must be seen as one element of a much broader program of Christian expansion and self-definition creating and reinforcing an opposition to a Muslim and Jewish world. The cathedral of Toledo really

became "a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient,"[39] represented here by the Jews living in its midst and the Muslims menacing on the borders, and Rodrigo was engaged in a relatively systematic program of accumulation—of peoples, territories, and knowledge. This program was one that supported Rodrigo's understanding of the world as ideally unified, and it provided a well-defined understanding of how Christians, Muslims, and Jews coexisted and could continue to coexist in it.

39. Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

CHAPTER TWO

Conquest and Settlement

Rodrigo's goal was one Spain, united under Christian rule. To this end, he galvanized the papacy and the rulers of Castile into supporting military efforts against the Muslims that favoured permanent conquest and settlement over defensive attacks and booty raids. Part of the job of this chapter is to tell that story, to describe Rodrigo's actions and the values that animated them through a chronological account that explains and analyzes his role in the massive transformation of the frontier between the Muslims and Christians during the period of his archiepiscopacy. This transformation occurred in two stages, divided by the beginning of the reign of Fernando III, and I use these stages to structure my narrative. The chapter outlines Rodrigo's campaigns to conquer territory from the Muslims and his efforts to expand the lands controlled by the see of Toledo south into the frontier zone with the Muslims through purchase, gift, and conquest.

The second task of this chapter is to show that Rodrigo's arguments in favour of permanent conquest and settlement were far from universally compelling at that time in Spain, in other words, that there was little appetite in his day for what modern scholars call "reconquest." Most of Rodrigo's contemporaries were more interested in the traditional aims of quick booty and destruction of enemy military potential over permanent settlement, and Rodrigo was fully aware of this. The one group that consistently shared Rodrigo's goals, the military orders, was in direct competition with him for the lands and resources of newly settled areas, not to mention the souls of the people who lived there. Fighting the claims of the orders and defending his own prerogatives absorbed Rodrigo throughout his career.[1]

1. Only certain features of Rodrigo's struggles with the orders are discussed here. For more detailed information see Hilda Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, gran señor

The final goal of this chapter is to argue that, while Rodrigo fought for one, united Spain, his aim was not a Spain united under any particular Christian king, as is usually supposed, but rather united under himself and his successor archbishops of Toledo as primates of Spain. For Rodrigo, the archbishops of Toledo were the true successors and guardians of the Visigothic past. This is a novel argument, since scholars normally view Rodrigo as working toward Castilian royal hegemony over the peninsula. For example, Rodrigo's battle heroics and seeming championship of one, Catholic, united Spain caused his three most recent Spanish biographers, who wrote in the 1920s and 1930s, to cast him in a hagiographical light and to interpret his push for unity in terms of the drives for Spanish political and religious uniformity of their own day. Their purpose was to represent Rodrigo as a perfect Castilianized, Catholic hero.[2] Since that time, while scholars have taken a more pragmatic view of Rodrigo's activities and the motives behind them, they have not questioned the notion that Rodrigo wished to see all Spain united under the king of Castile.

This chapter shows how Rodrigo blended a mixture of pragmatism and idealism in his approach to the world. His belief in the unity of Creation under God, his understanding of battle against Spanish Muslims as crusade, his view of the high calling and unifying role of the archbishop of Toledo in the peninsula cannot be dismissed as empty rhetoric cynically used to augment his own power. At the same time, he was aware that all did not share his views, and he was able to appeal to their self-interest, while maximizing his own self-interest, to achieve his goals. This is evident in the way he attempted to marshal support for his understanding of crusade and the way he maintained close patronage ties to members of his own family.

---

y hombre de negocios en la Castilla del siglo XIII," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 55–56 (1972): 172–91, 323–65; and Derek Lomax, "El arzobispo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y la órden de Santiago," *Hispania* 76 (1959): 323–65. Still, no one who studies the documentation from Rodrigo's archiepiscopacy will fail to be impressed by the volume of correspondence Rodrigo devoted to protecting his own interests in this area.

2. The first, and most complete, is by Javier Gorosterratzu: *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada* (Pamplona, 1925). Gorosterratzu was barred from consulting materials in the archive and library of the cathedral of Toledo by its canon-archivist, Eduardo Estella Zalaya, author of the second biography: *El fundador de la Catedral de Toledo* (Toledo, 1926). The final effort, by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, is not based on any new research: *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada* (Barcelona, 1936).

The Meaning of the Frontier

The period of Rodrigo's tenure as archbishop of Toledo witnessed an enormous alteration in the fortunes of all the realms of Spain. The death of Alfonso IX in 1230 allowed the kingdoms of Castile and Leon to reunite under his son, Fernando III, for the first time since the death of Alfonso VII in 1157. By the time Fernando III took Sevilla in 1248, one year after Rodrigo's death, over a third of the landmass of the peninsula had been taken from Muslim control, with the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile being the principal beneficiaries. Buffeted by Christians and riven by internal dissension, the Almohad rulers of Muslim Spain ceased sending aid from their centres in Africa to their Spanish possessions after 1228. They were replaced in Spain by a series of unstable local rulers who were easy prey for the better-organized Christians. By 1252, there were no independent Muslim states in Spain: Murcia, Niebla, and Granada all became tributary vassals of Castile.[3] The first half of the thirteenth century also witnessed significant demographic shifts. Jews fleeing persecution continued to move north to the Christian realms, as they had done since the advent of the Almohads in the twelfth century.[4] Likewise, large numbers of Muslims came under Christian rule for the first time when a majority of them decided against going into exile on the capture of their homes by the Christians.

Rodrigo played an important part in the momentous changes of the period. He placed himself and his resources at the forefront of efforts to transform the Toledan frontier with Muslim Spain from its abject insecurity at the beginning of his rule to the point where the Christians were poised to capture Sevilla a year after his death. Rodrigo played a crucial role in both creating and then defining and describing these changes through his efforts at conquest and settlement of areas recently taken from Muslims, through the way he defined these actions as acts of faith in contemporary letters, and through his later description of these events in his *De rebus Hispanie*. Rodrigo's interest in the expanding frontier shaped his attitude toward both Muslims and Jews.

It is a commonplace of modern historiography that the frontier with Muslim Spain had a determinant effect on the shape of medieval Chris-

3. Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1978), pp. 141, 158.

4. Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1961), 1: 76–77.

tian Spanish society. Numerous studies have been dedicated to disentangling various Iberian frontiers—religous, cultural, mental, political, military, social, and economic.[5] There are problems with this multiplication of meanings for the word "frontier," however. By defining a frontier variously as "a line, a moving zone, a static region, a kind of society, a process of character formation, an abundance of land," and so forth, the concept of a frontier becomes less useful as a way of understanding difference—if difference is everywhere, it is, in a sense, nowhere.[6] More useful is Robert Bartlett's recent interpretation of the entire history of medieval Europe in terms of an expanding frontier.[7] This has had the salutary effect of reducing the "differentness" of the medieval Spanish experience and allows us to reframe the reconquest—as it is termed by

5. Robert I. Burns, who has often used the frontier as an interpretive model for his studies of postconquest Valencia, reviews recent evaluations of the Turner thesis on the impact of the frontier in the American West and the implications of the use of this hermeneutic device for the study of the medieval world, especially as it concerns Iberia, in "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford. 1989), pp. 307–30. See also Lawrence J. McCrank, "The Cistercians of Poblet as Medieval Frontiersmen," in *Estudios en homenaje a Don Claudio Sanchez Albornoz en sus 90 años*, 6 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1983), 2: 313–60; Angus Mackay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (London, 1977). A recent endorsement of the idea of the frontier is made by J. Ignacio Ruíz de la Peña, "Ciudades y sociedades urbanas en la frontera castellano-leonesa," in *Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval* (Zaragoza, 1993), p. 81. For the frontier with the Muslims south of Toledo, see Carlos de Ayala Martínez, "Las ordenes militares y la ocupación del territorio manchego," pp. 49–104; J. P. Molénat, "Les diverses notions de frontière dans la région de Castilla-La Mancha au temps des almoravides et des almohades," pp. 107–23; and Pierre Guichard and Pascal Buresi, "L'espace entre Sierra Morena et Mancha à l'époque almohade," pp. 127–43, all in *Alarcos, 1195: Actas del congreso internacional commemorativo del viii centenario de la batalla de Alarcos*, ed. Ricardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez (Cuenca, 1996). For recent thoughtful comments on the utility of "frontier" as a category of historical analysis for medievalists, and for an extensive bibliography, see Nora Berend, *At the Gates of Christendom* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 6–17.

6. The quotation is taken from William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (1987): 158. To give an example of the overmalleability of the concept of the frontier, Ruíz de la Peña's list of the characteristics of a frontier city could be used to describe almost any urban centre in the Middle Ages: "Ciudades y sociedades urbanas en la frontera castellano-leonesa," p. 91. See Peter Linehan's critique of the notion of a distinctive religious frontier in "Segovia a 'Frontier' Diocese in the Thirteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 96 (1981): 481–508.

7. Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (Princeton, 1993), p. 2, evokes the American Wild West in his description of medieval Europe as a "world of bloody frontiers, raw new towns, and pioneer farms." This approach stands in a long tradition: Burns, "Significance of the Frontier," pp. 313–14.

historians, some out of conviction and others out of expedience—as one among many European conquests of the period.

It is in Spain that the Latin *frontera, frontaria,* or *fronteria* is first used to indicate a demarcation between two groups of people. The word makes its first appearance in Aragonese royal charters from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it refers exclusively to the border between Christians and Muslims. It separates groups according to the religious polities of which they are members and is not used, for instance, to refer to boundaries between Christian kingdoms.[8] In the early thirteenth century, when the word starts being used by people outside the peninsula, it continues to refer exclusively to the Spanish situation. The presence of a frontaria, for instance, is used by both Pedro II of Aragon and Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) to distinguish Spain from the Holy Land, a place we might otherwise have expected to find defined as a region with a frontier.[9] The notion of the medieval frontier was literally invented in Spain and then exported to describe similar phenomena on other European frontiers.[10]

The three most important narrative sources for this chapter, the

8. The word first appears in two wills of Ramiro I of Aragon, dated respectively 1059 and 1061, in order to qualify the location where castles would be built for the purpose of opposing the Muslims, "ad castros de fronteris de mauros," "in castellos de fronteras de mauros": Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña,* Textos Medievales 9 (Valencia, 1962) 2: 178, 201. One or both of these documents may be forged in whole or in part, so at the very least, the date may be untrustworthy as the first appearance of *frontera:* A. Durán Gudiol, *Ramiro I* (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 78–80. The word is used in the same context, to describe the border between Christians and Muslims, in a charter of Alfonso I of Aragon in 1124: José Angel Lema Pueyo, *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona* (San Sebastián, 1990), no. 132.

9. Pedro II of Aragon, in a petition to the Council of Lavaur in January 1213, reported in Petrus Sarnensis, *Historia albigensis,* ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1926–36), 2: 70, suggests he will send his son to make amends for his father's sins, "uel in frontaria Saracenorum cum militibus eundo in subsidium Christianorum, uel in partibus transmarinis." Innocent III likely got the hitherto unusual term from Pedro II's petition since his first use of it is in a letter referring to the king's proposal: PL 215, col. 666D. In a later letter he continues to oppose it to expeditions in the Holy Land, evoking Pedro's wording, "siue quod partes adeat transmarinas, siue quod sit in Hispania circa frontariam contra gentis perfidiam Saracenae." PL 216, col. 740B.

10. The word first appears in British sources in 1328 to describe the Castilian border with Muslim Granada. It was later applied to Ireland: *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources,* ed. R. E. Latham (London, 1975–), fasc. IV, p. 1014. Likewise, Polish and Balkan sources begin to use the word in the fourteenth century to describe borders with pagans and Turks: *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Iugoslaviae,* ed. Marko Kostrencic, 3 vols. (Zagreb, 1973–78), 1: 487; *Słownik Łaciny Średniowiecznej w Polsce,* 7 vols. (Wroclaw, 1953–92), 4: col. 394.

Chronicon mundi (*World Chronicle*) of Lucas, bishop of Túy, the *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla* (*Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*), most convincingly ascribed to the bishop and chancellor Juan of Osma, and Rodrigo's own *De rebus Hispanie,* begin the regular use of the word *frontaria* and its variants.[11] They use the word to mean something more than an invisible line drawn in the sand. It describes a region located between and contested over by two powers differing in religion. Various distinctive activities take place on the frontier. Primarily, it is a region of military activity. The frontier is the place where the occasional large-scale struggles between rulers take place and where mercenary adventurers like El Cid find scope for their activities.[12] It is also the site of the more day-to-day skirmishes including the raids on livestock and property in which the Christian municipal militias often took part either as attackers or defenders.[13] The frontier area between the Tajo and Guadalquivir Rivers was the normal field of operation for the great miltary orders—Calatrava, Santiago, and the Hospitallers—which emerged in the twelfth century for the purpose of maintaining and extending the region.[14]

Although modern accounts emphasize the depopulation of the region in this period, the frontier was never entirely a no-man's land. It had to be defended and for this reason was filled with castles contested by both sides.[15] Not all those dwelling in the region were simply passing

11. The term is absent from many of the major chronicles and other sources written in Spain in the twelfth century—the *Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris, Historia Roderici, Prefatio de Almeria,* and *Carmen campidoctoris* (in *Chronica hispana saeculi xii,* ed. Emma Falque, Juan Gil, and Antonio Maya, CCCM 71 [Turnhout, 1990]) and the *Chronica Najerensis,* ed. Juan A. Estévez Sola, CCCM 71A (Turnhout, 1995).

12. *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla,* ed. Luis Charlo Brea (Cádiz, 1984), pp. 68, 69; Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon mundi,* p. 115. *De rebus Hispanie* VI.xxviii, p. 213.

13. For example, James F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War* (Berkeley, 1988), p. 140.

14. See *Crónica latina,* pp. 68, 69, for the orders on the frontier in this period. Scholarship on the military orders in Spain is very large, but see the following three useful articles for bibliographies and for a discussion of the role of the orders in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "La vida de las órdenes militares de España según sus estatutos primitivos," pp. 9–29; José Luis Martin, "Orígenes de las órdenes militares: la Orden de Santiago," pp. 33–45; and Carlos de Ayala Martínez, "Las órdenes militares y la ocupación del territorio manchego (siglos xii–xiii)," pp. 49–104, all in *Alarcos, 1195.* On the crucial role of the orders on Toledo's frontier, see Manuel González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile," in *Medieval Frontier Societies,* pp. 60–62, and the classic by Charles Julian Bishko, "The Castilian as Plainsman: The Medieval Ranching Frontier in La Mancha and Extremadura," in *The New World Looks at Its History,* ed. Archibald R. Lewis and Thomas F. McGann (Austin, 1963), pp. 51, 64.

15. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xiv, lines 21–24, p. 278.

by or doing garrison duty. The frontier was inhabited, albeit sparsely, by more ordinary Muslims and Christians, the weight of whose relative presence was a marker of success in the struggle for ultimate control over the region.[16] Pious bequests in Christian wills from Toledo at this time show that inhabitants were acutely aware of the military significance of their region. Alongside the usual bequests to family, local clergy, churches, and confraternities, these wills sponsored the ransoming of Christian captives and slaves, funded the construction of castles, and donated property to the military orders.[17] The thirteenth-century frontier remained the semipermeable zone that Richard Fletcher describes for the early eleventh century: "Soldiers of fortune from kings downwards could operate within it. Treaties could link parties on either side of it. Allegiances could shift and change. All sorts and conditions of people could cross it—distinguished political exiles . . . high-ranking churchmen . . . trains of merchants . . . eccentric monks."[18]

The frontier has sometimes been spoken of as a zone of colonization, but the connotations of this word do not exactly mirror the experience on the Iberian frontier.[19] Robert Bartlett distinguishes between modern colonization, such as that practiced by imperial Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the medieval experience. Medieval people were not creating, in his words, "a pattern of regional subordination" but rather were engaged in a process of extension of forms of life similar to those in the regions they had come from. The lands they were settling remained closely tied to the places they had left.[20] To preserve this distinction between the European imperialist model and the medieval Iberian

16. Christians inhabiting the frontier played a role in the taking of Córdoba, *De rebus Hispanie* IX.xvi, p. 298; Lucas of Túy describes them as "quidam catholici viri strenui de frontaria maurorum, qui Almogaveres vocantur," *Chronicon mundi,* p. 116. *Crónica latina,* p. 68, suggests that the Moors who were killed in the taking of Murcia were more than just soldiers.

17. Angel González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII,* 3 vols. and preliminary volume (Madrid, 1926–30), 3: no. 1024 (June 1211), no. 1025 (November 1212), no. 1026 (March 1216), no. 1028 (September 1233).

18. R. A. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050–1150," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* series 5, 37 (1987): 36.

19. Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *La frontera de al-Andalus en epóca de los omeyas* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 27–28, criticizes this understanding of the frontier as it has been applied to Umayyad al-Andalus. See also J. N. Hillgarth's review of R. I. Burns's *Islam under the Crusaders. Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century* in *Catholic Historical Review* 63 (1977): 129–30.

20. Bartlett, *Making of Europe,* pp. 306–7.

practice, I use the word "settlement" rather than colonization to describe the processes implicated in the Spanish *repoblación,* in which Christian institutions, forms of social organization, and human bodies were transplanted onto the frontier.

The location of the frontier zone south of Toledo did not change much over the twelfth century, but the people who controlled it did. The conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085 set the Tajo River as the new southernmost line of Christian control. Toledo remained a precarious outpost for much of the next 125 years, however, while the region between the Guadiana River and the Tajo was torn by constant fighting and raids. This area lost many of its Muslim inhabitants and attracted few new Christian settlers.[21] While the frontier region extended to the Guadiana by the mid-twelfth century, Christian control over the area remained uncertain and intermittent because of successive waves of Almoravid and Almohad attacks.[22] The latter group won a major victory in 1195 at Alarcos against the king of Castile, Alfonso VIII. The kingdoms of Castile and Leon likewise contested against each other over parts of the frontier. The foundation of the town and diocese of Plasencia in the 1180s by Alfonso VIII is a case in point; its explicit mission was the extension of the Christian religion, but its implicit purpose was to halt Leonese expansion south of the Tajo.[23]

Both the nature and location of the frontier did change, however, between the battle of Alarcos in 1195 and the mid-thirteenth century. This transformation may be divided into two phases. The first ended with the death of Alfonso VIII's young son and heir, Enrique I, in 1217. The second encompassed the reign of Fernando III, from 1217 to 1252. The two phases differ in more than their change of rulers. In the first phase, despite the renewed Castilian offensive against the Almohads and its success at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the victors remained insecure. They could not know that Almohad strength had been broken and that no other substantial Muslim power would rise to challenge successfully their dominance. Castile also had to deal with the civil strife

21. Molénat, "Diverses notions de frontière," p. 108.

22. González Jiménez, "Frontier and Settlement," pp. 60–61.

23. The town was founded in 1186. Bonifacio Palacios Martín, "Alfonso VIII y su política de frontera en Extremadura," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 19 (1989): 155–56; Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en el epoca de Alfonso VIII,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1960), 1: 109–12; 2: no. 520. Rodrigo himself admits only the first goal: *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxviii, lines 2–8, p. 250.

that resulted from the death of Alfonso VIII in 1214 and the accession of a minor as his heir.

The second phase marked a change in Castilian fortunes on all fronts, with the successful transition to power of Fernando III, the absorption of the kingdom of Leon in 1230, and a steady string of victories against the Muslims. The significance of these victories lies not only in their number and consistency but also in the new kind of rewards sought and attained through them. These victories were marked less for the amount of booty they garnered than for the territorial expansion they allowed. I argue, however, that Christian success in this period was due more to changing local political circumstances among the Muslims than to a transformation of Christian attitudes regarding conquest. It was Rodrigo who transformed this accidental conquest into a narrative of crusade through his historical writing. By the time of the reign of Alfonso X (1252–84), chronicles no longer mention plunder as the major reward of battle, although poetic sources from the period still do.[24] Angus MacKay has suggested that early preference for booty and tribute over conquest of land was a consequence of a lack of Christian manpower to settle newly conquered regions.[25] There are problems with this argument, however. The first is that it presupposes without giving evidence a latent desire for reconquest in this early period. The second is that in the period when conquest and settlement did take effect, MacKay is unable to show that this transformation was due to a demographic shift that allowed Christians to assimilate the territorial gains they had supposedly been wishing for all along.[26] In any case, the change in Christian fortunes and objectives is paralleled by a change in their confidence about their situation. This new assurance is reflected in Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon mundi,* the *Crónica latina,* and Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie.* All three interpret the events of the reigns of Alfonso VIII and Enrique I through the rose-coloured hindsight of the triumphal later years. This must not lead us to misconstrue the realities and mood before Fernando III consolidated power.

24. Hilda Grassotti, "Para la historia del botín y de las parías en León y Castilla," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 39–40 (1964): 79, 85.

25. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages,* p. 37.

26. Links between demography and conquest have also been questioned recently by William Stalls, who suggests we have to look at more immediate local and political factors to understand settlement: "The Relationship between Conquest and Settlement on the Aragonese Frontier of Alfonso I," in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages,* ed. Larry J. Simon (Leiden, 1995), pp. 229–31.

The Changing Frontier—Stage One

The situation for all the Christians had worsened after the great Almohad victory at Alarcos in 1195. This victory led to the loss of Calatrava, eponymous stronghold of the great military order, leaving Salvatierra as the only remaining Christian enclave in the Guadiana valley.[27] Christian sources understood the Almohad offensive as retaliation for a successful raid by Rodrigo's predecessor in Toledo, Archbishop Martín López de Pisuerga, deep within Muslim territory at the command of the king. The purpose of that raid was not conquest and subsequent settlement but to acquire riches and livestock and to devastate the land.[28] Archbishop Martín was only one in a long line of bellicose Spanish bishops.[29] A warlike prelate was not an oxymoron but rather a necessity on the frontier with Islam.

Responding to the archbishop's attack, the Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaqūb al-Mansūr gathered an army in Morocco, "numerous as grains of sand," and crossed the straits of Gibraltar.[30] Moving from Sevilla to Córdoba, he pitched camp at Salvatierra before defeating Alfonso VIII's army at Alarcos and taking the Christian castles of Guadalferza, Malagón, Beneventum, Caracuel, and Calatrava.[31] Rodrigo is suspiciously vague on the Almohad gains, speaking only of the loss of "certain castles," but he does describe subsequent attacks and sieges of Toledo, Madrid, Alcalá, Huete, Cuenca, and Uclés, showing that the Muslims reached well north of the Tajo. The kings of Navarre and Leon, the latter assisted by grants of money and soldiers from the caliph, took advantage of Alfonso VIII's weakness to attack Castile.[32] In subsequent years the Almohads raided north of the Tajo and unsuccessfully besieged towns like Toledo, Maqueda, Talavera, Plasencia, and Madrid.[33] Although they made no permanent gains, the devastation

27. Guichard and Buresi, "Sierra Morena et Manche," p. 127.

28. At least in the account given in the *Crónica latina*, p. 12. Rodrigo omits any mention of booty, describing only the torching of the region and emphasizing the holy purpose behind Martín's raid: "Cingulum eius zelus fidei et arma eius ad persecucionem blasphemie." *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxviii, p. 251.

29. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 1: 417. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 39 and n. 91. Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, *Iglesia castellano-leonesa y curia romana en los tiempos del rey san Fernando* (Madrid, 1945), p. 39.

30. *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxix, lines 2–9, p. 251.

31. *Crónica latina*, pp. 13–15.

32. *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxx, p. 252; *Crónica latina*, pp. 15, 16.

33. *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxx, p. 252.

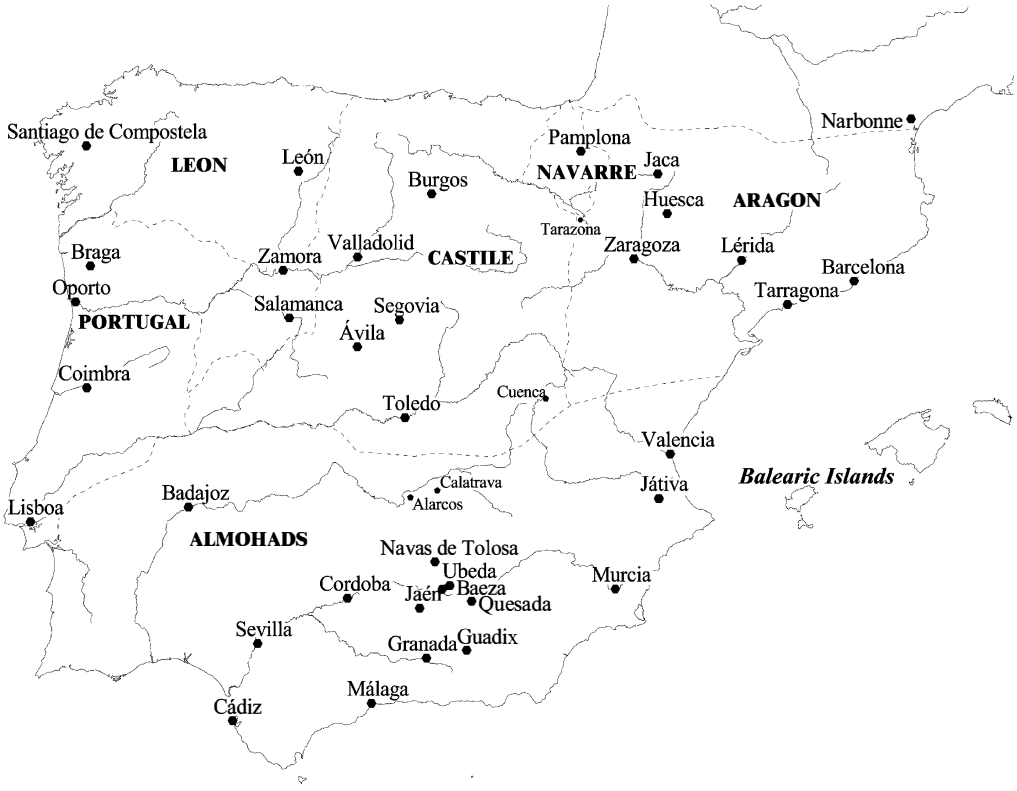


Fig. 1. Map of the Iberian Peninsula on the eve of Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212

they wrought and insecurity they created were considerable, causing immense economic dislocation.[34] Attacked on three sides, Alfonso VIII made truces with the Almohads, with Leon, and with Navarre and began to regroup (fig. 1).

This is how matters stood when Rodrigo became archbishop of Toledo in 1209. Notwithstanding his predecessor's raid into Muslim territory, initiative for conquest and settlement had passed from the archdiocese of Toledo and the nobility to the military orders by the last quarter of the twelfth century. A comparison between the bull of Celestine III of 6 June 1192 listing the holdings of the cathedral of Toledo and a similar bull sent from Innocent III to Rodrigo on 4 March 1210 shows the roster of possessions to be identical in both, a clear indication

34. The *Anales Toledanos I* reports that they destroyed all the vineyards and orchards around Toledo: *España Sagrada*, ed. Enrique Flórez, 51 vols. (Madrid, 1747–1879) 23: 393.

of Toledo's failure to expand during the period.[35] On Rodrigo's accession, the only castles the cathedral of Toledo itself controlled were Alcalá, Brihuega, Canales, Alhamún, and Benquerencia,[36] all of which were north of the Tajo and thus out of the offensive line against the Almohads.

Modern biographers have favoured a birthdate for Rodrigo around 1170.[37] Rodrigo possessed a noble background on both sides of his family and could have expected from his youth to play a prominent role in the affairs of the peninsula. Throughout his career he maintained close ties to his family and acted as their patron. His father was the Navarrese noble Jimeno Pérez de Rada,[38] and his mother was Eva de Hinojosa, member of a noble Castilian family whose lands lay close to the border with Navarre. Rodrigo's first position was bishop of Osma. The previous incumbent died in 1207, and Rodrigo's name appears in 1208 as a signatory to royal charters as elect to the see of Osma.[39] He did not keep this preferment long enough to be consecrated because Archbishop Martín of Toledo died on 28 August 1208,[40] and Rodrigo was named as his successor. On 12 December 1208, Rodrigo was still associated with Osma,[41] but on 5 January 1209, he appears for the first time as elect to the see of Toledo.[42] The letter from Innocent III confirming Rodrigo's election as archbishop is dated 27 February 1209.[43]

Soon after he was named archbishop, Rodrigo began to acquire

35. Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III*, Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Registros 1 (Rome, 1955), nos. 127, 422. Alfonso VIII gave Toledo various rights and financial privileges during this period, but he did not extend its holdings either in land or in rights over churches: González, *Alfonso VIII*, 1: 404, 405; 2: nos. 649, 703, 750, 788, 792, 793.

36. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 5.

37. Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo*, p. 19; Estella Zalaya, *El fundador*, p. 5. He should have reached the canonical age of thirty before his appointment as bishop of Osma in 1208.

38. Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo*, p. 9.

39. "Diego Oxomensis episcopus" last appears in a document of 30 November 1207 in González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 815. "Rodericus Oxomensis electus" first appears on 23 September 1208 in González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 824.

40. *Anales Toledanos I*, p. 394.

41. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 828.

42. "Rodericus Toletane sedis electus Ispaniarum primas," González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 834. Nevertheless, Rodrigo continues to appear as the bishop of Osma in three documents dated after January 5: on January 24, March 4, and March 13, all in 1209. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: nos. 835, 838, 839. This should caution us against taking these subscriptions too literally in determining the dates of a given person's tenure of an ecclesiastical office.

43. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 398.

territory on the frontier, beginning the southward expansion of his archdiocese. Although, as with his military activity, he followed the precedent of previous archbishops of Toledo, he expanded the see in unprecedented directions.[44] Previously, most of the cathedral's holdings, both in castles and in income-bearing properties and rights, had been located in the relatively more secure area north of the Tajo. Christian-held property in the frontier region south of the Tajo was in the hands of private owners and the military orders. Through strategic purchases and receipt of gifts, Rodrigo quickly became a player in this area.

In April and May 1211, he used the canon Juan de Setfila to purchase land from the Mozarabic inhabitants of Ciervalonga, Villamuelas, and Ilaica,[45] all three south of the Tajo and southwest of Toledo, near the Algodor River. The documents recording these transactions are all in Arabic, the language still used by the Mozarabs. Juan de Setfila knew Arabic, and this should remind us that, in Spain, translation had economic as well as scientific utility.[46] The following year, another agent, Esteban, purchased land in Villaseca, in the same region, for Rodrigo.[47] We have no way of knowing what the condition of these lands was nor why they were being sold, although in the aftermath of the raids of the 1190s it is tempting to think that individual Christian settlers were giving up on these exposed regions. A couple of purchases indicate that the ancestors of the current owners had initially received the properties as direct grants from Alfonso VII (1126–57).[48] Three of the vendors were widows, and another was a woman whose marital status is not given.[49] There is no reason, however, to believe that financial necessity was driving the sales. Two of the widows, Doña Ceti and Doña Loba, were connected to the wealthy, Mozarabic al-Polichení family.[50] Still, as widows, they might have wanted to dispose of property they found

44. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 61.

45. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 92. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo,* 2: nos. 386–90.

46. Francisco J. Hernández, review of *Historia de rebus hispaniae siue Historia Gothica,* ed. Juan Fernández Valverde, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990): 104; idem, "Language and Cultural Identity: The Mozarabs of Toledo," *Boletín Burriel* 1 (1989): 40.

47. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 92. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo,* 2: no. 393.

48. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo,* 2: nos. 389A, 393.

49. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo,* 2: nos. 387; 389A, B, D; 390.

50. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo,* 2: nos. 387, 390. On the al-Polichení family, Paulina López Pita, "Contribución al estudio de la familia mozárabe de los Polichení," *al-Qanṭara* 1 (1980): 429–34, and MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages,* p. 45.

difficult to defend. Rodrigo himself had good reason to hope that he could defend the above areas. Around the time of his purchases in the region, he also acquired Bogas, a castle strategically located to protect these properties from attack from the south.[51] The need to defend this region from the Muslims might have been only one consideration that led to the acquisition of these properties, however. Expanding Toledo's holdings to the southeast also created a bulwark against the Order of Santiago centered at Uclés. Bogas had originally been granted to the Orders of Calatrava and Santiago in 1189.[52] It is not known how, why, or when they lost control over it, but Rodrigo's acquisition of the castle served notice to the orders, as well as to the Almohads, that he intended to be a presence on the frontier (fig. 2).

The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa

Gaining land through purchase was the slow way to increase territory, however. The quick way was to receive land by royal grant, and the king most frequently awarded land to those who actively served his military campaigns. Although they had engaged in some military activity, previous archbishops of Toledo had largely allowed this role to fall to the military orders, who were thus able to follow up their military conquests by settling the newly conquered regions. To regain Alfonso VIII's attention so that he could be awarded new possessions for himself, Rodrigo had to recapture some of the initiative along the frontier lost to the orders. He began by participating in an initiative to make a concerted strike against the Almohads that ended with his becoming what Peter Linehan has called "the principal impresario of Las Navas [de Tolosa]".[53]

Credit for beginning the process that led to the victory at Las Navas

---

51. A charter issued in November 1211 by Rodrigo indicates that some time earlier he had purchased the castle of Bogas with his own money from the noble Gonzalo de Mesa. He donated it to the cathedral chapter to pay for an anniversary mass for himself but then had second thoughts, and reckoning that Bogas would not be useful for the chapter, he offered it instead the half share he held in the hamlet of Mazaraveda, a hamlet on the Guadarrama River. Mazaraveda had been donated in its entirety to the archbishop and chapter in 1143 by Sancha, sister of Alfonso VII. Francisco J. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo* (Madrid, 1985), nos. 46, 323.

52. de Ayala Martínez, "Las órdenes militares," p. 57; José Luís Martín Rodríguez, *Orígenes de la Orden Militar de Santiago* (Barcelona, 1974), no. 255.

53. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 297.

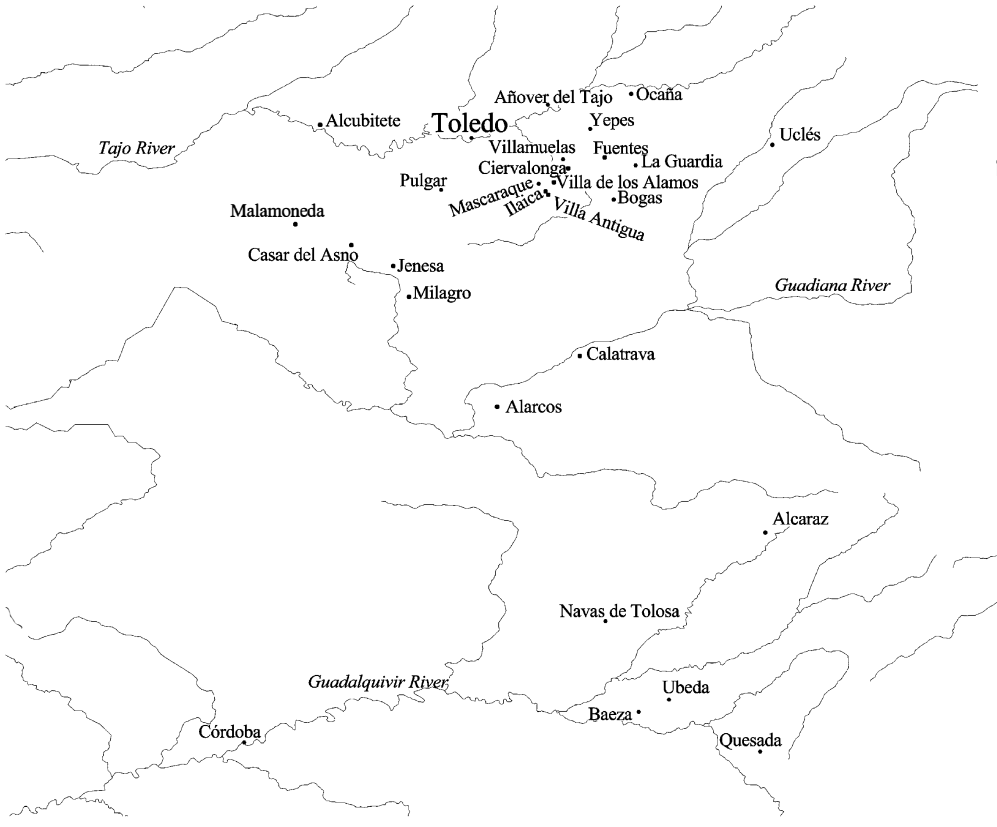


Fig. 2. Map of Central Iberia, 1212

has traditionally been given to Alfonso VIII, who, it is argued, ordered Rodrigo to recruit combatants for the battle and pressed Innocent III for support.[54] Indeed, it would have been impossible for the battle to have taken place without the support of the Castilian king. But Peter Linehan has showed that good reasons exist for thinking Alfonso VIII less than zealous at the outset.[55] Moreover, the campaign was very different in scale from previous ones within the peninsula. Before, during, and after the battle, the campaign was characterized as a crusade, not only by the papacy but also within the peninsula itself, and thus was depicted as part of a broader trans-European effort to expand and protect Christendom.

54. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain,* p. 124. Compare González, *Alfonso VIII,* 1: 385, and José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España* (Vitoria, 1958), p. 113. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages,* p. 33–34, gives equal credit for the organization of the battle to Alfonso VIII, Rodrigo, and Innocent III but still regards the original idea as belonging to the king.

55. Linehan, *History and the Historians,* pp. 318–21.

Likewise, the recruitment net was cast more broadly than ever before. Rodrigo played a central role in both framing the upcoming expedition against the Almohads as part of a wider struggle against non-Christians and then, after the fact, describing the victory as a crusade won with God's aid.

Planning and Preparations

French crusaders had been turning up for decades to assist in Christian Spain's battles with the Muslims, but there is little evidence that the Spanish fighting alongside them thought of themselves as crusaders.[56] The status of a crusader was a personal, juridical status acquired through the making of a vow. It was thus entirely possible for crusaders to fight beside noncrusaders. Richard Fletcher finds initial, tentative attempts by local bishops to import notions of crusade into battles against Muslims beginning in the 1120s. He dates the emergence of a full-fledged understanding of a Christian reconquest of Muslim Spain to a treaty of 1150 in which Alfonso VII of Castile (1122–54) and Ramon Berenguer IV of Aragon (1131–62) shared between themselves large portions of Muslim Spain.[57] This document suggests to me, however, more concern about competition between Christians than either a religiously or politically motivated drive to recapture all the lands lost in 711.

Peter Linehan argues that the shift in the self-understanding of the Castilians about their place in Christian Europe came even later, during the 1180s. Around this time, Alfonso VIII began to depict himself as the defender of Christendom and the Christian religion, not just of Spain and its Christians. Linehan writes about this shift whose culmination he sees in the victory at Las Navas, "What was new was Castile's sense of responsibility for the wider world, the wider world's greater awareness of Castilian affairs, and the anxiety of contemporary observers who though otherwise indifferent to Castile's fortunes were painfully aware of Christendom's parlous state after recent reverses in the kingdom of Jerusalem."[58] Linehan perceives this initial transformation as stemming

56. On Spanish and French "crusaders" at Barbastro in 1064, see Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 72–81. For French contributions in this arena during the Second Crusade, see Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio* 9 (1953): 221–22, 226–35.

57. Fletcher, "Reconquest and Crusade," pp. 40–47.

58. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 294–95.

from the king himself, but others contributed to Castile's new role. Rodrigo was a student in Paris in 1201 while Fulk of Neuilly and others were successfuly preaching the Fourth Crusade in the area.[59] He would have seen how they were able to use the idea of a crusade to motivate vast numbers to take up the cross or to contribute funds. I argue here that it was Rodrigo's idea to make Las Navas an international crusade and to urge the Spanish participants to make the unusual move of thinking of themselves as crusaders while acting in the peninsula.[60]

Popes had a tradition of inciting the Christian kings of Spain to make peace amongst themselves and war against the Muslims. Celestine III sent a bull to the archbishop of Toledo and his suffragans on 25 April 1191, urging them to persuade the Christian kings to make a truce for ten years so that they could fight the Muslims. When this proved ineffectual, Celestine sent Cardinal Gregorio de Sant'Angelo as papal legate early in 1192, probably following a request made by Archbishop Martín, who was in Rome to be consecrated in April 1191.[61] In turn, Innocent III asked another legate to make peace between the kings in 1198. In 1204, Innocent refused to send a legate to Aragon because he felt the possibility of harmony among the Christian kings was unlikely, although he did urge Pedro II of Aragon to fight the Muslims.[62] Innocent III seems to have given up at this time on the possibility of achieving the Christian unity he knew was essential for a major strike against the Almohads.

It was probably no coincidence, therefore, that Innocent III's first letter in six years urging peace between Christian kings came in February 1210 while Rodrigo, accompanied by his cathedral dean and several

59. Fulk began preaching the crusade in 1198 and continued until his death in 1202: Milton R. Gutsch, "A Twelfth-Century Preacher: Fulk of Neuilly," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 202–5. But see Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusade to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 89–92, where she suggests that Fulk's successes have been exaggerated.

60. This is the import of what Lucas of Túy suggests: "Eo tempore Archipraesul Toletanus nomine Rodericus . . . tactus nimio cordis dolore intrinsecus tanquam catholicae fidei filius se non recusauit subdere laboribus et discriminibus pro defensione catholicae veritatis. Etenim fultus auctoritate domini Papae Innocentiae Gallias adiit." *Chronicon mundi*, p. 110.

61. Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1966–76), 1: 228–29.

62. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 1: 382–84. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, pp. 121–22. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 295.

canons, was in Rome to be consecrated. The pope wrote to Rodrigo and his suffragans, informing them that Pedro II had agreed to fight the Saracens and that they should urge Alfonso VIII to do the same, or at least prevent him from hindering his subjects from fighting. Innocent also promised remission of sins to Castilians who helped the king of Aragon.[63] I argue that this letter was sent at Rodrigo's request, not on Innocent's own initiative. This was certainly the case for the other letters of privilege Rodrigo obtained from the pope at this time, including the most prized one, a confirmation of the primacy of Toledo over all Spain and of the holdings of the see.[64]

The pope's letter urging peace had no effect, and this also indicates that it was not sent on the king's initiative. But by December of 1210, an ally to the cause of war against the Almohads did surface within the royal family. Innocent wrote to all the archbishops and bishops of Spain to tell them that the Infante Fernando, eldest son of Alfonso VIII, had expressed to the pope his intention to fight the Muslims and had asked for his support. Innocent asked the prelates of Spain to promote peace between the Christian rulers of Spain and promised indulgences to them and to all their subjects who fought the Muslims. He promised the same indulgence to participants from outside Spain who joined the Christian kings. He calls these foreign participants pilgrims, "peregrini."[65] This letter links pilgrimage, the indulgence, and fighting the enemies of Christendom and thus shows that he conceived of the campaign as a crusade.

On 22 February 1211, Innocent wrote directly to Alfonso VIII. Alfonso had sent Adam, bishop of Palencia, to Rome, presumably to discuss the forthcoming crusade but also to petition for a papal legate. Innocent refused this request, but he consoled Alfonso by telling him that, to encourage the desire of the king and his son to battle the

63. Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo,* p. 61; Mansilla, *Inocencio III,* no. 416.

64. On 28 February, the pope agreed to appoint judges to arbitrate a dispute over revenues between Toledo and the church of Talavera. Rodrigo obtained the services of the pope's chaplain, Andrés de Gabiniano, to serve as proctor for Toledo in the curia in exchange for giving him a canonry in the cathedral on 1 March 1210. Three days later came the confirmation of Toledo's primacy. Mansilla, *Inocencio III,* nos. 419–22; González, *Alfonso VIII,* 1: 418.

65. "Nos igitur . . . mandamus . . . monentes ex parte Dei et nostra subditos vestros, et in remissionem eis iniungentes omnium peccaminum [*sic*], quatinus tam prefato primogenito regis castelle quam aliis regibus et principibus vestris ad hoc opus salubriter intendentes necessarium impendant auxilium . . . pari quoque remissione gaudere concedimus peregrinos, qui propter devotione undecumque processerint ad idem opum fideliter exequendum." Mansilla, *Inocencio III,* no. 442.

Muslims, he had written to the archbishop of Toledo and the bishops of Coimbra, Tarazona, and Zamora, ordering them to excommunicate any of the king of Castile's allies who attack him while he is fighting the Saracens.[66] Innocent also wrote to the Infante Fernando, telling him of the letter to his father and the protection given to them against treaty breakers.[67] The pope pressed the bishops in turn to adhere to the wishes of the infante by arranging the campaign and keeping peace among their kings.[68]

The Muslims beseiged Salvatierra, the seat of the Order of Calatrava, in June of 1211. The castle surrendered by September, adding further urgency to the Christian position.[69] Alfonso issued an edict that the inhabitants of the realm should prepare themselves for battle the following year. Years later, in his *De rebus Hispanie,* Rodrigo writes that this edict forbade knights and foot soldiers from garbing themselves in fancy ornaments. As Rodrigo describes it, the edict evokes calls to crusade from the time of the Second Crusade.[70] It may have been at this time that Alfonso VIII decided to send messengers throughout Europe to explain the dangers Spain was facing and to urge participation in the crusade.[71]

While this royal edict has not survived, there is, however, a very interesting call to battle put out by Rodrigo himself, hitherto unnoticed by scholars.[72] It too characterizes the upcoming expedition as a crusade. The document is undated, but internal evidence suggests it was issued between June and October 1211. In it, Rodrigo describes the multitude of Muslims that had recently crossed the sea into Spain to conquer the

66. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 447.

67. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 448.

68. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 446.

69. *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxxv, p. 257.

70. "Fecitque edictum per omnes prouincias regni sui, ut milites et pedites, relictis superfluis uestium et aurifigii et ornatus cuiuslibet que ad rem non pertinent, armis utilibus se munirent, et qui prius in superfluis displicebant, nunc in necessariis et utilibus Altissimo complacerent." *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxxvi, p. 258. Compare Bernard of Clairvaux's command to crusaders from Bohemia in 1147: "Illud quoque statutum est ne quis aut variis aut grisiis, seu etiam sericis utatur vestibus; sed neque in equorum faleris auri vel argenti quidpiam apponatur, tantum in scutis et ligno sellarum, quibus utentur; cum ad bella procedent aurum vel argentum apponi licebit his qui voluerint, ut refulgeat sol in eis et terrore dissipetur gentium fortitudo." *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome, 1977), 8: 433.

71. Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo*, p. 73.

72. ACT I.6.G.1.13. See the appendix for an edition and translation of this document.

Christian people.[73] This Muslim incursion was no doubt the force led by the Almohad caliph al-Nāṣir, which had arrived in Sevilla by early June 1211 to besiege Salvatierra.[74] The letter must have been issued before the congregation of the troops in Toledo in May [Pentecost] 1212, before Las Navas. Since the letter does not mention the death of the Infante Fernando, which occurred in early October 1211, it may have been issued before the death of the prince and before Rodrigo's own preaching tour through France and Provence, which followed shortly after the prince's death.

Although medieval and modern historiography describes the expedition of Las Navas de Tolosa as primarily Castilian in conception and execution, Rodrigo's letter makes no mention of Castile or its king, Alfonso VIII. The letter was explicitly directed to all the Christian faithful, although its content suggests that it was destined only for the residents of the Iberian peninsula. Rodrigo refers throughout to the particular threat against Spain itself, and thus he is able to characterize the upcoming battle in defensive terms. It is Rodrigo himself who is front and centre in this letter. He calls himself "ispaniarum primas," primate of the Spains, the status he had recently induced Innocent III to confirm and that was disputed by the other archbishops of the peninsula—Braga, Compostela, and Tarragona. He states that he acts under the authority of the pope and with his cobishops, whom he lists. He names the bishops of Osma, Palencia, Burgos, Segovia, and Sigüenza from his own archdiocese but also the bishop of Ávila in the province of Compostela and the bishop of Calahorra in the province of Tarragona. Recording bishops of sees owing loyalty to archbishops residing respectively in Leon and Aragon bolsters his claims to be acting as primate of all Spain.

Rodrigo frames the expedition in terms of a cosmic struggle between good and evil. He asks his hearers to come to the defence of the Church of God against the enemies of the Cross. Death should not frighten them since they will have to undergo that peril sometime anyway and better it should happen to their gain. He outlines this gain: "We add for the greater assurance of your hope that whosoever goes on this expedition,

73. "Vobis omnibus notum esse credimus resur<exisse> multitudinem sarracenorum huc cura mare in ispaniam iam nuper transmeasse et ad conterendam christianam gentem unanimiter conspirasse." ACT I.6.G.1.13.

74. Hugh Kennedy, *Mulsim Spain and Portugal* (London, 1996), p. 254; Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista* (Madrid, 1956), p. 232.

if first he has been truly penitent for his sins, by the authority of Almighty God and the Lord Pope and our own authority and that of our venerable brother cobishops . . . let him not doubt that he has made as much absolution for all of his sins as one who goes to Jerusalem possesses." This is a strong and explicit statement that the Spanish should think of themselves as crusaders. Rodrigo even forbids arms-bearing residents of the peninsula from going to Jerusalem because of the threat to Spain. In none of the letters of Innocent III offering indulgences for the campaign in Spain can a similar reference to the Holy Land be found. It does bear a resemblance to the way Pope Calixtus II equated fighting in Spain and fighting for the Eastern Church in 1123.[75]

Disaster seemed to strike the plans for crusade when the Infante Fernando, the prime mover behind the effort according to papal letters, died in October 1211 in Toledo. He was buried by Rodrigo in the royal monastery of Las Huelgas at Burgos. Instead of collapsing, however, the crusade took on new life, and this suggests that the infante was not the central figure he was portrayed to have been. Alfonso VIII set aside his grief almost immediately to lead an expedition down the Júcar valley, where he took several castles.[76] Likewise, shortly after the infante's burial, Rodrigo himself set out on a preaching tour outside the peninsula to encourage participation.[77] These two facts reinforce the impression that Fernando's zeal for battle may have been more a device for encouraging recruitment than the real impetus behind the new offensive.[78]

The first stop on Rodrigo's recruitment journey was the kingdom of France, where Blanche of Castile, the daughter of Alfonso VIII, was the daughter-in-law of King Philip Augustus. Despite these royal connections, Rodrigo did not garner much success. Lucas of Túy describes Rodrigo's mission in terms of a typical preaching tour to foster a crusade: "Supported by the authority of the Lord Pope Innocent, [Rodrigo] went to France, assiduously preaching the word of God and persuading the people to come to the defence of the faith, giving them remission of all their sins and strengthening them with the sign of the cross."[79] Rodrigo

75. *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II*, ed. Ulysse Robert, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891) 2: 454.

76. *De rebus Hispanie* VII.xxxvi, p. 258. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, p. 142.

77. *Crónica latina*, p. 34.

78. The following shows how the *Crónica latina*, pp. 62–63, evokes the image of an ardent son petitioning a royal parent to explain Fernando III's offensive against the Muslims in 1224.

79. Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon mundi*, p. 110.

preached the crusade with more success in Provence, while Alfonso VIII's personal physician recruited in English-held Poitiers and Gascony.

Rodrigo's efforts in France were buttressed by letters from Innocent to the French prelates. The two worked in concert to make the campaign international in scope. On 31 January 1212, Innocent wrote to the Archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, allowing them to offer the same indulgences to pilgrims and warriors from France who would go to Spain as those granted to inhabitants of the peninsula.[80] On 4 February 1212, he wrote to Alfonso VIII to console him on the loss of his son. Innocent informed the king that he had written to the bishops and archbishops of France and Provence to urge their subjects to join Alfonso's army on the octave of Pentecost that year. He advised Alfonso to secure any truces he could before Pentecost.[81] Innocent also offered spiritual aid for the upcoming battle. He asked the clergy and people of Rome to assemble on 16 May—women before St. Mary Major, clerics at the basilica of the Twelve Apostles, and men at St. Anastasia—to join in a general procession to the Lateran for the peace of the Universal Church, and especially for the success of the war between the Christians and Saracens in Spain.[82]

At some point during this period, Alfonso granted Rodrigo the village of La Guardia for the repose of the souls of the members of the royal family, especially that of the recently deceased infante.[83] La Guardia was an important settlement, surrounded by a wall and provided with a citadel. It bordered Rodrigo's recent acquisitions at Bogas, Villamuelas, and Ciervalonga. The *fuero,* or legal charter, Rodrigo granted La Guardia in December 1213 stipulated that the village was to be divided between six hundred inhabitants who were not expected to pay taxes to Rodrigo for four years from the date of the agreement.[84] Such a provision was intended to encourage settlement in the region. This grant by the king

80. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 468.

81. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 470.

82. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 473.

83. The text of the grant survives only within a later confirmation by Fernando III and is therefore undated: José Antonio García Luján, *Privilegios reales de la Catedral de Toledo (1086–1462)*, 2 vols. (Granada, 1982), 2: no. 54. The gift must have been made between 14 October 1211, when the Infante died, and 1 December 1213, when Rodrigo gave the town a *fuero:* Fidel Fita, "La Guardia, villa de partido de Lillo," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 11 (1887): 377. Unlike Alfonso's grants to Rodrigo after Las Navas, the text of this bequest does not mention the victory, so I surmise that it was made before July 1212.

84. Fita, "La Guardia," pp. 378–79.

was the first significant royal gift of property to the see of Toledo in many years, and it was both a pious bequest and an initial reward for Rodrigo's efforts to promote the crusade. His bid to catch the king's attention was working.

On 5 April 1212, Innocent wrote to Rodrigo and the Archbishop of Compostela, urging them once again without success to seek treaties between Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso IX of Leon. He reminded them that Christians were forbidden from aiding the Muslims in any way, on threat of excommunication, and he expressed worries about Alfonso IX's intentions. These worries were entirely reasonable given the Leonese king's aid to the Almohads at the time of the battle of Alarcos. Innocent asked the archbishops to tell the kings to defer their disputes with one another to a later time when they could send proctors to Rome to argue their cases before him.[85] This letter was duly forwarded by the prelates to Alfonso IX, but without success.[86]

The Battle in History and Historiography

The efforts of the archbishop, pope, and Castilian king did bear fruit, even though the king of Leon remained aloof. In the spring of 1212, Toledo filled with crusaders. Our understanding of the events of the battle that followed are mediated through the representations of it by contemporaries who wrote historical narratives describing it. While these accounts are essential, we must not overlook the fact that these narratives embody particular readings of past events and are influenced by both the wise hindsight and personal perspectives and aims of the individual authors. For example, the two narratives recounting the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa that I discuss here, Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie* and the *Crónica latina,* take care to play up crusading imagery in their accounts. We must consider to what extent these crusade images were really part of the general experience of the combatants.

When years later in the *De rebus Hispanie* Rodrigo portrays the campaign of Las Navas as a successful crusade, he is particularly attuned to the symbolism of the cross as the insignia that defined a crusader. Rodrigo describes the vast influx of people coming to Toledo from all over to join in the battle. "Day by day," he writes, "the number

85. Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 471.
86. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 328.

of those carrying the stigmata of Christ on their bodies increased."[87] His emphasis on the journey these people made to end up in Toledo in order to take part in the campaign reinforced the notion of a crusade as an armed pilgrimage. The preparations Rodrigo describes the army taking the night before the battle were also typical of a crusading host. In the middle of the night, the soldiers praised God, made their confession—essential for receiving the promised indulgence—received the sacrament, took up arms "for the Lord's war," and proceeded to the field of battle.[88] The *Crónica latina,* which shares Rodrigo's evocation of the contest as a crusade, adds that they also armed themselves with the cross, the insignia of the crusader.[89]

Crosses would play a part in the battle itself. The archbishop relates that he had a crucifix carried before him into battle by Domingo Pascual, a canon of the cathedral. The canon and the crucifix, both unhurt, "miraculously" crossed right through the battle lines of the Muslims and remained there until the end of the fight.[90] The canon is attested to in the Toledan cartularies.[91] Rodrigo alludes to the power of the cross again in his commendation of the Christian victory when he praises the nobility and greatness of the Castilians who "changed the reproaches against the Cross into glory."[92] The *Crónica latina* is just as explicit. Las Navas de Tolosa purged the loss suffered at Alarcos through the power of Jesus Christ and the holy cross.[93]

Despite his special praise for the conduct of the Castilians at Las Navas, Rodrigo is careful in his narrative to frame the battle as a contest of all Spain. At the outset of his account, Rodrigo lists all the participants from Spain who gathered in Toledo—magnates and lesser folk from Aragon, prelates and magnates from Castile, as well as the Order of Calatrava, the Templars, and the Hospitallers. This emphasizes the broad peninsular support for the campaign. He characterizes their motives, "Many of the Christian faith, moved by the compassion and zeal of diverse vows and professions and distinguished by the sign of the holy cross, gathered in [Toledo]."[94] This depiction of the motives of the Span-

87. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.i, lines 25–27, p. 259.
88. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.viiii, lines 2–7, p. 270.
89. *Crónica latina,* p. 32.
90. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.x, lines 30–34, p. 273.
91. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo,* no. 372 and possibly no. 439.
92. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xi, lines 15–16, p. 274.
93. *Crónica latina,* p. 32.
94. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.iii, pp. 261–62.

ish participants shows that Rodrigo considered combatants from within the peninsula to be crusaders and that he wishes his readers to understand that those at Las Navas regarded their position in that light—crusading in Spain was no longer something that only outsiders did.

Pedro II of Aragon joined Alfonso VIII while the host was still in Toledo. After the army moved south to Alarcos, recapturing Calatrava and bidding farewell to the bulk of the fighters from beyond the Pyrenees on the way, the two kings were joined by a third, Sancho VII of Navarre. "And so the three-fold kings set out in the name of the holy Trinity," Rodrigo writes, making much of both the unified divine purpose of the three sovereigns and of their plurality.[95] The three kings are described as acting in concert throughout the account—together they ascended the mountain to occupy the castle of Ferral; together they followed the path indicated by the mysterious shepherd who showed them the way; and the caliph swore in letters to Baeza and Jaén that he would capture the three kings in three days.[96] During the battle, each king took charge of a wing, with Pedro on the right, Sancho on the left, and Alfonso in the centre at the rear guard.[97] Alfonso VIII is clearly the first among equals in Rodrigo's account, just as the Castilians are the bravest warriors, but for Rodrigo, this campaign was not about Castile alone; it was about *Hispania* as a whole, the "Spains" over which he had jurisdiction as primate.

The campaign of Las Navas was not primarily about the conquest and resettlement of Muslim-held land for most of its participants, however. Rodrigo's own depiction of the battle as a crusade and our knowledge that a short three decades later, when Rodrigo was writing his account, the Christians had taken firm hold of the lands through which they marched on this campaign must not distract us from this fact. Rather, the offensive was designed to break the military strength of the Almohads. This is evident from Rodrigo's own description. He describes the booty taken from the Muslims—the gold and silver, the precious vestments and ornaments, the camels and other animals—but he notes that it was the Aragonese who got the greatest share and that he himself strictly forbade looting on pain of anathema.[98] The fortifications taken from the

95. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.vi, lines 66–67, p. 266.

96. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.vii, lines 37–41, p. 268; viii, lines 8–10, p. 269; lines 34–38, pp. 269–70.

97. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.viiii, pp. 270–71.

98. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xi, p. 275.

Christians in 1195 were recovered in 1212.[99] The Christian armies made few new long-term territorial gains, however. Rodrigo names four castles taken after the battle, "which, thanks to the grace of God, are held by the faithful to this day," but the Christians did not try to hold Baeza, which the army found emptied of inhabitants, and they raised the siege of Ubeda after being offered, so Rodrigo tells us, a million pieces of gold from the Muslims. Rodrigo leaves no doubt as to what he thought of this deal—he says the kings were driven to make it under pressure by the magnates but that he, with the archbishop of Narbonne and other prelates, forbade it. The greed of the magnates had caused God's favour to weaken, however, and the Christians, pressured by hunger and illness, were forced to retreat to Calatrava. The triumphant procession of Alfonso VIII with the prelates and clergy into the cathedral of Toledo is the final act of the battle described by Rodrigo.[100]

The Aftermath of Las Navas

Despite the great victory at Las Navas, it seems that little really changed in the first several years that followed it. Rodrigo kept expanding his holdings to the south in an atmosphere of continued military insecurity on the frontier and continued competition from the military orders. On a broader scale, we are hard put to see any wider ideology of either crusade or reconquest seizing the Christians. This is despite the fact that in their retrospective accounts Rodrigo, Lucas of Túy, and the *Crónica latina* relate little disharmony or disinclination for conquest within the peninsula, other than the recalcitrance of Alfonso IX. As shown, Rodrigo was instrumental in framing the campaign as a crusade of a united, Christian Spain, both in his drive to organize the campaign and in his efforts to construct impressions of it in his history.

Nevertheless, a letter that Rodrigo himself sent in the aftermath of the victory to the knighthood of Castile—"omnibus militibus tocius regni Castelle"—reveals the limited penetration of what might be called a reconquest ideology in the group supposed to embody it the most.[101] Like his recruitment letter discussed in the preceding, it too is undated but was probably written shortly after the victory at Las Navas since it alludes to

99. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.v–vi, pp. 264–66.
100. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xii, pp. 275–76.
101. ACT A.6.H.1.22a. See the appendix for an edition and translation of this letter.

that triumph. Writing to a Castilian audience, Rodrigo stresses Castile's role in its opening:

> Although all those who profess the Christian faith are bound to give praise and glory to the Lord God, because in the past war He deigned to visit his people and to give them victory over the enemies of the Christian name, nevertheless we especially who are from this kingdom ought to sing to Him and glorify and praise His name as blessed forever because the victory was in our land and it was especially our cause.

Rodrigo continues with the purpose of his letter:

> It has been related to us that some of you by yourselves and some with your lords and friends, deserting your people and your land, are trying to enter into an alliance with the Saracens so that, if you are able, you can fight and oppress the Christian people with them.

Rodrigo orders them to desist from these attempts and, as defenders of the Catholic faith and athletes of Christ, to place themselves "as a wall around the house of Israel" and to be prepared to die for the laws of their fathers, their people, and their land, "pro patriis legibus, et gente, et patria." He promises them that if they have any quarrels with the king, they may bring them up at court, and he will try to have them solved fairly. If they do not desist, however, they will be excommunicated.

The Castilians described here are a far cry from the noble and great figures whose valour at Las Navas Rodrigo will praise years later in his *De rebus Hispanie*. Although he does appeal to their desire to fight for God in this letter, Rodrigo believes that the best way to his hearers' hearts is to tap into their patriotic feeling for their land, laws, and people, rather than their religion. The allegiances of the Castilian knights are clearly local, and their own fortunes circumscribe their concerns. They were interested neither in crusade nor in conquest, but rather in prosecuting their claims against the king by whatever means necessary. Rodrigo is sincere in his efforts to make them see beyond their borders to a wider struggle between Christendom and its enemies, but he is also realistic in his assessment of their complaints and concerns.

The knights of Castile were not the only ones told by Rodrigo to give proper due to the instruments of God's will. In one of the few direct

speeches of his own recounted in his history, Rodrigo admonishes Alfonso VIII after the battle to be mindful that it was the grace of God and the help of the knights that brought him victory.[102] Alfonso took his words to heart, for charters detail gifts given to those magnates whose help was instrumental at Las Navas de Tolosa. Those who assisted the king in battle were rewarded by the king with lands and privileges. But the locations of the lands the magnates sought as rewards for their help show how little interested they were in expanding the boundaries of Christendom. Álvaro Núñez de Lara, commander of the royal armies (*alfarez*), received land in the heart of Old Castile, while Diego López de Haro, commander of the vanguard, was given land in the Basque region he already dominated.[103]

In sharp contrast, Rodrigo's own rewards were located deep in the frontier region. Rodrigo's first compensation for his help at Las Navas came in 1213, when the king showed his thanks to God by significantly enlarging and enriching the archdiocese of Toledo. In the spring of 1213, Rodrigo had accompanied Alfonso VIII on a campaign deep into the lands where they had fought the previous summer. Alfonso took the castles of Dueñas, which he restored to the Order of Calatrava, and Eznavexore, given to the Order of Santiago. He besieged the castle of Alcaraz and took it on Ascension Day. Rodrigo and the clergy processed in triumph to celebrate Mass in the former mosque of Alcaraz, now consecrated as the church of St. Ignatius.[104] Back in Burgos on 19 August 1213, Alfonso VIII rewarded Rodrigo by giving him rights to all the churches in the region of Alcaraz and Eznavexore as well as a tenth of all regalian dues in the area, saving the rights of the Order of Santiago in the latter region. The king's gift covered both the areas recently conquered and sections remaining to be taken from the Saracens.[105] This grant covered a large region, bounded by the passes of Muradal, Borialamel, and the Calatravan castles of Salvatierra and Dueñas. The

102. "Estote memor gracie Dei, que omnes deffectus in uobis suppleuit et oprobrium aliquandiu toleratum hodie releuauit. Estote etiam memor uestrorum militum, quorum auxilio ad tantam gloriam pervenistis." *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.x, lines 49–52, p. 273. Innocent III (26 October 1212) also reminded Alfonso the victory was due to God alone: Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 488.

103. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: nos. 899 and 901.

104. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xiii, p. 277.

105. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 910. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 72. The donation was confirmed by Innocent III in November of that year: Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 651.

long opening address of the grant states that it was made to thank the Virgin Mary, patron of Toledo, for the victory of the holy cross at Las Navas de Tolosa. It was clearly more than a pious bequest, however. Rodrigo was given these important financial resources in an area still only partially conquered, well to the south of Toledo and far from the heartland of the properties of the archdiocese. The archbishop had indirect responsibility for settling this frontier region through the provision of parish churches and the services they could offer to Christians attracted to the area. Alfonso VIII's grant was both a vote of confidence in Rodrigo and a financial incentive for Rodrigo to maintain his interest and efforts in this region.

Three days after this substantial grant, on 22 August 1213, in a donation that also evoked the memory of Las Navas, Alfonso granted Rodrigo rights to the death duties of the inhabitants of Yepes and Fuentes, two villages located in the general area of La Guardia and near the other properties Rodrigo accumulated before the battle of 1212.[106] In April 1213, Rodrigo had begun a systematic program of acquisition in Yepes and Fuentes through purchases and donations using a variety of agents including Domingo Pascual, the canon who carried the cross through Muslim lines in 1212. He continued amassing property in this area through November 1215. The sellers and donors were for the most part prominent people, related to various town officials of Toledo and to the al-Polichení family.[107] Rodrigo secured his acquisitions in this region by building a fortress at Yepes some time before 1215 and by granting the town a *fuero* in 1223. This *fuero* contained a provision exempting the town's inhabitants from taxation for three years, suggesting Rodrigo was interested in attracting settlers to the region.[108]

His efforts in this area were not directed solely toward creating a bulwark against the Muslims. He was also strengthening Toledo's presence in an area dominated by the Order of Santiago, which held the nearby town of Ocaña.[109] This was not the only place where Rodrigo's

106. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 911.

107. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo*, 2: nos. 407, 408, 420, 424 are purchases; 3: nos. 748, 749, 750, 753 are donations.

108. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 53.

109. An official division of the region between Ocaña and Yepes was made in 1215, and this division was contested by the citizens of Ocaña and their masters in the order: Michel Terrasse, "Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada et la fortification tolèdane aux lendemains de las Navas de Tolosa," *al-Andalus* 42 (1977): 230–32. A new division was made in 1219, and this one endured: Lomax, "Jiménez de Rada y la órden de Santiago," pp. 328–29.

territorial expansion brought him into competition with the military orders. As discussed, Rodrigo's acquisition of the castle of Bogas protected his lands from the Order of Santiago. Likewise, Alfonso VIII's grant of churches and dues in Alcaraz and Eznavexore, also discussed in the preceding, brought Rodrigo head to head with the powerful orders of Calatrava, Santiago, and the Hospitallers. For the rest of his career, he was preoccupied with ongoing disputes and appeals to Rome against these three orders concerning rights to dues and lands.[110] This real-life history of conflict and competition with the military orders contrasts with the image he presents in his *De rebus Hispanie* of them all gathering together in harmony to defeat the Muslims at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa.[111]

Despite the successes of Alfonso VIII, the Castilians remembered the reverses of earlier days and did not count on continued triumph. A means of defending the roads and passes that led to the city was crucial for protecting Toledo and its hinterland from Muslim attacks of the type that ravaged the area in the aftermath of Alarcos. The danger was very real, and the sense of vulnerability was exacerbated by a famine throughout the region in the winter of 1213–14. The Castilians were forced to end the siege of Baeza, begun in late autumn of 1213, due to the lack of food. They retreated to Calatrava before abandoning the region entirely by 6 January 1214. Rodrigo, however, recounts that he spent all the money he could find to purchase food for the order, lest its castles be emptied of inhabitants because of the shortages, and that he elected to remain in the region. He ascribes to God's intervention that he was able to support those guarding the frontier until the next harvest could come in so that they were not compelled by hunger to eat meat during Lent.[112]

At this time, Rodrigo began building the castle later known as Milagro and populating the region around it with settlers. The castle guarded the pass of Alhober on the road between Córdoba and Toledo used by the Muslims to harry the Christians in the north.[113] The construction of the castle was seriously impeded by rains and subsequent flooding. Rodrigo left the knights and other soldiers behind to protect the

110. For the penetration of the orders into La Mancha in this period, see the map in de Ayala Martínez, "Las órdenes militares," p. 104.

111. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.iii, p. 262.

112. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xiiii, pp. 278–79.

113. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 74–75; Félix Hernández Jiménez, "El camino de Córdoba a Toledo en la época musulmana," *al-Andalus* 24 (1959): 9–12.

settlers and made his way to Toledo to celebrate Palm Sunday. There, he led a procession and preached charity for those suffering from the famine. His words got such a response, he writes, that no one in Toledo remained in need. On the same day this largesse was distributed, seven hundred Muslim knights and fourteen hundred foot soldiers attacked Milagro. A message to Toledo brought reinforcements, and this saved the day for the Christians. Alfonso VIII rewarded Rodrigo for his efforts on 21 July 1214 with the grant of a group of villages near Alcalá de Henares. Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie* connects the grant to the successful defence of Milagro, but the document itself states that Alfonso was restoring villages once taken from Toledo in exchange for the town of Talamanca. The document required Toledo to restore Talamanca to the king.[114]

Alfonso died two months later, leaving an eleven-year-old son and a fight over who would be the real power behind the throne. The young king, Enrique I, was initially under the care of Rodrigo and Enrique's powerful older sister, Berenguela of Castile, estranged wife of Alfonso IX. The archbishop was rewarded greatly for the help he gave to secure Enrique's throne. He was granted Talamanca itself outright on 5 November 1214, and on subsequent days he received confirmation of the boundaries of his new settlement centred at Milagro and was granted the village of Pulgar, directly north of Milagro on the road leading from Córdoba to Toledo.[115] Rodrigo thus received responsibility for the defence and settlement of a large square of territory, some sixty miles on all sides, located about thirty miles south of Toledo, extending from the mountains south of the Tajo basin all the way to the Guadiana River and bounded by the Toledo-Calatrava road on the east and the Estena River on the west. The region was one of enormous strategic importance since it protected the major passes and roads leading from al-Andalus to the city of Toledo.[116]

Rodrigo continued to profit from his position in the court of Enrique I. He received a village called Cadreita and a tower and other properties in Alcaraz in one document, and another granted him the castle of Zuheruela as well as mills and a vineyard in the region of Alarcos, whose castle was the property of the Order of Calatrava. Each document states explicitly that the grant was made in return for Rodrigo's

114. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xiiii, p. 279. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 926.

115. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: nos. 964, 965, 966, 975.

116. This is clear from the map of the area between Córdoba and Toledo following p. 32 of Hernández Jiménez, "El camino de Córdoba a Toledo."

military aid to Alfonso VIII, in the former case for his assistance in taking Alcaraz and in the latter for the recapture of Alarcos and for Las Navas de Tolosa, and each includes a grant of land on which the archbishop is to build a palace.[117] Enrique also confirmed the testamentary dispositions of his father made in Rodrigo's favour.[118] Control over the young king passed from his sister and Rodrigo to Álvaro Núñez de Lara and his brother, Fernando, by early 1215, however, and the large grants of territory to Rodrigo abruptly ceased, but even under the change of regime Rodrigo was granted the right to hold an annual fair at the town of Brihuega.[119]

Conquest and Expansion in the Frontier under Fernando III—Stage Two

Upon Enrique I's accidental death in 1217, his older sister Berenguela renounced her superior claim to the throne in favour of Fernando III, her son by Alfonso IX. As shown in this section, Fernando would eventually spearhead a new assault against the Muslims, but in the early years of his reign, while he was still consolidating power, Rodrigo continued expanding the territory under his control on his own initiative.[120] Rodrigo acted with the support of Pope Honorius III, who was keen to have Rodrigo promote peace among the Christian kings and war against the Muslims of Spain. On 30 January 1218, Honorius told the archbishop of Tarragona and several of Rodrigo's suffragans that they were to obey the orders of Rodrigo, whom he had appointed papal legate to encourage the war against the Muslims in Spain.[121] On the same day, the pope urged Rodrigo to preserve peace between the Christian rulers of Spain in order to advance the offensive against the Muslims.[122] The following day he issued a comprehensive series of letters of privilege, many of which con-

117. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: nos. 967, 968. García Luján redates the second of these two to 8 November 1214 based on the original parchment, *Privilegios reales*, nos. 48, 49.

118. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 969.

119. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 987. *Crónica latina*, p. 47.

120. Fernando III made no new grants to Rodrigo during this time, but he did confirm many prior gifts to the archbishop. Julio González, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, 3 vols. (Córdoba, 1983), 2: nos. 34, 35, 40, 42, 43.

121. Demetrio Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III*, Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Registros 2 (Rome, 1965), no. 148.

122. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 149.

cerned his hoped-for crusade. He gave the archbishop permission to allocate benefices otherwise conferred by the papacy; he gave Rodrigo power to absolve laymen who had committed violence against the clergy, and clerics who had evaded payment of the twentieth (a tax on clergy to pay for the crusade); he instructed lay rulers of Spain to uphold the primacy of Toledo over Sevilla; he allowed Rodrigo to assign empty benefices in the lands of his suffragans; and he ordered Alfonso IX of Leon to obey Rodrigo in the war against the Muslims and in keeping peace among Christians.[123] This flurry of correspondence was a response to vehement petitioning by the archbishop of Toledo, who had spent the second half of 1217 in Rome.[124]

Peace was brokered between Alfonso IX and his son, Fernando III. Subsequently, Rodrigo set off on a campaign with members of the military orders and a small Gascon contingent. Flooding and bad weather caused them to retreat without success.[125] Undaunted, Honorius made further provisions for Rodrigo the following year. On 9 February 1219, the pope granted the archbishop half of the revenues of the twentieth in Toledo and Segovia to finance expeditions against the Muslims in Spain. These sums were originally intended for crusades to the Holy Land. Then, on 15 March, he allowed Rodrigo to enlist those who had vowed to go on crusade to fight Muslims in Spain instead. The next day, he granted Rodrigo a third of the Church's tithes in the province of Toledo for three years, again, for military efforts.[126] Blessed with better sources of funding, Rodrigo set out eastward, toward Valencia, in the manner of a latter-day El Cid. He took three castles, Santa Cruz, Serrella, and Mira, on the sierra overlooking the Valencian plain, although his siege of Requena, closer to the city, was a failure.[127] The eastward direction of this campaign suggests its goal was as much to check the expansion of Aragon as to take territory from the Muslims.

Rodrigo followed these conquests with settlement also. The capture of the three castles gave rise to a document in 1221 that has garnered great attention because it seems to reflect early evidence for the

123. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, nos. 151–55.

124. Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo*, pp. 178–79, 187.

125. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, p. 132.

126. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, nos. 207, 208, 210.

127. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 5. *Anales Toledanos I* is clear that this was a crusade: "El Arzobispo D. Rodrigo de Toledo fizo Cruzada, è ayunto entre peones è Caballeros mas de ducentas veces mil, è entró à tierra de Moros de part de Aragon dia de S. Matheus Evangelista, è prisó tres Castiellos, Sierra, è Serresuela, è Mira," p. 400.

penetration into Castile of the idea of holding lands in fief.[128] It describes the grant of the three castles, recently captured with the aid of crusaders, to Gil García de Azagra, his wife, and his successors as a perpetual fief ("in perpetuum feudum") in return for one mark of silver each year and for settling the region with inhabitants who could be taxed. García and his successors were bound to do homage and recognize the suzerainty of Rodrigo and his successors as archbishop ("hominium facio et dominium recognosco"). Rodrigo retained the right to make war against the Saracens from the castles and to be received in them when fleeing from royal anger. García was forbidden from making any treaty with the Saracens in prejudice of Rodrigo's interests. In return, he gave to Rodrigo the castles of Mora and Vallacroch in the same area, referred to as the frontier, "frontaria," or "marchia," which he received back from Rodrigo in fief, although without owing any money payment for them.[129] We may surmise that Gil García had accompanied Rodrigo on the campaign of 1219 and received Mora and Vallacroch at that time in payment for services rendered.

Who was Gil García de Azagra? The charter permits him and his successors to alienate any of the castles only to those in a direct line of descent from his relatives Miguel Muñoz de Hinojosa and Sancha de Fenestrell. These are Rodrigo's grandparents through his mother, Eva de Hinojosa,[130] and so, although their precise relationship to Gil García is not outlined, it is clear that he is connected to the archbishop through them. Azagra itself was very close to Cadreita, family seat of Rodrigo's father, Jimeno Pérez de Rada.

By keeping these castles in his own family, Rodrigo bound the fortunes of his family to the archbishopric of Toledo and its expanding frontier into the future. It was his common practice to involve his family in his property dealings. Several of the higher clergy of the cathedral were related to him, and he favoured them with property, to the point that the canons complained that he favoured his own family excessively in a broader appeal to Rome made in 1236 criticizing Rodrigo's manage-

128. Ramón Paz, "Un nuevo feudo castellano," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 5 (1928): 445–46; Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 7, 20–23, where she misdates the document to 1220, relying on the cartulary copy. Working from the original charter, Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo,* no. 398, revises the date to 30 November 1221.

129. Paz, "Un nuevo feudo," pp. 446–48. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 22–23.

130. Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo,* pp. 13–14.

ment of the temporalities of the see.[131] Rodrigo's castle of Milagro bears the name of a settlement at the confluence of the Ebro and Aragon Rivers, some seven kilometres from Cadreita.[132] The name Cadreita itself was given to a settlement near Alcaraz in the distant south granted to Rodrigo by Enrique I. Zuheruela, located between the Guadiana and Guadalquivir and likewise acquired by Rodrigo from Enrique I and then augmented by purchases from its inhabitants in the 1220s and 1230s, was renamed Hinojosa, after the seat of Rodrigo's mother's family.[133] The practice of naming new settlements in recently conquered areas after those in long-held regions is typical on an expanding frontier.[134]

Despite the successes of the campaign in 1219, papal support for Rodrigo's efforts dried up. By July 1220, Honorius discovered that Rodrigo, abetted by Huguicio, the administrator of the papal tithes, had been abusing his control of the special monies entrusted to him.[135] In a letter of 1 July 1220, Honorius berated Rodrigo for shamelessly encouraging Huguicio to play the role of a plenary legate, when he had merely been dispatched to collect money. On 4 July, Honorius revoked the grant of the twentieth to Rodrigo, ostensibly because of the archbishop's failure to prosecute the war against the Muslims. By the end of the year, Honorius looked for assistance from Alfonso IX of Leon, who had recently taken the cross.[136]

At the same time as Rodrigo was acquiring territory through conquest, he continued to expand his holdings through purchase. From 1219 to 1221, he acquired land in five lots in the three communities of Jumela, Jenesa, and Casar del Asno, located near Pulgar, north of the castle of Milagro.[137] Three of the five vendors were women. One of the five was a descendant of a member of the original group to whom Alfonso VII granted the region in 1155. This individual did not sell his property outright but granted title over it to Rodrigo and recognized

131. Pick, "Jiménez de Rada and the Jews," pp. 211, 216–17.

132. Hernández Jiménez, "El camino de Córdoba a Toledo," p. 13.

133. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 968; González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo*, 2: nos. 481, 493, 510.

134. Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 164.

135. Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 9–10.

136. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, nos. 300, 301, 339, 369. Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain*, p. 133.

137. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo*, vol. preliminar: nos. 1155, 1156, 1159; AMT caj. 12, leg. 4, no. 4, docs. 1 and 2.

him as his lord.[138] Rodrigo reinforced his new acquisitions southeast of the Tajo with purchases in Villa Antigua and Mascaraque in 1219 and in Villa de Los Alamos in 1220.[139]

These properties were minuscule in terms of size and strategic importance compared with the sale, concealed as a donation, to Rodrigo by the noble Alfonso Téllez of the four castles of Dos Hermanas, Malamoneda, Muro, and Cedenilla for 8000 *mrs.* and a payment in grain. The sum was paid out in full by 1226. Alfonso Téllez had received the first two castles as a grant from Alfonso VIII in 1210 when the region was less secure and the properties were consequently less valuable and more costly to defend.[140] Malamoneda lay near the source of the Sedena River, near what would have been the northwest corner of Rodrigo's large holding centred at Milagro. Dos Hermanas lay directly to the south of Malamoneda, on the far side of the Guadiana, and the charter relates that Muro was also on the Guadiana.[141] These would have been useful for protection against Muslim incursions from the south and west, and they also served to mark out Toledo's territory against the military orders already established in the region. The vast sums involved reveal Rodrigo's financial resources during the period and indicate what he was prepared to spend in order to expand his holdings on the frontier.[142]

Encouraged by Honorius III, Fernando III began his own offensive against the Muslims in 1224. He was assisted by Rodrigo and the other magnates of the realm. This initiated a period of successful conquest that lasted the rest of Fernando's career.[143] The event that touched off this offensive was a succession crisis among the Almohads on the death of Yūsuf II in 1224.[144] With the departure of Ibn Hūd in October 1228, and the deposition of Abū Zayd as governor of Valencia in 1228 or

---

138. Micael, son of Suero Peláez: González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo*, vol. preliminar: no. 1159. The grant of 1155 is noted in Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 112.

139. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo*, 2: nos. 449, 453.

140. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 871.

141. The location of Cedenilla is uncertain. Grassotti takes "castrum de Dos Ermanas et Cedenellam et Malam Monedam et Murum super Guadianam" to mean that all were on the Guadiana, but since an eighteenth-century map of the archdiocese places "Malamoneta" to the north, I take the qualifier to refer only to the last-named castle. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 104.

142. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 104–5.

143. Goñi Gaztambide, *La bula de la cruzada*, p. 150.

144. The *Crónica latina*, p. 62, says Fernando cited this crisis as a justification for attacking the Muslims.

1229, the Almohad presence in Spain ended. This created a leadership vacuum that local factions tried to fill, without enduring success. Disunited, they were unable to prevail against the Christian kings to the north. Fernando III capped his own triumphs with the taking of Córdoba in 1236 and Sevilla in 1248.[145] This period represents the second phase in the transformation of the frontier with the Muslims that I outline at the beginning of the chapter.

The enduring Christian achievement of this phase was a consequence of the relative harmony between the Christian kingdoms, advanced even further when Castile and Leon were joined in the person of Fernando III in 1230, and the progressive fragmentation of the Muslims. It was not a product of some newly reinvigorated zeal for reconquest. Rodrigo, however, depicts this period in his *De rebus Hispanie* as characterized by a unified desire to retake and resettle Muslim lands. His portrayal has had a formative impact on the way subsequent scholars, both medieval and modern, have regarded the period. There are significant differences between Rodrigo's version and those found in the *Crónica latina* and the *Chronicon mundi,* which both emphasize the traditional Spanish Christian objectives of garnering booty and destroying Muslim military potential. Comparing Rodrigo's account with Lucas of Túy's and especially with the *Crónica latina* highlights the innovations of his account and focuses attention on Fernando III's original military objectives in 1224. This shows how Rodrigo shaped his narrative to support, more than reflect, a program of conquest and settlement.

The *Crónica latina* presents Fernando III as the prime instigator of the renewed offensive against the Muslims. The chronicle recounts a speech he purportedly made to his mother, Berenguela, at Muño in 1224, in the presence of the court, in which he asked for her permission to wage war against the Muslims. He presented a number of justifications for his desire: he was in the flower of his youth and should use the royal glory he had been given to serve Jesus Christ by fighting His enemies; Fernando's own kingdom was at peace while the Muslims were riven by discord; Christ was on the side of the Christians, while the Muslims had only the apostate Muhammed. Berenguela asked him to leave the room while she consulted his vassals. They assented, and an attack was planned for September.[146] Significantly absent from this

145. Christian success and Muslim loss in this period is outlined in Lomax, *Reconquest of Spain,* pp. 134–54; Kennedy, *Muslim Spain,* pp. 260–72.

146. *Crónica latina,* pp. 61–63.

account is any notion of reconquest—that the Muslims lived on land unjustly seized from the Christians, which the Christians had a right and duty to recover. The land itself is not mentioned. Fighting Muslims because they were the enemies of Christ is different from fighting them because they were occupying Christian property. The absence of a notion of a reconquest of territory in Fernando's speech can be contrasted with calls to crusade in the Holy Land, which urged crusaders to recover the patrimony of Christ, and its omission is reflected in the objectives and course of the campaigns that followed.[147]

According to the *Crónica latina,* the king crossed the pass of Muradal with his magnates, the military orders, and Rodrigo. He successfully attacked Quesada, destroyed its walls, despoiled of it all its goods and riches, and took innumerable captives. The king then returned north "with great joy and lots of booty."[148] Lucas of Túy describes the new Castilian offensive in the same terms, recounting the brief campaigns that took place over several years. He too highlights the destruction wrought by Fernando's armies before a retreat north.[149] According to these sources, the Castilian attack was motivated not by a desire to conquer new territory but a wish to gain booty and to destroy the capacity of Quesada and other strongholds in the south to raise an offensive against Castile. This may be surprising to those who see Fernando III's reign as the greatest flowering and culmination of an ancient drive for reconquest, to repossess the land lost in 711. It makes sense, however, when we recall that what was considered of true value in medieval Spain was not land, which was plentiful and required masses of people to render it productive, but the acquisition of booty including gold and silver, coins, slaves, weapons, horses, and luxury items. These could be transported readily, used where most needed, and easily redistributed among one's followers. The kingdom of Castile was in difficult financial straits even after Las Navas de Tolosa, and it should not startle us that acquiring more land to defend was not its priority.[150]

147. On notions that crusaders were fighting to recover the patrimony of Christ during the First Crusade, Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 20–22, 48–49, 108.

148. *Crónica latina,* pp. 64–65. González, *Fernando III,* 1: 293–94.

149. *Chronicon mundi,* p. 114. *Anales toledanos II* likewise describes the carnage committed and prisoners taken at Quesada, p. 407.

150. Joseph Duggan, *The 'Cantar de mio Cid'* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 20–29, argues for an obsession with booty over land in early thirteenth-century Castile, which is reflected

Rodrigo's account of the campaign of 1224 reflects his own rather different values and preoccupations. In his version, the impetus for the campaign came from the king's mother, who, evoking crusader values, wanted to divert Fernando from attacking Christians by "dedicating the first-fruits of his army to the Lord." In consequence, Fernando, with Rodrigo and the other magnates of the realm, devastated Baeza and Ubeda before attacking Quesada. Rodrigo describes the capture and killing of many Saracens at this last site but does not mention the acquisition of any booty or captives.[151] This is most likely because the acquisition of booty and captives is not especially a marker of royal success for Rodrigo. It is not, for instance, one of the values he praised Alfonso VIII for in the encomium to that king that I discuss in the previous chapter. This attitude puts him out of step for his time.

Rodrigo states that Fernando abandoned the site because he did not wish to hold onto the city since its fortifications had been destroyed during the battle.[152] It is more likely, however, that Fernando knew he did not have the resources to hold the city and therefore destroyed its walls himself to prevent Quesada from being held against him. Since, as we saw in Rodrigo's praise of Alfonso VIII, the duty of a Christian king is not just to destroy Muslim holdings but to rebuild Christian fortunes, Rodrigo needed to justify why Fernando did not attempt to hold onto the city. Fernando acted in the same manner at Jaén. He contented himself merely with destroying some of its fortifications before he returned north.[153]

Rodrigo himself maintained a keen interest in the region of Quesada. The town lay to the southwest of Baeza, Ubeda, and the Guadalquivir River and was located in the heart of the new frontier zone between the Christians and the Muslims. Fernando continued harrying the region around Jaén, mounting a new expedition in 1226 and again in 1230, although the latter was postponed when he learned of the death of his father, Alfonso IX. He asserted his authority in the city of Leon with the support of its bishop,[154] and then he made a tour of the

in the *Cantar*. See Linehan, *Spanish Church and the Papacy,* pp. 106–7, on the poverty of the kingdom after Las Navas.

151. *De rebus Hispanie* VIIII.xii, pp. 292–93.

152. "Quia castrum uariis impugnationibus erat dirutum, tunc noluit retinere." *De rebus Hispanie* VIIII.xii, lines 20–21, pp. 292–93.

153. *De rebus Hispanie* VIIII.xii, lines 21–24, p. 293.

154. Lucas of Túy, *Chronicon mundi,* p. 115.

Leonese cities of Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Alba accompanied by Rodrigo between December 1230 and the spring of 1231. While in Salamanca, on 20 January 1231, Fernando granted Quesada and another town called Toya to Rodrigo.[155] Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, who studied the settlement of this region, supposed that Fernando received news while in Salamanca that Quesada had fallen once more to the Saracens, implying that it had been held by Castile to this point.[156] There is no evidence to support Rivera Recio's hypotheses. Rodrigo himself merely relates that at the time of the gift the town had been repaired and was held by its Saracen inhabitants.[157] At the same time, the king granted Rodrigo a tenth of the rents of the royal mine at Chillón, and this grant was probably intended to provide a source of funds that would allow Rodrigo to conquer Quesada.[158] In any case, Rodrigo's assault on Quesada and the surrounding region was entirely successful. He maintained a tight personal hold on the area after its conquest, placing the local castles under the control of his own vassals and supporters, first Martín López and then his own "son and nephew," Gil de Rada.[159]

Another significant difference between Rodrigo's account of this phase of the conquest and the version in the *Crónica latina* is the prominence that the latter gives to Fernando III's reliance on an allegiance with a disaffected Muslim leader, a member of the ruling Almohad family, ʿAbd Allāh. He had been displaced from his governorship of Jaén by al-ʿĀdil, a cousin who seemed poised to reunite the Almohads. ʿAbd Allāh then became the ruler of Baeza, whence he is known in the *Crónica latina* as the king of Baeza and in Arabic sources as al-Bayyāsī.[160] In September 1224, al-Bayyāsī made a pact to assist Fernando III, and the *Crónica latina* describes him in subsequent years fighting alongside Fernando at Jaén and turning over the castles of Martos, Jaén, and Andújar to the Christian king. al-Bayyāsī was able to take almost all of the castles between Sevilla and Córdoba from his coreligionists and finally captured Córdoba itself, as well as the person of his cousin, al-ʿĀdil. He did not

155. González, *Fernando III*, 2: no. 295.

156. Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, "El adelantamiento de Cazorla durante la edad media," *Hispania* 8 (1948): 78–80. He edits the charter of donation in note 7.

157. "Que tamen iam aliquantulum reparata a Sarracenis incolis tenebatur." *De rebus Hispanie* VIIII.xv, lines 32–33, p. 297.

158. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 84; González, *Fernando III*, 2: no. 296.

159. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 295, 301. González, *Fernando III*, 1: 315–16.

160. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain*, p. 262.

forget the promises he had made to Fernando III and helped the Christian king take the castle of Salvatierra.[161] al-Bayyāsī was not able to enjoy his success for very long before Córdoba rose against him and he was killed trying to escape.[162] The help of al-Bayyāsī was crucial for Fernando III. Derek Lomax rightly describes the alliance between the king and al-Bayyāsī as "the lever with which Fernando split the Almohad Empire." Nevertheless, Rodrigo's account omits any notion of a mutually beneficial partnership between the two. His text is deliberately ambiguous—al-Bayyāsī hands over Martos, Baeza, Andújar, and Calatrava to Fernando III, but Fernando is described as conquering them himself.[163] There is no suggestion that the two were allies. Rodrigo thus describes these conquests as entirely Christian enterprises, ignoring Fernando's opportune use of internal political struggles among the Muslims and his use of Muslim allies.

A curious treaty Rodrigo made with Fernando III in 1243, four years before the archbishop's death, further exemplifies Rodrigo's attitudes toward conquest. The treaty awarded Rodrigo the town and castle of Añover del Tajo, upstream from Toledo, and more importantly the town of Baza and the region surrounding it. Baza was an important place, known for its springs and the gardens they supported, as well as its textile trade.[164] In exchange, Rodrigo granted the king many of the properties we see him in this chapter taking such great efforts to amass. The king received the four castles of Muro, Malamoneda, Dos Hermanas, and Cedenilla that Rodrigo acquired from Alfonso Téllez; the villages of Pulgar and Peña Aguilera on the road to Milagro; Milagro itself and the region around it according to the boundaries given to it by Enrique I; in short, the whole area between the Tajo and the Guadiana so laboriously acquired by Rodrigo.[165] The catch was that Baza was not Fernando's to give; it was still in the hands of the Muslims, and as

161. *Crónica latina*, pp. 65–71.

162. Kennedy, *Muslim Spain*, p. 264.

163. "Post hec autem iterum exercitum congregauit, et tradente eas sibi Auomahomat . . . cepit Beaciam, Andugarum atque Martos et castrum istud nobilissimum dedit fratribus Calatraue, et destructis aliis castris et municipiis ad sua feliciter est reuersus." *De rebus Hispanie* VIIII.xii, lines 24–29, p. 293.

164. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 204–5, n. 538. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas* (Madrid, 1985), p. 153.

165. González, *Fernando III*, 3: no. 710. Grassotti describes what Rodrigo gave as extending from the Guadiana to the sierra of Ávila, but I do not see where she finds such extensive domains. "Don Rodrigo," p. 206.

events turned out, it would remain so until the time of Fernando and Isabel. The king promised to help Rodrigo capture Baza, with the proviso that if they failed, he would not owe Rodrigo anything. He likewise gave Rodrigo rights over Baza should it be conquered by anyone else—his son, the military orders, or a vassal—but he would not be held to fight the Christian conqueror to restore the lands to Rodrigo.[166] It was not without precedent for the king to grant what he did not hold; he had granted Quesada to Rodrigo under similar circumstances, and Rodrigo had been able to make good on the gift.

Fernando in turn sold all that he had acquired by this exchange with Rodrigo to the city of Toledo three years later for an enormous sum, 45,000 *mrs.*, and this indicates the value of what Rodrigo gave up.[167] Given the worth of the properties granted by Rodrigo, and given that Baza was not conquered by him, the question is whether this deal was one in which both parties hoped to benefit or whether it was a settlement imposed by a powerful king on an aging archbishop with diminished powers. Hilda Grassotti, who studied the grant in detail, seems to equivocate. She suggests Rodrigo was in a weak position at the time, pointing to concessions he made in 1238 after a property dispute with his canons, his own hints at the time that he might abdicate, and a stern note from Gregory IX. She raises the possibility that Fernando may have been taking advantage of Rodrigo's vulnerability. Grassotti concludes, I think correctly, however, that the initiative for the exchange came from Rodrigo himself.[168] Rodrigo's expansionary mentality is revealed in the fact that he was enthusiastic to trade such valuable birds in the hand for a bird, albeit a large one, still in the bush.[169] While the lands north of the Guadiana were still valuable, as witnessed by the huge price the city of Toledo paid to acquire them, they were no longer on the frontier and threatened to become progressively less important as the frontier moved southward. Baza promised to be at the centre of the action and thus also at the centre of opportunities for profit. Here we see Rodrigo's idealistic trust in the promise of crusade wedded to his pragmatic attention to his own self-interest.

More importantly, the lands north of the Guadiana granted by Ro-

166. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 292–93.

167. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 301.

168. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 201–11.

169. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 208, n. 546, outlines other donations made by Fernando of this kind. Bartlett, *Making of Europe*, p. 90–91.

drigo to his king boasted no ancient urban centre, and therefore no bishop. Baza, however, had been a bishopric in the Roman and Visigothic period. Keeping personal control over the sites of ancient sees recaptured from the Muslims was a primary concern of Rodrigo, and it fit into his broad ambitions to be considered primate of Spain. He had taken care over the years to extract papal letters giving him rights to such sees.[170] His *De rebus Hispanie* stresses, for instance, that after the conquest of Córdoba, when Bishop Juan of Osma transformed that city's Great Mosque into a cathedral, he was only acting in the capacity of Rodrigo's substitute and that Rodrigo himself later consecrated the new bishop.[171] As it turned out, Rodrigo's ambitions for Baza were thwarted. As compensation, and perhaps to fund a possible campaign, in 1246 Fernando granted him Heznatoraf and 5,000 *mrs.* a year until such time as he took Baza, as well as a share of 2,000 *mrs.* per year from the *parías,* or tribute money, from Granada for life. Rodrigo was only able to enjoy this grant for a year, however, before he died on 10 June 1247, at probably well over seventy years of age.[172] His interest in Baza, and the promise it held for the restoration of a suffragan see, reminds us that Rodrigo was no ordinary magnate looking for territory; he was the archbishop of Toledo and claimed the primacy over all Spain. In the following section we see how this role shaped his belief that he as archbishop of Toledo was the true heir of the unified Spain of the Visigoths.

Conquest Interpreted: Histories, Cartularies, and the Meaning of a Unified Spain

Rodrigo interprets Spanish history through the prism of Toledo throughout the *De rebus Hispanie.*[173] When he discusses conquest, he is espe-

170. Innocent III confirmed Toledo's rights over its suffragans and over ancient sees still held by the Muslims; he also gave Rodrigo the responsibility of restoring bishops to newly conquered sees: Mansilla, *Inocencio III,* nos. 422, 512. In 1218, Honorius III granted him primacy over Sevilla in advance of its conquest and confirmed Toledo's rights over Azucaica, erroneously identified with the ancient see Oretum: Mansilla, *Honorio III,* nos. 140, 144.

171. *De rebus Hispanie* VIIII.xvii, lines 3–19, p. 299.

172. González, *Fernando III,* 3: no. 732. Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo,* pp. 401–3. Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 210–11.

173. Linehan, *History and the Historians,* pp. 316–17, and chap. 11, esp. p. 352.

cially concerned to detail his role in it as archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain, be it by listing the properties that accrued to his see over time[174] or by stressing that in his absence the leading religious figures on an expedition act only as his representatives.[175] The narrative Rodrigo creates in his *De rebus Hispanie* describes Toledo first of all as the triumphant royal city, *urbs regia,* of the Visigoths. Toledo is not conquered by the Muslims but found bereft of inhabitants and repopulated by them with Arabs and Jews.[176] Later the city is recaptured by Alfonso VI, at which time it can finally be reestablished as the preeminent see of Spain. This same evolution of the once and future status of Toledo is outlined in a very different format in the several cartularies that were compiled under Rodrigo's aegis to detail Toledo's rights and possessions. In this section we see how, in the same way that he shaped his history to conform to his view of Spain's destiny, so too did he reflect this view through the creation and use of cartularies.

Rodrigo was not the first archbishop of Toledo to prepare a cartulary. The earliest extant cartulary, BCT MS 42-20, was created in 1190 during the archbishopric of Gonzalo (1182–91), and it collected documents relating to Toledo's property holdings and internal constitution.[177] A similar, but much larger and more complete collection, AHN MS 996B, was created early in Rodrigo's tenure—the latest charter it contains is dated 1222. It includes numerous early documents not found in the previous collection and indicates Rodrigo's desire to have a complete and accurate list of the possessions of the see of Toledo. This desire reflects the same concern for the maintainance and expansion of the holdings of Toledo that we observe him acting on throughout this chapter.

The cartularies BCT MSS 42-21 and 42-22 and BNM MS Vitr. 15-5 have a higher purpose than simply recording the cathedral's possessions. All were initiated under Rodrigo's aegis, and they are dossiers of the papal bulls used to support Toledo's claim to the primacy over

174. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xiiii, pp. 278–79; VIIII.xv, p. 297.

175. *De rebus Hispanie* VIIII.xii, p. 293, where Bishop Domingo of Placencia acts for Rodrigo, who is ill in Guadalajara; and VIIII.xvii, p. 299, where Bishop Juan of Osma is described at the capture of Córdoba as serving as Rodrigo's vicar and the consecration of Lupus as bishop of the newly restored see, "a Roderico primate et pontifice Toletano," is emphasized.

176. *De rebus Hispanie* III.xxiiii, lines 20–21, p. 111.

177. Ramón Gonzálvez describes in careful detail all of the cartularies to be discussed here, "Prologo," in Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo,* pp. xvi–xxii.

Spain.[178] Rodrigo used them to attempt to establish Toledo in a preeminent position, both within Spain itself and within the broader church hierarchy. Rodrigo's reward for his efforts at Las Navas was not only grants of property from his king; he was also permitted by Innocent III to air his claim to the primacy of Spain at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.[179] The earliest of these three cartularies, BCT MS 42-21, was probably prepared to support his case at this venue. It may have even been drafted in Rome because many of the entries note from which volume of the papal registers they are taken.[180] An account of the events of that council was later placed at the beginning of the volume.[181] The most curious document in the volume was probably copied at the council itself. This is a partial copy of a bull in which Innocent III gave sweeping powers to the archbishop-primate of Tirnovo over the metropolitans of Bulgaria and Vlachia and permitted him to anoint, bless, and crown the kings of those countries.[182] The significance of this document is considered further, in the following.

Dated from shortly after BCT MS 42-21, BCT MS 42-22 adds only a few new bulls to its predecessor; BNM MS Vitr. 15-5 is more interesting because of the variety of its contents. It opens with a statement asserting the antiquity of Toledo's claim to the primacy.[183] The next section of the codex contains pictorial representations of the Visigothic

178. On the dating of BCT MSS 42-21 and 42-22, see Gonzálvez, "Prologo," in Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo,* pp. xvii–xviii. BNM MS Vitr. 15-5 has a colophon on its final folio dating the manuscript to 1253. Linehan convincingly argues, however, that the bulk of the manuscript was already in existence by 1239–40: *History and the Historians,* pp. 359–60.

179. Stephen Kuttner and Antonio García y García, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 124; Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, "Personajes hispanos asistentes en 1215 al IV Concilio de Letrán," *Hispania Sacra* 4 (1951): 335–55; and Fidel Fita, "Santiago de Galicia: Nuevas impugnaciones y nueva defensa (V)," *Razon y Fé* 2 (1902): 182–95, all discuss Rodrigo's participation at the council.

180. A handful of bulls from Innocent III dating after the council and from the early years of Honorius III can be found in the final two gatherings and were probably added later. Gonzálvez, "Prologo," in Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo,* p. xvii.

181. This account is transcribed and analysed in Rivera Recio, "Personajes hispanos," 335–55.

182. "Presenti quoque priuilegio tibi et per te tuis successoribus iniungendi benedicendi et coronandi reges bulgarorum et blacorum in postremum liberam concedimus potestatem." BCT MS 42-21, fol. 68v.

183. Linehan outlines the contents of this codex in *History and the Historians,* p. 359, n. 36. See also Peter Feige, "Zum primat der Erzbischöf von Toledo," in *Falschungen im Mittelalter,* MGH Schriften 33.1 (Hanover, 1988), pp. 675–714.

councils at Toledo, with lists of the participants and incipits of some of the canons passed there. The king sits with the archbishop of Toledo in the top register, while other bishops and abbots are ranged below. This section links the position Toledo's supporters were trying to win for Toledo in the eighteenth century with its status prior to the capture of the city and all of Spain by the Muslims. The Muslim conquest is itself described in the next section of the codex and is followed by a praise of Spain and a short chronology of Spanish history recounting the entry of the Visigoths, the origins of the Muslims, and their conquest of Spain and ending with the recapture of Toledo under Alfonso VI. Next is a selection of papal bulls supporting the primacy, illustrated with figures of the popes who issued them and the prelates who received them. This is followed by another version of the events surrounding Rodrigo's presentation at Lateran IV. This is illustrated with scenes showing Rodrigo making his case before Innocent III, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and the archbishops of Spain who were opposing his claims (figs. 3 and 4). More papal bulls conclude the volume. This codex thus illustrates in another form the interpretation of Spanish history found in Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie*. Linehan suggests that this cartulary served as a kind of documentary first draft of the narrative work.[184]

The *De rebus Hispanie* has been looked to for inspiration for centuries by those who see the history of the peninsula as an ongoing quest to restore the political unity lost at the Muslim conquest. Rodrigo's history has seemed to lend itself to this interpretation because its full title, *Historia de rebus Hispanie siue Historia Gothica*, makes the Visigoths coterminous with Spain and because Rodrigo traces his tale from Gothic highpoint to Muslim conquest to Christian triumph.[185] A defence of political unity is not, however, the argument Rodrigo actually makes. The archbishop is comfortable with political disunity and is as happy speaking about "Spains" as one "Spain." As we have seen, he describes the expedition of Las Navas as a campaign in which the participation of

184. *History and the Historians*, pp. 359–60.

185. Recently in West, "The Destiny of Nations," p. 522: "For Rodrigo, Visigothic rule justified the creation of a unified Christian Kingdom in the Peninsula." Javier Gorosterratzu encapsulates this mood, seeing both Rodrigo's writing and his actions as archbishop tending toward the same end: "El fin de tanta actividad en la Iglesia y en el Estado era el engrandecimiento de una España libre y católica," *Don Rodrigo*, p. 348. See Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography," pp. 28–31, for premodern followers of Rodrigo.

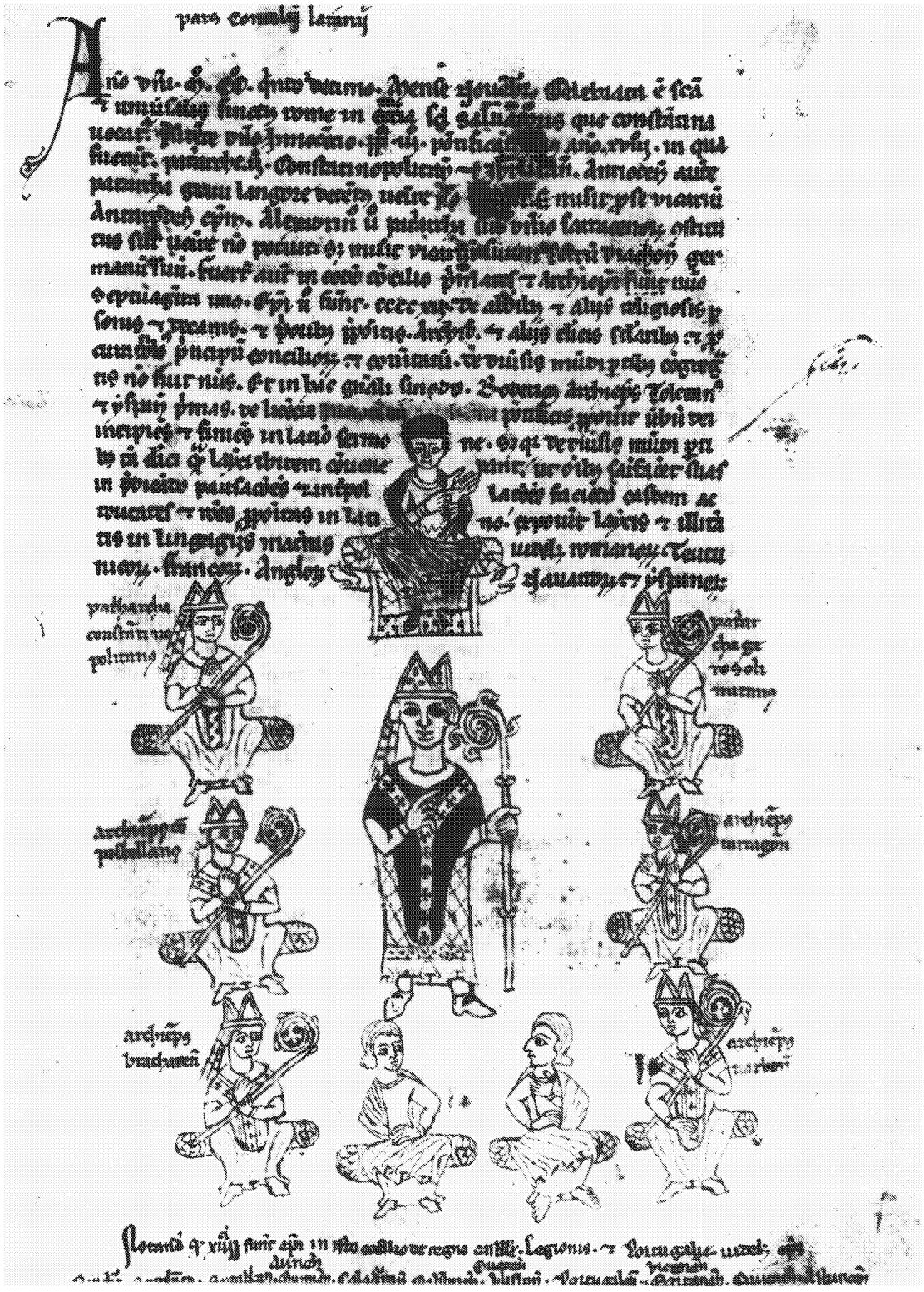


Fig. 3. Archbishop Rodrigo, standing in the centre of the circle of figures, makes his case for Toledo's primacy over all the other sees of Spain before Pope Innocent III, enthroned in the background, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, the archbishops of Compostela, Tarragona, Braga, and Narbonne, and two clerks. BNM MS Vitr. 15-5, fol. 22r. (Photograph by kind permission of the Biblioteca Nacional.)

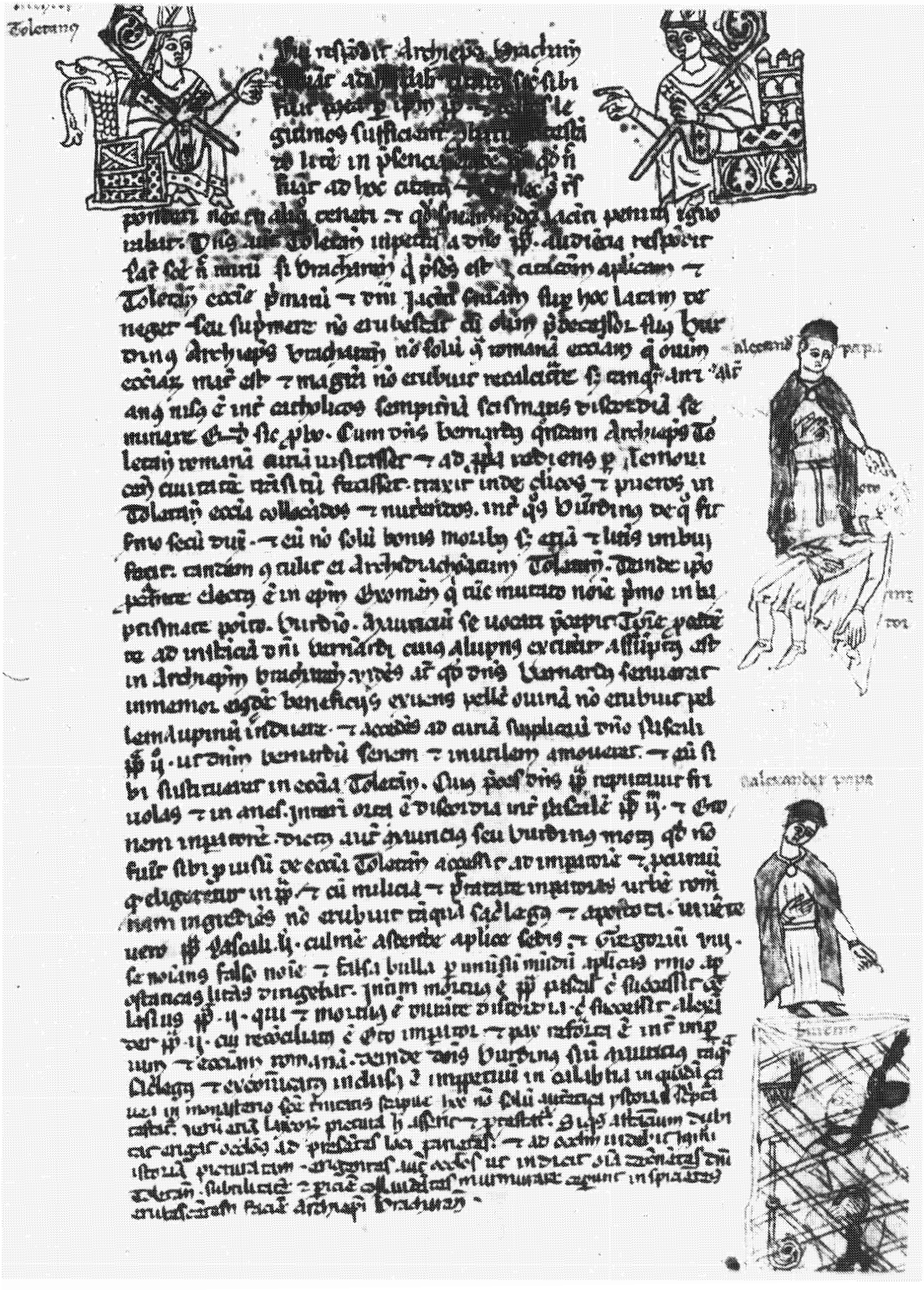


Fig. 4. Archbishop Rodrigo, seated at the left, chides the archbishop of Braga for the sins of his predecessors. BNM MS Vitr. 15-5, fol. 23r. (Photograph by kind permission of the Biblioteca Nacional.)

three Spanish kings was crucial. There is no suggestion anywhere in Rodrigo's writing that he looks to the day when the whole peninsula will be united under a king of Castile. He does spend more time on the affairs of Castile and Leon than on other regions, but he also recounts the origins, genealogies, and some of the history of the kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon, and Portugal.[186]

The *De rebus Hispanie* is much more than the Castilian version of Lucas's pro-Leonese *Chronicon mundi*. Spain is already united, in Rodrigo's understanding. Toledo is the capital, not just of Castile but of all Spain, whether or not the Spanish kingdoms are united under one king or the entire peninsula is subject to Christian temporal rule. Rodrigo's purpose in copying into BCT MS 42-21 the privilege described in the preceding, in which Innocent III allowed the archbishop of Tirnovo to anoint, bless, and crown the kings of Bulgaria and Vlachia, was so that he could claim the power to do the same, not just for the king of Castile but for all the kings of Spain.[187] It is the archbishop of Toledo, not the king of Castile, who is heir to the unified glory, both temporal and spiritual, that was the Visigoths. This is the lesson of the miniatures in BNM MS Vitr. 15-5, which show the archbishop of Toledo on the level of the Visigothic king; the Visigothic kings were gone, but the archbishop remained. The Spanish kingdoms can remain plural, as long as they are under the tutelage of their primate, the "primas hispaniarum."[188] The unity he strives for in his military endeavours and speaks of in his histories is, as we see more fully in the next chapter, not political but theological and ecclesiological—the Spains united under God in the person of the archbishop of Toledo.

Conclusion

This notion of Toledo's position affected Rodrigo's understanding of conquest and settlement, as well as his own role in it. The conquest and settlement of Muslim-held land as Muslim-held land was very important to him, more so than to many of his contemporaries. I suggest in this

186. *De rebus Hispanie* V.xxi, pp. 169–70; VI.i, p. 178; VII.v, pp. 226–27.

187. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 643.

188. Readers of Linehan's *History and Historians* will see how indebted I am to his observations on the importance of Toledo to Rodrigo's thought and writings, e.g., pp. 222–23, 316–17, 352–53. See also Lomax, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada como historiador," pp. 587–92. For Linehan and Lomax, however, Rodrigo writes in support of royal claims to centrality, whether Castilian or Toledan. I argue here that he casts his net even wider.

chapter that political and military factors played a much greater role in fostering the Christian successes of the period than any ideological shifts. At the same time, it is clear that Rodrigo stood at the centre of such ideological shifts as there were. To return to the idea of the frontier discussed at the outset, Angus MacKay once argued that between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries the frontier with the Muslims changed from a frontier of tribute-warfare in which Christians and Muslims were frequently allied or engaged in various "protection racket" schemes to a frontier of systematic reconquest and colonization, a real crusading frontier.[189] We have seen enough to nuance this suggestion. Tribute-warfare and booty, rather than territorial acquisition ("reconquest"), remained the central mode of operations into the 1220s. Flight to the Muslims remained a viable option for disgraced Christian nobles, as it would remain until Granada was taken in 1492.[190] The lands gained by Fernando III beginning in the 1220s came as a consequence of his alliance with a Muslim, al-Bayyāsī.

At the same time, however, we see Rodrigo in his letters and after the fact, in his *De rebus Hispanie* and the cartularies, trying to foster an understanding that the glory of the Visigoths lay in a restored Toledo, that Christians fight most appropriately against non-Christians, that the duties of a leader were not just successful warfare but the rebuilding, foundation, and settlement of cities. He framed the struggle against the Muslims as a crusade and criticized any diversion away from the goals of crusade toward the temporary profit taking of plunder and booty. The military success enjoyed by the Christians was what popularized this mentality. Rodrigo initially stood outside the mainstream but was subsequently able to reshape the mainstream through his own writings. He was so successful that it has been difficult for later historians to see just how much of the tale that is told in the *De rebus Hispanie* has been shaped with Rodrigo's personal preoccupations in mind. Rodrigo understood that words were as important as battles for creating identity and fostering unity. We see in subsequent chapters where Muslims and Jews fit into this understanding of unified Christianity.

189. Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (London, 1977), pp. 3, 15. It should be noted that MacKay himself describes a fluid frontier of interreligious alliances and contact of all kinds for Granada and Castile in the fifteenth century in his more recent article "Religion, Culture, and Ideology in the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, pp. 217–43.

190. *De rebus Hispanie* IX.viiii, p. 290; xi, p. 292. See González, *Fernando III*, 1: 287–89, on all kinds of cross-border traffic.

CHAPTER THREE

A Theology of Unity

The previous chapter considers how the kingdom of Castile, during the years of Rodrigo's archiepiscopate, moved from a state of military engagement with the Muslims that was primarily defensive and preoccupied with the acquisition of booty and the destruction of Muslim economic and military resources to a position where it was able to realize the conquest of Muslim-held territory and to cement this territorial gain through settlement. Rodrigo wanted to bring the entire peninsula under his aegis as primate of Spain, to match with effective jurisdiction the title given to him by the pope. His desire for one unified Spain was not, however, a call to restore the single Visigothic monarchy but to return to Toledo the position he felt its archbishops held under the Visigoths. Chapter 2 likewise shows that Rodrigo was instrumental not only in participating in this shift of emphasis from booty to conquest but also in cementing later generations' understanding of it through his authorship of the *De rebus Hispanie*.

Here, I discuss how the premises of a world unified under God but fractured by sin and history underlying Rodrigo's scholarly interests formed the intellectual underpinning both for his efforts at conquest and his attitudes toward Muslims and Jews.[1] Rodrigo's political theology provided a place for non-Christians to live, subordinated to Christian rule, by which he meant the rule of the Church. The broad contours of his theology are implicit in all of his writing but are laid out most systematically in his anti-Jewish polemical text, the *Dialogus libri uite,*

1. An analogous example of a case in which a particular world view shaped an understanding of the place of non-Christians within society might be the Cluny of Peter the Venerable. Dominique Iogna Prat describes in his *Ordonner et excluire: Cluny et la societé chretienne face à l'heresie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000–1150* (Paris, 1998) how Cluny's developing understanding of itself and its role within Christian society affected Peter's writings on heretics, Muslims, and Jews.

whose book I explains his understanding of divine unity and hierarchical cosmology upon which his political theology depends and whose book IV describes the subordination of the secular realm, including the Jews, to the Church. The presence especially of this last theme in a work of religious polemic supports the contention I make in chapter 1 that polemic can actually help preserve *convivencia* in the way it serves to delineate the contours of different groups.

I discuss these premises here, having already described in the previous chapter how Rodrigo put them into action through his efforts at conquest and settlement. Rodrigo did not begin with a fully developed theory that he implemented in a unidirectional, deterministic way. Rather, his theory and practice coexisted in a dialogical, mutually defining and shaping relationship. We can imagine, for instance, that Rodrigo was drawn to certain ways of looking at the world more than others while he was a student in Paris because of the experiences of his youth in Spain and his awareness of the particular realities of the Spanish situation, with its multiple kingdoms and multiple religions crisscrossing boundaries of all kinds. These ideas could be a useful interpretive framework for Rodrigo when he returned to Spain in a position of temporal and spiritual power, while his deployment of these notions was affected by the situations he then encountered on the ground. For example, Rodrigo adopted the Ps.-Dionysian and Eriugenian understanding of hierarchies of being between God and creation to construct his political theology. But the best-known thinkers to embrace models of Ps.-Dionysian and Eriugenian thought used them as a basis for mystical spirituality, not political theology. The ideas alone do not determine their use; the way thinkers relate ideas to environments and questions with which they are familiar shapes the form these ideas take in particular contexts. Having seen in the previous chapter some of what Rodrigo did, we are now in a better position to appreciate why he did it.

To study the theoretical underpinning of Rodrigo's actions, I examine two different poles of activity. Rodrigo was both an author in his own right and a patron of translations from the Arabic. First, I suggest that we can discern the traces of a theological school of thought in Toledo in the theology of Rodrigo and those who surrounded him. I begin by showing it fully formed in Rodrigo's historical writing. This helps us see how it is related to his attitudes about conquest, attitudes that, as explained in the previous chapter, were rather unusual during his time. Then I trace the genealogy of his thought through his more

theological writings, especially his anti-Jewish *Dialogus libri uite,* and through the writings of those in his circle. This theology bears the imprint of Alan of Lille, and it is founded on a notion of God as the principle of unity from whom all creation unfolds. It provided a theological substrate for Rodrigo's polemical and military efforts against the non-Christians who ruptured this unity and for his quest to use the powers of primate of Spain. Finally, I consider the history of translating in Spain, ending with Rodrigo's own patronage of translators. I describe the contemporary understanding of the cultural significance of that work and present the contours of a circle of like-minded individuals with whom Rodrigo worked. This investigation sheds light on the hitherto obscure history of intellectual life in Spain between the twelfth-century translators and the group that formed around Alfonso X in the middle decades of the thirteenth century. It shows that Spain was not simply a conduit of Arabic learning to the rest of Europe but was also readily able to absorb ideas current in the great French schools and to adapt them to the political and cultural situation in Spain.

Rodrigo the Historian

Most of Rodrigo's own writing was historical, not theological, and it is as a historian that he is still best remembered today. We see in the next chapter how his exclusive focus on the literal sense of Scripture makes his polemic against the Jews turn primarily on differences between Christian and Jewish understandings of the working out of salvation history through time. Rodrigo's histories reflect an understanding of the world as ideally one and unified under God but fractured since the Fall, here, unusually, not the fall of Adam and Eve from paradise but the fall of the Tower of Babel. This interpretive framework provides a place for Muslims and Jews to live in a Christian world.

The connection between Rodrigo's approach to history and to theology is evident in the opening chapter of his *De rebus Hispanie.* Though his theological reflections discussed later in this chapter belong to the early part of his career, and his *De rebus Hispanie* was completed a few years before his death, they both reflect the same understanding of the world. The *De rebus Hispanie* begins with the world united under Noah after the Flood. Yet that unity proves necessarily short-lived because the world is soon divided between Noah's sons, and the universal language

of the world is itself fractured into many as a punishment for the construction of the Tower of Babel. Rodrigo compares the fall of the tower with the fall of the angel Lucifer, and this gives him a chance to compare good human beings with good angels and bad with bad, that is, the subcelestial hierarchy with the celestial, and to speak of the ordering of angels into different offices. There is no ineradicable duality between good and bad, however, for he reminds us that "All things are contained within the divine essence."[2] We see the important place angelology plays in his thought in subsequent pages.

The multiplication of languages after the collapse of the Tower of Babel has profound significance for Rodrigo, for it was this fall that created nations and ethnicities. Before this collapse, everyone lived together according to the same customs. But the emergence of new languages resulted in the emergence of different peoples who constituted provinces and territories in which they could live. People speaking different languages began hating each other, and when those sharing a common language invaded other regions to seek peaceful places in which they could establish homelands, death and war arose.[3] For Rodrigo, ethnicity is created by language. Warfare and conflict are a direct consequence of different linguistic groups living side by side. But the emergence of multiple languages was itself a direct consequence of the decision by God to destroy the Tower of Babel to punish the pride of its builders. The challenge of living in the world among potentially hostile groups was therefore ordained by God himself. Rodrigo reminds us that it is not possible to attain divine unity in this world, and the cost of this is an unavoidable loss of uniformity.

The remainder of Rodrigo's histories are devoted to describing these conflicts between different groups. In the recently edited final volume of Rodrigo's *Opera omnia* (*Collected Works*), the chief editor, Juan Fernández Valverde, outlines the time frame within which all of Rodrigo's works were written. He assigns the *Dialogus* to 1214 and the *Breuiarium historie catholice* (*Breviary of Catholic History*) to sometime before, possibly as early as the period of Rodrigo's sojourn in Paris at the beginning of the century. This latter is a paraphrase of biblical history and Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (*Scholastic History*), and I discuss it further in the context of Rodrigo's cosmology. Having

2. *De rebus Hispanie* I.i, p. 9.
3. *De rebus Hispanie* I.i, pp. 9–10.

completed these works of sacred study, Rodrigo turned his attention to a series of histories, all of which relate to the emergence and development of Spain. The movement from the pan-Christian concerns of the *Dialogus* and the *Breuiarium* to the more local matter of the histories is one indication of how Rodrigo's activities as archbishop continued to shape his theoretical interests, as in later years he turned the universalist light he had cast on the emergence and destiny of Christendom onto the question of the fate of Spain. The common thread of these later historical works is, according to Fernández Valverde, that they recount the different invasions of Spain, from the first, by Hercules, to what Rodrigo hoped would be the last, by the Arabs. The first volume in this series to be completed was the *De rebus Hispanie*, also called the *Historia gothica*. The Visigoths of the title began as Arian invaders but ended as Catholic unifiers of Spain. Next he completed the *Historia romanorum* (*History of the Romans*), the *Historia hugnorum, vandalorum et sueuorum, alanorum et silingorum* (*History of the Huns, Vandals, Sueves, Alans, and Silingi*) on the failed barbarian invasions of Spain, and the *Historia ostrogothorum* (*History of the Ostrogoths*), which ends with the Ostrogoths scattered and partly absorbed into the Visigoths. These were all finished by 31 March 1243. Rodrigo had announced in the *Breuiarium* his plan to write some day a history of the Muslims.[4] The series ended with the long-promised *Historia arabum* (*History of the Arabs*), which was finished in 1245, two years before the archbishop's death.[5] In addition to a concern with invaders of Spain, these works also share a preoccupation with the origins of peoples and an interest in the triumph of Christian truth and Catholic orthodoxy through the creation, maintenance, fracture, and final recovery of Christian hegemony. Rodrigo's perspective is encyclopedic, incorporative, and—for its day—global.

Rodrigo demonstrates his understanding of the historical role of the Jews in universal world history in his *Breuiarium*. For Muslim history, we have Rodrigo's *Historia arabum*, the first extant history written by a Westerner to occupy itself exclusively with the history of the Islamic world. Rodrigo's portrayal of Jews and Muslims contributed to a discourse about them that defined, marked, and fixed them in relation to

4. *Breuiarium* II.vi, lines 16–18, p. 64.

5. Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," to Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historiae minores. Dialogues libri uite*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde and Juan Antonio Estévez Sola, CCCM 72C (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 1, 28–33.

Christian society. This discourse complemented the theological discourses I discuss in the rest of the chapter. This historical discourse is incorporative because it does not identify any "other" that needs to be expelled or kept separate.

Rodrigo's *Breuiarium* is a sacred history of the time between Creation and the mission of the apostles, interspersed with fragments of profane history. The Jews are invoked throughout to explain scriptural passages or to be condemned for their perfidy in not accepting Christ. Although it is a long and diffuse text, a consistent picture of the Jews emerges from it. It is typical of Christian historical works that relegate Jews to the distant past, having lost their special relationship with God because of their rejection of Jesus. Since the Passion, Jews have no other historical role, in this conception, than that assigned to them by Augustine—to stand as witness to the truth of the Old Testament and to be converted to Christianity at the end of time. Rodrigo's *Breuiarium* follows this model closely. In the first eight books, he makes constant reference to the Jews, citing many bits of Jewish lore, most of them familiar since the patristic age, to clarify the meaning of scriptural passages. Throughout book IX, which covers the New Testament, Rodrigo takes pains to highlight the Jewish rejection of Jesus in a way that differentiates his work from Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Rodrigo glosses John 1:10–13 in terms of Jewish rejection and Christian acceptance of Jesus: "*The world knew him not,* thinking him simply to be the son of Joseph. . . . The Jews, whom God adopted as sons, *did not receive him.*"[6] God once adopted the Jews as sons, but now anyone who believes can be adopted by him, not merely those carnally descended from the Jews. Glossing Luke 1:52–54, Rodrigo reminds his readers that the Jews not only rejected Christ, they also caused his death:

> *He deposed the powerful* of the Jews *from the seat* of the Law conceded to them *and he raised up the humble,* the apostles in the throne of the kingdom of the Church. *The hungry,* the poor of the Gospel who hungered for justice, *He filled with good things and the rich,* the Jews whom he gave over into exile because of his death, *He sent away, devoid* of kingdom or priesthood.[7]

Rodrigo concludes the *Breuiarium* not at the end of the Gospels, as Peter Comestor does, nor with the end of Acts, as Peter of Poitiers's con-

6. *Breuiarium* VIIII.i, lines 21–24, p. 511.
7. *Breuiarium* VIIII.iii, lines 13–19, p. 514.

tinuation does, but in the middle of Acts, where Paul and Barnabas announce that they will turn their attention to the gentiles since the Jews have repulsed the Christian message. Rodrigo also uses this verse to cap his outline of the contents of the book in his prologue, and thus the shift of the spotlight of history from the Jews to the gentiles serves to frame the reading of the entire text. His focus on gentile history in his later works continues the story left off here in the *Breuiarium.*

Rodrigo's depiction of the Muslims themselves in his historical writing contains both traditional and innovative elements. In his *De rebus Hispanie,* they mainly represent a military threat. Although the Christians benefit from divine aid when attacking them, the religion of the Muslims is discussed little. Rodrigo follows the example of the Mozarabic *Chronicle of 754,* and that of other early Christian histories, by ignoring the religious component of the Muslim threat.[8] The *Historia arabum,* the last of his histories, breaks from this pattern, however, in its extensive description of Muhammed's life and the foundation of Islam. It recounts the schism and fracture first of the Christian faith, with the emergence of Islam, and then of Spain itself, when it is invaded and divided by the Muslims. In its prologue, Rodrigo explains that he is narrating the destructions perpetrated by the Muslims, who are, hopefully, the last of the oppressors of Spain. He himself has tried to put an end to their depredations, and he hopes God will preserve Spain from further dissections by gladiators ("a gladiatorum dissecationibus"), as he collectively describes all the previous invaders of Spain. The theme of a divided Spain is carried through the prologue. Spain has been cut up since the Muslim invasion and has suffered also the internal wounds of being divided into five kingdoms—he presumably has in mind here al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms of Leon-Castile, Portugal, Navarre, and Aragon—and of enduring Christian deserters to the Saracen side. Rodrigo credits his hero, Alfonso VIII, with reviving Gothic strength in his defeat of the Almohad ruler at Las Navas de Tolosa, and he announces his project to describe Islamic history from the time of Muhammed. He states that the purpose of his outline of the origins of the Islamic religion is to help weak Christians avoid being tempted by its teachings.[9]

Rodrigo's *Historia arabum* reflects two principal goals. The first is

8. Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool, 1990), pp. 38–43; cf. Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 18–41, on early Christian disinterest in Islam as a religion.

9. *Historia arabum*, prologue, p. 87.

to show, as he does in his prologue, that Muslim rule leads away from unity toward greater division. Greater diversity, as described in the following when we discuss Rodrigo's theology, reflects movement farther away from God and thus is a bad thing. Rodrigo demonstrates this throughout his text by emphasizing incidents that show Muslim leaders fighting against each other as well as against Christians, incidences of rebellions against Muslim authority by local communities, and other internal quarrels. These struggles are the constant theme of his history. Rodrigo's second goal is to show that Islam is not something that emerged outside the Christian world but rather came from within it. This is not an image of the world as a binary in which the Christian West opposes the Islamic East but one in which a Christian whole struggles to maintain as much unity as is possible in the fallen world in the face of internal threats. Rodrigo accomplishes this through his discussion of Muhammed and the origins of Islam. In this discussion, the Jews appear as allies of the Muslims. A Jewish magician plays a decisive role in Muhammed's youth and religious formation. The archbishop writes that, at the time of Muhammed's birth, "Arabia and Africa were being pulled by conflicting desires, between Catholic faith, Arian heresy, Jewish faithlessness, and idolatry." Muhammed's own father, under the influence of a certain Jewish magician friend, vacillated between Christianity and Judaism. Rodrigo discusses the prophet's birth:

> When the time for Aemina's labour had come, that Jew, since he was a magician, plotted the disposition of the planets and the hour of the birth of the child. Aly had gone to holy Jerusalem to pray and, returning, he found that his child had been born, and the magician revealed everything that he had seen about the child, and he predicted that he would be marvelously exalted in dominion and law.[10]

After the death of Muhammed's parents and grandparents, his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, took him in. Rodrigo writes, "He gave him to the aforementioned magician for instruction. He instructed him in natural sciences, and the Catholic law, and the written record of Jewish perfidy; whence he afterwards usurped something of the Catholic faith and something of the old Law for the support of his sect."[11] Rodrigo thus describes Islam

10. *Historia arabum* I, lines 6–18, p. 88.
11. *Historia arabum* II, lines 7–11, p. 89.

as a religion that blends some aspects of Christianity and Judaism, and he blames a Jew for providing Muhammed with its building blocks.

Similar themes run through all of Rodrigo's historical writings: all unity has its origin in the divine unity of God and is therefore something to be maximized as much as possible. Diversity represents a falling away from this divine unity, and the history of the Jews since Christ and of the Muslims represents one type of this falling away. Diversity is inevitable, in this fallen world, but it is to be minimized as much as possible. Uniformity is not a realistic goal; unity under Christian hegemony is as close as we will be able to come to the originary divine unity in this age. We see the theological roots of this political theory, and how they came to be shared by a small group of people, in the next sections of this chapter.

Rodrigo and a "School" in Toledo: The Theology of Unity

Rodrigo's sponsorship of translations of scientific, philosophical, and religious texts from Arabic, and his composition of the *Dialogus libri uite* and his histories, together with his efforts at conquest and settlement, constitute one program of activity. Undergirding this activity was a specific theology, a belief system that justified a unified but not necessarily uniform Spain. We can discern the emergence of the faint outlines of a school in Toledo, in the sense of a school of thought, through Rodrigo's scholarship and patronage. This "school" wedded together the neo-Platonic cosmology and mathematical speculations on the Trinity by thinkers associated with Chartres, ideas about divine grammar stemming from Gilbert of Poitiers (b. ca. 1080–54) and ultimately from Boethius, and a notion of the hierarchy of being deriving from Ps.-Dionysius and John Scotus Eriugena (fl. 860). A common denominator for many of these ideas is the work of Alan of Lille, and I argue that probably Rodrigo, and possibly the other figures associated with this "school," had contact with Alan at some point.

These other figures include Michael Scot, Mauricio of Burgos, Mark of Toledo, and Diego García, chancellor of Castile. Mark of Toledo was a canon in the cathedral. Mauricio of Burgos was archdeacon of Toledo under Rodrigo before he was made bishop of Burgos, probably at Rodrigo's recommendation. Michael Scot worked close to the orbit of the archbishop. The earliest known fact of his career is his membership in

Rodrigo's entourage at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Michael Scot stood with the Toledan party when Rodrigo pleaded the claim of his see to the primacy of Spain before the assembled council.[12] The Scot thereafter returned with the archbishop to Toledo, where he translated al-Biṭrūjī's *De motibus celorum* (*On the Movements of the Heavens*) two years later. While in Toledo, Michael held the benefice of a resident canon in the cathedral.[13] It was also while still in Toledo that he completed a Latin version of Aristotle's *Historia animalium* (*History of Animals*). A note preserved in two of the manuscripts of this work places Michael Scot in Bologna on 21 October 1220,[14] where Frederick II had sojourned between 3 and 7 September 1220 on his way to Rome, and it was perhaps at this juncture that Michael entered the emperor's service, where he remained until his death.[15] Toledo may have been the place where Michael first came across the works of Aristotle, Avicenna, and Averroës that he is credited with translating from Arabic. Many of Michael's sources for his astrological treatise, the *Liber introductorius* (*Introductory Work*), were available in Toledo, and by the time of Michael's final departure from Spain to Italy, he may have already made considerable headway in both his translating and astrological activities.[16] We see in the following how Michael and the other figures I have named shared many of the same theological preoccupations as Rodrigo.

---

12. Rivera Recio, "Personajes hispanos," pp. 337, 354–55. Other scholars who have observed this are listed in Charles Burnett, "Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen," *Micrologus* 2 (1994): 102, n. 2. Rodrigo's presentation took place on the third day of the council, 13 November: Kuttner and García y García, "A New Eyewitness Account," p. 124.

13. ACT Z.1.G.1.4a. I discuss this evidence in Pick, "Michael Scot in Toledo: *Natura naturans* and the Hierarchy of Being," *Traditio* 53 (1998): 95–96.

14. Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 274, 277.

15. R. A. Gauthier, "Notes sur les débuts (1225–1240) du premier 'averroïsme,' " *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982): 333, where he names others who adopted this thesis before him.

16. This was first suggested in Burnett, "Transmission of Scientific Culture," pp. 101–11. David Abulafia likewise places great emphasis on Michael Scot's early and ongoing contacts with Castile in his critical evaluation of cultural life at the court of Frederick II: *Frederick II* (Oxford, 1988), 254–57. Glenn M. Edwards edited Michael Scot's long prologue to the *Liber introductorius* in "The *Liber introductorius* of Michael Scot," Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1978, without noting his sources beyond his use of biblical citations. References to this edition are cited as *Liber introductorius* followed by the page number.

How Statements May Be Made about God— The Divine Essence and the Trinity

We begin describing Rodrigo's theology by considering his understanding of how statements may be correctly made about God. This is a crucial question for the writing of religious polemic, as well as theology in general, because the success of the polemic depends on the fitness of the statements in it. Moreover, the foundational point of difference of Christian against Jewish and Muslim understandings of God was the Christian belief in the Trinity. It is therefore not surprising that Rodrigo makes these questions the centre of the first book of his anti-Jewish *Dialogus libri uite*. This book considers divine unity and the Trinity and depends heavily on Alan of Lille, Gilbert of Poitiers, and the commentaries on Ps.-Dionysius by Eriugena. I suggest in the following that Rodrigo was a student of Alan. His knowledge of Gilbert and Eriugena may be by way of Alan, but it may be independent. The cathedral library of Toledo possesses manuscripts of the writings of Gilbert of Poitiers, which could have been present there when Rodrigo was at work. One early thirteenth-century manuscript contains Gilbert's glosses on Boethius's *De trinitate* (*On the Trinity*), *De hebdomadibus* (*On Hebdomads*), and *De una Christi natura et duabus personis* (*On the Single Nature and Two Persons of Christ*).[17] A second is a late twelfth-century copy of Gilbert's *Sentences*. This text opens by explaining that in order to discuss the "secrets" of theology two things are essential, the truth of things and the suitability of words, "Because when one is lacking, one becomes a heretic, and when the other is lacking, one becomes schismatic."[18] This is a strong statement on the dogmatic importance of making correct statements about God and on the ease with which one can slip into dissent.

Rodrigo reflects in his book I the twelfth-century interest in the relationship between logic and grammar, and the concomitant awareness of the usefulness of both in theological discourse, and he uses Alan's grammatical theories in his *Dialogus*. Alan's own source was Gilbert of Poitiers, who was in turn very much influenced by Boethius.[19]

17. BCT MS 13-4.

18. BCT MS 9-9, fol. 49r.

19. On the Boethian background to the twelfth-century discussions of logic and grammar, neoplatonism, and Trinitarian theology considered here, see M.-D. Chenu, "Aetas Boethiana," *La théologie au douzième siècle*, Études de Philosophie Médiévale 45 (Paris, 1976), pp. 142–58.

Alan of Lille borrowed from Gilbert of Poitiers the idea that concepts and terms used in one science could be adapted to describe another so that terms used in grammar and logic could be applied to the study of theology. When used to discuss God, who is simple, these terms often take on different meanings from those they hold when used to describe created things.[20] Of the 134 theological maxims included in the critical edition of Alan's *Regulae caelestis iuris* (*Rules of Heavenly Law*),[21] some 45 concern the rules for constructing valid statements about God. The principles enunciated in the *Regulae* are repeated by Alan in his *Summa 'Quoniam homines'* in a less systematic and schematic form.[22] Rodrigo fully adapted them for use in his polemical treatise. At the same time, the very technical nature of Rodrigo's arguments, comprehension of which depends on a familiarity with contemporary French thought, indicates that the content of the treatise was destined for a Christian rather than a Jewish audience.

Medieval discussions of grammar began with a consideration of its objects: words and speech. Rodrigo writes that neither words ("uocabula") nor a speaker ("prolator") existed at the time of the Creation. Both came into existence after the creation of man by the beating of air on the human palate. By means of this beating, man devised words that he used to apply names to created things. The natures, essences, and forms of things cannot be differentiated unless they are distinguished by a rational sound. Words, then, are not eternal since they need both air and a speaker in order to be expressed. Rodrigo concludes from this that no word can be predicated eternally of God but that the things themselves, like essence and person, exist eternally and that now, albeit metaphorically, they can be signified by words. These words connote temporal effects in created things.[23] We see here the same kind of inter-

20. For a discussion of Gilbert's use of proportionate transumption, see John Marenbon, "Gilbert of Poitiers," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 335–36. For Gilbert's influence on Alan, see Suzanne Elizabeth Potter, *A Study of the 'Regula de sacra theologia' of Alan of Lille*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972, pp. 66–72, 157.

21. Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., "Magister Alanus de Insulis. *Regulae caelestis iuris*," *AHDLMA* 48 (1981): 97–226, hereafter *Regulae*.

22. P. Glorieux, "La somme 'Quoniam homines' d'Alain de Lille," *AHDLMA* 28 (1953): 113–369, hereafter *Quoniam homines*.

23. *Dialogus* I.x, lines 89–102, p. 198. Boethius defined voice as the beating of air, and his description is quoted by numerous twelfth-century authors: Boethius, *In perihermenias*, ed. Charles Meiser (Leipzig, 1880), I, line 18, p. 4; Peter Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. Leo Reilly, 2 vols., Studies and Texts 113 (Toronto, 1993), 1: 66.

est in human language as we see in Rodrigo's discussion of the consequences of the fall of the Tower of Babel.

Alan cites Boethius's axiom that only man could give names ("nomina") to things and specifies that what man names are things that exist by virtue of matter and form.[24] In the *Quoniam homines,* Alan expands this statement: since God lacks form, and names are given on the basis of form, no name is literally ("proprie") applicable to God. Following Alan's lead, Rodrigo cites form as one of the things that words can distinguish and states that God can only metaphorically ("improprie") be described by words. Alan elucidates this principle: Words were first devised for signifying natural things and were later transferred to theology. Labels like "just" were applied to God by men because God was perceived to be the origin of justice. God is said to be just metaphorically, but he is also literally just because he is unchangeably just. In contrast, Alan argues, Socrates is said literally to be just but is just metaphorically since his justice is changeable. God is called just because he is the source of justice: not because he acts in a just fashion but because "just" exists by virtue of that justice that is God himself. In one manner God is just, and in another He is called just because He is just by his justice and He is called just by the effects of His justice, which make us just.[25] This is the source of Rodrigo's statement that words used about God connote temporal effects in creatures.

Rodrigo applies grammar to theology repeatedly in book I of the *Dialogus.* To explain why God cannot be speaking to the angels when a first-person plural is used to describe God's actions in the Old Testament, Rodrigo writes: "All nouns, verbs, pronouns, and participles said about God unite ['copulant'] the divine essence."[26] Rodrigo then compares statements made about God to statements made about created beings, like angels. No word can unite, supposit, or relate divine essence and angelic nature because affirmations about angelic nature are composed, while affirmations about divine nature are uncomposed.[27] Again the explanation of this passage can be found in Alan's *Quoniam homines* and

24. Boethius, *In categorias,* PL 64, col. 159A; *Quoniam homines,* p. 141; *Regulae,* R. 17, p. 136.

25. *Quoniam homines,* pp. 140–41; cf. *Regulae,* R. 26, p. 142. Alan's argument derives from Gilbert of Poitiers, who understood the common definition of a noun, "a substance with quality," to mean that a noun signifies both the thing itself (here, "just") and the form by which it is ("justice"): Potter, *Study,* p. 158.

26. *Dialogus* I.vii, lines 55–57, p. 192.

27. *Dialogus* I.vi, lines 61–63, p. 192.

Regulae, where he in turn amplifies a commentary of Eriugena on statements made about God in Ps.-Dionysius's *De caelestis hierarchibus* (*On Heavenly Hierarchies*). Eriugena explains that "depulsiones," or negative statements, are truly appropriate for signifying divine things, while "intentiones," or affirmative statements, are not.[28] Alan clarifies this point in the *Regulae* under the heading "All affirmations said about God are said uncomposedly, all negations are said truly." An affirmation is called "composed" when it truly signifies the composition it seems to signify. The composed affirmation "Peter is just" seems to signify a composition of Peter and justice, and that is what it does signify. An "uncomposed" affirmation does not signify the composition it seems to signify. The uncomposed affirmation "God is just" does not signify a composition of God and justice because God is justice. Negations can however be properly said about God.[29]

Rodrigo explains how talk about God differs from talk about creatures by citing Genesis 1:26, *We made man in our image and likeness.* Rodrigo disagrees with Jewish exegesis of the verse by arguing that the verb for "we made" cannot have both God and angels as its subject: "The likeness or image of God is different from that of an angel since words assert something, conjoin, refer, or supposit in one way for the Creator, in another way for a creature."[30] Rodrigo uses a similar argument in his *Breuiarium* to discuss Genesis 1:26. The human soul was made rational, according to God's likeness. They are similar in their powers, for humans are just and wise to the degree that they participate in God's justice and wisdom. But these words predicate different things about God than about man. Used about God they predicate the divine essence; used about man they predicate the effects of the divine essence on us.[31]

Rodrigo also employs Alan's grammar and logic to explain how terms

28. "Si igitur depulsiones in divinis verae, intentiones vero incompactae, obscuritati arcanorum magis apta est per dissimiles reformationes manifestatio." Ps.-Dionysius, *Caelestis hierarchibus,* in the translation of John Scotus Eriugena, *Versio operum S. Dionysii Areopagitae,* PL 122, col. 1041C.

"Si, inquit, depulsiones, hoc est negationes, quas Greci ΑΠΟΦΑCΕΙC uocant, in diuinis significationibus uere fiunt, non autem intentiones, affirmationes uidelicet, quas ΚΑΤΑΦΑCΕΙC dicunt, eisdem diuinis significationibus compacte et conuenientes sunt." John Scotus Eriugena, *Expositiones in ierarchiam coelestem,* ed. Jeanne Barbet, CCCM 31 (Turnhout, 1975), II, lines 517–21, p. 34.

29. *Regulae,* R. 18, pp. 136–7; *Quoniam homines,* p. 140.

30. *Dialogus* I.vii, lines 65–68, p. 192.

31. *Breuiarium* I.vii, lines 18–25, pp. 22–23.

are used about the Trinity in the *Dialogus*. In the chapter titled "How Names Said about God Should Be Understood," Rodrigo contends that everything said about God is said according to substance or relation, not according to accident.[32] Relation, one of Aristotle's ten categories, was used in theology to discuss the relationship of each of the three persons of the Trinity to the other two. In his *De trinitate,* Boethius states that the predication of relation does not in itself add, take away, or change anything in the thing of which it is said. Since it does not produce predication according to the essential property of a thing, it does not change its essence or add accidents. When used about God, the terms Father and Son are predicates of relation and have no other difference than relation. Therefore they do not imply an otherness of God but an otherness of persons.[33] Gilbert of Poitiers builds on this use of relation in his commentary on Boethius's *De trinitate*. Theological persons are different from natural persons. Natural persons differ from one another in essence, but there is no difference in essence among the theological persons—any difference is due to the predication of relation, which is extrinsic and nonessential.[34] Rodrigo appeals to the theological meaning of relation to differentiate the three persons according to their properties when he writes that words may be used about God to assign relation.

Rodrigo's imagined Jewish interlocutor argues that when a Christian says, "God generates God," he either means that God generates himself or another god. If this means that God generates himself, this is impossible; if God generates another god, then Christians worship two gods. Rodrigo answers with arguments found in Alan of Lille's *Regulae* and *Quoniam homines*. The word God, when it is placed with a notional verb like "generates," "is generated," or "proceeds," supposits not God's essence but rather a person of the Trinity. Therefore, when we say, "God generates," God supposits the Father; when we say, "God is generated," God supposits the Son; and when we say, "God proceeds," God supposits the Holy Spirit.[35] The verb *supponere*—translated here as "supposit"—

32. *Dialogus* I.vi, lines 2–4, p. 190. This is close to the title of the twenty-third rule of Alan's *Regulae,* p. 139. Compare Augustine, *De trinitate,* ed. W. J. Mountain, CCSL 50–50A (Turnhout, 1968), V, 5, esp. lines 19–22, p. 211.

33. Boethius, *De trinitate* V, in *Theological Tractates,* trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge Mass., 1973), pp. 26–28.

34. Lauge Olaf Nielsen, *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 149–51; Michael E. Williams, *The Teaching of Gilbert Porreta on the Trinity* (Rome, 1931), pp. 68–69.

35. *Dialogus* I.iiii, lines 5–9, p. 186.

indicates a word used as the subject of a sentence that stands for something else. "Supposition" can occur in three different ways with respect to God: In the sentence "God is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," God stands for the divine essence, deity. In the phrase "Only one God," God stands for an indeterminate person. In "God differs from God in nothing," God stands for person, for example, "The Father differs from God in nothing."[36] Rodrigo applies this final mode of supposition in the *Dialogus*. Rodrigo calls the verbs "generates," "is generated," and "proceeds" notional verbs because they are the verbs that delineate the notions or personal properties that separate the persons of the Trinity from each other. The persons subsist by virtue of the venerable properties ("proprietatibus adorandis") by which they may be distinguished from each other. Rodrigo calls these properties "notions."[37]

Rodrigo uses personal properties to distinguish the relationship between the persons of the Trinity:

> Power, wisdom, and will, that is, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinguished by properties that are to be adored. These properties are called notions by Catholics and there are five of them: innascability, by which it is known that the Father does not come from another; the second is paternity, by which it is known that the Father generates the Son—by these two the Father is known to be a different person than the Son or the Holy Spirit. The third notion is filiation, by which it is known that Son is generated from, and is not the same person as the Father; the fourth notion is spiration, by which it is known that the Father and Son breathe the Holy Spirit with the same breath and that they are not one person with the Holy Spirit; and the fifth notion is procession, by which it is known that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son, and that it is not one person with the Father and Son.[38]

This argument derives from Gilbert of Poitiers's use of these properties to show the Trinity could be one essence and three persons.[39] The names

36. Potter, *Study*, pp. 171–74, explains Alan's use of "supponere." See *Regulae*, R. 36, pp. 146–47, and *Quoniam homines*, pp. 218–19.

37. *Dialogus* I.iii, lines 88–90, p. 186; cf. *Breuiarium* I.ii, lines 50–53, p. 12.

38. *Dialogus* I.viiii, lines 2–14, p. 194.

39. "Nunc diuersis proprietatibus esse diuersos eosdem, quorum non nisi singularis ac simplex est essencia, naturalium rationibus uult demonstrare." Gilbert of Poitiers, *De trinitate*, I, 3, 34, in Nikolaus M. Häring, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, Studies and Texts 13 (Toronto, 1966), lines 17–21, p. 109. Marenbon, "Gilbert of Poitiers," p. 335.

Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinguished from the predicaments signified by the names themselves. These predicaments are, for Gilbert, paternity, filiation, and connection. Because they are not shared by all three persons together, they are accidental in the sense that they are relations that are predicated extrinsically, as indicated in the preceding, and are not perfections or realities that differ from the divine essence.[40] Gilbert's use of personal properties was one of the elements of his theology taken up most enthusiastically by the *porrentani,* as followers of Gilbert of Poitiers were known, such as Simon of Tournai (ca. 1130–1201), Everard of Ypres, and Alan of Lille, who were opposed in their use of these properties, which they called "notions," by Peter Lombard and others.[41]

According to Alan, the names Father, Son, and Holy Spirit signify certain properties, such as paternity, filiation, and procession, which are called "relations" because the persons are related to each other through them. The properties are called "notions," either because they are understood by a prior notion in the mind or because the persons come into our understanding (*notitiam*) by means of them.[42] Rodrigo lists five notions. Alan also states that there are five notions, but he does not list what they are, although he mentions all those listed by Rodrigo at some point in the *Quoniam homines.* Like Rodrigo, he calls them things to be adored.[43] Michael Scot similarly argues that there are five notions, and like Rodrigo and Alan, he terms them "paternity," "filiation," "procession," "innascability," and "spiration."[44]

All Plurality Has Its Origins in Unity

Rodrigo took his arguments that all plurality or number must have had its origin in unity from Alan of Lille. Even the pagan philosophers

40. Nielsen, *Theology and Philosophy,* pp. 151–55; Williams, *Porreta on the Trinity,* pp. 74–76.

41. M.-D. Chenu, "Grammaire et théologie," *La théologie au douzième siècle,* pp. 106–7. For Everard of Ypres see Nikolaus M. Häring, "The Cistercian Everard of Ypres and His Appraisal of the Conflict between St. Bernard and Gilbert of Poitiers," *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955): 143–72, particularly pp. 162–63, where Everard lists paternity, filiation, procession, and innascability as personal properties and defines what a notion is in a letter to Pope Urban III. For Simon of Tournai see his *Disputationes,* ed. Joseph Warichez (Louvain, 1932), disp. LXXIX, p. 229.

42. *Quoniam homines,* p. 210.

43. *Quoniam homines,* pp. 210–11.

44. He calls them "notitiones": *Liber introductorius,* p. 87.

had some knowledge of God, they argue. Borrowing from Augustine, Rodrigo states that the philosophers knew that created, changeable, composed, mortal beings must have an uncreated, inalterable, simple, immortal origin.[45] But Rodrigo argues that pagan philosophers understood the Trinity only incompletely, not fully comprehending the Holy Spirit. He compares the philosophers to the magicians of the Egyptian pharaoh who were confounded in their encounter with Moses. They copied Moses's first two miracles but failed to perform the third miracle. Rodrigo continues:

> The philosophers recognized *tugaton* and *noym* (that is, God and his Mind) by the theoretical intellect, but they did not arrive at an understanding of the third person (that is, the Spirit). Still, they knew God as one principle and also his Mind, in which all things are disposed, and so they called his Mind the World Archetype. Like [the magicians] Iamnes and Mambres (cf. 2 Timothy 3:8), the philosophers also failed when it came to understanding the Spirit. . . . Nevertheless, one of them spoke in this way: "The monad generates the monad and turns its yearning back upon itself." "Monad" means the one, or unity; and one Father generated one Son; and love turns its own yearning back upon itself by virtue of the Holy Spirit, who is the love proceeding from Both; the yearning love of the Father and the Son is adored equally with Them.[46]

This passage betrays the influence of the hermeticism popular in the second half of the twelfth century, notably with Alan of Lille.[47] Rodrigo's source for the phrase on the monad is Alan of Lille, who uses it in several of his works to explain the Trinity. Alan got this expression from the *Liber XXIV Philosophorum* (*Book of the Twenty-Four Philosophers*), a list of twenty-four characterizations of God supposedly compiled by an assemblage of twenty-four philosophers and ascribed in some manuscripts to "Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus," although the text probably dates only from the second half of the twelfth century. Its first definition reads, "God is the Monad, begetting the Monad, reflect-

45. *Dialogus* I.ii, lines 29–42, pp. 182–83; Augustine, *De civitate dei*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1993), VIII, 6; 2: 329–31.

46. *Dialogus* I.xii; lines 16–27, p. 203.

47. Chenu, "Les platonismes au XIIe siècle," *La théologie au douzième siècle*, pp. 134–35.

ing its love onto itself."[48] Alan gives his reformulation of the phrase in the third of his *Regulae,* in the identical words Rodrigo would use, and he explains its meaning: Only something simple can be generated from something simple, thus the monad generates the monad—the Father, the Son. The Holy Spirit is the yearning, love, kiss, or connection of the Father and the Son and a sign of their unity.[49] Alan also uses the phrase in his *Contra haereticos* as part of his proofs from reason for the Trinity against the arguments of the Jews. Like Rodrigo, he ascribes the phrase to "a philosopher."[50]

Alan's use of the phrase in his *Quoniam homines* is closest to Rodrigo's formulation of it in the passage quoted in the preceding. Alan states that the pagan philosophers were aware of traces ("uestigia") of the Trinity, but almost as if through a dream. They did not have sufficient awareness of the three persons that they could differentiate them by means of their "notions," or personal properties. But, Alan claims, they said many things about God and His Mind and the world soul ("anima mundi") that could refer to the three persons, and so philosophers are said to have been aware of the Trinity. Alan, like Rodrigo, questions why Augustine had interpreted the failure of the magicians to perform the third miracle as the failure of pagan philosophers to know the Holy Spirit. Unlike Rodrigo, however, Alan argues that the world soul can in some way be compared with the Holy Spirit. Alan quotes pagan statements that he believes reflect a full knowledge of the Trinity, one of which is the phrase "The monad generates the monad . . ." again ascribed to an anonymous philosopher.[51] While Rodrigo identifies the Son with divine wisdom and the world archetype, he studiously avoids any mention of a world soul in his writings. Indeed, the only other references to the world soul by Alan are in his *Sermo de sphaera*

48. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Liber XXIV philosophorum," in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum,* ed. P. O. Kristeller, 8 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1960–), 1: 151–54; *Liber viginti quattuor philosophorum,* ed. Françoise Hudry, CCCM 143A (Turnhout, 1997), I, p. 5. Hudry argues that the text is a translation of an Alexandrine philosophical work dating from some time after the beginning of the third century, p. xxii.

49. *Regulae,* R. 3, pp. 127–28; Potter, *Study,* p. 113.

50. Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos,* PL 210, col. 405D.

51. *Quoniam homines,* p. 168. Identification of the world soul with the Holy Spirit, an argument attributed to Peter Abelard, was condemned by the Council of Sens, and William of St. Thierry attacked the use of the term by both Abelard and William of Conches: Tullio Gregory, "The Platonic Inheritance," in *Twelfth-Century Philosophy,* pp. 68–69.

intelligibili (*Sermon on the Intelligible Sphere*), which is preserved in only one manuscript.[52]

While Alan's phrase "The monad generates the monad . . ." originates in the *Liber XXIV philosophorum,* the idea behind it can be traced to Thierry of Chartres, who used mathematics to evoke the Trinity. According to Alan, we cannot speak of the "other" without first positing the "one," although we can consider the "one" without positing an "other." Unity thus transcends alterity, in addition to being prior to it. God, who is unity, is the source of all alterity.[53] Unity multiplied by itself, however, produces unity: $1 \times 1 = 1$. The unity that is produced is equal to the unity that generates it. Between the generating unity and the equality generated by it, there is desire or connection. Thierry interprets the passage from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* (*On Christian Doctrine*) "Unity in the Father, equality in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit the union of unity and equality; and all these three are one because of the Father, equal because of the Son, and joined because of the Holy Spirit" in terms of this arithmetical equation.[54] Alan's monad that generates the monad and turns its love back on itself is a reformulation of Thierry's understanding of this passage from Augustine.[55] The fourth of the *Regulae* is the phrase "Unity in the Father . . . ," quoted from Augustine (see the preceding).[56] Rodrigo alludes to this expression when he is discussing the Augustinian triad "mind, knowledge of itself, love." He writes, "Thus the love between the Parent and Child is a connection or em-

52. Edited in Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille. Textes inédits* (Paris, 1965), pp. 299 and 302. d'Alverny erroneously states that this is the only one of Alan's works to mention the *anima mundi,* p. 169.

53. As Alan writes, "Vnitas autem a nullo descendit. Omnis pluralitas ab unitate defluit. Vnitas de se gignit unitatem, de se profert equalitatem." *Regulae,* R. 1, p. 125.

54. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* ed. Joseph Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1962), I, 5, lines 15–18, p. 9. Édouard Jeauneau, "Mathématiques et Trinité chez Thierry de Chartres," pp. 94–95, and "Note sur L'École de Chartres," pp. 10–11, 49, both in "*Lectio Philosophorum*": *recherches sur l'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam, 1973). Thierry outlines his arguments in *De sex dierum operibus,* in Nikolaus M. Häring, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres,* Studies and Texts 20 (Toronto, 1971), 30–47, pp. 568–75.

55. d'Alverny suggests that Alan may have been a student of Thierry and highlights his influence on Alan's writings in *Textes inédits,* pp. 20–21. See also Potter, *Study,* p. 5.

Marie-Humbert Vicaire notes the influence of Boethius, Eriugena, and Gilbert of Poitiers on the development of the thought of Thierry and Alan and highlights the influence on Alan of Arab neoplatonism: "Les porrétains et l'avicennisme avant 1215," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 26 (1937): 456.

56. *Regulae,* R. 4, p. 128. See also his *Contra haereticos,* col. 405C–D, and *Quoniam homines,* pp. 168, 248.

brace, and neither of these two is greater than the other, nor lesser, since although it is a Trinity, no inequality can be found there."[57]

One of the oldest and most popular ways to explain the Trinity was by means of images. To answer the question of his imaginary Jewish interlocutor, why there were only three persons in God, not four or five, Rodrigo writes that memory, reason, and intellect ("memoria, ratio, et intellectus") are present in God, without which He could not judge angels and humans, nor love and cherish other creatures.[58] In his *Sermo de Trinitate* (*Sermon on the Trinity*), basically a compendium of different Trinitarian analogies, Alan cites precisely this three-part likeness of the soul to God.[59] Michael Scot also compares the Trinity to intellect, reason, and memory in the rational soul in the prologue to his *Liber introductorius* to explain how God can be both three and one.[60] In his *De trinitate*, Augustine argues that the mark of the image of the Trinity can be found in the human soul. Augustine cites three triads of powers within the human soul that are analogies of the Trinity: *mens, notitia, amor; memoria sui, intelligentia, voluntas;* and *memoria Dei, intelligentia, amor.*[61] Analogies of the Trinity to the human soul became commonplace in the Middle Ages, but Michael Scot, Alan of Lille, and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada are unusual in their use of the specific powers of memory, reason, and intellect as an analogy to the Trinity.

These formulations about the nature of divinity are more than interesting abstractions that help us connect the work of hitherto unconnected medieval thinkers. For these medieval theologians, their understanding of the nature of divinity and its relation to creation was not merely a matter of speculation but necessarily had practical consequences for the ordering of the world. Thus, Rodrigo's theology cannot be divorced from the way he dealt with those who did not believe what he believed. Étienne Gilson highlights the peculiarly polemical character of the theology of the person who was Rodrigo's primary influence, Alan of Lille. Alan founds his theology on an understanding of the monad—God—as pure unity, that by which everything is one. Thus,

57. *Dialogus* I.iii, lines 79–80, p. 186.

58. *Dialogus* I.viii, lines 2–6, p. 193.

59. Alan of Lille, *Sermo de Trinitate*, in d'Alverny, *Textes inédits*, p. 257; cf. *Quoniam homines*, p. 192.

60. *Liber introductorius*, pp. 77–78, 94, 103.

61. On Augustine's use of analogies to describe the Trinity, see *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1903–50), 15.2: cols. 1688–92.

Gilson argues, Alan is compelled to justify Christian dogma by translating all relations between superiors and inferiors in terms of relations between "same" and "other." Everywhere there is some being, there is some unity, and this unity ultimately comes from the monad. As we descend down the hierarchical chain of being, from God to the angels and down to mankind, plurality increases with the distance from God, the source of unity.[62]

In the next section, we examine in more detail how Alan's understanding of divine hierarchy affected Rodrigo and his circle. The implications of this for relations with non-Christians are obvious. As claimed in Rodrigo's historical writings, plurality or diversity and thus distance from God is greater among Jews and Muslims than Christians. Tending away from unity in their divergent beliefs, non-Christians represent an undesirable increase in plurality. Yet, as participators in being, they do still have some share in unity, and so they are different in degree from Christians, not in kind. It is in this context that we must interpret the facts that among Alan's theological writings we find a polemical text in four parts directed toward Cathar and Waldensian heretics, Jews, and Muslims and that Rodrigo spent so much effort confronting non-Christians in text and battle. For Rodrigo, the milieu in which he grew up affected the political theology he adopted, and that in turn shaped his contacts with Muslims and Jews.

Cosmology and Hierarchy

The hierarchy of being that I describe here is intimately linked to particular theories of cosmology. Rodrigo's cosmology is primarily neo-Platonic and betrays the influence of thinkers traditionally associated with the School of Chartres. He follows in the footsteps of those twelfth-century thinkers who believed that God left his imprint on the universe at the moment of Creation and thus can become knowable to some degree by studying Creation. This approach is shown in the preceding in the analogy of the Trinity to the powers of the human soul. God is also present in the macrocosm, all of creation.[63] Attention focused on

62. Étienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1955), pp. 172–74.

63. J. M. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres*, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa 8 (Ottawa, 1938), p. 69. Compare Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, in Häring, *Thierry of Chartres*, 1, p. 555: "Utilitas uero huius libri est cognitio dei ex facturis suis cui soli cultus religionis exhibendus est."

the relationship between the Son and Creation, on the six days of Creation, and on the existence of a hierarchy of being unfolding from the Trinity, extending through the orders of angels, down to the lowliest of mankind.

Rodrigo presents an account of the relationship between God and Creation and the unfolding of the work of the first six days at the beginning of his *Breuiarium historie catholice*. This text is a paraphrase of biblical history, largely taken from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Nevertheless, Rodrigo's account of Creation marks a revealing departure from his model. Rodrigo describes the moment of creation using neo-Platonic vocabulary: "Through the Word which was in the beginning He caused all things to be according to the World Archetype." He elucidates a few lines below, "That is, through the Word, which is Wisdom proceeding from the mouth of the Almighty, He arranged and furnished the world according to it: Wisdom arranged all things sweetly with the wonderful sweetness of the Creator." The archbishop links divine wisdom, the Son (the Word), and the world archetype here.[64] This use of neo-Platonic vocabulary contradicts Comestor's own use of the Creation story to attack Platonism:

> When Moses said *God created,* he crushed the errors of three men, Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus. Plato said that there were three things which existed from eternity, namely God, ideas, and *hyle,* and at the beginning of time the world was made of *hyle*.[65]

Rodrigo is not afraid to diverge from Comestor's views when he chooses to demonstrate his own understanding of theology.

A problem twelfth-century cosmologists inherited from their patristic forebears was reconciling Sirach 18:1, *He that liveth forever created all things together,* with Exodus 20:11, *The Lord worked for six days,* and the account of creation at the beginning of Genesis. How could the world have been created both instantaneously and over the course of six days? Thierry of Chartres argues that the first authority refers to the creation of primordial matter (*primordialis materia*) at the initial moment of

64. *Breuiarium* I.i, lines 5–7, 12–15, p. 9. His *Dialogus* likewise associates the Son with divine wisdom and the world archetype: *Dialogus* I.x, lines 1–6, 82–84, pp. 195, 198.

65. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica,* PL 198, col. 1055B–C. Also, speaking on Genesis 1:2: *Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas,* Comestor writes, "Hunc locum male intellexit Plato, dictum hoc putans de anima mundi. Sed dictum est de Spiritu sancto creante," col. 1057A.

creation, while the second speaks of the ordering of this matter into form (*distinctio formarum*) over the subsequent six days.[66] Like Thierry, William of Conches divides the bringing into being of the world by God as occurring in two distinct stages, *creatio,* creation and *exornatio,* which we might define as "ordering."[67] Rodrigo adopts this two-fold act of creation in his *Breuiarium.* In the first moment of creation the heavenly empyrean, angelic nature, and the matter of the four elements were created. The firmament, planets, stars, and sublunary bodies came into being later, formed ("elementata") from these four elements.[68]

Rodrigo's two-fold understanding of creation distances God, whom he refers to in this context by the tag *natura naturans,* from the workings of nature, *natura naturata,* which unfolds creation as we perceive it. The terms "natura naturans" and "natura naturata" link Rodrigo and Michael Scot.[69] The genesis of this phraseology has attracted considerable attention because of its later use by Spinoza. Olga Weijers was the first to associate these terms with Michael Scot. Weijers notes the appearance of *natura naturata* in the Latin translation of Averroës's commentary *De anima* (*On the Soul*), which is attributed to Michael Scot in two manuscripts.[70] Based on the evidence of a passage from his *Liber introductorius,* which explains that even when the stars work against a man and a woman conceiving a child, God can make it happen, "Since God is *natura naturans* and so above *natura naturata,*" she suggests that Michael Scot invented the phrase *natura naturans*.[71] *Natura naturata* here is a power that has to do with generation.

The term *natura naturata* is also found in Averroës's commentary *De caelo* (*On the Heavens*), which was translated by Michael Scot,

66. Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus,* 4, in Häring, *Thierry of Chartres,* p. 557, lines 62–66.

67. William of Conches, *Philosophia,* ed. Gregor Maurach (Pretoria, 1980), pp. 35–36; idem, *Glosae super Platonem,* ed. Édouard Jeauneau, Textes Philosophiques du Moyen Âge 13 (Paris, 1965), 52D, p. 287. Compare Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus,* 24, in Häring, *Thierry of Chartres,* p. 565.

68. *Breuiarium* I.i, lines 17–24, p. 9.

69. Pick, "Michael Scot in Toledo," pp. 109–15, expands on the argument found here.

70. Olga Weijers, "Contribution à l'histoire des termes 'natura naturans' et 'natura naturata' jusqu'à Spinoza," *Vivarium* 16 (1978): 70. Averroës, *Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libro,* ed. F. Stuart Crawford (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 187.

71. Weijers, "Contribution," 71. She quotes from a manuscript of the *Liber introductorius:* Munich CLM, MS 10268, fol. 141ra. Lynn Thorndike translated the longer passage that this extract is taken from in *Michael Scot* (London, 1965), p. 105. See also Weijers's edition of Pseudo-Boethius, *De disciplina scholarium* (Leiden, 1976), 169–70.

whose dedication of the text to Stephen of Provins is found in thirteen of its thirty-one manuscripts.[72] The commentary on *Physica* (*Physics*) might have been translated by Michael Scot; its prologue was translated by his successor at Frederick's court, Theodore of Antioch, but the prologue is missing in most of the manuscripts, suggesting it was not part of the original translation.[73] It too contains forms of *naturata*.[74] It is true that the authorship of only a few of the many manuscripts of translations of Averroës's commentaries on *De anima* and *Physica* are attributed to Michael.[75] Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius* was a more likely conduit of these expressions to the rest of the world than the translations of Averroës's commentaries in any case because the commentaries do not contain the term *natura naturans.*

Most subsequent thirteenth-century authors would use the term *natura naturata* differently from the way Michael Scot uses it. For them, *natura naturans* is equivalent to God, as it is in Michael's formulation, but *natura naturata* is simply a synonym for everything created, all of which is beneath God.[76] Michael Scot uses *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* again in the *Liber introductorius,* in a passage not noted by Weijers. In the prologue to the *Liber introductorius,* Michael explains that there are two natures, divine and human, the divine nature residing in the angels and the human in people.[77] He then distinguishes *natura naturans* from *natura naturata:*

> For *natura naturans* is divine nature. *Natura naturata* is the essence of the four elements by the operation of which there is a wonderful motion because by the motion, or union, of these, various things are generated and conceived.[78]

Michael's *natura naturata,* both here and in the passage quoted earlier, is not simply everything that is created but rather the motion-producing

---

72. Averroës, in *De caelo,* 1.2, in *Commentariis,* 12 vols. (Venice, 1562–74), 5: f. 2e.

73. R. de Vaux, "La première entrée d'Averroës chez les latins," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 22 (1933): 196–203, 219–21.

74. Averroës, *Physica,* 2, in *Commentariis,* 4: f. 53b.

75. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "Michael Scot," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* 18 vols. (New York, 1970–), 11: 362.

76. Weijers lists many usages of this type in "Contribution," 72–78. Compare Henry Lucks, "Natura naturans—Natura naturata," *New Scholasticism* 9 (1935): 9.

77. *Liber introductorius,* pp. 12–13.

78. *Liber introductorius,* p. 13.

power within the four elements, which in turn causes generation. This operation reflects an understanding of creation as a two-fold process, as already discussed.

Rodrigo uses these terms in book I of the *Dialogus*. He explains that we know of the existence of an immovable mover because the existence of motion in all things requires some stationary source. He then answers the objection, supposedly put forth by his Jewish interlocutor, that these movable things may move by some natural motion, not through an immovable God:

> If you say that something is moved by a movement of nature, I say to you that nature does not possess in itself the power that something can be moved by it, nor that something can act by means of it, since it exists by means of Another and acts by means of Another. We will arrive at Him who acts by Himself, through Himself, and in Himself, not by means of another or for another. This nature, by whose zeal like things generated from like, is not *natura naturans,* but *natura naturata* by the first principle.[79]

Rodrigo posits two types of nature here: One, *natura naturans,* is God. Rodrigo refers elsewhere in the *Dialogus* to God as *natura naturans,* which, since it had no beginning, is able to work perpetually.[80] The second type of nature, *natura naturata,* was created by God. Rodrigo, like Michael but unlike many of the thirteenth-century jurists and scholastics who followed them, does not simply understand it to be a synonym for the created world. Rather, this nature is a power placed within a thing by means of which that thing can reproduce itself.

The two definitions of nature Rodrigo gives, as God and as a generative power, are found in the writings of Alan of Lille. In his *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum* (*Definitions of Theological Terms*), Alan provides eleven different definitions of nature, two of which are of interest here. Quoting from Boethius's *Contra Eutychen* (*Against Eutyches*), "Nature is whatever can act or experience," Alan says that God can be called nature, since he is the efficient cause of everything. Alan also describes nature as a power taken on by natural things that procreates like things

79. *Dialogus* I.ii, lines 22–29, p. 182. The edition erroneously has "natura" for "naturata." The manuscript Salamanca BU MS 2089, fol. 26va, reads "nata" with an abbreviation mark over the *n* and the first *a*.

80. *Dialogus* VIII.i, lines 31–32, p. 397. He also uses the term in his epilogue to Diego García's 1218 work *Planeta*, ed. Manuel Alonso (Madrid, 1943), p. 463.

from like, "ex similibus procreans similia."[81] God is in charge of creation; nature takes care of procreation.[82] These are the definitions Rodrigo gives to *natura naturans* and *natura naturata,* and Alan's wording recalls Rodrigo's, "similia a similibus generantur."[83]

Rodrigo's writings are the earliest written evidence of *natura naturans* and *natura naturata,* but it is doubtful that he coined the terms himself. Vincent of Beauvais uses the terms in the same way Rodrigo and Michael do in his *Speculum doctrinale* (*Mirror of Doctrine*), written probably in the mid–thirteenth century.[84] It is unlikely that Vincent took these terms and their usage from Rodrigo because the works by the archbishop in which they are found were of too restricted circulation to have affected Vincent. Likewise, he did not take them from Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius* because, although Michael's *natura naturata* is a generative power, he does not, as far as I can determine, use the characteristic language "similia ex similibus procreans." As discussed, Rodrigo's definitions for the terms can be found in the works of Alan of Lille. It seems possible that Alan of Lille himself or someone in his circle minted these expressions.

For these thinkers, God unfolds His creation in a hierarchy of being. This is another feature linking Rodrigo, Michael, and other Toledan thinkers to each other and to Alan of Lille. Michael devotes a large part of the prologue of his *Liber introductorius* to a discussion of hierarchy

81. Alan's definitions of nature are in *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum,* PL 210, col. 871A–D.

82. G. Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille* (Montreal, 1951), p. 64.

83. William of Conches may be a source for these definitions. He, however, separates God's own creative activity from the activity of nature that works as an instrument of God: "Omne enim opus est vel opus creatoris vel opus nature vel artificis imitantis naturam. Opus creatoris fuit ubi elementa omnia in principio ex nichilo creavit, vel cum agitur aliquid contra naturam ut Sedulius narrat et que sepe videmus contingere. Opus nature est quod similia nascantur ex similibus, homines ex hominibus, asini ex asinis." Quoted from his gloss on Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae,* in Parent, *Doctrine de la création,* pp. 127–28: and William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem,* 28A, 104. See also Parent, *Doctrine de la création,* pp. 91–92; Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille,* p. 72; and Piero Morpurgo, who suggests that Michael Scot's understanding of nature may have been influenced by his stay in Toledo or by a reading of William of Conches: "Fonti di Michele Scoto," *Rendic. Accad. Lincei* series 8, 38 (1983): 71. One possibility need not exclude the other.

84. "In summa vero nota, quod natura primo dicitur dupliciter. Vno modo natura naturans, id est ipsa summa lex naturae, quae Deus est . . . Aliter vero dicitur natura naturata, et haec multipliciter. Vno modo natura dicitur vis insita rebus, ex similibus similia procreans, et ex grano granum speciei." Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale,* 14.4 (Douai, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, 1965), columns 1372–73.

and the place of the angelic order within it that owes most of its substance to Alan of Lille. Michael's definitions of hierarchy; his preliminary division of the hierarchy into supercelestial, celestial, and subcelestial levels (*supercelestis, celestis,* and *subcelestis*); his subdivision of the *celestis* into three hierarchies and the definitions of each; and the further subdivision of each of these hierarchies into three orders of angels can all be found in the works of Alan of Lille. Alan ranges the nine angelic orders in exactly the same descent that Michael would later adopt. Michael himself describes the names and functions of the lowest two orders at great length and dwells on their role in passing divine wisdom down to humans.[85]

Alan attributes his own understanding of the angelic hierarchy to Ps.-Dionysius and to Eriugena.[86] Ps.-Dionysius does define hierarchy as divine order, knowledge, and act, a definition reproduced by Eriugena.[87] Nevertheless, neither the division of the hierarchy into *supercelestis, celestis,* and *subcelestis* realms nor the terms and definitions of *epiphania, hyperphania,* and *hypophania* appear in either Ps.-Dionysius or Eriugena.[88] The classic exposé of the angelic order in Ps.-Dionysius, moreover, differs notably: it sets Virtues between Powers and Dominations and not above the Archangels. What, then, is Alan's source for these definitions? According to H.-F. Dondaine, similar passages about angels likewise attributed to Eriugena are found in the works of Simon of Tournai, Raoul Ardent, Master Martin, and Garnier de Rochefort.[89] Like Alan, these four men were *porretani,* influenced by the theology of Gilbert of Poitiers. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, who emphasizes Alan's own zeal for etymology, suggests that he may himself have been the originator of these angelic musings.[90]

Significantly, these expressions and definitions found their way to Toledo. The beginning of this chapter relates how Rodrigo refers to the

85. Pick, "Michael Scot in Toledo," pp. 101–3, 106–9.

86. d'Alverny, *Textes inédits,* p. 93.

87. "Est quidem Ierarchia, secundum me, ordo diuinus et scientia et actio." Eriugena, quoting Pseudo-Dionysius, in *Expositiones in ierarchiam coelestem,* 3, lines 5–6, p. 56.

88. d'Alverny, *Textes inédits,* p. 94.

89. H.-F. Dondaine, "Cinq citations de Jean Scot chez Simon de Tournai," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17 (1950): 303–11. In *Textes inédits* d'Alverny cites additional examples, p. 94, n. 97. See also, Nikolaus M. Häring, "John Scottus in Twelfth-Century Angelology," in *The Mind of Eriugena,* ed. John J. O'Meara and Ludwig Bieler (Dublin, 1973), pp. 159–64.

90. d'Alverny, *Textes inédits,* p. 97–98.

division of the angelic hierarchy into different orders in his *De rebus Hispanie*.[91] This language is used by others in his circle. Diego García (d. 1218) reproduces the division into angelic hierarchies in his *Planeta* (*Planet*), a discursive theological tractate dedicated to Rodrigo and completed in 1218. Naming Eriugena's commentary on Ps.-Dionysius's *Hierarchia* as his source, Diego García relates that many angels make up a legion, many legions make up an order, and many orders make up a hierarchy. There are three hierarchies: the *epiphania* including Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones, the *hyperphania* including Dominations, Principates, and Powers, and the *hypophania* including Virtues, Archangels, and Angels.[92] Diego García, chancellor of the kingdom of Castile, was also among the Toledan group that accompanied Rodrigo to Rome and Lateran IV. He certainly knew Michael Scot personally, and all three shared a particular angelology.[93]

These musings on angels were more than intellectual speculations on pinheads. This view of the relationship between God and creation as a hierarchical chain of being had practical consequences for how these thinkers understood the world itself to be ordered. It justified the hierarchy observable in the world. In his *Dialogus* Rodrigo demonstrates a strong interest in the angelic hierarchy and the way it models the earthly ecclesiastical hierarchy. He explains to his Jewish interlocutor that the Church was not established by men; rather, Christ himself ordered a Church of angels and a Church of men. He then identifies the nine orders of angels and follows this list with one of the ecclesiastical offices, from the pope, "who alone has the plenitude of power," and cardinals down through the doorkeepers and psalmists.[94] These passages are part of a very strong set of statements concerning the subordination of the secular

91. "Divisi angeli divisa officia sunt sortiti," *De rebus Hispanie* I.i, line 10, p. 9.

92. "Ad hoc autem non dissonat iohannes scotus super ierarchiam dionisii. Multi enim angeli et nobis innumerabiles constituunt unam legionem. Multe legiones constituunt unum ordinem. Tres ordines constiuunt unam iherarchiam. Sunt autem novem ordines angelorum quos ut descendendo computem ut matheus genealogiam christi et ysaias dona spiritus sancti. Primus ordo est seraphyn, secundus cherubyn, tercius throni, et isti tres ordines faciunt primam iherarchiam. Quartus dominationes, quintus principatus, sextus potestates, et isti faciunt secundum iherarchiam. Septimus virtutes, octavus archangeli, nonus angeli, et isti faciunt terciam iherarchiam. Prima iherarchia vocatur epiphania. Secunda hyperphania. Tercia hypophania." Diego García, *Planeta,* pp. 377–78.

93. Rivera Recio, "Personajes hispanos," p. 337.

94. *Dialogus* IV.iiii, lines 17–22, p. 298. Rodrigo's ordering of the angels, at least in this late manuscript, differs from that supplied by Alan and Michael Scot. The positions of the Thrones and Virtues are transposed, as are the Powers and Dominations.

realm to the Church. Rodrigo asserts that the prophecy in Isaiah 49:23, *The kings and queens will be your nursemaids,* was fulfilled in the Church since the emperors, kings, and princes who once condemned Jesus to death were later filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit and endowed the Church:

> And such was their sadness and grief when they saw the wounds of Jesus Christ that they thought themselves to be less than trampled dust, and then they built churches and furnished them with gifts, and endowed them with castles, cities, and lands.[95]

Blame for the crucifixion is placed on the rulers, not on the Jews, in Rodrigo's text. Rodrigo then alludes to the Donation of Constantine and notes how Constantine yielded the imperium to Pope Sylvester, "taking himself down from the imperial summit and relinquishing power of command to the pope."[96] Rodrigo continues:

> He who is now called emperor of the Romans avows that he is a vassal of the pope; the emperor of Constantinople and many other kings are vassals of the Roman Church; many others are tributaries; many other princes of territories, dukes, counts, marquesses, and very many knights are subject to taxation and even overlordship by local churches.[97]

Rodrigo makes a forceful statement here on the sovereignty held by the Church over temporal rulers.[98] It supports the importance he placed on himself as primate of Spain as the figure around whom all Spain could unite.

Placing the Church above the secular sphere, and then differentiating a hierarchical ordering within the Church, is the only way that Rodrigo divides up the subcelestial sphere. He does not bother to place the secular world in a hierarchical order, and so he neither defines a place for Jews, Muslims, and other nonbelievers within such a hierarchy nor says that they would be excluded from a properly ordered secular world. He was obviously not unaware of the secular hierarchy that

95. *Dialogus* IV.ii, lines 59–63, p. 294.

96. "Ab imperiali culmine se deponens et papae concedens imperii potestate." *Dialogus* IV.iii, lines 7–9, p. 295.

97. *Dialogus* IV.iii, lines 9–14, p. 295.

98. Compare *Dialogus* IV.iii, lines 58–68, p. 297.

prevailed in his world, including the provision that Jews were servants of the Crown,[99] but he ignores this to make the more important point for him, that the secular world was subject to the Church. In the world rightly ordered under the Church that he was trying to build, other hierarchies become less important and even political disunity becomes possibly irrelevant. In any case, as we see in his historical writing, political disunity is inevitable since the Fall. Indeed, he even provides in this section of the *Dialogus* for a good deal of diversity in the ways Christians themselves practiced their own faith:

> They live with Christ under the unity of the Church although they are distinguished by different signs and forms of worship; and just as a variety of curtains once decorated the inside of the tabernacle, so now does a variety of religious practices decorate the Church of Christ.[100]

We recall when we read this that both the Roman and Mozarabic rites were practiced in Rodrigo's Toledo.

Another allusion to Alan's version of the celestial hierarchy that connects this theology to political theory is found in the prologue to the revised statutes of the cathedral chapter of Burgos issued by Mauricio (1213–38). It describes how the order of this world mirrors heavenly order:

> The wise man knows, indeed, the great worthiness of order even in natural things, since without order the fabric of the sensible world would not exist even for a moment. Let him who wishes to know how greatly order likewise prevails in the more worthy invisible and eternal things read the book of the great Dionysius *On the Celestial Hierarchy,* where he disputes wonderously and in a heavenly manner on the nine orders of the celestial virtues. The same holy martyr teaches in his book *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* that the things that arise in the Church of God, whether in the sacraments or offices, have a certain likeness to those things that the Supreme Hierarch, namely the divine Goodness that is the beginning of everything, has ordained in the supercelestial hierarchy.[101]

99. Baer, *History of the Jews,* 1: 85–89.

100. "Licet diuersis signis et cultibus uarientur, sub unitate ecclesie Christo degunt; et sicut interiora tabernaculi cortinarum uarietas decorabat, ita et Christi ecclesiam religionum uarietas nunc decorat." *Dialogus* IV.iii, lines 52–55, p. 296.

101. Luciano Serrano, *Don Mauricio, obispo de Burgos y fundalor de su catedral* (Madrid, 1922), p. 144. Cited in Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge," *AHDLMA* 22/23 (1947–48): 129.

Although Ps.-Dionysius's authority is that which is invoked, Mauricio's identification of the supercelestial hierarchy (the eternal things) with God and the celestial hierarchy (the invisible things) with the nine orders of angels should remind us immediately of Alan of Lille and Michael Scot. The third hierarchy, the "fabric of the sensible world," is mentioned too. Again, since these are capitular statutes, it is the ordering of the Church within the subcelestial world that is of issue, not the ordering of the secular sphere.

The preceding discussion demonstrates the intellectual impact of the thought of Alan of Lille on Rodrigo and on those in his circle like Michael Scot, Diego García, and Mauricio of Burgos. Transplanted to Toledo, Alan's theology provided an understanding of God and His relationship to creation that supported Rodrigo's primacy over Spain through its subordination of the secular realm to the Church. It also allowed for a place for non-Christians who possess the being and therefore some of the unity that comes from God. In the next section we see how Muslims could even be seen as conduits of divine wisdom. Nevertheless, the rejection of Christ and the increase in plurality this involves distances these non-Christians even further from God. This discourse permits them to live among Christians, but in a subordinated position.

The Cultural Significance of Translating from Arabic

Having discussed his theological and historical writings and the political theory expressed in them, we now come to the second pole of Rodrigo's intellectual labour, his sponsorship of translations from Arabic. Just as much as his theology could not be understood without reference to the prior work of Alan of Lille, so too his patronage follows a long tradition of earlier efforts. This means that in order to understand the meaning of his own sponsorship of translations, we need to understand something of how the act of translating texts from Arabic was perceived in the medieval world. For example, when medieval Christians translated scientific, philosophical, and religious texts from Arabic into Latin, what did they think was the cultural significance of the work they were doing? What motivated them to bring little-known works in difficult languages into the intellectual currency of the Latin West? Were scientific and philosophical texts regarded as somehow culturally neutral, as "white" or "un-

marked" by virtue of their rational or scientific content?[102] Did Christians have qualms about using Islamic philosophy to underpin Christian metaphysics, and if not, why not? What were the role and status of non-Christians in these translation projects? Were they equal partners in an effort to expand the frontiers of knowledge for all humankind or was their position something less? Was this "culture of translation" perforce a "culture of tolerance,"[103] or was it something else?

A well-known passage from the treatise of Ibn Abdūn on the government of Sevilla written at the beginning of the twelfth century suggests that the efforts of Christians to assimilate Arabic learning were perceived by Muslims as something other than a culturally neutral effort to increase knowledge for knowledge's sake. This text forbids the sale of scientific works to Jews or Christians, arguing that these people translate them and then attribute their authorship to themselves or their bishops.[104] In what follows, I first suggest that the Christian translators in Spain understood their work to be contributing to a process of incorporation within Christendom of all knowledge that because it was true was the rightful possession of Christians. It was the rational, scientific content of the texts they translated that made them Christian. Then I show how this was true also for the translators who worked during Rodrigo's archiepiscopacy, and I draw some lines of affiliation within this group. This process was part of the general program of incorporation and assimilation that included the conquest of Muslim-held lands.

Early Christians had to come to terms with a pagan heritage of learning and scholarship, and they had to decide to what degree they could make use of it. Early on, they adopted different rhetorical strategies and theories of cultural appropriation that allowed them to make use of the literary techniques and heritage of pagan antiquity to interpret the Bible. These strategies and theories were adapted by medieval translators to help explain Christian use of foreign science and by philosophers to justify their use of non-Christian philosophy.

Permission for Christians to acquire knowledge possessed by non-Christians was founded in the principle that right knowledge, whatever

102. I am following Jenna Mead's understanding of these categories and their connection to Orientalism: "Reading by Said's Lantern: Orientalism and Chaucer's *The Treatise on the Astrolabe*," *Medieval Encounters* 5, no. 3 (1999): 352–54.

103. In the words of Maria Rosa Menocal, *Ornament of the World*, p. 197.

104. E. Lévi-Provençal and Emilio García Gómez, *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo xii* (Madrid, 1948), pp. 172–73.

its source, issued from God and thus was properly the birthright of Christians. The classic and most influential formulation in Latin of the notion that Christians can make use of pagan learning for the interpretation of Scripture is found in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana.* Secular learning is valued not for its own sake but to the extent that it is useful for expounding Scripture, and different elements of this learning have different degrees of utility. The use of what is true in pagan philosophy is not, however, the appropriation of something relevant yet external to the Christian tradition but rather the reappropriation of that truth, which is the proper inheritance of Christians. He illustrates this with the image in Exodus 3:22, 11:2–3, and 12:35–36 of the Hebrews despoiling the Egyptians of their gold and silver on their departure from Egypt. This intellectual booty includes the liberal arts, useful ethical principles, and institutions of human governance.[105]

This image was used by twelfth-century students of Arabic learning to justify their own appropriations. The Englishman Daniel of Morley (ca. 1140–1210), disappointed with the state of scholarship in Paris, left for Toledo to listen to "the wisest philosophers in the world." In the prologue to his *Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum* (*Book of Inferior and Superior Natures*), he rationalizes his citation of Arab philosophers in preference to the Catholic fathers by declaring that though they are of a different faith, some of their words are full of faith and ought to be applied to Christian doctrine. He compares his use of the eloquence and wisdom of the gentiles with the Hebrews' despoliation of the gold and silver vessels of the Egyptians and describes his borrowing as a work of plunder.[106]

This intellectual plunder is matched by the contemporary conversion of plundered Islamic luxury goods into Christian artifacts. In the previous chapter, I discuss the high value placed by Christians on the plunder of objects of value from the Muslims in Spain. Whether acquired by trade or as war booty, their new owners were not reticent to appropriate goods of Islamic manufacture. Islamic textiles were used to line Christian reliquaries or were adapted for use as church vestments and burial cloths. Rodrigo himself was buried in vestments with embroidered panels of Islamic origin. Caskets of Muslim manufacture were adapted for

105. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* ed. Joseph Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1962), II, xl, pp. 73–74.

106. In Gregor Maurach, "Daniel von Morley, 'Philosophia,' " *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 212–13.

Christian use as reliquaries or as containers for liturgical objects.[107] These objects frequently preserved Arabic inscriptions or figural motifs that marked them as non-Christian. Julie Harris gives a Christian triumphalist reading to one such casket produced in Muslim Cuenca in 1005 and later used by the monastery of Leire in Navarre to house the relics of Nunilo and Alodia, martyred in ninth-century Córdoba. The object was prized because of, not in spite of, its Muslim origin.[108] She cites Augustine's image of despoiling the Egyptians to support her case.[109]

Another set of examples lie even closer to this study. The Cistercian women's monastery of Las Huelgas was founded by Alfonso VIII and his wife Leonor, the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, in the late twelfth century, and for the next several decades it served as a royal pantheon where they and three of their children were buried—the Infante Fernando, whose premature death in 1211 did not derail plans for the battle at Las Navas; Enrique I, who also died young, in 1217; and Berenguela of Leon, coregent with her son Fernando III until her death in 1246. All of these figures, so closely associated with the period of Castilian conquests of Muslim-held territory, were buried wearing garments of Muslim manufacture, with decorative motifs of Arabic origin and, in the cases of Fernando and Berenguela, inscriptions praising God in Arabic script. Moreover, this monastery was chosen as the resting place for an enormous Islamic war banner, which today hangs in the chapter house. Traditionally, it is said to be the banner captured from the Almohad king by Alfonso VIII at Las Navas de Tolosa, but a recent theory suggests it was among the plunder taken by Fernando III during his own period of conquest and donated to Las Huelgas at the same time that he funded work in its cloister, the roof of which uses an eight-pointed star as a decorative motif that is the same as the one that forms the heart of the war banner.[110] Whichever scenario is correct, we can see from these examples how military conquest and cultural appropriation went hand-in-hand in the minds of these medieval Christians. Rodrigo

107. For examples, see, *The Art of Medieval Spain* (New York, 1993), pp. 96, 107, 108–9, 148, 238, 240, 260–61, 273–75.

108. Compare *The Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. Pamela Sheingorn (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 73, where Bernard of Angers, writing in the early eleventh century, describes how a saddle won as booty from the Saracens had been taken apart and reconstructed as a silver cross "without breaking or damaging the Saracen engraving."

109. Julie Harris, "The Leire Casket in Context," *Art History* 18 (1995): 213–21.

110. Concha Herrero Carretero, *Museo de telas medievales. Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Huelgas* (Madrid, 1988), p. 121.

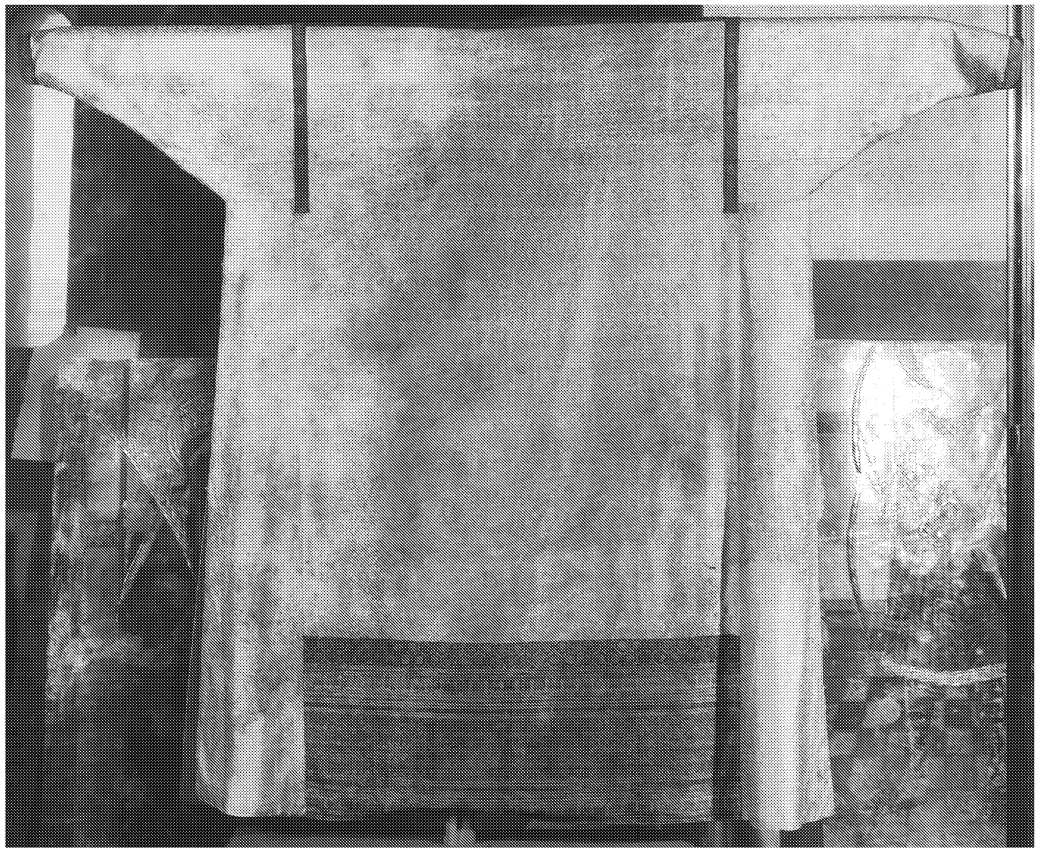


Fig. 5. The Hispano-Islamic tunic with its bands of Kūfic script in which Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was buried at the Cistercian monastery Monasterio de Santa María, Santa María la Real de Huerta, Soria. (Photograph by Sheldan Collins. Photograph © 1992 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

himself was buried in a tunic, dalmatic, and chasuble of Hispano-Islamic manufacture. A rectangular panel on the back of the tunic contains two bands repeating the Arabic word *al-yumn*, "prosperity," in Kūfic script (fig. 5).[111] These kinds of artistic borrowing and the intellectual borrowing Daniel of Morley describes are analogous cases of Christian appropriation and incorporation of Islamic treasures and were perceived as such by contemporaries.[112]

111. On the tunic, see *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn Dodds (New York, 1992), pp. 330–31.

112. For another triumphalist reading of Muslim architecture and military images in a Christian context, see Linda Seidel's interpretation of these images in Beatus manuscripts in "Apocalypse and Apocalypticism in Western Medieval Art," in *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 3 vols. (New York, 1998), 3: 470–71, 475.

Another metaphor used by Christians that compared their study of Arabic texts to the use of valuable goods was that of the uncovering or revealing of hidden treasures. Hermann of Carinthia and Robert of Ketton worked in the Ebro valley region in the 1140s. Hermann, in the letter preface to his own *De essentiis* (*On Essences*), addressed to his fellow translator Roger, chides those who are aware of the translations of the pair for being more attracted to "the trappings and decorations which long vigils, and our most earnest labour had acquired for us from the depths of the treasuries of the Arabs (ex intimis Arabum thesauris)" than to the contributions of the individual translators themselves. Hermann resolves to share the philosophical underpinnings of these texts in his *De essentiis* and is admonished by the helpful goddess who appears to him in a nighttime vision to share freely what he has learned, "for our wealth increases when it is given freely."[113]

Hugh of Santalla, who dedicated his translations to Michael, bishop of Tarazona (1119–51), also describes his work as the disclosure of secrets and the unveiling of hidden treasure. The works he translated came from the library of the Banū Hūd family, formerly rulers of Zaragoza but after 1118 resident in Rueda de Jalón. Hugh calls this library an "armarium," a word that can simply mean "library" but that also carries the meaning of being a chest for money or treasure. He describes finding texts in its innermost depths, "inter secretiora bibliotece penetralia."[114] He speaks of the wisdom he discloses as secrets and cautions lest they fall into unworthy hands. The ultimate source of these secrets is God, who "distributes to each man as He wishes what he thinks it right to bestow upon the rational creature from the treasury of His whole being." From this divine treasury, "He pours a kind of intuitive and intellectual notion of them into the secret place of men's hearts."[115] Again, this wisdom, divine in origin and reflective of the underlying unity of all creation, is more the property of the Christians who understand and reveal the truth than of the Arabs who keep it hidden.

Between 1132 and 1146 Plato of Tivoli translated texts in Barcelona, where he collaborated with the Jewish mathematician Abraham

---

113. Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis*, ed. and trans. by Charles Burnett (Leiden, 1982), pp. 70–73.

114. See the edition of his prologue in Eduardo Millás Vendrell, *El comentario de Ibn al-Muṯannā a las Tablas Astronómicas de al-Jwārizmī* (Madrid, 1963), pp. 95–97.

115. Quoted by Charles Burnett, "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyushi (Leiden, 1992), p. 1043.

bar Ḥiyya ha-Nasi (Savasorda). In the prologue to his translation of al-Battānī's *al-Zīj, De motu stellarum* (*On the Movement of the Stars*), Plato deplores the state of Latin learning in comparison with that of the Egyptians, Greeks, and even the Arabs, and he promises to enrich Latin from the treasuries of a foreign tongue, "ex aliene lingue thesauris," with his translations.[116]

Like the metaphor of despoiling the Egyptians, the metaphor of disclosing hidden treasure was used to describe not only translations by Christians of non-Christian texts but also Christian biblical exegesis, the ultimate source of divine truth. Rodrigo uses this metaphor in his *Dialogus*. In the prologue to this work, Rodrigo uses images related to the disclosing of money or treasure to explain how what is in the New Testament was concealed within the Old and how the Jews did not recognize the worth of what they had. Rodrigo calls the Old Testament a hidden treasure that contains the gospel "like a deposit, which He who would become flesh deposited among them."[117] He chides his Jewish adversary for revealing the tombs of the kings and prophets and the hidden treasures to the Babylonians, while hiding them from his own people. Christ looked for this deposit of truth in the treasure chest of antiquity ("in armario uetustatis"), where the fathers of old had hidden it so that it could be brought forth in the time of grace. The Jews neglected to guard their treasure properly, and the watchmen set to guard the treasure gave it instead to the kingdom of Christ. The prophets, however, did strive to dig up this treasure, and they were followed in this by the early Christian fathers. The tropological, anagogical, and allegorical senses of the Old Testament lay hidden in the literal sense, as if inside a deposit, until the time of Christ, when these senses remedied the shortcomings of the letter.[118]

This vocabulary, speaking as it does about the hoarding of treasure and money, has an additional set of valences in Rodrigo's anti-Jewish treatise and was doubtless not chosen accidentally. Jews were active in the economy of Spain in many fields other than that of providing financial services. Nevertheless, the lending and safekeeping of money were

116. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 450–51 and n. 130. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, "Plato of Tivoli," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 11: 31.

117. *Dialogus* prologue, lines 32–33, p. 176.

118. *Dialogus* prologue, pp. 176–79.

important functions performed by the Jews of Rodrigo's day.[119] Rodrigo seems to be making a play on words about this aspect of Jewish economic life. According to him, the Jews had a great treasure deposited among them to safeguard, which they hid away because they were afraid to lose it to others. The act of hiding it, however, caused them to undervalue it and so to lose it to the very people they were safeguarding it from. This motif is reminiscent of the Jews in the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (*Poem of the Cid*), a work most likely written in the early thirteenth century. Rachel and Vidas are asked to safeguard two chests supposedly containing tribute money collected by the Cid. Not knowing what the chests contained, they end by losing their money to the Cid.[120] The hoarding of treasure by the Jews is contrasted with the generosity of the Cid, whose liberal distribution of booty among his followers is the cause of his success. The contemporary importance of booty is discussed in the previous chapter.

Medieval translators appealed to yet another supercessionist and triumphalist image to explain their use of texts originating in another language. This was the notion that knowledge and learning were transmitted down a chain of authorities that ended with themselves. Thus, they could imply that the previous links in the chain were the means by which God transmitted wisdom over time to its rightful inheritors, the Christians. This tactic was also used by Muslim and Jewish translators. In the prologue to his Hebrew translation of al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables, Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167) traces the movement of astrological science from India, via a Jewish translator, to al-Khwārizmī and al-Farghānī.[121] This chain has a Jew both at its end and as a crucial link in the middle. The *Kāmil* of al-Majūsī (tenth century) opens with a chain of medical authorities from the Greeks, Hippocrates and Galen, to the Byzantines, Oribasius and Paul of Aegina, and ending with Arabs, Ahrun, Masīḥ al-Ḥakam, Yuḥannā b. Sarābiyūn, and al-Rāzī. When Constantine the African (ca. 1020–87) translated this text, he not only omitted its Arabic name and author, he also removed all the Arabs but

119. For the occupations of Toledan Jews while Rodrigo was archbishop see Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1979), 1: 64–66. More generally, see Baer, *History of the Jews*, 1: 197–212.

120. *Poema de Mio Cid*, ed. Colin Smith (Oxford, 1972), 6–11 st., pp. 5–8. Scholarly consensus seems to agree now that the *Poema* was set into its written form in the early thirteenth century; Smith, *Poema*, p. xxxiv; Duggan, *The 'Cantar,'* pp. 5–15.

121. Bernard R. Goldstein, *Ibn al-Muthannā's Commentary on the Astronomical Tables of al-Khwārizmī* (New Haven, 1967), pp. 147–49.

Ahrun and added Alexander of Tralles, thus suppressing most of the Arabic chain and suggesting a direct line of transmission from Byzantine Christians to Latins.[122]

This strategy was also used by Christian translators active in twelfth-century Spain. In the preface to his translation of Ptolemy's *Planisphere,* Hermann of Carinthia copies and expands on a passage from Abū Mashʿar's *Introductorium* (*Introduction*) that traces the origins of astrological study to the grandson of an old man who, surviving the Flood, came down from Armenia to the region between the Tigris and the Euphrates. This grandson studied both the movement of heavenly bodies (astronomy) and their effects (astrology). The study of circular motion was invented by the Indians before being passed on to the Persians and Egyptians and from them to Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek. At the end of his preface, Hermann names the Arabic translator of Ptolemy, Maslama, whose text he is in turn rendering into Latin.[123]

Translators in Toledo

Hugh of Santalla, Hermann of Carinthia, and Robert of Ketton all worked during the first half of the twelfth century in northern Spain, in the Ebro valley. Plato of Tivoli was in Barcelona during the same period. Another figure, John of Sevilla, who worked in the second quarter of the twelfth century, dedicated one translation to Raymond, archbishop of Toledo (1125–52). In the second half of the century, we begin to see the emergence of a group of translators even more closely associated with the cathedral in Toledo, through the first decade or so of Rodrigo's archiepiscopacy. Scholarly attention tends to focus on a couple of "heroes" of the translating movement: Gerard of Cremona (1114–87), because of the prodigious amount of translations he produced, and Dominicus Gundisalvi (fl. 1162–81), because of the original texts he wrote in addition to his translations. Asking how they and their successors in Toledo were able to do this work, and who helped them, reveals another aspect of the cultural significance for medieval Christians of translating from the Arabic, as well as the context of Rodrigo's own patronage.

122. Danielle Jacquart, "Le sens donné par Constantin l'Africain à son oeuvre: les chapitres introductifs en arabe et en latin," *Constantine the African and ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Maǧūsī,* ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (Leiden, 1994), pp. 71–75.

123. Charles Burnett, "Arabic into Latin in Twelfth Century Spain: The Works of Hermann of Carinthia," *Mittellateinisches jahrbuch* 13 (1978): 108–12.

Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny argues that because of the difficulty of learning the Arabic language, Arabic texts were normally translated into Latin by two people working together. One would render the Arabic into Romance, and a second would translate the Romance into Latin. Ideally, both were learned in all three languages to some degree so they could discuss the meaning of the text and the best way to express it in Latin as they worked together.[124] According to G. Théry, there was a similar collaborative process by which Greek texts had been translated into Latin in the Carolingian period: one person read the Greek text aloud, a second translated orally into Latin based on the oral Greek text, and a third transcribed the dictated Latin.[125] Indeed, it should not surprise us that the production of translations was a group effort, for in this period in which oral reading was still normal and prior to the development of a speedy, cursive script, even the composition of original texts required both an author and a scribe to record what was dictated.[126] The question then is not why collaborators are occasionally named alongside the great twelfth- and thirteenth-century translators but why there are not more texts that bear a record of collaborative effort. To this observation from silence, I can only suggest a hypothesis: the translations done in medieval Spain and elsewhere were generally the result of group work. The crucial work of translation was considered to be not the rendering from Arabic, however, but the transformation into Latin, the destination language. Credit for the work, when given at all, was ascribed to the Latinist, the higher-status figure.

Gerard of Cremona is an important case for testing this hypothesis because of the existence of a *Life* describing his biography and his written work, as well as the independent and contradictory testimony of Daniel of Morley. The *Life* is found at the end of some manuscripts of Gerard's translation of Galen's *Tegni* (*Lesser Art*), and it accompanies a short poetic eulogy and a bibliography of Gerard's translations whose confection the *Life* ascribes to Gerard's companions (*socii*).[127] Richard Lemay,

---

124. "Les traductions a deux interprètes, d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire en latin," *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge,* ed. Geneviève Contamine (Paris, 1989), pp. 194–95.

125. *Tolède: grande ville de la renaissance médiévale* (Oran, 1994), pp. 40–43.

126. Paul Saenger, "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society," *Viator* 13 (1982): 381–82.

127. An edition of all three can be found in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Übersetzungen Arabischer Werk in das lateinische seit dem XI Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1877), pp. 57–77.

from whose interpretation of the *Life* I dissent here, argues that, while the bibliography was composed by Gerard's companions in Toledo, the *Life* and eulogy were written in Cremona, where Gerard's body was brought to be buried.[128] This seems unlikely since the eulogy, which was patterned after the *Life*, cites Cremona as Gerard's birthplace but concludes by giving greater prominence to Toledo ("Toleti vixit, toletum reddidit astris") and fails to mention that Gerard was buried in Cremona.[129] The *Life* makes no mention of Cremona at all and makes the journey to Toledo the central part of his life. If either had been written in Cremona, that city would have been given greater prominence.

I call this biography of Gerard a *Life* because I believe its aims were explicitly hagiographical. It describes the life and virtues of this scholar in terms more often used to describe medieval saints and thus must be read with the same caution we would apply to conventional hagiography. The author writes to make Gerard's activities known because "the splendid deeds of the great man must not be held back, buried in timid silence, but must be made known to listeners today." This is a common justification for the writing of saints' lives. Gerard, so the author tells us, did not affix his name to the translations he made and thus risks having others steal the credit owed to him for themselves. In the manner of a saint, Gerard is too humble to take credit for what he has done and is unworldly enough not to care for the rewards of riches or fame. Despite the explicit reference to a group of associates who compiled the bibliographical list, the overwhelming tone of the *Life* suggests Gerard accomplished all his work entirely on his own.[130]

How seriously should we take these claims? Manuscripts of Gerard's translations do sometimes bear his name, although it is not possible to be certain that these reflect his own self-attribution. We can be certain, however, that Gerard did not accomplish all his translations on his own. Daniel of Morley, whose visit to Toledo is discussed in the preceding, describes an encounter he had there with Gerard, whom he names as the one "who put the Almagest into Latin, with Galip, the Mozarab, interpreting." The hunt for Ptolemy's *Almagest* was what originally led Gerard to Toledo in the first place, according to the *Life*. Gerard, as

An English translation by Michael McVaugh, minus the eulogy, is found in *A Source Book in Medieval Science*, ed. Edward Grant (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), pp. 35–38.

128. "Gerard of Cremona," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 15: 173–75.

129. Wüstenfeld, *Die Übersetzungen Arabischer Werke*, p. 77.

130. Wüstenfeld, *Die Übersetzungen Arabischer Werke*, p. 57.

described by Daniel, is a self-confident figure, distant from the humble man of the *Life*. He tells Daniel in the course of a discussion on astrological influence, "I who speak am king, for I was born under a royal sign, with the sun dominating, and with other suitable circumstances." Daniel asks, ironically, where Gerard reigns, and he answers, "In my soul, since I serve no mortal."[131]

Lemay argues that Daniel's reference to Gerard's collaboration with the arabicized Christian, Galip, reflects an isolated circumstance, and Lemay follows the *Life*'s suggestion that Gerard worked alone. But there is another way to read this evidence, and that is to argue that Gerard normally did work with an assistant but that the author of the *Life* supressed this fact either to enhance Gerard's prestige or because he regarded the rendering of a text into Latin as the truly significant part of translation. Thus, the contribution of Galip, an otherwise unknown figure, and that of Gerard's other "companions" are not deemed worthy of recording, and Galip's name is preserved only accidentally. A colophon to one manuscript of the *Almagest,* the text that Daniel of Morley said Galip collaborated on, names only Gerard as its translator and dates the work to 1175, only six years before Gerard's death. If Gerard used assistants to translate from Arabic to Romance at that late date, he probably had been using them throughout his time in Toledo.[132]

Dominicus Gundisalvi was attached to the cathedral of Toledo as a canon while Gerard was there.[133] He was also archdeacon of Cuéllar, in the diocese of Segovia, at the same time. His regularly documented use of collaborators makes an interesting counterpoint to the case of Gerard. It

131. Valentin Rose, "Ptolemaus und die schule von Toledo," *Hermes* 8 (1874): 348–49.

132. Lemay suggests the date is not that of the translation but of the transcription by Thaddeus of Hungary. The colophon reads, "Finit liber ptholomei pheludensis qui grece megaziti, arabice almagesti, latine vocatur vigil, cura magister thadei ungari, anno Millesimo C. LXXVo toleti consummatus, anno autem arabum quingentesimo LXXo mensis octavi XIo die translatus a magistro girardo cremonensi de arabico in latinum." I believe Thaddeus of Hungary, who is otherwise unattested, may be the scribe of the thirteenth-century manuscript Laurent. Plut. 89. Compare Manuel Alonso, "Traducciones del archidiano Domingo Gundisalvo," *al-Andalus* 12 (1947): 297–98, n. 2. For a different opinion on Gerard of Cremona, see Michael C. Weber "Gerard of Cremona: The Danger of Being Half-Acculturated," *Medieval Encounters* 8.2/3 (2002): 123–34.

133. On the evidence documenting the dates of his association with the cathedral of Toledo, see Juan Francisco Rivera, "Nuevos datos sobre los traductores Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano," *al-Andalus* 31 (1966): 268–75, and more recently, Charles Burnett, "*Magister Iohannes Hispanus:* Towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator," *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au moyen âge, mélanges d'histoire et de sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan* (Geneva, 1994), pp. 425–26.

reinforces, I believe, d'Alverny's claim that translators normally worked in pairs. Gundisalvi is described working with at least two individuals. Sometimes he appears as the chief figure, but in some cases one of the others is listed more prominently. Dominicus and someone named Ibn Daūd (Avendauth), who describes himself as a Jewish philosopher, translated the *De anima* (*On the Soul*) of Avicenna. Ibn Daūd authored the prologue to this work, which he addresses to John, archbishop of Toledo (1151–66). Twice in the prologue he states that he translated the volume at the archbishop's command. He also describes how the translation was accomplished. He translated the text from Arabic into the vernacular, and Dominicus rendered the text into Latin.[134]

It is striking, given what I argue in the preceding, that the translator from Arabic into the vernacular writes this prologue and the translator into Latin appears in a secondary role. Why might this be the case? d'Alverny identifies Ibn Daūd as Abraham ibn Daūd, the Jewish philosopher who lived in Toledo much of his life before, it seems, being killed for his faith.[135] If so, his prominence in the prologue might be a result of his prestige as an important figure in Toledo. Another clue might be found in the purpose of writing a prologue in the first place. Gerard of Cremona and Dominicus Gundisalvi did not write prologues; they were beneficed in the cathedral of Toledo and did not need patrons in order to finance their work. Translators who wrote prologues did so to attract attention to their work. Ibn Daūd, a Jew, might have been trying to gain or maintain the regular patronage of the archbishop. In any case, despite the evidence of the prologue, two colophons in manuscripts of the translation still ascribe the work to Gundisalvi alone.[136] This subsequent neglect of the Jewish author of the prologue shows, I believe, medieval prejudice in favour of the translator into Latin.

Dominicus also worked with a figure named Juan Hispano (d. 1215).[137] Juan was dean of the cathedral of Toledo between 1186 and

134. "Habes ergo librum, uobis praecipiente, et me singula uerba proferente, et Dominico archidiacono singula in latinum conuertente, ex arabico translatum." For this prologue, see Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Avendauth?" in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa* (Barcelona, 1954), 1: 32–34. I accept d'Alverny's reading of this prologue and her disentanglement of Ibn Daūd from various other figures.

135. d'Alverny, "Avendauth?" pp. 35–36.

136. d'Alverny, "Avendauth?" pp. 20–21.

137. For what follows, I rely on Charles Burnett's disentanglement of Toledan scholars named John in "*Magister Iohannes Hispanus*," pp. 427–36.

1199, and he succeeded Dominicus as archdeacon of Cuéllar in 1193. He assisted Dominicus with the translation of al-Ġazālī's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* (*The Intentions of the Philosophers*) and Ibn Gabirol's *Fons uitae* (*Fountain of Life*). One manuscript states that he did the translations with the help of Dominicus, while another gives credit for the work to him alone. Other translations can be credited to Juan working alone, as well as original works on the algorism and on astronomical tables. Juan's career marks a bridge to the archiepiscopacy of Rodrigo and his own patronage of translators. Juan was named bishop of Albarracín-Segorbe in 1212, a see recreated in 1172 under the aegis of Toledo, despite Zaragoza's claims over it.[138] Juan's appointment certainly came at Rodrigo's instigation. The existence of the see and its subordination to Toledo was recognized for the first time by Innocent III in 1213 among the great raft of privileges granted to Rodrigo by Innocent in the wake of Las Navas de Tolosa.[139] Two prebendaries of the cathedral complained to Rome in 1236 that Rodrigo owed the chapter money and books left to it in the will of Juan Hispano. Eight years later, Rodrigo acknowledged that he owed the cathedral 100 *mrs.* for anniversary masses for the deceased translator. The titles of the books Rodrigo acquired are unknown.[140]

This background describing the meaning of translation in twelfth-century Spain should help us interpret both Rodrigo's own patronage of scholars and the work of the scholars he supported. With the exception of Mark of Toledo, who is discussed in the following, translators who can be associated with Toledo during Rodrigo's tenure as archbishop are described as working with collaborators. A fragmentary text on geomancy preserves a colophon stating that Salio of Padua completed a translation of it from Hebrew into Latin on 27 February 1218 in Toledo. Salio finished a translation from Arabic into Latin of a text on nativities by either Albubather or Alcabitius on 29 December 1218 "in the Jewish quarter," and this colophon states that he was helped by David, a wise Jewish master and philosopher. The colophon to the translation of the hermetical *De stellis fixis* (*On Fixed Stars*) notes only that Salio translated the work from Arabic into Latin in

138. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 1: 401–3.

139. 28 November 1213: Mansilla, *Inocencio III*, no. 508.

140. Ramón Gonzálvez Ruíz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 170–73; Pick, "Jiménez de Rada and the Jews," p. 216.

Toledo.[141] Again, I suggest that Salio probably had help for all three translations.

Likewise, Michael Scot finished a translation of al-Biṭrūjī's *De motibus celorum* (*The Movements of the Heavens*) on 18 August 1217.[142] He credits the help of Abuteus Levita, a Jew. Later, while in the court of Frederick II, he would be assisted by another Jew, Jacob Anatoli.[143] Michael Scot was influenced by the work of previous Toledan translators. He used Ibn Gabirol's *Fons uitae,* translated by Dominicus Gundisalvi in Toledo, as well as Gundisalvi's own *Diuisio philosophie* (*Division of Philosophy*) to describe the division of knowledge, and he appropriated Gundisalvi's Avicennism in the treatise *De anima* (*On the Soul*) for his own writing on the soul in the *Liber introductorius.*[144]

The close dates, 1217 and 1218, of the translations of Salio and Michael Scot are significant. They belong to the period after the victory at Las Navas in 1212 during which time Rodrigo planned and executed his military and intellectual conquest of Spain's Muslims and Jews. To this period also belongs the composition of his own anti-Jewish *Dialogus libri uite,* as we see in the next chapter, as well as the translations of Islamic texts done by Mark of Toledo, canon of the cathedral.[145]

---

141. Lynn Thorndike, "A Third Translation by Salio," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 116–17; Francis J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation* (Berkeley, 1956), pp. 55, 137; Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," p. 455.

142. al-Bitrūjī, *Demotibus celorum: Critical Edition of the Latin Translation of Michael Scot*, ed. Francis J. Carmody (Berkeley, 1952). R. de Vaux, "Entrée d'Averroës," p. 197.

143. d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," p. 456. Colette Sirat casts doubt on this hypothesis, although she shows the influence of Michael on Jacob in "Les traducteurs juifs à la cour des rois de Sicile et de Naples," in *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge,* pp. 170–75. She also shows that, while the Jew addressed the Christian with affection, the same was not true when Michael referred to Jacob in his own text. Roger Bacon later criticizes Michael Scot and others, including Gerard of Cremona, for not knowing any of the languages they needed for their translations, not even Latin: *Opus tertium,* in *Opera inedita,* ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1859), p. 91.

144. Piero Morpurgo, "Il 'Liber introductorius' di Michele Scoto: prime indicazioni interpretative," *Rendic. Accad. Lincei* series 8, 34 (1979): 149–53; idem, "Fonti," pp. 63–69.

145. The information on Mark of Toledo in this section is drawn primarily from Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Marc de Tolède," in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo,* 4 vols. (Toledo, 1987–90), 3: 25–59; d'Alverny and Georges Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart," *al-Andalus* 16 (1951): 99–140, 259–307; and d'Alverny, "Deux traductions," pp. 69–131. See also Thomas E. Burman, "*Tafsīr* and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qurʿān Exegesis and the Latin Qurʿāns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo," *Speculum* 73 (1998): 703–32.

Mark's primary interest was medicine. He translated the *Isagogue* (*Introduction*) of Johannicius, in a version now lost, and three short treatises by Galen, *De pulsu* (*The Pulse*), *De pulsus utilitate* (*The Purpose of the Pulse*), and *De motibus membrorum* (*The Movements of the Members*). In the undated prologue to these three translations, Mark describes how, while studying medicine at an unnamed *studium*, his fellow students and teachers learned he had read Galen in Arabic and urged him to translate these texts from Arabic into Latin for them. He returned to Toledo where he first translated the *Isagogue,* and then after searching "in armariis Arabum," a phrase used in the preceding, he found the three short treatises attached to the prologue.[146]

His translation skills were soon put to other uses. In 1210 he completed a translation of the Qur'ān at the request, he tells us in its prologue, of Rodrigo. Thomas Burman suggests that Mark's translation was commissioned as part of the recruitment effort and mobilization preceding the victory at Las Navas, and the martial resonances of the prologue suggest this was in fact the case.[147] Given that the translation was completed in 1210 and was begun at the latest shortly after Rodrigo's ascension to the archbishopric in 1209, it lends support to my hypothesis of the previous chapter, that Rodrigo was the prime instigator behind the effort that culminated at Las Navas.

Mark explicitly links translation to conquest in his prologue to the Qur'ān. He explains that when Rodrigo took up the see of Toledo, he grieved to see how infested it was by the enemies of the cross. Mark shows Rodrigo's frustration by quoting from Ambrose, "My tears are my arms." Rodrigo's special burden, according to Mark, was that "In the places where suffragan bishops once offered sacrifices to Jesus Christ, now the name of the Pseudo-prophet is praised, and in the towers of the churches from which once the sound of bells was raised, now profane preaching deafens the ears of the faithful." Mark's reference to the loss and hopeful recovery of those bishoprics subject to Toledo tallies well with what we have seen of Rodrigo's aims as primate of Spain. Mark explains that the translation was written so that those who are not permitted to fight with arms may at least be able to confuse the Muslims by opposing their strange teachings. A second sponsor of the translation was Mauricio, at the time archdeacon of Toledo and a close

146. d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," pp. 259–60.
147. Burman, "*Tafsīr* and Translation," p. 706.

companion to Rodrigo. His first appearance as archdeacon of Toledo was in 1209, when he acted on behalf of the archbishop in a property transaction.[148] Mauricio hoped, according to Mark, that the translation of the Qur'ān might help Christians confuse the Saracens about the detestable teachings of Muhammed and that some Saracens might be brought to the Catholic faith.[149] This accords with what I argue about conversion in the next chapter: the greatest hope of preaching to non-Christians is that they might grow doubtful about their own beliefs. The conversion of some is an ancillary good but not one that is inevitable or necessary.

Mark followed up this work in June 1213 with a translation of a treatise by Ibn Tūmart, spiritual leader of the Almohads, on the unity of God. This text was also commissioned by Mauricio, at this time elected to the see of Burgos. Its purpose was both to allow the Christian faithful, who studied it alongside the Qur'ān, to take up stronger actions when attacking the Saracens and to lay open to Catholics "the secret ways of the Moors." Again, we see the use of martial metaphors to describe the utility of translations into Latin of Islamic texts. The prologue dates the text according to the Spanish era and the year of the Incarnation but also connects the translation of Islamic texts to the conquest of Muslim-held lands by remarking that in this year the Almohad ruler was again defeated by Alfonso VIII, who captured the castle of Alcaraz.[150]

As shown, prologues to scientific translations from the Arabic are devoted, in part, to authenticating and valorizing the texts they precede by showing how they fit into a chain of wisdom passed down through people and generations. Mark's two prologues to his translations of Islamic religious texts serve, by contrast, as disauthenticating prologues. Here he explains that although he has political reasons for making these texts available in Latin, their contents must not be taken too seriously. In his long prologue to the Qur'ān, Mark recounts Muhammed's biography to show that Muhammed concocted his religion from a mixture of Christian and Jewish teachings and that he feigned an apoplectic fit in order to convince the crowd that the angel Gabriel had entered within him and had given him the message he was to disseminate. Mark argues that Islam spread through a mixture of false preaching and military

148. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 305.
149. d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," pp. 267–68.
150. d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," pp. 268–69, 283.

conquest.[151] Mark repeats this argument in his prologue to his second translation. He praises Ibn Tūmart for looking for the necessary reasons why God is One but suggests that the quotations Ibn Tūmart uses from the Qur'ān vitiate the force of his presentation.[152]

The preceding shows how Mauricio of Burgos used Ps.-Dionysian and Eriugenian themes of hierarchy as these were interpreted by Alan of Lille. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny looked at this evidence of intellectual commonalities and connected it to Mauricio's sponsorship of Mark of Toledo's translations of the Qur'ān and the text by Ibn Tūmart. She suggests that this Mauricio could be the "Mauricius hyspanus" whose writings Robert de Courson outlawed for the University of Paris in 1215. She also wonders whether Mauricio could have been the author of the anonymous *Liber de causis primis et secundis* (*Book of First and Second Causes*), a contemporary tractate peculiarly affected by both Avicennan and Eriugenian understanding of divine immanence.[153] Marie-Humbert Vicaire argues that this work reflects the influence of Gilbert of Poitiers and belongs to a tradition that proceeds from an understanding of God's absolute unity as the source for all His creation to a contemplation of how divine unity is mirrored in the human soul.[154] The themes Vicaire identifies with this tradition—absolute divine unity, the Trinity manifested through the relation of the persons, the theory of "notion," the unfolding process of creation, the imprint of God on the soul—are precisely the themes we have identified as those that interested Rodrigo and his circle. M.-Th. d'Alverny's theory also causes us to take a second look at Mauricio's commission of Mark to translate Ibn Tūmart's treatise on the unity of God. Mauricio, and Rodrigo his archbishop, might have been equally interested in the philosophical underpinnings for Ibn Tūmart's beliefs, as they were in the Qur'ānic "errors" found in it. Mark's prologue suggests this possibility when he praises Ibn Tūmart's philosophy.[155] In this context, we should also reconsider Michael Scot's translation of al-Biṭrūjī's *De*

151. d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," p. 262–64.

152. d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," p. 269.

153. d'Alverny, "Deux traductions," 129–30. Also see her "Une recontre symbolique de Jean Scot Érigène et d'Avicenne," in *The Mind of Eriugena*, 175. For the prohibition against "Mauricius hyspanus" see *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle et al., 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–97), 1: 79, no. 20.

154. "Les porrétains et l'avicennisme," pp. 452, 471.

155. "Quoniam quidem hic Habentometus necessariis innixus assertionibus ad probandum unum Deum esse primum et nouissimum, suam bene fundauit intentionem," d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," p. 269.

motibus celorum. al-Biṭrūjī lived in Almohad-ruled Andalusia in the 1190s. His text criticizes the Ptolemaic astronomy of the *Almagest* (translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona) for its use of epicycles and eccentrics and argues instead that the universe must have only one, fixed point around which all others must revolve, and that point must be the centre of the earth. His arguments may be bad astronomy and bad mathematics, but they are good Aristotelian philosophy and, what's more, good Almohad monotheistic theology.[156] We can see how these arguments would also have appealed to Michael Scot, and to Rodrigo, with their stress on a single central point for the created universe.

M.-Th. d'Alverny also suggests a link between Alan of Lille and Mark of Toledo. She notes that *Contra paganos* (*Against the Pagans*), book IV of Alan's apologetic treatise *Contra haereticos*, dedicated to Guilhem VIII, count of Montpellier (1152–1202), contains information about the lives and beliefs of Muslims that Alan might have most readily learned from someone who lived among Muslims, perhaps in Spain. She also observes that Alan's citations in his *Contra haereticos* mark a very early use of the neo-Platonic *Liber de causis*, translated by Gerard of Cremona in Toledo. M.-Th. d'Alverny wonders whether Alan's source might have been Mark of Toledo, who could have studied medicine in Montpellier while Alan was there. She points to Alan's name on a witness list in Maguelonne in 1200, his dedication of the *Contra haereticos* to Guilhem VIII, and his dedication of the *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum* to Ermengaud, abbot of St. Gilles (1179–95), as evidence for his presence in the south. She suggests Alan might have spent some fifteen years in Montpellier.[157]

The problem with this thesis is reconciling the dates. As discussed, Mark did study medicine outside Toledo.[158] He was present witnessing

156. A. I. Sabra, "The Andalusian Revolt against Ptolomaic Astronomy: Averroes and al-Biṭrūjī," in Everett Mendelsohn, ed., *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 134–38; George Saliba, "Arabic Planetary Theories after the Eleventh Century A.D.," *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, ed. Roshdi Rashed, 3 vols. (London, 1996), 1: 84–86. Both these authors contend that al-Biṭrūjī was motivated by a philosophical rejection of Ptolemy. This philosophical position may also have been influenced by theological factors.

157. "Alain de Lille et l'Islam. Le 'Contra paganos'," in *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XIIe–XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 18 (Toulouse, 1983), pp. 301–2, 314–17; J. Rouquette and A. Villemagne, *Cartulaire de Maguelonne*, 4 vols. (Montpellier, 1912), 1: 462. This document, however, simply makes reference to a "magister Alanus." There is no guarantee that this was Alan of Lille.

158. d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," pp. 259–60.

documents in Toledo as a canon of the see in 1193, 1194, 1197–1200, 1203, then not again until 1208, 1209, and 1211–14. His will is dated 1216, and after that date we hear no more of him.[159] Mark might have left Toledo to study medicine between 1194 and 1197 or 1200 and 1203, and he might have studied in Montpellier. But it seems more likely that his period of studies was between 1203 and 1208, after Alan of Lille's death in 1203. The document marking his renewed presence in Toledo is dated December 1208.[160] The beginning of Rodrigo's archiepiscopate is usually dated 1209 because he first appears in a court document as archbishop on 5 January 1209.[161] But Rodrigo's predecessor, Martín, died on 28 August 1208,[162] and although on 12 December 1208, Rodrigo was still called bishop-elect of Osma,[163] he might have been named archbishop before the end of the year. Is Mark's reappearance in Toledo at the time of Rodrigo's preferment a coincidence? It has been suggested that Mauricio, Mark's other patron, studied in Paris and came to Toledo from there to be Rodrigo's archdeacon of Toledo.[164] Perhaps all three were in Paris together and knew each other there. As observed, Mauricio's assertion that this world should match the order found in the heavens likewise recalls Alan's interest in the relationship of the microcosm to the macrocosm. If Mark and Rodrigo had known each other in Paris, moreover, prior to their appearance in Toledo, Mark might have begun his translation at this time. This would explain why Mark was able to complete his translation of the Qur'ān in what d'Alverny rightly calls record time: less than eighteen months after Rodrigo became archbishop.[165]

Michael Scot was also connected to Toledo, Rodrigo, and Alan of Lille. The version of the Scot's *Liber introductorius* found in the manuscript Munich CLM 10268 includes the entire text of the *Theorica planetarum* (*Theory of Planets*), a text that Graziella Federici-Vescovini argues was written in Toledo by Gerard of Cremona or one of his circle and that was cited by Alan of Lille in his *Anticlaudianus*.[166]

159. d'Alverny, "Marc de Tolède," p. 27.
160. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 300.
161. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 834, p. 463.
162. *Anales Toledanos I*, p. 394.
163. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 828, p. 452.
164. Serrano, *Don Mauricio*, p. 21.
165. d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur," p. 115.
166. Graziella Federici-Vescovini, "Michel Scot et la 'Theorica planetarum Gerardi,' " *Early Science and Medicine* 1 (1996): 272–82.

As discussed, Rodrigo and Michael Scot between them drew on a large number of Alan's writings: his *Summa 'Quoniam homines,' Regulae caelestis iuris, Expositio prosae de angelis* (*Prose Exposition on Angels*), *Hierarchia Alani* (*Hierarchy of Alan*), *Sermo de trinitate,* and *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum.* Some of these circulated quite narrowly, and it is interesting to speculate how this pair may have gained their familiarity with Alan's thought. Although Rodrigo never mentions Alan by name, nor quotes him directly, the archbishop's dependence on his thought is unmistakable. Even when he purports to quote Plato, Rodrigo uses Alan's reformulation of the philosopher's words. For example, when Rodrigo quotes from Plato's *Timaeus,* his wording is much closer to the way the passage appears in Alan of Lille's *Quoniam homines* than to the original Latin Plato.[167]

How did Rodrigo acquire his intimate familiarity with Alan's thought? Although the *Regulae* and the *Quoniam homines* share much material in common, Rodrigo's writing bears a closer resemblance to the latter work. For example, nowhere in the *Regulae* does Alan use the term "notion" for the personal properties of the Trinity or state that there are five of them. But this poses a problem. The *Regulae* survives in sixty-nine medieval manuscripts, including three now in Spanish libraries. The *Quoniam homines,* however, exists in only one complete manuscript and one fragment.[168] Could Rodrigo have been familiar with such a rare text? M.-Th. d'Alverny suggests that what survives as the *Quoniam homines* is a collection of hastily compiled course notes, perhaps compiled over a period of years.[169] This compilation is more likely a *reportatio* executed by a student on the basis of Alan's lectures than a series of notes put together by Alan himself. Rodrigo might have learned Alan's views directly, as his student in Paris. His will is dated at Paris, 24

167. "Dii deorum, quorum opifex paterque ego, natura quidem dissolubiles me autem sic faciente indissolubiles," *Dialogus* I.vii, lines 71–73, pp. 192–93. The Latin *Timaeus* reads, "Dii deorum quorum opifex idem paterque ego, opera siquidem vos mea, dissolubilia natura, me tamen ita volente indissolubilia, omne siquidem quod iunctum est natura dissolubile, at vero quod bona ratione iunctum atque modulatum est dissolui velle non est dei," while Alan's citation of it is: "Dii deorum quorum pater opifexque ego, natura quidem dissolubiles, me autem sic volente indissolubiles." *Quoniam homines,* p. 192. The editors of the *Dialogus* miss both the Platonic origin and Alanic source of this passage and suggest a comparison with a slightly different version of it that appears in Peter Abaelard's *Theologia 'Scholarium,'* ed. E. M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCCM 63 (Turnhout, 1969), 1, 1297–99. The editors were unaware of any use of the work of Alan of Lille by Rodrigo.

168. *Quoniam homines,* pp. 117–18.

169. d'Alverny, *Textes inédits,* p. 61.

April 1201, and his epitaph says he was a student there.[170] If Rodrigo were born around 1170, he could reasonably have spent much of the last decade of the twelfth century studying in Paris. While we know nothing of Michael Scot before he appears in Toledo, his similar set of influences, and his appearance in Toledo soon after Rodrigo himself arrived there, suggest he too might have studied in Paris and knew both Alan and Rodrigo from that time.

If Alan was in Montpellier for most of the last fifteen years of his life, not much time is left for either Michael or Rodrigo to have been his student in Paris. It seems more likely, however, that Alan's time in the south took place at some time between 1179 and 1195, when the man to whom he dedicated the *Distinctiones* was abbot. He may have returned to the south for a second stay around 1200, if a document placing a "magister Alanus" in the region at that date refers to him. M.-Th. d'Alverny has suggested elsewhere that Alan was teaching in Paris during the 1190s. Otto of St. Blaise notes for the year 1194 that about this time Peter the Chanter of Paris, Alan of Lille, and Praepositinus of Cremona were teaching. The chronicle of Emo of Huizinga, abbot of Bloemhof (d. 1237), cites the opinions of "magister Stephanus" (probably Stephen Langton), Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter, Simon of Tournai (one of Alan's disciples), and Alan himself. Menko, the continuator of Emo's chronicle, writes that Emo studied as a youth in Paris, as well as Oxford and Orléans. M.-Th. d'Alverny concludes that Emo must have been in Paris during the last fifteen years of the twelfth century, when the masters he quotes were at work.[171]

Moreover, evidence from the *Quoniam homines* suggests that it was redacted in Paris, but only after Alan had spent time in the south. Both the *Regulae* and the *Quoniam homines* refer to the Seine River, and both contain a few words in *langue d'oïl,* indicating that they were written north of the Loire.[172] But the *Quoniam homines* also contains a section in which Alan refutes the errors of Manicheus "since that opinion still flourishes among many." He calls followers of these beliefs

---

170. José Antonio García Luján, *Cartulario del monasterio de Santa María de Huerta* (Santa María de Huerta, 1981), p. 113.

171. d'Alverny, *Textes inédits,* pp. 17–18. The relevant passages from Emo and Menko's chronicles can be found edited by Ludwig Weiland in MGH, Scriptores 23 (Hannover, 1874), pp. 467, 484, 490, 492–93, 521, 524.

172. *Regulae,* R. 50, p. 156; R. 100, p. 205; *Quoniam homines,* pp. 148, 204, 205, 214; d'Alverny, *Textes inédits,* p. 19.

Cathars and recounts and rebuts what he characterizes as their beliefs at some length.[173] The editor of the *Quoniam homines* dated the text to around 1160 because Alan and Simon of Tournai, who seems to have used Alan's *Quoniam homines* in his own writings, do not quote from Peter of Poitiers's *Sentences,* written around 1170.[174] This argument from silence is not convincing. As the editor himself states elsewhere, Alan and Simon, who were both *porretani,* stood apart from the Augustinian orthodoxy represented by Peter of Poitiers,[175] and it is not surprising to find him absent from their writings. M.-Th. d'Alverny places the composition of the *Quoniam homines* and *Regulae caelestis iuris* close in time to the writing of Alan's *Anticlaudianus,* dated on the basis of topical references to around 1182–83.[176] This dating would agree with an early sojourn in the south.

Alan's career and its chronology need more attention even without the evidence discussed here of his hitherto unknown influence on a group of people active in thirteenth-century Toledo. This is not the place to perform that reinterpretation of Alan. But the preceding pages have hopefully been sufficient to demonstrate his strong influence on these thinkers working in Toledo. This influence is evident in the theological positions they took, and the way they put them into practice in their writings, actions, and choice of works to translate or to sponsor.

Conclusion

All of this evidence indicates that we have contact and influence that was both personal and intellectual between Alan of Lille and Rodrigo. Alan was an influential figure in the northern French schools during the twelfth century. He made accessible the complicated theology of Gilbert of Poitiers and stood at the centre of a group of followers of Gilbert, known as *porretani.* But by the thirteenth century, the positions of this group, attacked at times for sliding toward heresy, were eclipsed by the Augustinian orthodoxy of Peter Lombard and Peter of Poitiers. This orthodoxy became normative when the Fourth Lateran Council en-

173. *Quoniam homines,* pp. 129–34.

174. *Quoniam homines,* p. 116.

175. P. Glorieux, "Simon de Tournai," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* 14: col. 2129.

176. *Textes inédits,* pp. 34, 67.

shrined the Lombardian position in its canons.[177] But just as the *porretani* position was losing its place in northern France, this chapter argues that it was finding a new home far away in Castile.

Rodrigo and others adopted the thought of Alan of Lille and brought it to Toledo where it provided an understanding of God and His relationship to creation that was of particular interest because of the way it addressed local conditions. Rodrigo used Alan's theology to support his own claims to be primate over all Spain by arguing for a complete subordination of the secular realm to the Church. Moreover, this theology helped Rodrigo deal with the tricky problem of ongoing religious diversity. We see in the next chapter that Rodrigo had every economic incentive to continue to allow Jews to live under Christian rule. As lands were reconquered from the Muslims and more and more of them came to be under Christian rule in the thirteenth century, they too became an economic asset, and a theological justification for their presence was likewise desirable. The theology of unity found in his polemic provided a place for non-Christians, so long as they lived under Christian rule. Non-Christians still possessed the being and therefore some of the unity that comes from God. They too were part of the great chain of being extending from God, down through the angels, and to the created beings of the subcelestial world. At the same time, their rejection of Christ and the increase in plurality this involved distanced them further from God than Christians. The goal of all creation was to strive to approach that unity and to move away from diversity, but complete success was impossible in the fallen world. Jews, Muslims, and others who fractured that unity even further were a threat, but they, and their scholarship, could be incorporated within Christian unity. This discourse permitted them to live among Christians, in a subordinated position. That Rodrigo locates this discourse within a work of religious polemic supports my argument that polemic can help provide a space for non-Christians and Christians to coexist. It is extremely significant, however, that Rodrigo's political theology laid out no hierarchies within the secular realm. Not only does he fail to posit a hierarchical ordering of, for example, kings, nobles, knights, artisans, and peasants, he does not even subordinate Jews and Muslims to Christian secular rule. There is no theory of the Jews as royal serfs in Rodrigo's thought.

The foregoing demonstrates how Rodrigo's patronage and scholarly

177. Vicaire, "Les porrétains et l'avicennisme," pp. 449, 477.

activities formed part of the same program as the project of conquest and settlement of Muslim-held territory outlined in the previous chapter. We can see the connection of these aspects in the metaphors of conquest and plunder used to describe the activity of translating in Rodrigo's time and before. This program supported the desire of Christians to translate whatever foreign bits of wisdom they could find. It inspired Rodrigo to write his historical and quasihistorical works and encouraged him to strive for political and military arrangements that would unite all Spain under the banner of the Church, under his primacy as archbishop of Toledo.

CHAPTER FOUR

Rodrigo and the Jews of Toledo

Thus far, this book sketches a program of conquest, settlement, patronage, and scholarship that permitted interreligious coexistence of a particular type. For Rodrigo, Muslims, Jews, princes, and kings could all live together, subordinated to the Church. Now it is time to show that the entirety of his *Dialogus libri uite* against the Jews formed part of this program and to continue supporting my contention that polemic, far from necessarily breaking down the preconditions of *convivencia,* could actually help preserve a certain equilibrium between different religious groups. Polemic could provide a place for Christians to represent themselves in contrast to the beliefs of others by clearly delineating their points of difference. One reason why my suggestion that polemic could actually support *convivencia* is contentious is that religious polemic has traditionally been regarded as an ideological challenge that members of the Church framed against coexistence and it has been considered potentially disruptive of ordinary social and economic intercourse between members of different religious groups. I begin this chapter, therefore, by discussing the historiography of this traditional interpretation of polemic and by questioning its assumption that the sole or even primary purpose of writing polemic was an intent to convert non-Christians. I explore the connections between polemic, mission, disputation, and conversion, and by appealing to Karl Morrison's understanding of the meaning of conversion, I argue that conversion was not the only aim of polemic, mission, and disputation.

Far from having any conversionary aims, Rodrigo's polemic seems rather to have been designed to shore up the Catholic faith by contrasting it favourably with perceived errors of Jewish dogma. I show how Rodrigo made use of rabbinic materials related to eschatology to support his conclusion that the Jewish understanding of the letter of the Bible is rife with internal disagreements, contradictions, and invented fables and

that Jews represent fickleness and inconsistency in contrast with Christian stability and faithfulness. Moreover, I argue that Rodrigo's concern with this eschatological material was sparked by internal, local Jewish debates about the Messianic Age and the World to Come and by direct contact with Toledan Jews and their religious positions. The preeminent rabbi of Toledo performed the parallel function of bulwarking the Jewish faith for his own community. I then compare this evidence of intellectual contact with Toledo's Jews with Rodrigo's positive business dealings with the same group to show that disagreements over theology by no means precluded day-to-day cooperation. This remains true even if, as I also show, we can see persistent anxieties about the loyalties of Toledo's Jews reflected in Rodrigo's writings and actions.

Polemic and Conversion

Medieval texts are in general extremely derivative, but even so, polemical texts stand out for their lack of originality. Even when new forms of argumentation are introduced, they are invariably located within a conservative frame. The new argumentation, if successful, quickly becomes fossilized in treatises by later authors. A traditional approach of those who study anti-Jewish treatises written by Christians has been to measure them by the novelty they do contain: by situating individual works within a continuous chain of Christian writings directed against the Jews to discern which texts represented "real" encounters, which used "convincing" argumentation, which showed a "genuine" desire for missionary success, defined as the conversion of nonbelievers—and were therefore interesting—and which did not. At the same time, religious polemic is seen either as an agent of the deterioration of interreligious relations because of its connection to missionary efforts or at the very least as a reflection of worsening relations between Christians and others.

Many scholars identify a moment of transformation in the nature of Christian polemic. Amos Funkenstein situates the transformation of anti-Jewish polemic in the introduction of rational and philosophical modes of argumentation, and the new Christian awareness of the existence of a corpus of postbiblical material adhered to by the Jews, both of which changes he places in the twelfth century.[1] David Berger and Rob-

1. Amos Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* 2 (1971): 373–82; idem, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 173–74; cf. McGinn, "Cabalists and Christians," pp. 12–16.

ert Chazan, by contrast, have suggested that a crucial moment of transformation occurred in the thirteenth century. They argue that this later transformation was as much, or more, a result of changes in the uses made of polemic and the reasons why polemic was written as it was due to the evolving content of polemical works. Prior to the thirteenth century, they both argue, Christian polemic did not involve a genuine missionary component. Berger argues from a reading of contemporary texts that no Christian ideology of mission existed in the twelfth century.[2] Chazan casts his gaze beyond the confines of the polemical texts themselves and argues that the prerequisites for "serious missionizing" were present in the thirteenth century as they had never been before—the allocation of substantial ecclesiastical resources to the project, the creation of regular moments when Jews would be confronted by Christians, and the elaboration of new forms of argumentation based on rabbinic materials.[3] Chazan bases his argument largely on the activities and writings of figures from thirteenth-century Spain, in particular the Dominicans Ramon of Penyafort (b. ca. 1180–1275) and Ramon Martí (d. ca. 1286) and the mystic and polemicist Ramon Lull (b. 1232–1316). Although he focuses on the anti-Jewish element in the activity of these figures, these Dominicans and Lull were not principally concerned with Jews but with Muslims.

Jeremy Cohen was an early proponent of the notion that the thirteenth century was radically different in its understanding of the place of Jews within medieval society. In his groundbreaking, 1982, *The Friars and the Jews,* he examines the rise of the Mendicant Orders in the early thirteenth century and points to their new interest in mission activity.[4] He argues that the friars replaced the Augustinian doctrine that Jews should be preserved within Christian society as witnesses to the truth of Christianity with a belief that the Jewish use of the Talmud made them heretics with respect to biblical Judaism. As heretics, they could be removed from the Christian polity.[5] Cohen differentiates between what he saw as polemic written for the purpose of converting Jews and earlier polemic written for Christians. He has more recently nuanced his views of the importance of the thirteenth century. He argues that the twelfth century witnessed a reclassification of the Jews from

2. David Berger, "Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 578.

3. Chazan, *Daggers of Faith,* p. 14.

4. Cohen, *Friars and the Jews,* chap. 2.

5. Cohen, *Friars and the Jews,* chap. 3.

being the only visible non-Christians in Christian society to being just one subset of a larger group of unbelievers that included Muslims and heretics. This recategorization, Cohen argues, was the first step in dismantling the Augustinian doctrine of Jewish witness, the notion that Jews should be permitted to live in Christian society because their presence testifies to Christian truth.[6] Although one might question Cohen's argument that prior to the twelfth century Jews were the only non-Catholics posing a challenge to Christian theologians—after all, Augustine had his Donatists, Gregory and Isidore their Arians, and Agobard his Saxons and Muslims—there is no question that Christian attitudes toward Jews must be examined alongside their attitudes toward other religious groups in order to be understood.

Other authors have widened the field of study into missionary activity in the thirteenth century to include the Muslims. Robert I. Burns has examined the efforts of Penyafort, Martí, Lull, and other lesser-known figures in Spain to promote Muslim conversion. He has characterized their efforts as "the thirteenth-century dream of conversion."[7] Benjamin Kedar has suggested an intimate link between the crusade against Muslims and missionary activity directed toward them, which he argues became fully developed in the thirteenth century.[8]

There is no doubt that interest in missionary activity exploded in this period and that this was both reflected in and caused by the foundation and spread of the Mendicant Orders. More problematic is the question of how missionary efforts and polemical writing are related and to what extent both are connected to conversionary aims. Berger seems to equate mission with conversion. He observes that none of the twelfth-century polemical treatises describes conversion as one of the objectives of writing polemic or debating with Jews. Thus, Berger concludes that mission was not an objective of these twelfth-century authors.[9] Burns

---

6. *Living Letters of the Law*, pp. 156–66. Also Jeremy Cohen, "The Muslim Connection: On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology," in *From Witness to Witchcraft*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Weisbaden, 1997), pp. 141–62.

7. From the title of his article "Christian-Muslim Confrontation: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," reprinted in *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 80–108.

8. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. x.

9. Berger argues that the upsurge in polemical texts during the twelfth century was a consequence of increased aggressiveness on the part of the Jews. Although some of the authors he quotes did state that they were writing at the behest of individuals beset by heretics and Jews, I find Berger's hypothesis difficult to credit. Christian authors certainly perceived

likewise assumes rather than demonstrates that the goal of his Mendicant missionaries was first and foremost to convert Muslims.[10] But it is by no means clear that the exclusive or even primary object of medieval missionizing was to increase the number of converts. In order to understand the objectives of mission and purposes of polemic, as understood by contemporary Christians, we need a more sophisticated understanding of how conversion was understood in the period.

One approach that has proved illuminating to me is that of Karl Morrison. He has shown that conversion was understood as something much more than formal participation in the Christian Church.[11] Conversion could not proceed through force of argument and reason alone, or even through a sincere desire to be converted. It required an admixture of God's grace.[12] Hence, Anselm of Canterbury argues that conversion itself is a miracle, something performed by God's will alone.[13] Conversion was generally understood to begin after baptism and to continue for the rest of one's life. For example, the first chapter of Caesarius of Heisterbach's (ca. 1180–ca. 1240) well-known collection of *exempla,* or model stories, deals exclusively with the topic of conversion, but the converts he discusses are all previously baptized Christians. In this important first chapter, Caesarius describes their turn to a more perfect Christian life. Jews who receive baptism are not discussed, although

that the Jews were becoming a greater and greater threat, but this perception did not necessarily reflect reality. His conclusions are summarized in "Mission to the Jews," p. 591.

10. Although he quotes Aquinas's assertion that philosophy serves "not to prove the faith but defend the faith," Burns still perceives it as ironic that the failure of the philosophical approach in polemic served to harden Islamic receptiveness to conversion. Burns suggests a more pragmatic and tolerant approach might have actually garnered more converts: "Dream of Conversion," p. 91. It is only ironic if one assumes that the goal of the polemic was solely to produce conversions: Aquinas himself seems to suggest that its goal was to buttress Christianity.

11. Morrison describes five examples of different kinds of conversions discussed in twelfth-century writings, all of which go well beyond formal assent through baptism: *Understanding Conversion,* pp. 16–19.

12. Morrison uses the example of the conversion to Christianity of Herman-Judah, who states that his conversion resulted from the heavenly grace he received through the prayers of two religious women. *Understanding Conversion,* p. 54; idem, *Conversion and Text* (Charlottesville, 1992), p. 101.

13. "Solius quippe uoluntatis dei opus est . . . cum sancto spiritu corda hominum ea quae nec per se nec per aliam creaturam sciunt docentur, cum noxiae uoluntates a suo impetu sola gratia regente ad hoc quod prodest conuertuntur." Anselm of Canterbury, "De conceptu uirginali et de originali peccato," in *Opera omnia,* ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Rome, 1940), 2: 153. Cited by Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 5.

several can be found in his second chapter, on contrition.[14] What was the point of chastising Jews for their blindness, of rehearsing biblical or rational arguments, or even of displaying knowledge of the Jews' own writings when without grace such efforts would not suffice and with grace they might be superfluous? Why then were polemical texts written and debates with religious adversaries engaged in?

Morrison both broadens our understanding of the role of unbelievers in Christian self-definition and focuses more precisely on the way they functioned for Christians. If we understand that conversion is something that all Christians must undergo,[15] that it is an indeterminate process, never securely completed until death, if at all,[16] and that its goal is "unity with God, an empathetic participation in which the 'I' and the 'you' become one,"[17] then the role of the non-Christians becomes more complex than simply that of fodder for the baptismal font. Mission and proselytizing efforts were undertaken in part for the missionary and proselyte, who was a Christian engaged in the lifelong project of his or her own conversion.[18] That some unbelievers might convert was an added bonus, a further witness of the truth of the Christian faith. In the case of the Jews, everyone knew that they would not all convert until the divinely appointed moment at the end of time.[19] So, why dispute with them? As Morrison says, "To what purpose, apart from exchanging invective and ritually demarking the limits of empathy?"[20] He answers a few pages later:

> Private disputations were engaged in for the pleasure of matching mind against mind; public debates, like those of more recent times, were sporting events, exhibitions of skill, spectacles of combat. Insofar as they could be regarded as instruments of conversion, they belonged to a repertory of play that included theatrical performances, the spectacle of liturgy, and the visual arts.[21]

---

14. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Josephus Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), 1: xxiii, xxv, xxvi.
15. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, p. 73.
16. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, p. 81.
17. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, p. 85.
18. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, p. 47.
19. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, p. 83.
20. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, p. 129.
21. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, p. 132.

Mission was a crucial activity for Christians but not because the right proof texts, rational arguments, or rabbinic "evidence" were guaranteed to cause Jews to convert. Rather, it was a means of staging the combat between Christians and Jews and as a way in which Christians could bear witness to their own ongoing conversion. Winning other converts was a miracle proving the truth of Christianity and demonstrating the effectiveness of the performance.

The crucial change in the thirteenth century was not that mission had been deemed unimportant before then or even that conversion became a more important object of mission—I argue that it did not. It was that after the turn of the thirteenth century Christians became more confident that the act of mission might result in the conversion of a nonbeliever. This is especially true in the case of missions to the Muslims, about whose soteriological status there was disagreement. Were they protected by the biblical injunction against the slaughter of the Jews and would a portion of them, like the Jews, inevitably convert at the end of time? Or was their survival only justified by the possibility that they might soon be converted to Christianity? Peter the Venerable argues that Muslims should be approached with reason rather than weapons. However, at the same time he also praises the efforts of the Templar military order.[22] His contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux (b. 1090/91–1153) is similarly ambiguous. In a letter of 1146 he supports the Second Crusade, arguing that if the Muslims could be subjected to Christian political control, their conversion could be awaited like that of the Jews.[23] In later years, however, he suggests that Muslims might be a better target for missions than the Jews precisely because, unlike the Jews, they were not slated for apocalyptic conversion.[24] Jacques de Vitry promises the easy conversion in his own day of Muslims who were exposed to Christian doctrine but says that the remainder would, like the Jews, either be slaughtered or converted at the end of time; he was also a fervent supporter of the crusades.[25]

A number of factors contributed to the new confidence that mission might result in actual conversions. A large part of it was a result of the

22. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 99–102.

23. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, 8: 316–17.

24. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 60–61; Burns, "Dream of Conversion," pp. 83–84.

25. Burns, "Dream of Conversion," p. 84; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 126–29.

high level of eschatological anxiety during the period.[26] Christians knew that the Jews, and possibly Muslims, would only convert en masse at the end of time. If the end of time was imminent, however, then wholesale conversion of the Jews was a realistic and desirable possibility. Increasing Christian self-confidence in the intellectual sphere and in the material sphere, as the borders of Christendom were defined, extended, and defended, further encouraged the belief that before long the entire world would be Christian. Finally, the desire to preach to Muslims and Jews was an offshoot of a much broader movement in the thirteenth century to preach to Christians in an effort to reform the entire Church.[27] These factors are all reflected in Rodrigo's writings and career: in his direction of the *Dialogus* to both Christians and Jews, in the central place occupied by discussions of Jewish and Christian millennial beliefs in that work, and in the weight he placed and success he garnered in conquest and settlement of sections of Muslim Spain.

Despite new optimism about the possibility of conversion, missionary activity after 1200, whether it is reflected in polemical texts or accounts of disputations and preaching efforts, continued to be preoccupied with Christian self-representation. Indeed, the new attention paid to mission seems only to have enhanced its performative aspect, in the sense in which Morrison understands these encounters to be performances of Christianity. Mission, polemic, and disputation continued to confront nonbelievers with Christianity in order to reinforce the claims of the latter, but in ways that became increasingly more public. This is very clear from the disputations between Christians and Jews at Paris (1240) and Barcelona (1263). Both were staged as spectacles viewed by

26. For an idea of the amount and range of apocalyptic speculation during this period, see Bernard McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100–1500," *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 3 vols. (New York, 1998), 2: 74–109; and idem, *Visions of the End* (New York, 1998), pp. 94–225.

27. This movement of universal reform is reflected in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council where prescriptions for the reform and renewal of the Church are found alongside dictates on the containment of unbelievers through regulation and crusade: *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum*, ed. Antonio García y García, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series A, vol. 2 (Vatican City, 1981). On the reformer Jacques de Vitry, cf. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 118. John Bollweg and Pamela Beattie likewise situate the impulse to mission in Arnau de Vilanova (1240–1311) and Ramon Lull respectively within a general move to reform Christian society: Bollweg, "Sense of a Mission: Arnau de Vilanova on the Conversion of Muslims and Jews," pp. 50–51, 69–70; and Beattie, "'Pro exaltatione sanctae fidei catholica': Mission and Crusade in the Writings of Ramon Llull," pp. 127–28, both in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1.

the most important secular and religious leaders of their realms. The disputation at Paris was presided over by King Louis IX's mother, Blanche of Castile, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile. Also in attendance was a large group of nobles and churchmen including some of the most important clergy in the realm—the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Paris, the king's chaplain, and the chancellor of the university.[28] Likewise the disputation at Barcelona took place, as the Latin account tells us, "in the presence of the lord King of Aragon, and many others, barons, prelates, and religious and military persons in the palace of the lord King."[29] These were opportunities for the religious and secular elite to stage the triumph of Christianity and to display publicly the differences between their faith and that of the subject Jews. I show in the following chapter how Rodrigo used performance as a way of getting across the message of his polemic.

Conversion is not evident as a goal of these disputations. The disputation at Paris put the Talmud on trial with four Jewish leaders acting for the defence and the convert Nicholas Donin as prosecution.[30] The goal of the disputation at Barcelona was not first of all conversion but "to make manifest the truth of the [Christian] faith in order to destroy the errors of the Jews and to shake the confidence of many Jews."[31] This is entirely orthodox: human reason and argument can convince Jews that their religion is false, but only God's grace can bring about conversion. Inghetto Contardo, a Genoese merchant in Majorca in 1286, was likewise asked by his fellow countrymen to debate with the Jews, not to convert them but to defend the Christian faith.[32] When one Jew confessed a desire to be baptized, Inghetto tried first to dissuade him. The

28. Solomon Grayzel, *Church and the Jews* (New York, 1966), p. 31.

29. "Presentibus domino rege Aragonum et multis aliis baronibus, prelatis, religiosis et militibus in palacio domini regis Barchinone." P. H. Denifle, "Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Mose Nachmani zu Barcelona, 1263," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1887): 231; Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial* (Rutherford, N.J.), p. 147.

30. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 354–55.

31. "Ut ipsius fidei ueritas manifesta fieret propter destruendos Iudeorum errores et ad tollendum confidentiam multorum Iudeorum." One royal letter, issued on 26 August 1263 in the aftermath of the Disputation at Barcelona, makes provisions for the protection of converts, suggesting the forced sermon attendance of Muslims and Jews might result in conversions. It seems exceptional in this regard: Denifle, "Disputation Pablos Christiani," pp. 231, 234–35.

32. "Per deum, Ingete, defende nos ab isto Rabi, qui tantum loquitur," his Genoese fellow merchants beseech him: Ora Limor, *Die Disputationen zu Cueta (1179) und Mallorca (1286)*, MGH, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 15 (Munich, 1994), p. 170.

reasons Inghetto gave to persuade the Jew not to convert—that he would be despised by Christians as well as Jews and that he would suffer economically—indicate what little support there was from Christians for new converts.[33] This suggests conversion was less of a priority than modern scholars have assumed. Finally, Ramon Martí presents his task in the prologue to his *Pugio fidei* as that of constructing from the Old Testament and postbiblical Jewish holy books a dagger (*pugio*) to be used by preachers, sometimes for cutting the bread of the divine word into sermons for the Jews and sometimes for cutting the throat of Jewish perfidy and impiety.[34] It is telling that this text, often called the supreme model of the "new" kind of missionizing, nowhere mentions conversion as one of its goals.[35]

Conversion is conspicuously absent as a motive for writing polemic in most polemical texts. Ramon Lull is an ambiguous case in this regard. He was unusual in articulating a belief that rational argument was capable of convincing nonbelievers of the truth of Christianity, as well as of persuading them of the falsity of their own faiths.[36] For example, Lull states in his 1273–74 *Libre de contemplació* (*Book of Contemplation*) that some Muslims and Jews who are forcibly taught about Christianity will convert as a result and in turn convert others.[37] Neverthe-

33. Limor, *Die Disputationen*, p. 275. Robert I. Burns outlines the strong resistance to Muslim conversion to Christianity in postconquest Valencia and the measures taken by Jaime I to ensure that Muslims would be permitted to convert: "Journey from Islam: Incipient Cultural Transition in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia (1240–1280)," *Speculum* 35 (1960): 339–44. Outside the peninsula, the *domus conuersorum*, a special house in London where Jewish converts to Christianity could live and receive financial support, remained chronically underfunded after its initial enthusiastic founding by Henry III: Robert C. Stacey, "The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 267.

34. "Injunctum est mihi ut de illis Veteris Testamenti, quos Judaei recipiant, libris, vel etiam de Talmud ac reliquis scriptis suis apud eos authenticis opus tale componam, quod quasi Pugio quidam praedicatoribus Christianae fidei atque cultoribus esse possit in promptu, ad scindendum quandoque Judaeis in sermonibus panem verbi divini; quandoque vero ad eorum impietatem atque perfidiam jugulandam, eorumque contra Christum pertinaciam et impudentem insaniam perimendam." Ramon Martí, *Pugio fidei* (Leipzig, 1687), p. 2.

35. Chazan calls it "the magnum opus of medieval Christian missionizing among the Jews": *Daggers of Faith*, p. 115.

36. Lull may have owed his rationalism and concomitant preference for the effects of free will over grace in producing conversions to the influence of al-Ġazāli: J. N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 19, 24.

37. "Los infeels apreníen e enteníen per paor de [tots los cristians], covenría de necessitat que la [potentia motiva] mogués ells o alcún d ells a [tots los cristians], axi com mou [tots los cristians] a reebre so que la [significació de Jhesu Crist] demostra de [Jhesu

less, his own conversion to a life of penitence came not through listening to rational argument but through the grace of a series of visions he experienced of the crucified Christ.[38] Lull measures his personal commitment to mission after his own conversion to a fully Christian life by his willingness to stand as a martyr for the faith through mission to the Saracens, not simply by the number of converts he wins.[39] Even Lull uses mission to prove and strengthen his own conversion.

Morrison's understanding of conversion suggests how we may interpret two letters received by Rodrigo from Pope Honorius III that concerned mission to the Muslims. The first letter was circulated widely to numerous prelates in Christendom in 1221, and it asks each one to select four religious, preferably Cistercians, for the mission to the Muslims. The letter mentions several times that the candidates must be willing to suffer potential martyrdom, to publicly perform their Christianity by bearing witness in the ultimate sacrifice.[40] The second was sent to Rodrigo alone in 1226 and is more circumstantial. It asks him to send Dominicans and Franciscans to the territory held by the Almohads—presumably southern Spain and northern Morocco—to convert Muslims and to support the Christian faithful already living in the region. To this end, Rodrigo is permitted to consecrate suitable men as bishops of those regions. It is important to note that even in this letter, which makes conversion a firm goal of these missionary efforts, Honorius is careful to remind his recipient that conversion itself can only occur through God's grace.[41] We have no record that Rodrigo ever fulfilled these requests from the papacy. He would certainly have been delighted to consecrate bishops in the lands he hoped to later conquer.

Crist]: on, los infeels que entraríen en [tots los cristians] ne convertiríen d altres." *Libre de contemplació* (chap. 346, par. 18), in *Obres de Ramon Lull*, 21 vols. (Palma de Majorca, 1906–50), 8: 374, with the abbreviations resolved in square brackets according to the quotation of this passage in Mark D. Johnston, "Ramon Llull and the Compulsory Evangelization of Jews and Muslims," in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, 1: 14. See in the same volume Beattie, "Mission and Crusade in Ramon Llull," pp. 119–20.

38. *Vita coaetana*, ed. Hermogenes Harada, CCCM 34 (Turnhout, 1980), pp. 273–74.

39. "Et uisum est, quod melius siue maius seruitium Christo facere nemo posset, quam pro amore et honore suo uitam et animam dare; et hoc in conuertendo ad ipsius cultum et seruitium Saracenos, qui sua multitudine christianos circumcingunt." *Vita coaetena*, pp. 274–75.

40. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 372.

41. "Dedimus in mandatis ut . . . aliquos viros prudentes ex fratribus predicatoribus et fratribus minoribus, illuc auctoritate nostra transmitteres, ad convertendum infideles, divina gratia preeunte, predicationibus et exemplis, erigendum collapsos, confortandum dubios, et confirmandum robustos." Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 595.

Rodrigo's Dialogus libri uite

Now that we have questioned a fixed link between the writing of polemic and conversionary aims, we can ask why Rodrigo wrote his own treatise. Unlike his other written works, the *Dialogus libri uite* has only recently been added to his canon. It was catalogued for the first time in the late nineteenth century, and the text has remained neglected by modern scholars.[42] The text seems to have been written in the period immediately after the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa.[43] The *Dialogus* itself displays certain ambiguities from the outset. In his prologue, Rodrigo states that he addresses his work not only to Jews but also to Catholics, "so they might learn that the sacraments and articles of the faith were not recently invented."[44] In addition, despite its title, the

42. Wilhelm von Hartel, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1887), 1: 475–76. The late discovery of the text, in contrast to Rodrigo's historical works, has raised some questions as to its authenticity. Juan Fernández Valverde, the chief editor of Rodrigo's *Opera omnia*, evaluated the authenticity of the text and concluded that the *Dialogus* is the work of the archbishop: "Introducción," in *Dialogus libri uite*, pp. 157–72; idem, "Datacion y autenticidad del *Dialogus libri uite* de Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada," *Actas, I Congreso Nacional de Latin Medieval* (León, 1995), pp. 105–6. He rejects the doubts cast on Rodrigo's authorship by Norman Roth, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y los judíos: La 'divisa' y los diezmos de los judíos," *Anthologica annua* 35 (1988): 479–81. See also Roth's "Bishops and Jews in the Middle Ages," *Catholic Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (1994): 13. Florencio Marcos Rodríguez had previously argued that Rodrigo was the author of the *Dialogus*, and Marcos Rodríguez briefly describes the manuscript and outlines the work's contents in "El *Dialogus libri vitae*," pp. 617–22. See also his *Los manuscritos pretridentinos hispanos de ciencias sagradas en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1971), pp. 411–12; Guy Beaujouan, *Manuscrits scientifiques médiévaux de l'Université de Salamanque et de ses "Colegios Mayores"* (Bordeaux, 1962), pp. 108–11. The *Dialogus* is included as Rodrigo's work among the Iberian bibles and biblical commentaries catalogued by Klaus Reinhardt and Horacio Santiago-Otero: *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 303–6. In some sense, this book of mine is an extended argument in favour of Rodrigo's authorship of the *Dialogus*.

43. In book IV, Rodrigo compares the "short-lived" Temple of Solomon with the long existence of the Church, "which had already endured for 1,214 years, and which will last forever": *Dialogus* IV.iii, lines 85–86, p. 297. Taking the institution of the Church to be at Christ's birth, Rodrigo is writing in 1214. In book V the author supplies a more troublesome temporal reference. He writes, "From the birth of the Lord up until the destruction by Titus, which occurred forty-two years after the passion of the Lord, there were seventy-five years; from that destruction until now there were 1,243": *Dialogus* V.xxvii, lines 37–40, p. 351. Adding 75 years to 1,243 years gives a date of 1318. The simplest explanation for this impossible figure is that a copyist wrote CC for C, and the sum should be 75 plus 1,143, which would give a date of 1218. Such an error is plausible, given the late date of the manuscript.

44. *Dialogus* prologue, lines 30–31, p. 176.

Dialogus was not written as an exchange between a Jew and a Christian in the dialogue format common to many polemical texts.[45] Rodrigo's text reads rather as one-half of a dialogue in which Rodrigo anticipates and represents Jewish objections in his own words. Many chapters have titles like "The Objection of the Jew against the Foregoing" or "A Response to the Jewish Objection." Rodrigo addresses his supposed Jewish interlocutor in the second person throughout, as if he is speaking to a specific individual.

The structure of the work is as close to a typical theological compendium of Christian doctrine as it is to a typical anti-Jewish treatise. The work comprises a prologue and eight books. Book I discusses the existence of God and the Trinity, and it is the main source for the theological and cosmological material discussed in the previous chapter; book II addresses the Incarnation; book III considers the invalidation of Jewish law, the mission of the apostles, and the transfer of the covenant to the gentiles; book IV describes the triumph of the Church and defeat of the Jews. These books reflect standard topics and ordering both for anti-Jewish treatises and for theological *summae.* To construct his arguments, Rodrigo relies on a mixture of traditional biblical exegesis and rational philosophical arguments rooted in the works of twelfth-century thinkers. For example, in book II, Rodrigo interprets a series of Old Testament prophecies that he argues predict the events of Christ's life. He adduces standard proof texts—Old Testament passages understood to foreshadow events of the New Testament—and his interpretations of them are the usual ones, easily available to him from sources like the *Glosa ordinaria.*

Book V is unusual, and it is the lynchpin of the treatise. In it, Rodrigo turns to an aggressive attack on Jewish exegesis of Scripture concerning the advent and nature of the Messiah and the Messianic Age, the general resurrection, and the World to Come. Some information about Jewish beliefs on these topics was known to Christians before Rodrigo, most notably and coherently from the biblical commentaries of Jerome. Rodrigo certainly borrows much of his information on Jewish beliefs directly or indirectly from this source. Other interpretations, for which I could find no Christian source, can be found in the Talmud or Midrash. Rodrigo's use of this exegesis marks a very early use of Jewish sources in a polemical work by someone not born a Jew.

---

45. Gilbert Dahan discusses this genre in *Les intellectuels chrétiens,* pp. 415–22.

The final three books cover topics more unusual in an anti-Jewish text. Book VI justifies the sacraments by finding evidence for them within the Old Testament. It fulfills Rodrigo's aim to show Catholics the antiquity of their beliefs and practices. Book VII describes the actions of the Antichrist, and book VIII continues and concludes the account of events at the end of time by describing the general resurrection and the Last Judgment. These two books form a parallel with book V. In the same way that book II outlines the Christian understanding of the Messiah, which is then contrasted with Jewish exegesis in book V, so too does the Christian exegesis of the resurrection and the end of time mark a further rebuttal to the Jewish positions on the subject outlined in book V.

Rodrigo outlines his methodology and approach in the prologue of the *Dialogus*. He opens by blaming human *uarietas*, inconstancy or changeableness, for causing men to depart from God's plan and for influencing them to worship idols. Inconstancy led humankind into error and thence to damnation. Only the knowledge of God preserved in Abraham and his progeny saved the human race. God, as He had promised Abraham, gave His Law through Moses to the descendants of Israel. The true fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham was not in the letter of the Law but was rather hidden inside that letter. God's concealment of the New Testament inside the Old is the theme of the entire prologue, and Rodrigo chides his Jewish adversary for misreading the Bible:

> You, O Jew, who have wandered from the way of truth and have fastened your eyes on the dregs of the earth, groping along in the middle of the day as if blind, you fit the prophecies to fables and, having thrown up ramparts of accusation, you strive to stop up the mysteries of faith with the balm of Gilead. Moses, the hagiographers, and the prophets hid the mysteries of the Law, which you disdained to find, under the sod of the letter until the time of grace. Nevertheless, you revealed the tombs of kings and prophets, and hidden treasures of the House of God to the Babylonians, and you hid them from your people.[46]

Rodrigo does not merely repeat the traditional Christian charge that Jews do not understand the full meaning of Scripture; he also argues that they have deliberately prevented others from understanding by

46. *Dialogus* prologue, lines 13–17, p. 175.

constructing fables to explain difficult prophecies. Their changeableness is deliberate and blameworthy. We have echoes here of the idea discussed in the previous chapter that right knowledge, here right belief in God, is passed from those who cannot appreciate it, the Jews, to those who can, the Babylonians, who stand for Rodrigo's Christians of gentile origins.

Rodrigo, however, also condemns Christians who strive only after temporal things when they could be studying the Bible in order to seek the truth. It is for these people, he says, that he is writing his work so that Catholics may learn that the sacraments and articles of the faith were not recently devised and that everything in the Gospels can be found in the Old Testament.[47] This statement, that the book is intended for Catholic readers for their own self-improvement, not just so that they might learn about the errors of the Jews, must be taken seriously when we consider Rodrigo's aim in writing. Completely absent from the prologue is any statement concerning either conversion of or mission to the Jews.

Rodrigo's polemic is thus constructed entirely around the question of which group interprets the Bible correctly. This is not surprising—as Gilbert Dahan has stated, "The Jewish-Christian debate was first and foremost a scriptural controversy, a quarrel between exegetes."[48] The traditional Christian approach was to argue that Jews only understood the Old Testament carnally, while Christians appreciated its full spiritual meaning, reading the Old Testament through the metanarrative of the Incarnation and salvation history. Anti-Jewish polemic relied on allegorical readings of the Old Testament to show the foreshadowing in it of the New. Rodrigo likewise makes the Bible the centre of his argument. But he does not take the traditional approach of opposing Jewish literal readings of the Bible with Christian allegorical and spiritual readings. Rather, as Rodrigo explains in his prologue, he takes the unusual step of using the Christian understanding of the literal sense to combat the Jewish letter. In doing so he demonstrates an awareness of Jewish traditional interpretations of Scripture. He follows Christian tradition in calling Jewish exegesis literal though of course the rabbinic Midrash he uses is not literal.

Rodrigo states in the prologue that he will concentrate on the literal

47. *Dialogus* prologue, lines 21–33, pp. 175–76.
48. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 386.

meaning of the Old Testament, leaving aside the allegorical, tropological, and anagogical senses of Scripture, "so that a Jewish adversary may not have anything to complain about."[49] This is not because Rodrigo believes that the nonliteral senses are not present or are unimportant:

> The tropological, anagogical, and allegorical senses, which lay hidden for a time in the letter as though inside a deposit, counteracted the strangeness of the letter at the time of revelation and repaired its weaknesses in many places, so that the mystical explanation supplies that which the literal exposition does not furnish.[50]

Rodrigo confines himself to the literal sense in the *Dialogus* because a text can have only one literal meaning. By dealing with the Jewish interpretation directly, he believes he can compel his adversaries to agree with his understanding and he cannot be accused of embarking on a method of interpretation unacceptable to Jews. Rodrigo's attention to the literal sense means that for the purposes of his polemic he confines himself mostly to the prophetical books and other passages of the Old Testament that can be interpreted as prophetical and that he understands to predict Jesus Christ. Thus he does not use the traditional arguments of anti-Jewish polemic based, for example, on allegories of historical events in the Bible, nor does he use typology in his discussion, although both were popular devices of contemporary polemic.

Rodrigo wrote in the context of the renewed Christian interest in the literal sense of the Bible that emerged in the twelfth century and that was paralleled by a renewed Jewish interest in the literal sense. The Christian movement is associated in its origins with the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, founded in 1110. Christian authors, notably Andrew of St. Victor, discussed with Jews the meaning of the literal sense of Scripture and incorporated this knowledge into their biblical commentaries. Other exegetes, such as Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter, and Stephen Langton, incorporated Andrew's acquired knowledge into their own writings and, to some degree, they too sought to glean firsthand knowl-

49. *Dialogus* prologue, lines 130–31, pp. 178–79. This focus on the literal sense to the neglect of the other three is another feature the work shares with the *Breuiarium*, cf. prologue, lines 138–43, p. 6.

50. "Tropologicus ergo, et ana<gogicus, et alle>goricus intellectus, qui apud litteram, ut apud deposit[ati]um, aliquandiu latuerunt, reuelationis tempore hospiti litterae occurerunt, et defectum eius in pluribus suppleuerunt, ut quod litteralis expositio non sufficeret, declaratio mystica id suppleret." *Dialogus* prologue, lines 136–40, p. 179.

edge directly from the Jews.[51] Rodrigo was in Paris around the turn of the thirteenth century and may have been familiar with this trend. Rodrigo's use of the literal sense for polemical purposes is innovative, however. Andrew had largely accepted the Jewish interpretation of the literal sense of the prophecies, even nonmessianic interpretations of passages traditionally viewed by Christians as containing a literal, messianic meaning.[52] As I discuss further in the following, Rodrigo disputes the Jewish literal understanding of the prophecies and reasserts the Christian interpretation. Rodrigo's attack on the Jewish letter aggressively reclaimed the use of the literal sense in polemic by Christians. No longer, Rodrigo hoped, could Jews complain that Christians were arguing at cross-purposes to them, using methods of interpretation not accepted by Jews. His focus on the literal sense had another consequence, however: that of founding his argument deeply within the question of which group understood the correct interpretation of history. Rodrigo's entire argument rests on the question of whether it was Christians or Jews who best understood the history of what had gone before, with the coming of Christ and the establishment of the Church, and thus which group had a better comprehension of the events that would come at the end of time.

Rodrigo's focus on the literal sense of the Old Testament may have a third target as well as the Jews and Catholics he cites in his prologue, namely, the Cathar heretics who were the target of military action and conversion efforts sponsored by the Church around the same time that Rodrigo was writing his *Dialogus*. The Cathars had been the subject of a section of the *Contra haereticos* of a man with great influence on Rodrigo, Alan of Lille. They were believed to be dualists who interpreted the world as a fundamental struggle between good and evil, in which God claimed their souls and the material world was the work of the devil. With this in mind, they rejected the Old Testament and the Catholic sacraments. Rodrigo's case for a literal reading of the Old Testament and his defence of the sacraments, unusual in an anti-Jewish treatise, can be seen as directed against these beliefs. His firm statement in the opening chapter of the *De rebus Hispanie* that good and bad

51. Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, esp. chaps. 3–5, still provides the fullest account of this phenomenon. See also Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*. On the transformation of Jewish exegesis in this period see Benjamin J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi*, Études sur le Judaïsme médiéval 9 (Leiden, 1981).

52. Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 162–68.

angels, like everything else, are all contained within the divine essence is an implicit rejection of Cathar dualism.[53] We know little about actual Catharism in Castile or Leon in this period. Lucas of Túy composed between 1230 and 1240 a treatise against the Cathar heresy in which he argues that the sect had infiltrated the city of Leon. This group was extremely anticlerical and antisacramental, according to Lucas, and he argues that they even pretended to be Jews in order that they might dispute with Christians.[54] Whether we believe in the existence of Cathar heretics in central Spain or not, it may be enough that leading contemporary churchmen believed they were there and posed a threat.[55]

Rodrigo quotes from the Bible throughout the *Dialogus,* and his quotations are taken exclusively from the Latin Vulgate, usually from the Old Testament. His extracts from the Psalms are taken from the Latin translation of the Septuagint, not the Hebrew. Only once does he cite the Hebrew text of the passage he is interpreting,[56] and he regularly uses books of the Old Testament considered uncanonical by Jews. Indeed, it would appear that he was ignorant of any difference between the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament except for one fact: in book I of the *Dialogus* Rodrigo attempts to associate divine wisdom with the second person of the Trinity by appealing to the authority of Jesus, son of Sirach, the author of the biblical book Ecclesiasticus. Rodrigo justifies his use of this text by arguing that its author is honoured in the Jews' own books for his virtue and wisdom, "apud tuos libros uirtute et sapiencia honoratum."[57] Ecclesiasticus is, of course, not part of the Hebrew Bible, but references to its author and contents can be found in the rabbinic literature, the "books" of the Jews. These references range from prohibitions against reading the work to laudatory citations of passages from it—sometimes in the next breath. For example, *Sanhedrin* 100b opens by forbidding the reading of the book but goes on to list some excerpts from it that may be expounded.[58] Ro-

53. *De rebus Hispanie,* I.i, p. 9.

54. *De altera vita fideique controversiis adversus albigensium errores libri III,* ed. Juan de Mariana (Ingolstadt, 1612).

55. On Catharism and other heresies in medieval Spain, J. Faci and A. Oliver, "Los testamentos eclesiasticos y las estructuras sociales en los siglos xii y xiii," in *Historia de la iglesia en España,* vol. 2, no. 2, ed. Javier Fernández Conde (Madrid, 1982), pp. 104–11.

56. *Dialogus* I.vii, line 5, p. 191.

57. *Dialogus* I.x, lines 3–4, p. 195.

58. Likewise, Midrash R *Genesis* XCI, 3; Midrash R *Leviticus* XXXIII, 1; Midrash R *Ecclesiastes* VII, 12.1, all quote ben Sirach by name, but Midrash R *Ecclesiastes* XII, 12.1,

drigo's statement that Jesus ben Sirach was popular among Jews may have a Christian source. In the third book of his *Contra haereticos,* Alan of Lille also uses Ecclesiasticus to associate divine wisdom with the Son and likewise describes its author as well thought of among the Jews, "inter Judaeos magnus reputatus est."[59] What Rodrigo's description adds to Alan's, however, is the notion that Jews possess postbiblical books that can be examined and taken as indicative of current Jewish beliefs. Rodrigo cites textual evidence; Alan refers to Jewish popular opinion.

Rodrigo's special pleading in the case of Jesus ben Sirach shows that he is aware that Ecclesiasticus is not part of the Hebrew Bible. Why, then, does he adduce arguments from it and other books held to be uncanonical by the Jews? Why does he base his argument on the literal sense of Scripture and yet not hold himself to the letter the Jews were actually reading? Rodrigo believes that since the Passion, and continuing to his own day, the Jews have misrepresented Scripture, to the degree that their versions are no longer trustworthy. Moreover, although he does not mention the Talmud or Midrash by name, he is aware of a tradition of rabbinic exegesis that, according to him, twists the sense of the letter. I argue, nevertheless, that his familiarity with this tradition came from oral contact with Jews, not direct reading of rabbinic texts.

Rodrigo's reference to the honour and respect for the wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach expressed in the books of the Jews makes it clear that he was aware that this is a written tradition. Rodrigo discusses the writers of this literature in his prologue. He accuses his Jewish adversary: "You fit the prophecies to fables and, having thrown up ramparts of accusation, you strive to stop up the mysteries of faith with the balm of Gilead."[60] He compares the rabbinic literature to the spider's webs of Isaiah 59:5,

> The Lord Jesus Christ brought out from there . . . the eggs of the asps . . . and from these things the Jews wove spider's webs (cf. Isaiah 59:5). . . . Spider's webs are woven that dissolve at the least touch if their surface is broken, and these your storytellers ["fabulatores"]

forbids reading his work. For a discussion of the enduring popularity of ben Sirach among Jews, see *The Jewish Encyclopedia,* ed. Isidore Singer and Cyrus Alder, 12 vols. (New York, 1905–6), 11: 390–91.

59. *Contra haereticos,* PL 210, col. 405C.

60. *Dialogus* prologue, lines 15–17, p. 175.

> have woven from their hearts. And the Weaned one who comes overturned all these things by the spirit of his lips (cf. Isaiah 11:4), but when you labour to cover over these things with spiders' webs, you are found covered round with a mantle of confusion, bereft of the clothing of glory, and wallowing in the blood of goats, bulls, and calves.[61]

The "fabulatores" are the authors of the rabbinic literature who have covered over the true meaning of the Old Testament with the stories they have woven out of it. This attempt at concealment leaves them trapped in the gore of sacrifices, now rendered fruitless by the coming of Christ.

Additional evidence that Rodrigo knew of the existence of postbiblical Jewish writings comes from book I, where he makes the point, long common to Christian polemic, that the Bible often refers to God using a plural form with a verb in the singular. He writes:

> In many places in the prophets and in the Law and among your wise men, the name of God is placed in the plural and relation occurs in the singular: 'adonaym' means 'your lords.' Never do the wise men, Moses, or the prophets write or teach about plurality of substance, but where the name of God is placed in the singular it refers to the substance, where it is in the plural, it refers to the persons [of the Trinity].[62]

I believe Rodrigo means "your wise men" ("doctorum tuorum") to refer to the authors of the rabbinic literature. Petrus Alfonsi likewise spoke of the authors of the Talmud as "doctores uestri," to his Jewish alter ego, Moses.[63] Rodrigo usually calls the authors of the historical books of the Old Testament the *hagiographi,* so it is doubtful that it is they who are

61. Rodrigo makes a play here on the verbs *texere* and *contexere,* to weave, and *tegere* and *contegere,* to cover over. I have translated "quae fabulatores tui de suis cordibus texerunt" as "these your storytellers have woven from their hearts," but it would literally be "these your storytellers covered over from their hearts." *Dialogus* prologue, lines 111–25, p. 178.

62. "Et in pluribus locis prophetarum et legis et doctorum tuorum nomen Dei in plurali ponitur, et fit relatio in singulari; 'adonaym,' 'tui domini' interpretatur. Numquam autem doctores, Moyses, et prophetae pluralitatem in substantia scriberent uel docerent, sed ubi singulariter ponitur nomen Dei ad substantiam, ubi pluraliter referunt ad personas." *Dialogus* I.vii, lines 11–16, p. 191.

63. For example, Petrus Alfonsi, *Diálogo contra los judíos,* ed. Klaus Peter Mieth (Huesca, 1996), p. 11.

meant here. Rodrigo was thus aware of postbiblical Jewish exegetical traditions. What he did with them remains to be seen.

Apocalypse and Polemic

Polemical texts tend to be very derivative and stereotypical, interpreting the same biblical proof texts in the same way to prove the same points of Christian doctrine. There are good reasons for this. At the very least, their sameness reassures Christian readers that truth doesn't change. While much of the *Dialogus* shares in this tradition of uniformity, it also contains some original features. Rodrigo follows his more predictable discussions of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the end of the Jewish Law in books I–IV with an exposition and refutation of Jewish biblical exegesis concerning the advent and nature of the Messiah and the Messianic Age, the general resurrection, and the Time to Come in book V. He then takes the final two books of the *Dialogus* to outline Christian beliefs concerning the coming of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment. While Jews' beliefs concerning their Messiah would become a common topic of debate later in the thirteenth century, Rodrigo was highly unusual in foregrounding the apocalypse in an anti-Jewish polemical text to the extent that he did. I believe that a large part of the explanation for this interest can be found in the existence of contemporary debates among Jews—in which the preeminent rabbi of Toledo, Meir ben Todros Abulafia (Ramah, ca. 1165–1244), played a key role—concerning the teachings of Moses Maimonides (1135–1205) on the resurrection. Rodrigo's awareness of areas of dissent among Jews grounded the attack on the Jewish faith found in his treatise.

I suggest in the preceding that book V is the lynchpin of the treatise. It is certainly the most original section of the work. In it, Rodrigo returns to his concern with Jewish *uarietas,* fickleness or inconstancy, expressed in the prologue. The full title of book V is "On the Fables of the Jews and on Their Diversity of Opinions Regarding the Messiah."[64] His reference to a diversity of opinion ("opinione uaria") among the Jews regarding the Messiah sets the tone for his arguments throughout book V. The prologue opens with a meditation on how human inconstancy ("uarietas")

64. "De fabula Iudaeorum et eorum opinione uaria de Messiah." *Dialogus* V.i, line 1, p. 302.

had led man away from God into the worship of idols. In book V Rodrigo returns to this theme of the prologue and argues throughout the book that Jewish exegesis relating to the Messiah and the world to come was inconsistent and that many Jewish interpretations contradicted one another. The Jews resorted to coming up with stories ("fabulae") to account for this inconsistency. Rodrigo introduces these notions in the opening words of book V:

> Since inconstancy is covered over by the sprinkling of a lie, he who is changeable, lies and proselytizes. Among your ancestors and your contemporaries inconstancy still springs forth. Your ancestors taught what could not be found in the truth of the letter and, as they were able, they turned the Scriptures away from their proper understanding.[65]

The traditional Christian complaint about Jewish exegesis was that the Jews clung to the literal sense of Scripture, ignoring all other meanings. Rodrigo, however, accuses the Jewish elders of misrepresenting even the letter of the Bible, twisting it into another sense. Rodrigo continues to address his Jewish adversary in the second person, but he also refers to the opinions of Jews in the third person plural and occasionally contrasts these views with the beliefs of his interlocutor. This serves to emphasize the divergences of opinion among Jews that Rodrigo is at pains to expose. Rodrigo's attempt to expose the Jews' perceived misrepresentation of the Bible and to point out what he regards as inconsistency in their interpretation of different passages of Scripture regarding the coming of the Messiah, the Messianic Age, the general resurrection, and the World to Come is the focus of book V.

Rodrigo's sources for his understanding of Jewish exegesis are extremely interesting.[66] While many of his readings originate in Jerome's attacks on Jewish eschatology and the Christian chiliasts who were inspired by it in his biblical commentaries, other interpretations have no Christian intermediary and thus appear to come from a rabbinic source.[67]

---

65. *Dialogus* V.i, lines 2–7, p. 302.

66. The editor of this section, Juan Antonio Estévez Sola, has done a wonderful job of restoring the at times very corrupt text but has, except in a couple of cases, identified no sources for the book, other than biblical passages. None of the rabbinic sources discussed in this chapter was identified in the edition.

67. John P. O'Connell, *The Eschatology of Saint Jerome* (Mundelein, 1948), pp. 68–71, discusses and provides references for Jerome's condemnation of Jewish and Christian millenarianism.

In what follows, I outline those interpretations that seem to have no Christian source. Rodrigo begins by outlining prophecies he says the Jews believe predict the advent of their Messiah. He begins with Isaiah 11:1, *A staff shall come forth from the root of Jesse and a flower from its root.* Rodrigo states that Jews are wrong to understand it to indicate that David was the root and the Messiah will be the flower because Isaiah 11:4, *He will strike the land with the staff of his mouth,* which they also take to refer to the Messiah, calls the Messiah a staff that strikes the earth.[68] The Messiah cannot be both the staff and the flower, Rodrigo argues, highlighting Jewish inconsistency. Rodrigo contrasts the Jewish belief that the Messiah will bring peace with exegesis that states the Messiah will wage war, and he argues that these views cannot coexist. The opening verses of Isaiah 11 were generally regarded as messianic among the Jews,[69] but Rodrigo's source for this information could have been Christian.[70] Rodrigo then notes that the Jews believe that Numbers 24:17–19, which describes a leader waging battle against the enemies of Israel, refers to their Messiah. He argues that this contradicts the image of the Messiah as a peace bringer found in Isaiah 61:2, which the Jews also regard as a messianic prophecy.[71] Jewish exegesis also understood the star that comes out of Jacob of Numbers 24:17 to refer to the Messiah.[72] Andrew of St. Victor recognizes this explanation in his commentary on Numbers.[73]

Rodrigo defines what the Jews believe their Messiah will be like and what he will do. According to the archbishop, the Jews say that the

68. *Dialogus* V.iii, lines 4–8, p. 303.

69. Midrash Ps, Ps 72, 1: 560. Compare Midrash R *Genesis* II, 4, p. 17; Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 11, p. 523; Midrash R *Lamentations* I, 16, 51, p. 137; Midrash R *Ruth* VII, 2, p. 83; BT *Sanhedrin* 93b, p. 626; Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (New York, 1968), p. 147, on Maimonides.

70. Jerome understood the Jews to believe that the Messiah was both staff and flower in his commentary on the passage: *In Esaiam,* in *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera,* ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 73 (Turnhout, 1963), IV, xi, 1/3, lines 9–12, p. 147. Andrew of St. Victor likewise recognized that these verses had Messianic import for the Jews: Pembroke MS 45, fol. 10vb.

71. *Dialogus* V.iii, lines 24–31, p. 304.

72. Midrash R *Deuteronomy* I, 20, p. 22; Midrash R *Lamentations* II, 4, p. 157. Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (New York, 1932), p. 57 on Rashi, and p. 169 on Naḥmanides. Abraham ibn Ezra, p. 114, connects this verse to David, and Maimonides connects it alternately to David and the Messiah.

73. Andrew of St. Victor, *In Numeros* in *Opera I: Expositio super Heptateuchum,* ed. Charles Lohr and Rainer Berndt, CCCM 53 (Turnhout, 1986), lines 467–69, p. 191. Compare Smalley, *Study of the Bible,* p. 160.

Messiah possesses no negative qualities, that his composition comes from God, and that he will be the most perfect product of human nature. The Messiah will be a perfect prophet, mighty and magnificent and greatly beloved of God, but not as beloved as Moses, although he will be milder of temperament than Moses.[74] He will be richer, wiser, and more fortunate than Solomon, and such will be his justice, wisdom, and eloquence that all the nations will subject themselves to him. God will work many miracles through the Messiah. The natural world will remain as it is. There will still be rich and poor, but the poor will not lack the necessities of life; they will be only relatively less prosperous than the rich.[75] The continued existence of the poor during the messianic age is referred to in the Talmud.[76]

Rodrigo next states that to support their understanding of the Messiah the Jews adduce the testimony of Aristotle in a letter to Alexander. He recounts the text of the letter, which he says is not known in Latin, as follows:

> "You will know the new happiness to come in future times. And there will be the same union of years, and one will, and one king, and to this end all the people will be united and domination and wars will cease, men will take care to provide for the common good, and they will agree to one faith and one law." And it says, "They will divide half their life in utility and study and they will dedicate half to bodily pleasures. They will act so that he who possesses knowledge will keep vigil in order to preserve it, and he who is without knowledge will ask the wise. And I would wish, O Alexander, if I could, to live until that time, and if I am unable to behold the height of felicity, I would look upon at least a part of it. And if I am not able to come to it because of my old age, I hope that my sons, nephews, and loved ones would arrive at the pre-eminence of that time."[77]

This extract comes originally from a letter called "On the Governance of Cities." The work, whose editors agree was attributed to Aristotle at

74. The thirteenth-century Provençal author Isaac b. Yedaiah will later express the view that the Messiah will not achieve the stature of Moses; Marc Saperstein, *Decoding the Rabbis: A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Aggadah* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1980), p. 103.

75. *Dialogus* V.v, pp. 307–8.

76. BT *Shabbath* 63a, p. 295 and n. 5; 151b, p. 773.

77. *Dialogus* V.vi, lines 2–22, p. 308.

a very early date, exists only in six Arabic manuscripts.[78] How did this Arabic text come to Rodrigo's attention? Fragments of the larger letter from which this extract was taken were included in the *Bocados de oro* (*Mouthfuls of Gold*), a thirteenth-century Castilian translation of an eleventh-century Arabic work by al-Mubashshir on the sayings of the philosophers.[79] While the particular section quoted by Rodrigo cannot be found in the *Bocados de oro*,[80] the citation of the letter in that work shows that the letter was known in Spain. Rodrigo certainly had Christian Arabicists among his company, as already discussed, but it is also possible that he is telling the truth and that he did learn about this passage from Jews who used it to support their understanding of the Messiah.

Rodrigo then states that the Jews interpret Zacharias 8:12, *The vine shall yield her fruit and the earth shall give her increase*, to mean that when the Messiah comes, the earth will regain the fertility it lost because of the sin of Adam.[81] Jerome alludes to the general millenarian belief in the fecundity of the earth in the time of the Messiah, but he does not cite it as a specifically Jewish belief, nor does he connect it to a diminishment of fertility as a result of Adam's sin, nor does he link it to Zacharias 8:12.[82] The notion that in the time of the Messiah the fruitfulness of the earth will be restored to what it was before Adam's sin can be found, however, in the Midrash, where it is justified by appeal to Zacharias 8:12.[83] The Midrash on Exodus refers to the healing properties of these renewed fruits.[84] Rodrigo concludes this section by stating that the Jews

78. Jósef Bielawski and Marian Plezia, *Lettre d'Aristote à Alexandre sur la politique envers les cités*, Archiwum Filologiczne 25 (Wroclaw, 1970), pp. 14, 18. Page 66 contains a French translation of the Arabic original of the passage excerpted by Rodrigo.

79. Bielawski and Plezia, *Lettre d'Aristote*, p. 9.

80. Chapter 13 of the *Bocados de oro* (Toledo, 1502) concerns Aristotle and contains portions of this letter to Alexander.

81. *Dialogus* V.vi, lines 23–32, p. 309. Rodrigo refers later on to the plenty and health-giving properties of food in the messianic era. He explains that the land was cursed by God after Adam's sin in Genesis 3:17, *Dialogus* V.xi, lines 11–19, p. 316. This same verse is adduced in Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 12, p. 523, to show the land had been cursed at Adam's Fall.

82. For example, commenting on Hebrews 11:14–16, Jerome writes, "Ex quo discimus, mille annorum fabulam, in qua rursum nuptiae promittuntur et cibi et terrenae uitae conuersatio, abiciendam." Jerome, *In Esaiam*, XVI, lviii, 14, lines 49–51, p. 677.

83. Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 12, pp. 523–24; cf. Midrash R *Genesis* XII, 6, pp. 92–93.

84. "The third is that He will make trees yield their fruit each month, and when a man eats of them he will be healed." Midrash R *Exodus* XV, 21, p. 186.

adduce Psalm 71:7, Isaiah 2:4, and Micah 4:3 to show that people will be immortal in the messianic era: "They will neither be broken up by corruption, nor by illness, nor will they be killed by the sword. No death will cut off happiness in this manner."[85] Belief in man's immortality in the messianic era likewise has a Midrashic origin.[86]

Rodrigo next discusses the Messiah's longevity. He attributes to Jewish exegetes the belief that the Messiah, his sons, and their sons will obtain a spiritual paradise and will not die and all the prophets and saints will wish to live in those days so they might enjoy paradise and long life.[87] Rodrigo continues:

> They say besides that the Davidic Messiah will seek perpetual life for himself and will obtain this response from God: "David from whose line you are descended, already sought what you seek and obtained what he sought." And in the persona of David they adduce the verse of the Psalm thus, as if it would say, "I give thanks since You heard me praying for my son who sought life from you," and this places the past for the future as if the act of hearing preceded: *And You gave life to him, length of days forever and forever* (Psalm 20:5).[88]

This passage has its origins in the Talmud tractate *Sukkah:*

> When he (the Messiah, the son of David) will see that the Messiah the son of Joseph is slain, he will say to Him, "Lord of the Universe, I ask of Thee only the gift of life." "As to life," He would answer him, "Your father David has already prophesied this concerning you," as it is said, *He asked life of thee, thou gavest it him [even length of days for ever and ever]* (Psalm 20:5).[89]

In the Midrash on Psalms, much of this psalm is given a messianic interpretation.[90] Further below Rodrigo distinguishes the Messiah, son of David, from the Messiah, son of Joseph, but here he simply rebuts these beliefs. They are not possible according to nature because the Jews believe their Messiah will be purely human and so cannot live longer

85. *Dialogus* V.vi, lines 35–37, p. 309.
86. Midrash R *Genesis* XII, 6, p. 93; Midrash R *Exodus* XV, 21, pp. 186–87; Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 12, p. 524.
87. *Dialogus* V.vii, lines 2–7, p. 309.
88. *Dialogus* V.vii, lines 7–14, p. 309.
89. BT *Sukkah* 52a, p. 247.
90. Midrash Ps, Ps 21, 1: 293–96.

than other men, nor, according to Rodrigo, is there any firm scriptural basis for the belief in the Messiah's longevity. Rather, it is a story invented by the Jewish "sapientes," wise men.[91]

According to Rodrigo, the Jews say that God will perform many miracles through their Messiah. While Christians understand some of these miracles to be fulfilled literally, and some spiritually, the Jews believe that all will be fulfilled according to the letter. First, before the general resurrection, Jerusalem will be rebuilt out of so many precious stones, gems, and woods that it will shine. The land will regain the fruitfulness it lost after the sin of Adam. Hearing of the glory of the city, of the fecundity of its land, and of its king, all the gentiles will come to it, and they will rebuild the city, its temple, and its buildings with precious stones. God will restore its judges and counselors as before; He will gather to it all the Jews who have been dispersed; and He will preach the law of Moses, restore the kingdom of the Jews, and govern the gentile kings. The Jews will not serve under tribute, nor will they be oppressed by taxes, but they will all rejoice happily. The gentiles who once hated them will come, prostrate themselves, and worship their footsteps. This, according to Rodrigo, is what the Jews believe about the Messianic Age, and he says they support it with Isaiah 2:3, Isaiah 49:23, Isaiah 60:13 and 16, Isaiah 61:5, Psalm 71, and Psalm 20.[92] These predictions can be found in various places in the rabbinic literature, for example, the Midrash on Exodus makes reference to the building of the city out of precious stones so that the heathen will come to see it, as well as to the end of mourning and the beginning of rejoicing.[93] The tractate *Pesaḥim* quotes Isaiah 61:5 to show that the heathen will come to serve Israel in the messianic era.[94] However, Jerome also refers in a general way to the Jewish understanding of these prophecies.[95]

Rodrigo's way of dealing with these predictions is to expose what he believes is Jewish "uarietas," that is, contradiction between different elements of Jewish exegesis. He takes the Jewish interpretations of Psalm 71 and tries to show that they do not make sense for a Messiah who will be purely human.[96] For example, he asks how, if the Messiah

91. *Dialogus* V.vii, lines 14–18, p. 309.
92. *Dialogus* V.viii, pp. 310–11.
93. Midrash R *Exodus* XV 21, pp. 186–87.
94. BT *Pesaḥim* 68a, p. 346.
95. For example, Jerome, *In Esaiam,* XVII, lx, 1/3, lines 17–20, 25–28, pp. 692–93.
96. *Dialogus* V.viiii, lines 2–3, p. 311.

will be completely human, can the Jews argue from Psalm 71:5, *And he shall continue with the sun and before the moon, throughout all the generations,* that the Messiah will live as long as the sun? How can he have been created before the moon since the moon and sun were made on the fourth day and man only on the sixth day? How can the moon pass away, as in *Justice and abundance of peace will arise in his day, until the moon passes away* (Psalm 71:7), since Daniel says that the stars will last forever (Daniel 12:3)?[97] According to the Midrash on this psalm, the moon will pass away in the world to come because the righteous will give off light.[98] Rodrigo also challenges the belief that the Jewish Messiah can never die and that his name existed before the sun, as in the Midrash:

> *His name shall endure forever* (Psalm 71:17)—that is, the king Messiah will never know the taste of death. *Before the sun was, his name existed* (Psalm 71:17). Seven things existed before the world was created: the throne of glory, the name of the Messiah, Torah, Israel, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, repentance, and the Temple.[99]

If his name existed, Rodrigo asserts, it was only because of the foreknowledge of the Creator; names did not exist until Adam applied them to things.[100] Rodrigo does not argue that the Jews are incorrect in interpreting Psalm 71 messianically, but if they do so, he believes, they must recognize as Christians do that the Messiah is both human and divine.

Rodrigo exposes further discrepancies in the Jewish interpretations of the prophecies in the chapter entitled "That the Prophecies Contradict Each Other According to the Jewish Understanding of Them." He quotes in full Isaiah 53:2–12, part of the so-called suffering servant passage, which begins at Isaiah 52:13. Rodrigo then counters the passage's bleak images of a suffering, dying, despised Messiah with the

97. *Dialogus* V.viiii, lines 32–35, p. 312.

98. "The verse concludes *And abundance of peace, till there be no moon* (Psalm 71, 7). Till when? Till the moon comes to an end. Even as the sun and moon give light in this world, so the righteous will give light in the world to come as it is said *And nations shall walk at thy light, and kings at the brightness of thy rising* (Isaiah 60, 3)." Midrash Ps, Ps 72, 5: 562.

99. Midrash Ps, Ps 72, 6: 563. On the preexistence of the Messiah's name see also BT *Pesaḥim* 54a, p. 265, and BT *Nedarim* 39b, p. 125.

100. *Dialogus* V.viiii, lines 56–60, p. 313.

triumphalist conception of the Messiah described up to this point, and he asks how the Jews can reconcile these two images of the Messiah.[101] Christians believe these verses from Isaiah refer to Jesus Christ. Early Jewish exegesis did connect these verses with the promised Messiah, as in the Targum of Yonathan on this section, as well as several passages from the Babylonian Talmud and the Midrash Rabbah.[102] By the time Rodrigo was writing, however, Jewish exegetes usually connected Isaiah 53 to the sufferings of the Jewish people in exile or to the sufferings of the prophet himself.[103] Rodrigo might have genuinely been familiar with the earlier Jewish traditions that associated this passage with the Messiah, or he might simply have assumed that the Jews, like the Christians, must give it a messianic interpretation. For this reason, Rodrigo berates his Jewish opponent and explains the Christian solution to the paradox of these two contrary images of the Messiah:

> The truth of the prophets clears without a cloud, and the boldness, or better, the Protean quality of your fables, which change appearance according to the manner of Proteus, is put to flight by the shining sun of justice. Nevertheless, would that [your] inborn inconstancy might turn [its] face from its perfidy so that it might recognize that He has come who, born from a virgin, thought it worthy to endure for the sinners the mockeries of the Passion and the bitterness of death, so that the truth that is maintained by the testimonies of the prophets might be demonstrated.[104]

---

101. *Dialogus* V.xiii, lines 1–62, pp. 320–21.

102. For these, see Samuel R. Driver and Adolf Neubauer, *The "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (1877; reprint ed., New York, 1969), pp. 5–9.

103. On the medieval tradition, see Joel E. Rembaum, "The Development of a Jewish Exegetical Tradition Regarding Isaiah 53," *Harvard Theological Review* 75 (1982): 289–312. Rashi, for example, connects the passage with Israel: Sarachek, *Doctrine of the Messiah*, p. 61. Ramon Martí, however, quotes Rashi as saying that the servant is the Messiah, see Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, p. 36. Abraham ibn Ezra explicitly excludes both the Christian and the Jewish Messianic interpretations of the passage, and he states that it must refer either to Israel as a whole or to the prophet: *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, ed. and trans. M. Friedländer (New York, 1873), pp. 239–47.

104. My reading of this passage from the manuscript Salamanca BU MS 2089, fol. 57vb, differs somewhat from that of the edition. I read: "Clarat itaque sine nube ueritas prophetarum, et sole iustitie radiante fugatur tuarum proteruitas, alias Proteitas et melius, fabularum que more Prothei mutat uultus. Vtinam tamen natiua uarietas a sua perfidia uultum mutaret ut recognosceret aduenisse qui, natus de uirgine, ludibria passionis et mortis amaritudinem dignatus est pro peccatoribus pertulise, ut ueritas probaretur que prophetarum testimoniis perhibetur." *Dialogus* V.xiii, lines 70–77, pp. 321–22.

This harsh statement in which Rodrigo again condemns the Jews for their fickleness is followed by an attack on the stories they make up to explain the prophecies:

> Cease, therefore from pulling the mind away from truth, lest it grieve that it has been neglected among strange fables, and consider and understand the beginning, the end, and the middle of the prophets and you will find the destruction of these fables since just one verse renders void the inconstancy of these figments. A few verses from the Scriptures silence the rest of these fables, especially since you utter many things about the Messiah which no prophecy contains, but your changeable mind takes you to where you cannot return from in your stubborness.[105]

Again, the theme is that the Jews have hidden the true meaning of the prophecies with their fables and have confused even themselves.

Rodrigo next explains how the Jews reconcile the suffering with the victorious Messiah:

> Some of your people . . . invented two Messiahs—one Davidic and the other Ephraimitic. But nothing about the Ephraimitic Messiah is found in the Law, nor in the prophets, nor in the *hagiographa*.[106]

He distinguishes the belief of his interlocutor from the general Jewish view:

> Although many of your people may be accustomed to admit that [the Messiah] will be killed impiously by 'Bredam' so that it might be possible to pin the prophecies of David, Daniel, and Isaiah on him, now you waver and say that he will not be killed, but will die a natural death.[107]

Still addressing his Jewish adversary, Rodrigo discusses Jewish beliefs about the function of the two Messiahs in the following chapter, entitled "On the Ephraimitic Messiah":

> If your Messiah, as you say, will not be killed, but will die a natural death, about whom do you understand the prophecies of Daniel and

105. *Dialogus* V.xiii, lines 77–84, p. 322.
106. *Dialogus* V.xiii, lines 84–88, p. 322.
107. *Dialogus* V.xiii, lines 97–100, p. 322.

> Isaiah that assert that Christ will be killed for the salvation of humankind? For the rest, since the prophecies do not suffice to help, you say that someone of the line of Ephraim will come before the Messiah, he will be taught the Law by Moses, and you say that this one will be killed by impious 'Bendam,' and forty days later he will be resuscitated by the Davidic Messiah.[108]

The story of the two Messiahs is a relatively late but still fairly common feature of Jewish apocalyptic eschatology.[109] The usual version was that the Ephraimitic Messiah, or the Messiah ben Joseph, as he was also called, would come, wage war against Israel's enemies, and die fighting. He would be followed by the Messiah ben David, who would usher in the messianic era of peace and prosperity. The slaying of the Messiah ben Joseph is explained as the cause of the mourning described in Zacharias 12:10 by the Talmud tractate *Sukkah*.[110] There are also more oblique references to the pair in the Midrash.[111] The Messiah ben David is described as performing seven wonders at his advent, one of which is to revive the slain Ephraimitic Messiah.[112] I have not found any source for the belief that this resuscitation will occur forty days after the murder of the Ephraimitic Messiah, but perhaps Rodrigo or his source misinterpreted the common belief that the Messiah would rule for forty years.[113] The name of the Messiah's killer is usually given as Armilus in the Jewish tradition, no doubt a perversion of Romulus, signifying the Roman Empire. Rodrigo names the slayer six separate times in the *Dialogus,* but the manuscript gives three different forms for his name.[114]

---

108. *Dialogus* V.xiiii, lines 2–8, p. 323.

109. See S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh,* trans. G. W. Anderson (Oxford, 1959), pp. 290–91; David Berger, "Three Typological Themes in Early Jewish Messianism: Messiah Son of Joseph, Rabbinic Calculations, and the Figure of Armilus," *AJS Review* 10 (1985): 143–48.

110. "It is well according to him who explains that the cause is the slaying of the Messiah the son of Joseph, since that well agrees with the Scriptural verse, *And they shall look upon me because they have thrust him through, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son* (Zacharias 12:10)." BT *Sukkah* 52a, p. 246.

111. Midrash R *Genesis* LXXV, 6, p. 698; XCV, p. 917; XCIX, 2, p. 975.

112. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* trans. Henrietta Szold, 6 vols. (Philadelphia, 1968), 4: 234.

113. BT *Sanhedrin* 99a, p. 669; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* 6: 141, n. 836. Naḥmanides states that the Messiah ben Joseph will take forty years to wipe out idolatry, gather the Jews, and lead them to the Holy Land: Sarachek, *Doctrine of the Messiah,* p. 175.

114. Bredam: *Dialogus* V.xiiii, line 97, p. 322; Bendam: *Dialogus* V.xiiii, line 7, p. 323; VII.i, line 53, p. 373; Beridam: *Dialogus* V.xxvii, lines 3, 4, p. 350.

Evidently the scribe had difficulty understanding just what was meant here. It is probable that the word is supposed to be Edom, which in Jewish typology stood for Rome.[115] Whether Rodrigo understood this to be the case or whether his source was garbled is impossible to know from this distance.

Rodrigo was not the first Christian to refer to the Ephraimitic and Davidic Messiahs. Amulo, archbishop of Lyons (841–52), attacked the Jews for their belief in two Messiahs in his polemical text, the *Liber contra Judaeos* (*Book against the Jews*). According to Amulo, the Jews expect the Messiah ben Ephraim to come after the end of Israel's captivity. He will fight a war against Gog and Magog and he will be killed.[116] Amulo even recognizes that the Jews connect his death to Zacharias 12:10. Amulo's treatise was probably the source of references to two Messiahs in the anonymous, tenth-century English *Altercatio aecclesie contra synagogam* (*Altercation of the Church against the Synagogue*).[117] Guillaume of Bourges, a convert from Judaism, also refers to two Messiahs in his *Libri bellorum domini* (*Book of the Wars of the Lord*):

> The Jews, unable to fight against the authorities of the prophecies, compelled by necessity, expect two Christs: they affirm that one is the son of David and the other is the son of Joseph, just as Daniel predicted: *Christ will be killed* (Daniel 9:26); the son of David will remain forever, just as it is written: *He sought life from you and you gave it to him, length of days for ever and ever* (Psalm 20:5).[118]

None of these three accounts includes the details found in Rodrigo's *Dialogus* about the name of the killer of the Ephraimitic Messiah nor the fact that the Ephraimitic Messiah will be resuscitated forty days after his death by the Davidic Messiah. In addition, Guillaume of Bourges probably wrote his treatise around 1235, too late to have influ-

115. On medieval Jewish traditions concerning Armilus and the two Messiahs, see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist* (New York, 2000), pp. 109–11; Berger, "Three Typological Themes," pp. 155–62.

116. "Istum sperant post revocationem captivitatis suae, venientibus super se gentibus ferocissimis, Gog et Magog, ad bellum contra eas processurum: et in eodem bello interficiendum, et ab omni populo Judaeorum graviter plangendum." Amulo of Lyons, *Liber contra Judaeos,* PL 116, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1864), col. 148B.

117. Bernhard Blumenkranz, ed., "Altercatio aecclesie contra synagogam," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 10 (1954): 112–13, 139–40.

118. Guillaume of Bourges, *Livres des guerres du Seigneur,* ed. Gilbert Dahan, Sources chrétiennes 288 (Paris, 1981), p. 138.

enced Rodrigo, although he, like Rodrigo, does connect Psalm 20:5 to Jews' beliefs about their Messiah.[119] Rodrigo therefore does not seem to have had a Christian source for this tradition.

How does Rodrigo counter the belief in two Messiahs? In the first place Rodrigo highlights and condemns the fact that not all Jews agree about what he would regard as a point of dogma—that is, some Jews believe one thing about the Messiah, and others believe other things. In the second place, Rodrigo accuses the Jews of inventing stories, such as that of the two Messiahs, to explain troublesome biblical passages. Finally, Rodrigo attacks the logic of the Jewish beliefs. The Jews believe both Messiahs are purely human, but if so, how can either one *remain with the sun and before the moon* (Psalm 71:5) since the sun is to last forever and the Messiahs will eventually die? How can either one exist before the moon if they were both created in time? The events the Jews describe cannot occur before the general resurrection because humans cannot perform the miracles the Jews expect, such as the resuscitation of the Ephraimitic Messiah by the Davidic Messiah. Neither can they occur after the resurrection because at this time generation and corruption will cease and the miracles the Jews expect about the fertility of the land, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the servitude of the gentiles presuppose generation and corruption.

Rodrigo attacks the timeline according to which the Jews believe the events of the Messianic Age will occur, especially the relationship of these events to the time of the general resurrection. This was a central question in the Jewish eschatological debates. He suggests that some Jews argue the Messianic Age will follow the general resurrection, while others believe it will precede that time. He shows that neither schema is possible. Rodrigo begins a close reading of Isaiah 60–62 in which he exposes and rebuts the messianic interpretations he believes are given by the Jews. Jews do understand these chapters generally to refer to the time to come.[120] Rodrigo says about Isaiah 60:1, *Arise, shine, for your light has come and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you,* "You say that the light of Jerusalem is God who, as you boast, will be as a perpetual light for you when the light of the sun and moon has ceased."[121] The Midrash does understand this verse as referring to the Messianic Age but speaks of this

119. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens,* p. 410.

120. For example, Ibn Ezra, *On Isaiah,* pp. 276–85. Sarachek, *Doctrine of the Messiah,* p. 116.

121. *Dialogus* V.xviii, lines 23–25, p. 330.

light as light created at the beginning of the world and renewed in the time to come.[122] Rodrigo's source for this interpretation is probably Jerome on Isaiah 60:1, "And what is better than these, The Lord himself is to shine for the sun and moon with eternal light."[123] His understanding of the Jewish interpretation of the next verse has a Jewish rather than a Christian source, however. The Midrash on Exodus 10:22–23, *So Moses stretched out his hand toward heaven, and there was thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days; and they saw not one another but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings,* says about Isaiah 60:2,

> So also God sent clouds and darkness and covered the Egyptians with darkness, but gave light unto Israel, as He had done unto them in Egypt; hence does it say: *The Lord is my light and my salvation* (Psalm 26:1). In the Messianic Age also, God will bring darkness to sinners, but light to Israel, as it says, *For, behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples; but upon thee the Lord will shine* (Isaiah 60:2).[124]

Rodrigo's own interpretation of Isaiah 60:2 is as follows:

> You compare what Isaiah interposes, *Shadows shall cover the earth and darkness the peoples* (Isaiah 60:2), to the Exodus from Egypt: just as then shadows enveloped the Egyptians and light shone on the Jews, so also in the time of the gemmed city the shadows will darken the gentiles while light from the Lord will illuminate the Hebrews.[125]

Rodrigo's understanding clearly shows the influence of the Midrash here. His resentment that the Jews believe the Messianic Age will only be for them is also evident. Rodrigo counters this interpretation by asking how, if the gentiles will be shadowed by darkness, they will *walk in splendour and light* (Isaiah 60:3).[126] The Midrash on Exodus says that this splendour and light refers to the shine of the gems out of which the new Jerusalem will be built.[127]

Rodrigo continues to examine Isaiah 60–62, rejecting the Jewish

122. Midrash R *Genesis* II, 5, p. 19; Midrash R *Numbers* XV, 2, 643; XXI, 22, p. 849.
123. *In Esaiam* XVII, lx, 1/3, lines 36–37, p. 693.
124. Midrash R *Exodus* XIV, 3, pp. 158–59.
125. *Dialogus* V.xviii, lines 37–41, p. 331.
126. *Dialogus* V.xviii, lines 42–44, p. 331.
127. Midrash R *Exodus* XV, 21, p. 187.

interpretation and asserting that the prophecies refer either to the return from Babylon or to the coming of Jesus. Finally, Rodrigo states that his interlocutor believes that the miracles associated with the Messiah will occur before the resurrection but that some Jews believe they will occur afterward, which again exposes Jewish changeableness.[128] Rodrigo explains that both alternatives are impossible, again using the arguments outlined above: The events the Jews describe cannot occur before the general resurrection because humans cannot perform the miracles the Jews expect, such as the resuscitation of the Ephraimitic Messiah by the Davidic Messiah. Neither can they occur after the resurrection because at this time generation and corruption will cease and the miracles the Jews expect about the fertility of the land, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the servitude of the gentiles presuppose generation and corruption. Rodrigo concludes book V by rejecting a third Jewish scenario:

> It is the opinion of your[129] people, which some people still hold, that when the Messiah shall have come, whether Davidic or Ephraimitic, and shall have been killed by "Beridam," after the death of "Beridam" and the Messiah, all those who remain will die, and afterwards the general resurrection will occur, and then Jerusalem will be built, just as you assert was said by the prophets, and there will be the power and glory of the Jews and servitude of the gentiles, as you persuade yourself with divine opinion.[130]

Rodrigo argues that this is impossible because there would be no room in the Holy Land to fit all the resurrected bodies.

Rodrigo makes one final, extremely interesting use of Jewish exegesis to discuss the last days, this time in book VII, which discusses the coming of the Antichrist. In the context of determining when the Antichrist will come, inspired by Daniel 12:11, Rodrigo writes:

> The part of the prophecy which says *from the time when the continual sacrifice is taken away* and so on, *1,290 days,*[131] certain people count

128. *Dialogus* V.xxii, lines 3–6, p. 339; V.xxiiii, lines 3–4, p. 344.

129. The edition of the *Dialogus* erroneously has "quorum" here where I read "tuorum" from the manuscript, Salamanca BU MS 2089, fol. 65rb.

130. *Dialogus* V.xxvii, lines 2–8, pp. 350–51.

131. This figure has been corrected against the Vulgate, Daniel 12:11. The manuscript reads "mille CCis et XXXX" instead of "mille CCis et LXXXX." Salamanca BU MS 2089, fol. 74va.

> from the destruction made by Titus, after which the abominable sacrifices were destroyed. And this was in the fortieth year after the passion of the Lord. And from that destruction they count these days a year for a day, just as elsewhere it is written that they are counted, and there have been 1,124 and a half years from Titus to now. And they say that 166 years remain until the blasphemies of the Antichrist.[132]

My reconstruction of this passage based on the manuscript differs from that in the edition. The words I render as "1,124 and a half years" reads in the manuscript, "mille.c.cc^{ti}.iiii^{or}. anni et semis." The "cc^{ti}" must reflect the confusion of a later scribe faced with "u^{ti}" for "uiginti." This reconstruction is the only one consistent with the rest of the information in the passage because 1290, the "year" given in Daniel, minus 1124 (the half has disappeared) does give 166, the number of years that remain until the Antichrist comes, according to the method of calculation Rodrigo cites here.[133]

If "now" is 1197 (that is, the 33 years of Christ's life up to the Passion plus the 40 years from the Passion to the destruction of the Temple plus the 1,124 years of the manuscript), this figure may reflect the year in which Rodrigo wrote at least this section, in which case we have the interesting possibility that he began what would become the *Dialogus* in his youth, perhaps while a student in Paris. It may also refer to the year in which Rodrigo first heard of the calculation that he discusses here. Given that the object of the passage is not to date the work but to calculate the coming of the Antichrist, the final date, which works out to midway through 1362, is what is important, not any midpoint calculations, which Rodrigo might not have bothered to change.

But who are the "certain people" who make this calculation? Earlier Christian exegesis of this passage usually takes the "days" of this passage of Daniel literally as days, interpreting them as referring to the three and a half years of the dominion of the Antichrist. These days are connected to the period of 1,260 days of strife referred to in Apocalypse 11:3 and 12:6.[134] Interpreting these "days" as years, however, is the method proposed by the Spanish Jewish philosopher and astronomer Abraham bar Ḥiyya (ca. 1065–ca. 1136), described in the previous chapter as working on translations with Plato of Tivoli. Abraham used

132. *Dialogus* VII.vi, lines 93–100, p. 387.

133. For the editor's different interpretation of this section, see Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," in *Dialogus libri uite*, p. 155.

134. For example, *Glosa ordinaria*, 3: 349a; 4: 563a.

this method in his *Megilat ha-megaleh,* a work dedicated to calculating the time of the coming of the Messiah, although Abraham may not have been the first Jewish exegete to calculate in this way.[135] It makes more sense as a Jewish exegetical technique than a Christian one. Influenced by the references to days in Apocalypse 11:3 and 12:6, Christians would have had no incentive to read the days of Daniel 12:11 as years. With no such later reading to influence them, as time passed without the advent of the Messiah, Jews were tempted to read "years" where they originally saw days. Joachim of Fiore (b. ca. 1135–1202) is evidently citing rabbinical exegetical tradition when he notes that certain wise men, "sapientes," variously interpret the days of Daniel 12:11 as years, months, or centuries.[136] Christian authors subsequent to Rodrigo who calculate the days of Daniel 12:11 as years include Arnau of Vilanova and the anonymous author of the *Summula seu breuiloquium super concordia Noui et Veteris Testamenti* (*Short Summa on the Agreement of the New and Old Testament*).[137] Abraham states that the 45-year difference you get if you add the destruction of the Second Temple to the 1,335 "years" of Daniel 12:12, *Blessed is he who waits and comes unto a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days,* reflects the time of the wars between Gog and the people of the Messiah.[138] Rodrigo uses this calculation also but gives the standard Christian explanation that these 45 years are given to the elect that they might do penance.[139] Rodrigo concludes by stating that no one really knows the date of the coming of the Antichrist except the Son and those to whom the Son has revealed the information.[140] What may be the

135. In the translation into Catalan by J. Millás Vallicrosa (Barcelona, 1929), pp. 174–75; cf. his translation of the prologue by the editor of the text, Julius Guttman, pp. xv–xvi. Abraham bar Ḥiyya arrives at a different date, 1358, for the coming of the Messiah because he bases himself on a date for the destruction of the Second Temple in 68 A.D. Berger suggests this became a common way of reading this passage by later scholars like Rashi but does not say with whom it originated: "Three Typological Themes," pp. 151, 163.

136. As cited and discussed in Robert E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 27.

137. McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York, 1998), p. 224. Harold Lee, Marjorie Reeves, and Giulio Silano, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy,* Studies and Texts 88 (Toronto, 1989), pp. 276, 318. John Bollweg suggests that Arnau's source was Abraham bar Ḥiyya in the paper "Daniel in the Friars' Den: Christian Hebraism and Mendicant Interpretations of Daniel 12,11," presented at the thirty-third International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 8 May 1998. On Arnau and his possible sources, see Robert Lerner, "Ecstatic Dissent," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 42 n. 38.

138. Abraham bar Ḥiyya, *Megilat ha-megaleh,* pp. 175–76.

139. Robert E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144.

140. *Dialogus* VII.vi, lines 100–103, p. 387.

most astonishing thing about Rodrigo's use of this Jewish exegesis is that he does not take the opportunity offered by it to connect the Jewish Messiah with the Antichrist. The name and religion of his source remain anonymous. Jewish exegetical techniques, like the Arab science and philosophy of the previous chapter, are found to serve Christian truth.

Implications: The Resurrection Controversy

Rodrigo recounts a wide range of Jewish interpretations of Scripture concerning the Messiah and the World to Come in his book V. His discussion of the existence of rich and poor in the days of the Messiah, the letter from Aristotle to Alexander, the fertility of the land in the Messianic Age, the Messiah's longevity based on Psalm 20, the preexistence of the Messiah's name in Psalm 71, the Davidic and the Ephraimitic Messiahs, and his comparison of the shadows of Isaiah 60:2 to the darkness that shrouded the Egyptians all seem to have Jewish rather than Christian sources. Moreover, he is aware that this is a written tradition. The only polemicists to use rabbinic traditions extensively before Rodrigo—Petrus Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable—do not refer to these traditions. So from where did Rodrigo obtain his apparent acquaintance with rabbinic materials?

The most unlikely possibility is that he read the sources himself. His biographer Javier Gorosterratzu assumes that Rodrigo knew Hebrew on the basis of writings with Hebrew expressions that the archbishop signed.[141] The writings with "Hebrew expressions" are probably charters on which the Jewish signatories signed their names using Hebrew characters. Rodrigo's signature on documents of this sort is not a basis for believing that he knew Hebrew. Although Rodrigo's general facility with languages is well attested by contemporary testimony, it is difficult to credit him with a knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic sufficient for him to be able to wade into the rabbinic literature and pick out passages suitable for his polemic.[142]

141. Gorosterratzu asserts that Rodrigo needed to know Hebrew so that he could keep an eye on the Jews of Toledo and counter the "clever propaganda" of their rabbis, *Don Rodrigo,* p. 31.

142. "Quod fere in omnibus omnium linguis hominum ita est adprime eruditus; quod si loquatur theutonice iuret theuthonicus maternaliter eum loqui. Si ipsum audias in solatio linguas varias et difusas per mundi climata distinguentem, estimabis quod si velit valeat

I believe that Rodrigo gained his familiarity with rabbinic traditions through oral contact with Jews, either privately and informally or possibly in the context of formal, public disputation. The best argument that Rodrigo's source was a Jew is that his entire knowledge of Jewish exegesis centres around a few very particular areas: the nature of the Messiah and the Messianic Age, the general resurrection, and the World to Come. If he were familiar with rabbinic literature at first hand, it is likely that he would have included far more of its exegetical traditions than he did and might have produced something more akin to Ramon Martí's *Pugio fidei,* which recounts Jewish traditions based on a wide range of beliefs. Likewise, it is doubtful that his informant was a Jewish convert to Christianity. Jewish converts like Petrus Alfonsi or Paulus Christiani preferred passages that seemed to anthropomorphize God or made God act in seemingly blasphemous ways, passages that made the Jews look credulous, foolish, or illogical. The Jewish beliefs Rodrigo records, however, seem more like the legitimate explanations a Jew would offer as reasons why he did not accept Jesus as the Messiah: the Messiah is expected to do certain things; Jesus did not do these things; therefore he was not the Messiah. Rodrigo's line of attack against this exegesis is his contention that Jews disagree amongst themselves about what they believe concerning eschatology.

This last point is extremely significant because, just a few years before Rodrigo became archbishop, the preeminent rabbi of Toledo, Meir ben Todros Abulafia (Ramah), embroiled himself in the centre of a controversy surrounding the teachings of Moses Maimonides on the events of the End Times. Rodrigo's attention to these subjects may reflect his own awareness of the echoes of this controversy. Ramah's concern with these topics was sparked by Maimonides's discussion of the resurrection in his *Mishneh Torah*. This work reached Provence some time after 1193 and from there made its way into Spain. In it, Maimonides describes the World to Come, the "olam ha-ba," as the place and time where the disembodied soul would enjoy immortal existence. Previously, it had

septuaginta hydiomata ad primordialem linguam propriissime revocare." Diego García, *Planeta*, pp. 172–73. See also the following account of Rodrigo's defence of the primacy of Toledo at Lateran IV, quoted in Fita, "Nuevas impugnaciones," pp. 183–84: "Set quia de diversis mundi partibus tam clerici quam layci ibidem convenerant, ut in omnibus satisfaceret suas in predicando pausaciones et interpollaciones faciendo easdem actoritates et raciones propositas in latino, exposuit laycis et illiteratis in lingagiis maternis videlicet romanorum, Teutonicorum, Francorum, Anglorum, Navarrorum, et yspanorum."

been seen as the era ushered in by the resurrection in which the embodied righteous would receive their reward and the wicked would be punished. Ramah feared this statement by the influential Maimonides would have a deleterious effect on belief in a full, bodily resurrection among the increasingly rationalistic Jews of Spain, and he sought to avert this possibility.[143]

The classic formulation of Jewish eschatology is that given by Saadya ha-Gaon. He argues that the events of the last days would be as follows: The Messiah ben Joseph would come, fight Armilus, and be killed by him. This would usher in a period of woe, after which the Messiah ben David would appear, fight Gog for seven years, and win. Many nations would accept Judaism. After all the opposing armies were defeated, the general resurrection would occur for everyone except for those who died during the years of war with Gog. People would live like ordinary humans, eating, drinking, and enjoying sexual relations, and there would be enough room to fit all the resurrected people. Sickness would be eradicated. Jerusalem would be a city of supernatural wonders, and the Jews would be transported to Palestine on clouds. Those who had been resurrected would not die again, but they eventually would begin to eschew the physical. This period would last for ages.[144]

Ramah's own understanding of eschatology is a variation on that of Saadya. He argues that some of the wholly righteous would continue to live until the Messianic Age. During the Messianic Age, many of the saintly would be resurrected, and they would continue to live until the full, bodily resurrection of everyone else took place in the World to Come. Punishment and reward would occur at that time, but he argues that this reward would not be physical and that passages on eating and drinking during the World to Come found in the rabbinic literature must be interpreted metaphorically.[145]

Around 1202 Ramah wrote to the rabbis of Lunel in Provence for support against what he understood as Maimonides's position. He is denounced in a letter by Aaron b. Meshullum (d. 1210), not on the merits of his position but for having dared to cast aspersions on the orthodoxy

143. The best study of Ramah, his career, and the controversy at issue here is Bernard Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), esp. chap. 3.

144. Sarachek, *Doctrine of the Messiah*, pp. 30–50. Saadia Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. Samuel Rosenblatt (New Haven, 1948), VIII.5–6, pp. 301–12.

145. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, p. 82; Daniel Silver, "The Resurrection Debate," reprinted in *Moses Maimonides' Treatise on Resurrection*, trans. Fred Rosner (New York, 1982), p. 85.

of Maimonides. Ramah is also attacked by Sheshet Benveniste of Barcelona (b. 1131–1210), who defends Maimonides's apparent denial of physical resurrection and castigates Ramah for insulting the great man. Benveniste rejected rabbinic teachings on eschatology because they seemed to violate the natural law that bodies by definition have appetites. He argues that it would be a contradiction in terms to suggest that God would resurrect bodies without appetites in order that they might enjoy a purely spiritual existence. Resurrection, for Benveniste, was a metaphor describing the continual freeing of the intellect to cleave to the Creator, not an event that would occur at one given time in the future.[146]

Ramah also wrote for support to the more conservative and literal-minded Tosafists in northern France, probably not earlier than 1203. Samson b. Abraham of Sens (b. ca. 1155–1225) wrote his reply to Ramah shortly after Maimonides's death in 1204. He agrees with Ramah that bodily resurrection was a matter of dogma but seems unaware of the intellectual threat of rationalistic thinkers like Benveniste, and thus he does not seem to have grasped the significance of the dispute. In Samson's eschatology, there were some who were truly righteous who would not die at all. The Messianic Age was the time when Israel would be released from captivity, and a few favoured people would be resurrected. The remainder would enjoy resurrection in the World to Come. Like Ramah, he argues that the body's reward in the World to Come would not be physical. These views of the Tosafists are also indicated in later reflections on the controversy from Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarhi (ca. 1155–1215). He was born in Provence but studied with the Tosafist Isaac b. Samuel in France. In 1204 he settled in Toledo.[147]

The controversy ended with the publication between 1203 and 1205 of Samuel ibn Tibbon's translation of Maimonides's *Treatise on Resurrection,* which the latter wrote in 1191 to respond to accusations of heresy by Samuel b. Eli of Baghdad. Samuel b. Eli had been contacted by Yemenite Jews who complained that their coreligionists were using Maimonides's teachings to support disbelief in bodily resurrection. This treatise firmly supports bodily resurrection. It states that the resurrection of the dead will occur in the Messianic Age and that the resurrected will have sex, procreate, enjoy long life, and eventually die again. During the

146. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture,* pp. 42–48; Silver, "Resurrection Debate," pp. 81–83, 91–95.

147. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture,* pp. 48–51; Silver, "Resurrection Debate," pp. 86–90.

World to Come, the righteous will then enjoy a completely spiritual existence. Maimonides takes care to stress that only belief in bodily resurrection was a matter of dogma; dissent about the details of eschatology was permitted.[148]

It is thus clear that questions of eschatology were in dispute among Jews, tensions were running high, and two of the participants, Ramah and ha-Yarhi, were still living in Toledo when Rodrigo became archbishop of the city. But the written part of the dispute was complete at the latest by 1205, some four years before Rodrigo's arrival. Could the issue have had continued repercussions in Toledo? Bernard Septimus suggests that Ramah never became completely reconciled to the Maimonidean position and that the attacks levied against him from Barcelona and Lunel continued to rankle. Some thirty years later, in a letter to Moses Naḥmanides, Ramah excuses himself from participation in the second and better known intercommunal controversy over Maimonidean rationalism by recalling his failed first attempt.[149] Ramah originally became involved in the dispute, he says, because of concerns about the orthodoxy of his community. He complains in his letters that he has little local support in Toledo, and Septimus suggests that another Toledan, Judah Alḥarizi, may have been one of his rationalist opponents. Ramah published his own letters about the controversy and the responses they received in a book, the *Kitāb al Rasā'il,* some time after he had written to the Tosafists. This volume includes a brief introduction describing the circumstances under which the letters were written. Both the title of the book and the introduction are in Arabic, suggesting its audience was the old Spanish Jewish intelligentsia, perhaps specifically the residents of Toledo.[150] The compilation of the book indicates that the topic remained a matter of local concern. The evidence of Rodrigo's book V suggests the matter was still of interest a decade or so later, when Rodrigo was writing.

Rodrigo was aware that Jews did disagree about eschatology, and he was aware that a number of possible positions could be taken on particular issues. Nothing in book V, however, suggests he had a fully articulated understanding of all the particular positions of a given

148. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture,* pp. 52–53; Moses Maimonides, "The Epistle on Resurrection," in *Epistles of Maimonides: Crisis and Leadership,* trans. Abraham Halkin (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 214–16, 219–21, 223.

149. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture,* pp. 56–57.

150. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture,* pp. 51–52.

thinker. We cannot dissociate views held by Maimonides, for instance, from those of Ramah or Saadya with any consistent clarity. Beliefs they are known to have held are jumbled with views they could not have held. Some perspectives are entirely missing. For instance, Rodrigo seems unaware of the extreme position of those who denied bodily resurrection entirely.

Certain themes of the Jewish debates on the nature of the Messianic Age and the World to Come are clear in Rodrigo's text. Will there be one Messiah who will live forever? One who will live long and have successors? Or will there be two, one who will be killed? Will the general resurrection occur before or after the Messianic Age? Will the order of nature be changed in the Messianic Age, and if so, how? What miracles will happen? Who is able to perform them? The traditional view was that the Messiah would perform miracles, with God's assistance. Maimonides argues in his *Treatise on Resurrection* that there was no need to believe that it is the Messiah who performs the miracle of resurrection.[151]

I believe Ramah's views are reflected in Rodrigo's description of a belief that permission will be given to the righteous to live during the Messianic Age, after which time the general resurrection will occur. We also perceive Ramah in some of the debates Rodrigo recounts about the nature of the new Jerusalem. Is it an earthly city built by the enemies of the Jews in the Messianic Age? If so, is it built before or after the resurrection? Or is it a celestial city, dropped down from the heavens? Ramah expresses doubts in his Talmudic commentaries about understanding the heavenly Jerusalem literally and favors a metaphoric interpretation of such passages.[152] Rodrigo addresses his mute Jewish opponent in the second person singular, noting that his respondent interprets the heavenly Jerusalem metaphorically.[153]

This raises the possibility that Rodrigo's Jewish interlocutor, to whom he speaks directly in the second person throughout the treatise, was a real person. This possibility is supported by the way that Rodrigo contrasts the beliefs of his adversary with the beliefs of other Jews in

---

151. Maimonides, "Epistle on Resurrection," p. 222.

152. "We . . . do not know where this celestial Jerusalem, mentioned in the Talmud, is nor where it will be. If it be in the heavens—is there really a building in the heavens? And if it be the name of an elevation in the sky which is called Jerusalem, it follows that the righteous are to be seated in the sky. And it is quite a bafflement how these bodies are to be seated in the sky if not by way of a miracle." Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, pp. 76–77.

153. "Et dicis ciuitatem auream methaphorice," *Dialogus* V.xviiii, lines 30–31, p. 332.

book V, as well as certain personal details such as Rodrigo's characterization of his interlocutor as "knowledgeable and prudent" in book III, unlikely if the archbishop simply had anonymous Jewry in mind.[154] If Rodrigo's Jew was real, it is likely that he was of an antirationalist stripe because Rodrigo states in book I that he will use philosophical arguments despite the fact that these are despised in Judaism.[155] Was his interlocutor Ramah himself? The rabbi certainly showed himself prepared to take on forceful adversaries in polemical debate during the resurrection controversy. And a poem he wrote for Purim, the feast at which Jews celebrate their liberation from their enemies, seems to be a rejection of attempts by Christians to proselytize:

> You preach vanity and lies
> And pronounce to me a name I know not.
> And proclaim glad tidings you never heard
> To my face, always.
>
> Why do you thus conceal deceitful counsel
> And offer before me the wine of lies
> And put down the bread of falsehood
> Upon my table always?[156]

The obvious references to the Gospels and the Eucharist show that the enemies addressed by this poem were Christians. The poem suggests that Ramah was conscious of and resistant to Christian efforts to confront the Jews with their faith. Whether these efforts were those of Rodrigo directly, and whether they consisted of a formal campaign either to preach to or debate with the Jews, it is impossible to be certain.

Rodrigo and Ramah also seem to have shared certain intellectual perspectives. Like Rodrigo, Ramah was most concerned to discern the literal or plain meaning of Scripture, although he recognized the admissibility of allegorical explanations.[157] One of Ramah's many poems reflects an interest in the philosophical problem of God's unity. As mentioned in the preceding, this question preoccupied both the Christian

154. *Dialogus* III.iiii, lines 22, p. 298.

155. "Et licet lex tua philosophicas aborreat raciones, quia tamen in dispersionem euangelice ueritatis quidlibet aceptatos philosophorum tibi ingero raciones." *Dialogus* I.x, lines 108–11, p. 198.

156. Quoted in Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, p. 14.

157. Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, p. 15 and n. 105, pp. 57, 58.

intellectuals of Rodrigo's Toledo and their Almohad enemies. Ramah speaks in the poem about God's relationship to creation: "He lives, From him alone is the fountain of life for all living things, He is beyond the source of His holiness."[158] This language suggests the immanence of God in creation and God's emanation through creation, which also interested Rodrigo and his fellow Christians. Ramah's "fountain of life" evokes the title of Ibn Gabirol's famous work, *Fons uitae*, translated by Gundisalvi and used by Michael Scot. A Toledan student of Ramah's, Judah ha-Cohen ibn Malkah (b. 1215), began corresponding with a philosopher, possibly Michael Scot, at the court of Frederick II in 1233.[159] This connection might have been possible because of Michael Scot's time in Toledo.

The Jews of Toledo

Ramah makes a very interesting foil for this discussion of Rodrigo's career. His lifespan is almost identical to that of Rodrigo, which means that for virtually the entire time that Rodrigo was leading the Christian community of Toledo, Ramah was his counterpart in the Jewish community, although Ramah arrived in Toledo some fifteen years before Rodrigo did, in 1194. Like Rodrigo, Ramah's reach extended beyond the city. *Responsa* (responses) to legal questions posed to him by Jews of the towns of Burgos, Cuenca, Tudela, Estella, and Girona have survived. Since most of his extant *responsa* have had their senders' names excised, it is possible his influence extended even farther.[160] Thus far, I have considered only possible intellectual exchanges between Ramah and Rodrigo, but Ramah, like Rodrigo, was in charge of the temporal well-being of his flock, and we can be certain that the two must have interacted in this sphere. It is now time to look at Rodrigo's day-to-day relations with the Jews of Toledo both to examine evidence for this interaction and to show more generally that Rodrigo was quite content to have Jews continue living in Toledo. At the same time, I argue, using

158. Silver, "Resurrection Debate," p. 95. On the poem, Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, p. 19.

159. Colette Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 250.

160. On Ramah's move to Toledo, Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, p. 7; on his *responsa*, p. 22.

evidence from Rodrigo's historical writing, that, although he supported Jewish life in Toledo, he was not immune to broader Christian anxieties about the possibility of Jewish treachery and betrayal. A willingness to incorporate Jews into Christian lands did not eradicate fear that some of them might prove dangerous.

Rodrigo's public activities show he regarded Jews as an essential component of the community he ruled. Rodrigo prudently moderated Toledo's Jewish-Christian *convivencia* at the same time as the Roman curia was formulating increasingly severe strictures on Jewish life.[161] With limited but real success, Rodrigo protected the Jews from the dress strictures and regulations imposed by contemporary popes and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). That council enacted a host of canons that defined the spiritual and political borders of Christendom and the duties and responsibilities of Christians. The conciliar canons also dictated the treatment of those who lived outside the community of Christian faithful, whether heretics, Muslims, or Jews. Canons 67–69 variously regulated Jewish and Muslim behavior: they forbade usury and required Jews to pay tithes for formerly Christian-owned property (c. 67), imposed distinctive dress on Jews and Muslims (c. 68), and barred them from holding public office over Christians (c. 69). Canon 70 forbade converts from lapsing back into their former beliefs and rituals. Canon 71 prevented Jews from charging interest to would-be crusaders.[162]

Enforcement of the canons concerning the payment of tithes, against the Jews in particular, became an important point of negotiation between Rodrigo and Pope Honorius III. In 1218, Honorius complained to Rodrigo that Jews throughout the province of Toledo evaded the tithes and the requirement to dress distinctively.[163] The following year, Honorius expanded the requirement for Jewish tithes. He now demanded that Jews tithe both for land purchased from Christians, as required by canon 67 of

161. I discuss the way Rodrigo's dealings with the Jews of his archdiocese formed a small part of his broader ambitions for himself and his archdiocese in "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the Jews: Pragmatism and Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Toledo," *Viator* 28 (1997): 203–22. For earlier studies, see Norman Roth, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y los judíos: La 'divisa' y los diezmos de los judíos," *Anthologica annua* 35 (1988): 469–81; idem, "Bishops and Jews in the Middle Ages," *Catholic Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (1994): 11–13; idem, "New Light on the Jews of Mozarabic Toledo," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 9 (1986): 189–220; and Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1979), 1: 38–66.

162. *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, pp. 106–9, 114–15.

163. 26 January 1218. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 142.

Lateran IV, and for buildings that they erected on the land.[164] The day following this demand, Honorius issued a letter to Rodrigo that exempted the Jews of Castile from the dress regulations of Lateran IV. This exemption was framed as a response to complaints from both the archbishop and King Fernando III that the Jews of Castile would rather live under the Moors than adhere to the dress regulations and that the Jews were hatching "conspiracies and conventicles" against the kingdom. Since the bulk of the king's revenues came from the Jews, the document argues, fiscal disruption and discord would result in Castile if the dress regulations were applied.[165] The exemption from the dress restrictions seems to have been secured in exchange for the extension of the claims to Jewish tithes made in the letter of the day before. Honorius subsequently rescinded the exemption of Castilian Jews from the dress regulations of Lateran IV in 1221, after, so he writes, a Hospitaller knight had reported that the Jews of Toledo dressed the same as Christians.[166] Honorius disregarded the fact that he himself had relaxed the dress requirement for Toledo. The earlier exemption had been granted not because Jews dressed differently from Christians in Toledo but rather because they had to be allowed to dress like Christians to avert any negative reaction—the alleged threat of their departure and conspiracy with the Muslim enemy. It is doubtful, however, that Rodrigo ever enforced the dress regulations against the Jews.

It is worth pausing for a minute here to ask whether the claim reported by the pope that the Jews of Toledo might conspire against the kingdom if they were forced into distinctive dress represents the genuine anxieties of the king and archbishop or this was a threat fabricated because they thought it would resonate with the papal chancery. I believe that Rodrigo, at least, felt this anxiety and felt it notwithstanding his recognition of the benefits that could accrue from having wealthy Jews living in his town. The evidence for my assertion comes from the role he ascribes to Jews in his *De rebus Hispanie*. Here, he develops an image of the Jews as traitors who have actively hindered the process of Christian unification and incorporation of non-Christian peoples and

164. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 211.

165. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 212. On the proportion of the king's revenue that came from the Jews at the end of the thirteenth century, the only period for which we have sure evidence, see Francisco J. Hernández, *Las rentas del rey*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1993), 2: cxxxiv–cxliv.

166. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 381.

territories. The previous chapter describes how in Rodrigo's *Historia arabum* it was a Jew who predicted Muhammed's success and gave him instruction in natural science, Christianity, and Judaism. This image of the Jews as potential traitors and allies of enemies of the faith gave a place for Jewish participation in postbiblical history that was to endure in Spanish historiography. Rodrigo was preceded in this depiction by the *Chronicon mundi* of his contemporary Lucas of Túy. Historians have generally given credit to Lucas alone for having founded the notion of Jews as traitors in Spanish historiography because he ascribes the Muslim conquest of Toledo to Jewish betrayal, a tale that Rodrigo omits from his version. An examination of how both men articulate the representation of Jews in their historical writings shows that both share responsibility for the image of Jews as traitors.

Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon mundi* is a universal history in four books. Its book I centres on Jewish sacred history before transferring attention to the Roman Empire after the fall of Jerusalem. Two reasons for the slaughter of thousands of Jews at this event are given—retribution for the killing of Christ and for the revolt of Jews and their encouragement of their neighbours to revolt against the Roman Empire. While the first reason is traditional, the second represents Jews as traitors to lawfully constituted secular authority, an image that Lucas reuses when he discusses Spanish history. Book II discusses the Visigoths, and here Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie* also takes up the tale.

Rodrigo takes many of his references to the Jews in the Visigothic period from Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon mundi.* Lucas's account of the revolt that broke out in Septimania during the reign of King Wamba (672–80), and its subsequent suppression by the king, finds its way into Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie.* The ringleaders, according to Lucas and Rodrigo, called the Jews back into the country, against the laws of the Goths.[167] Lucas calls the Jews a "perfidious people," a description that Rodrigo does not adopt, however. Lucas got his general account of this rebellion from Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae* (*History of Wamba*), but Julian does not accuse the rebels of inviting the Jews back into the kingdom, although he does compare the land of the Gauls at the time of the rebellion with "a brothel of blaspheming Jews."[168] Lucas and Rodrigo quote Julian's praise of the eventually victorious Wamba, "He

167. *De rebus Hispanie* III.ii, lines 3–6, p. 76. *Chronicon mundi,* p. 59.
168. *Historia Wambae,* ed. J. N. Hillgarth, CCSL 115 (Turnhout, 1976), 5: 221.

ordered that the Jews whom Hilderic had summoned be expelled from those regions, he strengthened the union of peace at all levels, and he entirely extirpated the root of rebellion and schism."[169] The discussion of the rebellion and its aftermath, in the *De rebus Hispanie* and in Lucas's history, portrays those who would grant privileges to Jews as traitors and depicts the suppression of Jews as one of the duties of a good king.

Lucas and Rodrigo return to the theme of bad leaders as supporters of Jews to describe the crimes of King Witiza (702–10). Lucas writes and Rodrigo copies, "Witiza added iniquity to iniquity, and he called the Jews back into the Spains, and, having violated the privileges of the Church, he gave the Jews privileges of immunity."[170] Again, supporting Jews is the action of a bad leader, and it is opposed to protection of the Church. It is no coincidence that these charges surround Witiza, of all kings. From at least the ninth-century *Chronicle of Alfonso III,* Witiza was the archetypical bad king whose sins led to the fall of the Visigothic kingdom to the Muslims. Indeed, Rodrigo entitles his chapter on Witiza, "On the Reasons for the Dissension on Account of Which the Destruction of Spain Occurred." Wamba, by contrast, was the model of a good king. Their contrasting Jewish policy, however, was a thirteenth-century addition.

The accounts by Rodrigo and Lucas of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs provide a useful point of contrast between the two histories. Lucas is deemed to be the first person to write that the fall of Spain was in part due to Jewish treachery, while Rodrigo is generally depicted as backpedaling from that view of his predecessor.[171] This is because Lucas writes that Toledo was taken by the Arabs with Jewish aid, while Rodrigo leaves this story out of his own work. Lucas's version reads:

> The city of Toledo, conquerer of many peoples, defeated in the triumphs of the Ismaelites, succumbed owing to the treason of the Jews since it was very strong and rebellious. For, while the Christians were gathered on Palm Sunday at the church of St. Leocadia outside the royal city, out of reverence for such a solemn feast, in order to hear the word of the Lord, the Jews, who had given a sign of their treachery to the Saracens, shutting the doors on the Christians, opened them

169. *De rebus Hispanie* III.xi, lines 10–13, p. 90. *Chronicon mundi,* p. 66.
170. *De rebus Hispanie* III.xvii, lines 23–26, pp. 98–99. *Chronicon mundi,* p. 69.
171. See, for example, Linehan, *History and Historians,* p. 75 and n. 99.

> to the Saracens. Thus the faithful Toledan populace, found defenseless outside the city, was destroyed by the sword.[172]

As in Lucas's accounts of the rebellion against Wamba, the Jews are a people who help and are helped by the enemy. This is a hit against Toledo as well as against the Jews, however, for Lucas contrasts Toledo, which allowed itself to be taken by deceit, with Leon, his own hometown, which was only taken after a fierce battle against gallant Galicians.[173] Peter Linehan assumes that the tale of the taking of Toledo was already well established by the time Lucas wrote it into his *Chronicon mundi,* but there is no reason to think it could not be Lucas's own invention.[174]

Rodrigo omits the attribution of the capture of Toledo to Jewish treachery, probably because of the aspersions it casts on the valour of the Toledans, but Jews do have a role in his account of the takeover of the city. He writes that "Tariq fortified Toledo with the Arabs whom he brought with him and with the Jews whom he found in Toledo."[175] Rodrigo's description of the aftermath of the seizure of Córdoba is similar: "They let the Jews who were living there, along with their own Arabs, go to populate and guard Córdoba."[176] Likewise at Granada: "Another army in a similar victory occupied Granada . . . and it strengthened [the city] with the Jews living there and with Arabs."[177] And at Sevilla: "Musa populated captive Sevilla with Jews and Arabs."[178] In these cities, indigenous Jews helped the Muslim conquerors to establish their rule. Rodrigo's account of Jewish cooperation with the Arabs is more subtle than Lucas's. Nevertheless, Rodrigo's depiction of the Jews as partners of the Arab conquerors against the Christians is telling and forceful. In the thirteenth century, as in the eighth, the only permanent way to solidify military gains was to repopulate the conquered area with your own supporters. In Rodrigo's telling, Jews were allies of the Muslims in this endeavour, and here we may see the substance of his fears of Jewish conspiracies in the Toledo of his own day.

Although the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* (*Chronicle of the Moor Rasis*) is thought to have been the source for Rodrigo's account of the conquest

172. *Chronicon mundi*, pp. 70–71.
173. *Chronicon mundi*, p. 70.
174. Linehan, *History and the Historians*, p. 75.
175. *De rebus Hispanie* III.xxiiii, lines 20–21, p. 111.
176. *De rebus Hispanie* III.xxiii, lines 49–51, p. 110.
177. *De rebus Hispanie* III.xxiiii, lines 3–5, pp. 110–11.
178. *De rebus Hispanie* III.xxiiii, lines 59–60, p. 112.

of Spain, in this text Jewish participation is only mentioned in the taking of Toledo. After the conquest of the city, the version of the chronicle we have relates:

> When the Jews saw that they were lost and that all the land was lost, they all came to Tariq and asked him to give them somewhere to live and settle. And he agreed to this, and he gave them Toledo, and he made charters with them promising constancy and relating what they had to give him each year.[179]

Here, the Jews turned to the Arabs out of desperation, and they had to pay yearly for what Tariq gave them. In Rodrigo's account, no indication is made of what the Jews owed to the Arabs, and the sense is that they were willing accomplices of their Arab masters. As for other possible Muslim sources, in the eleventh-century *Aḵẖbār Majmūʿa*, Jews did help guard Córdoba and Mérida.

Both Rodrigo and Lucas made efforts to write Jews into Spanish history, both describe Jews as actively hostile to Christians, and both characterize those who support Jews as bad and those who suppress them as good. Rodrigo depicts Jews as allies of the Muslims in his writings, and he regarded the Muslims of his own day as a persistent threat to the safety of Toledo and Castile, as we have seen. Toledo housed a large population of Jews, a population that increased during the twelfth-century persecution of them by the Almohads in Muslim Spain. I believe that Rodrigo shared with Pope Honorius III an anxiety that the Jews of Castile could act as a potential fifth column against the Christians if they were forced to obey the dress provisions of Lateran IV. The fears Rodrigo expresses here of Muslim-Jewish alliance stand, however, in sharp contrast to the actual deteriorating state of Muslim-Jewish relations in Spain under the harsh rule of the Almohads.

Honorius had originally rescinded the dress regulations in exchange for an expansion of the tithe on Jewish property once owned by Christians. But, independently from the pope, Rodrigo had made his own arrangements concerning the tithes owed by the Jews. On 16 June 1219, Fernando III confirmed a pact made between Rodrigo and the Jews of Toledo to replace the tithe demanded of them by Lateran IV with a head tax. The pact required every Jewish male over twenty years of age and

179. *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Diego Catalan and María Soledad de Andrés, Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España 3 (Madrid, 1974), CXLI, pp. 354–55.

every married Jewish male, regardless of financial means, to pay one-sixth of a gold *morabetino* annually to the archbishop. In return, all the Jews of the Toledan archdiocese were freed from paying the tithes and offerings required by Lateran IV. The pact encompassed all lands purchased from Christians before the agreement, nor would a Jew pay tithes for land bought at a future date from a Christian, provided that land of equal value was sold to a Christian. The Jews would, however, have to tithe for land purchased from Christians after the date of the pact, but not for any buildings on that land, whenever built. This provision directly contradicted Honorius's letter of three months earlier, which had ordered Jews to tithe for new houses built on formerly Christian property.[180] Finally, Rodrigo promised to defend and aid the Jews so far as he was able.[181]

Because of his prominence within Toledo's Jewish community, Ramah would certainly have been one of the people Rodrigo had to negotiate with about the pact he made with the Jews of Toledo. The pact required Rodrigo to select four elders from the *aljama* of Toledo, the Jewish town council, and two from *aljamas* elsewhere in the archdiocese to swear to the ages of the Jewish residents and to name those subject to the new head tax. Should any Jew refuse the payment, the Jewish elders would compel him to make it, or the *aljama* would be collectively liable for the sum owing. In the pact, Rodrigo promised to defend and aid the Jews so far as he was able. We know Ramah believed that the Jews were best able to defend themselves by delegating this role to a Christian protector. He writes on the subject of royal communal taxation of the Jews, "Paying taxes to the king is certainly no less [effective] than hiring horsemen and guards for defense. Quite to the contrary, the protection provided by the king is certainly more effective."[182] Rodrigo had already proven his own commitment to protect the physical safety of the Jews of Toledo in the face of Christian attack. Before the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, while the armed host was still gathering in Toledo, Rodrigo called the militia of Toledo into action when the armies from beyond the Pyrenees began to attack the local Jews.[183]

---

180. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 211.

181. AHN MS 987B, fol. 20r–v; González, *Fernando III*, 2: no. 77.

182. Quoted in Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture*, p. 13.

183. "È movierionse los dultra puertos, è vinieron à Toledo en dia de Cinquesma, è volvieron todo Toledo, è mataron de los Judios dellos muchos, è armaronse los Caballeros de Toledo, è defendieron à los Judios." *Anales Toledanos I*, p. 395.

The head tax negotiated by Rodrigo might have been more acceptable than a tithe to the Jews because it was crafted to resemble the *jizya,* the poll tax owed by the *dhimmī* population of Christians and Jews under Islamic law. Like Rodrigo's tax, the Muslim *jizya* was not required of minors or women, but the poor were required to pay. The Jewish community often cooperated to pay the *jizya* for its less fortunate members, and Rodrigo evoked this sort of communal responsibility in Toledo when he made the *aljama* collectively responsible for paying the poll tax.[184] Payment of the *jizya* was understood by subject Jews and by Muslim jurists to ensure the security of the Jewish community.[185] Rodrigo's promise to protect the Jews of Toledo recalls this aspect of the *jizya* as well.[186] Moreover, the pact itself would have especially benefited wealthy Jews like Ramah who were also recent arrivals to the city and were thus more likely to have purchased land from Christians.[187]

Rodrigo clearly found certain individuals among the Jews of his archdiocese very useful to him. As archbishop, Rodrigo worked with and through local Jews in his varied activities. His Jewish majordomo, Abraham of Talamanca, was one of four people who guaranteed Rodrigo's payment of the purchase price for the village of Novospes from the cathedral chapter of Segovia in 1221.[188] In 1244, the archbishop purchased land in Madrid and used as his agent for the transaction the Jew Abulhasan Benyamin b. Abi Ishac el Barcelonés,[189] a member of a wealthy and prominent Toledan family, originally from Barcelona. This individual appears in other Toledan documents as a moneylender.[190]

Rodrigo's use of Jews in the archdiocese eventually formed one item in a list of grievances two prebendaries of the cathedral chapter of Toledo sent to Rome about the archbishop's handling of cathedral

184. "Et si aliquis Iudeorum se alçauerit cum subdicta pecta, seniores iudeorum compellant eum ad solutionem dictam, sin autem archiepiscopus tornet se ad aliamam et aliama teneatur ei." AHN MS 987B, fol. 20v. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross*, p. 70.

185. Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross,* pp. 55, 70–72.

186. "Preterea dominus archiepiscopus promitit quod secundum Deum et honestatem suam, quantum facere potuerit, et defendet et iuuabit eos." AHN MS 987B, fol. 20v.

187. On Ramah's wealth, Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture,* p. 12.

188. AHN, MS 996B, fols. 48vb–49ra; Hilda Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 280–81; Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo,* no. 397; León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo,* 2: no. 106.

189. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo,* 2: no. 564; León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo,* 2: no. 137; Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo,* no. 475.

190. González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo,* 3: nos. 841, 934, 960; León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo,* 1: no. 64; 2: nos. 122, 127, 186.

property.[191] The prebendaries objected that Rodrigo had appointed Jews as administrators ("prepositi") over the *mensa* of the chapter, the properties whose rental formed the basis of the chapter's income. In 1138, the *mensa* of the chapter had been separated from the *mensa* of the archbishop, and the chapter was promised that it could choose its own administrators over its property.[192] According to the prebendaries, Rodrigo had nominated his own men as administrators of the *mensa* of the chapter and added insult to injury by appointing Jews. The prebendaries complained that the Jews robbed the chapter and the friends of the church with their usury; the Jews crossed through the middle of the cathedral to enter the chapterhouse, to the shame of the Christian people; they collected tithes and thirds owed to the church and tyrannized the church's vassals and possessions; and they had thus enriched themselves at the expense of Christ's patrimony. The two plaintiffs asked that the Jews be expelled from their positions and ordered to restore what they had acquired from the Church.[193] The cardinal deacon assigned to adjudicate the prebendaries' claims of archiepiscopal wrongdoing made no mention of their complaint against Rodrigo's favour toward Jews in his judgement.[194]

History would be far easier to write, although much less interesting, if all archbishops were either noble reformers or power-hungry opportunists, "tolerant liberals" or fanatical anti-Semites. There may be some figures who match these stereotypes, but this study of Rodrigo's textual and real relations with the Jews shows that he possessed a complicated mixture of attitudes, interests, and perspectives in which positive and

191. ACT A.6.H.1.24; A. M. Burriel, BNM MS 13022, fols. 94r–97v; Fita, "La Guardia," p. 403 and n. 2; Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo,* pp. 449–51; Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 199–201 and 289–92. My citations are made on the basis of my own transcription of the original parchment, but they are keyed to the page numbers of Grassotti's edition, 289–92.

192. "Volo . . . quod ipsi prepositum suum et seruiciales suos mittent et eiciant sicut uoluerint et quando uoluerint et prepositus et seruitiales son [*lege* non] intrent nisi per capitulum et non respondeant nisi capitulo," Rivera Recio, *Iglesia de Toledo,* 2: 64, n. 31.

193. "Item, cum in mensa communi Iudeos prepositos fecerit, que [*sic*] mensam communem et socios ecclesie cum usuris suis et alias defraudentes, per mediam ecclesiam intrant sepe capitulum, non sine magno et graui scandalo populi christiani; et decimas et tercias recipientes; et in uassallis et in possessionibus ecclesie dominantes; de patrimonio crucifixi non modicum sunt ditati, et deteriora faciunt. Petunt Iudeos a prepositura expelli et a predictis arceri, et ad restituenda ab ecclesia acquisita compelli." Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," p. 291.

194. Pick, "Jiménez de Rada and the Jews," p. 219.

negative views of non-Christians crossed the lines of both theory and practice. On the one hand he can berate Jews for their changeableness and fickleness in his polemic and can express fears of Jewish treachery in his historical writing and to the pope. On the other, his cosmology can provide a theoretical place for Jews to live in Christian society, and he can find a practical function for them as his business associates. I argue here that Rodrigo's *Dialogus* was not written to foster the elimination of Jews from the parts of Christian Spain over which he had influence, or even to ensure their wholesale conversion, but rather was written to delineate the theological differences between Christians and Jews, thereby making it possible for them to live side-by-side. This delineation served, he hoped, to represent a version of Christianity sufficiently robust that it could thrive amidst the presence of nonbelievers. We see in the next chapter how he matched polemic to performance in another display of Christian self-representation, the dramatic work *Auto de los Reyes Magos*.

CHAPTER FIVE

Polemic and Performance
The Dialogus *and the* Auto de los Reyes Magos

Rodrigo made efforts to bring the message of his polemic to a wider audience than those who could read the scholarly Latin treatise. As I discuss in the previous chapter, Karl Morrison's *Understanding Conversion* raises questions about the relationship between medieval anti-Jewish religious polemic and the genre of "performance." Polemic is less about conversion than it is about self-definition and display. Here, however, we are faced with a problem with our sources. To a certain extent in the Carolingian period, and to a much greater degree from the twelfth century, surviving polemical texts show both Christians and Jews to have been aware of the arguments of their opponents. Since these texts were not written in a *lingua franca* shared by both communities, this suggests our written evidence is the tip of the iceberg of oral contact and debate between the two groups. But in the absence of technologies that could have recorded these moments of exhibition and spectacle, we are left with manuscripts. A link between polemic and performance is explicit in some cases. The very different Hebrew and Latin accounts of the disputation at Barcelona in 1263 preserve a debate we know actually occurred, staged by the Dominicans to display publicly and before the king the truth of their religion and the falsity of Judaism. Even these are not transcripts of a performance, however, but written representations of the positions of each group. Reading them in order to decide who "won" the staged debates based on the accuracy, philosophical weight, or rhetorical force of the arguments outlined in the written accounts misses the point. The Christian victory consisted simply in forcing the debate to take place in public and in setting its terms. Even while the Jews were permitted to write their own lines, as it were, during the debate, no one was under any illusion that they were doing anything other than playing a part, tightly circumscribed by Christian needs and expectations. The purpose of the Hebrew accounts written after the fact

was to shore up their own community and reassert their identity in relative private after this public display of humiliation. I argue in the previous chapter that Ramah's Purim poem had a similar function, even if we can never know if a specific event caused him to write it.

As for other types of surviving polemic texts, some purport to record real encounters, whether public or private, but it is not always easy to discern whether claims that a given text represents a real encounter should be taken seriously. Others are written in dialogue format, with the Church facing off against the Synagogue. While these read like dramatic scripts, it is questionable whether they were ever performed as such. So how can we be certain that the written polemic texts reflect a concern with self-representation and display? To put it more concretely, how can I argue that Rodrigo's *Dialogus* was written as part of a program of public Christian self-definition and self-representation in relation to other religious groups?

Some clues that suggest how Rodrigo regarded his scholarly treatise against the Jews can be found in a manuscript produced in Toledo during the early years of Rodrigo's archiepiscopacy.[1] This manuscript contains the *De virginitate Beatae Mariae* (*On the Virginity of Blessed Mary*) of the seventh-century archbishop of Toledo St. Ildefonsus. In this treatise, Ildefonsus defends Mary's perpetual virginity against aspersions cast on it by the heretics Jovinian and Helladius and by the Jews. Ildefonsus does not write his text in the form of a dialogue with his opponents, but like Rodrigo's *Dialogus,* he addresses his adversaries directly without giving them a chance to respond. It is extremely striking then that three of the illuminations used to illustrate his text show Ildefonsus garbed as archbishop, engaged in public disputation with each of his opponents—Jovinian, Helladius, and a representative Jew. Both archbishop and adversary gesture as if speaking, and each side is accompanied by an audience that listens to the arguments being put forward (fig. 6). The illustrations of these three scenes tell us more about thirteenth-century attitudes toward the relation between polemical text and public performance than they do about seventh-century practice—while Rodrigo might have

1. The manuscript is BNM MS 21546. For a study of the provenance and significance of this manuscript and a description of its illuminations, described here, see David Raizman, "A Rediscovered Illuminated Manuscript of St. Ildefonsus's *De Viginitate Beatae Mariae* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid," *Gesta* 26 (1987): 37–46. I am very grateful to Professor Raizman for bringing this article to my attention.

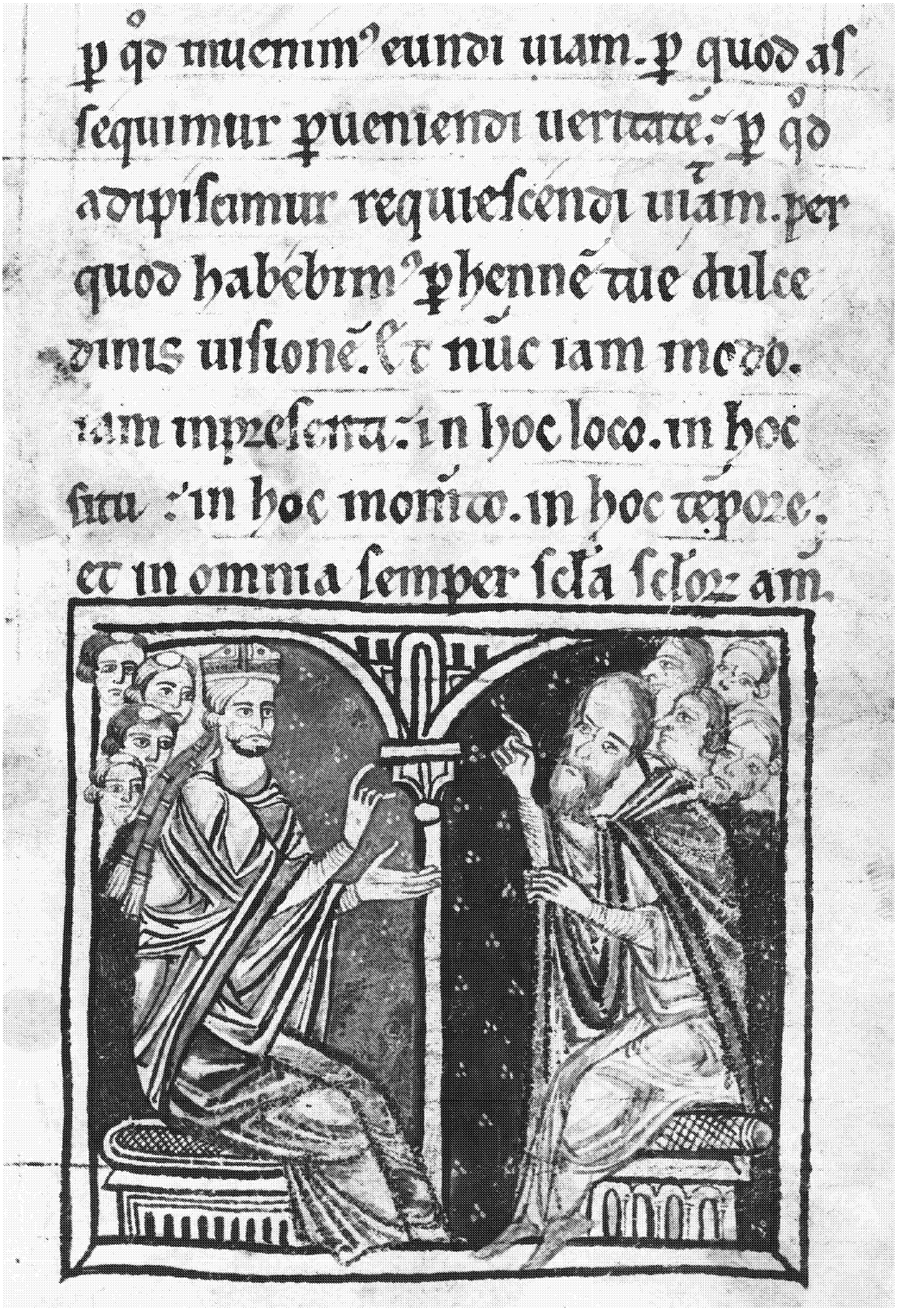


Fig. 6. Ildefonsus of Toledo, in his archiepiscopal garb, debates with a Jew about the virginity of Mary while the supporters of each side listen attentively. BNM MS 21546, fol. 19. (Photograph by kind permission of the Biblioteca Nacional.)

debated orally, even publicly, with Toledan Jews, Ildefonsus certainly did not debate with any of his opponents.

The foregoing chapters are hopefully sufficient to show that at least on an intellectual level the *Dialogus* belongs to a broader program of Christian self-articulation through conquest and scholarship. By great fortune, however, it is possible to argue for another connection between performance and polemic in its composition. There is a close link between Rodrigo's anti-Jewish *Dialogus* and the *Auto de los Reyes Magos,* a brief and very well-known and much studied play in the vernacular.[2] The *Auto* represents a text intended to be performed publicly to convey to a Romance-speaking audience the defence of Christianity found in the scholarly Latin *Dialogus,* and it was created some time after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. If Rodrigo was not himself the author of the *Auto,* it was certainly he who sponsored the work and decided its form, message, and content. The arguments in support of these assertions are based on the content of each text. As I argue in the preceding, the central contention of the *Dialogus* is that Jews disagree about their own beliefs. This awareness is mirrored in the curious concluding passage of the *Auto* in which Herod's Jewish courtiers argue about the meaning of Scripture.

The *Auto* is one of the most famous of medieval Spanish texts to modern scholars because of its unusual nature. It is the earliest vernacular version of the Three Kings story. It is an early witness to the development of the written vernacular in Castile, and dating and localizing it is both important, so it can be used as a yardstick of this development, and very difficult. In addition, not only is it the earliest extant Castilian dramatic text but it predates any other such text by some two hundred years. It has been a difficult and yet crucially important work for discussions of the emergence of Spanish literature. This has left open the nagging question of what influences might have converged to create it, with some arguing for French inspiration and others positing wholly indigenous forces. The debate has thus taken on significant political and nationalistic overtones. Before discussing the odd content of the *Auto* and comparing it with the *Dialogus,* it is therefore essential first to address briefly whether it is possible that the play could have been written in early thirteenth-century Toledo. This question must be answered with

2. I use the edition of Ramón Menéndez Pidal in *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos* 4 (1900): 453–62. My references to the text are to this edition by its line numbers.

reference to the manuscript that transmits it and with respect to the linguistic features of the text.

The text exists in a single exemplar. It was copied by a thirteenth-century hand onto the final folios of a manuscript belonging at an early date to the cathedral of Toledo, now BNM MS Vitr. 5-9. The remainder of the manuscript is a work of the mid–twelfth century, and it contains the *Glosa ordinaria* on the Song of Songs and Lamentations, as well as some fragments of a gloss on Revelation.[3] I have compared the hand of the *Auto* with signatures to charters made by canons from Toledo during Rodrigo's tenure, and although no particular scribe can be identified, it is plausible that the text was copied there during the early decades of the thirteenth century[4] (figs. 7 and 8). It was Rodrigo's common practice to have scribes copy short texts of personal interest to him into the back of completed manuscripts. As discussed in chapter 2, he copied into a Toledan cartulary a bull giving the archbishop of Tirnovo the right to anoint, crown, and bless the kings of Bulgaria and Vlachia.[5] Likewise, the pontifical manuscript in use during his archiepiscopate contains after the liturgical material several prayers of unknown origin, as well as a penitential prayer attributed to Rodrigo, and concludes with the text of an oath of loyalty sworn to the archbishop of Ravenna by his suffragans on their consecration that Rodrigo could have used as a model to control his own suffragans.[6]

Dating the text itself based on its linguistic features is a more complicated undertaking. Ramón Menéndez Pidal had the first word on the subject, and his decision has gone virtually unquestioned. He originally dated the script of the text to the beginning of the thirteenth century.[7] He subsequently redated the manuscript to the mid–twelfth century to agree with what he felt was the date of the text based on linguistic

3. Klaus Reinhardt and Ramón Gonzálvez, *Catálogo de códices bíblicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Madrid, 1990), 404–5.

4. For example, ACT A.3.A.1.14, 27 January 1213 (fig. 7). A thorough comparison of the script of the *Auto* to hands in the Toledan charters might yield interesting results.

5. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 643.

6. The prayer is BCT MS 37-27, fols. 220v–221v. It is edited in José Janini and Ramón Gonzálvez, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Toledo, 1977), pp. 294–95. The oath is on fol. 222v. These texts are in two different hands from the first half of the thirteenth century. The rest of the manuscript dates from the end of the twelfth century.

7. *"Auto de los Reyes Magos,"* 454.

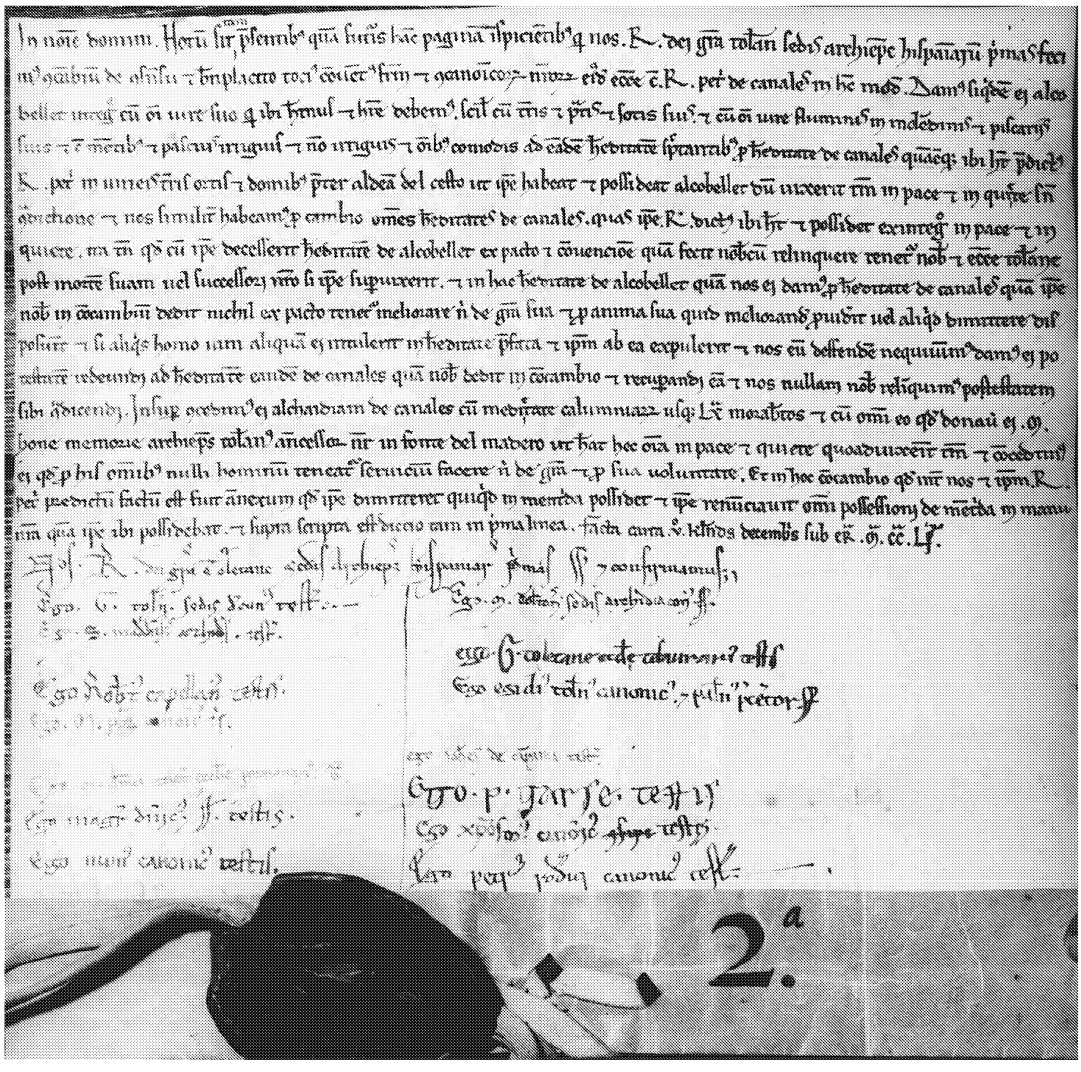


Fig. 7. A charter issued by Archbishop Rodrigo and the cathedral chapter of Toledo on 27 November 1213 and sealed with the archbishop's seal. Note the different hands that signed this document. ACT A.11.K.1.2. (Photograph by kind permission of the Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo.)

grounds.[8] The *Cantar de mio Cid* was finished by the middle of the twelfth century, according to Menéndez Pidal, and therefore the *Auto* must date to the same time. Scholarly consensus, however, now agrees

8. Menéndez Pidal argues that the *Auto* represents the same stage in the way it makes ŏ a diphthong as the *Cantar de mio Cid*—it is pronounced "uó" in both, although it is spelled that way in neither: *Cantar de mio Cid: Texto, gramática, y vocabulario*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1908), 1: 143–5; n. 2 on pp. 144–45 redates the manuscript of the *Auto*.

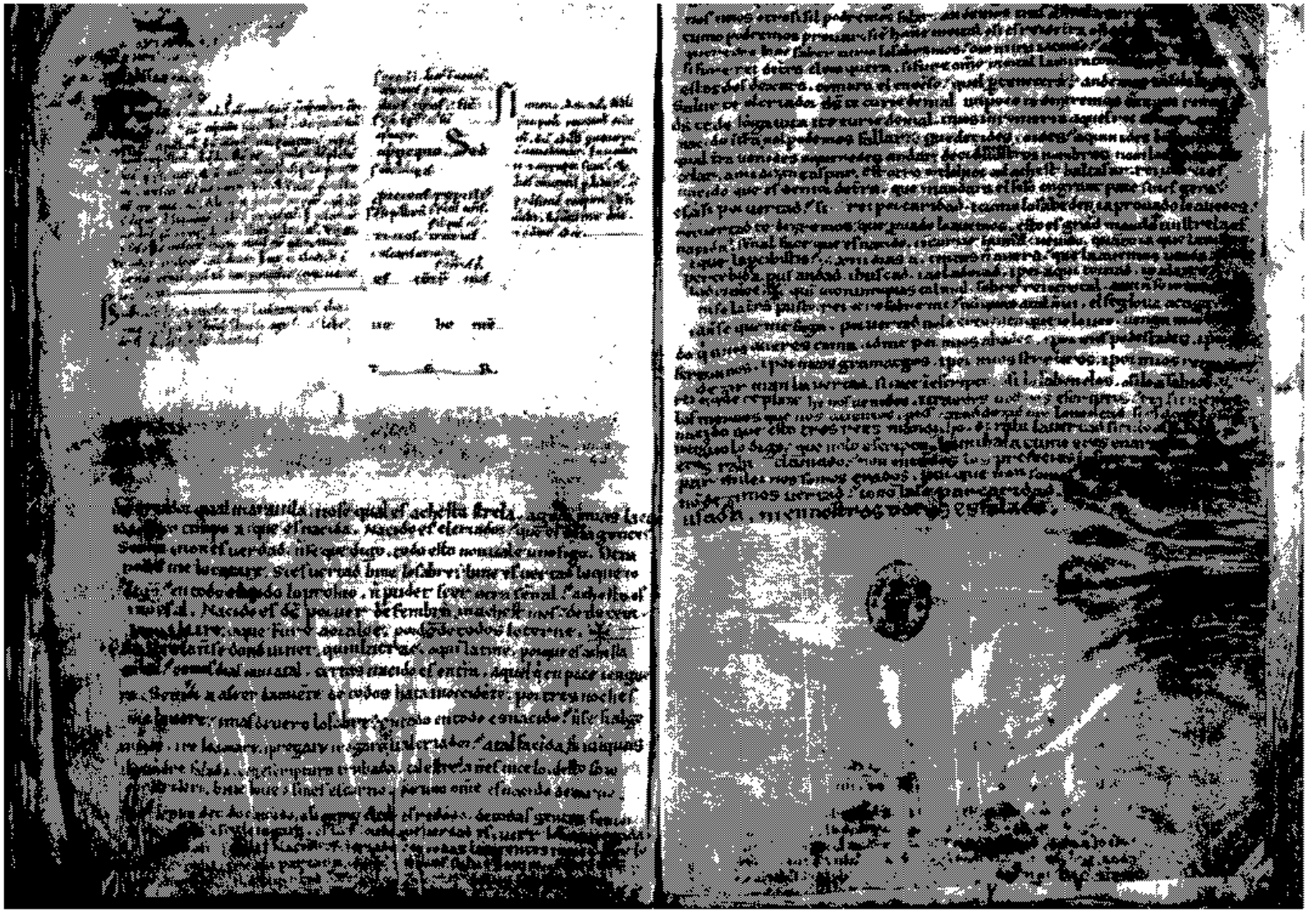


Fig. 8. The entire manuscript of the single copy of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*. BNM MS Vitr. 5-9, fol. 67v–68r. (Photograph by kind permission of the Biblioteca Nacional.)

that the *Cantar* was written not in the mid–twelfth century but rather toward the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, near in date to the colophon of 1207 in its single manuscript.[9] This redating has not caused scholars to consider redating the *Auto* on linguistic grounds, although one scholar has recently suggested dating the work to the end of the twelfth century to harmonize the play better within the broader European tradition of devotion to the three magi.[10] If we can redate the *Cantar* to around 1200, it does not seem impossible to me that the *Auto* could also date to the first decades of the thirteenth century.

There do not seem to be any linguistic grounds to prevent us from dating the *Auto* to the early thirteenth century. Most authors have taken Menéndez Pidal's date for granted, and many of the studies surrounding the *Auto* have ignored its date in favour of focusing on its linguistic features in an attempt to discern the geographic origin of the text. Rafael Lapesa locates parallels for the text's many lexical peculiarities in other early thirteenth-century writings from Castile in general, and Toledo in particular. This was part of his effort to support the Toledan origins of the text against Joan Corominas's suggestion that the author was from Aragon or Navarre. Lapesa argues that the author was either a Gascon or a Catalan, most probably the former, who had lived for a long time in Toledo and was comfortable with the Mozarabicized Castilian spoken there.[11] J. M. Sola Solé agrees that the text was composed in Toledo, but he situates its anomalies in a Mozarabic author who was influenced by Arabic phonology.[12]

In articles from 1981 and 1986, Gerold Hilty works from Corominas's suggestion that the text is Arago-Navarrese in origin in order to

9. *Poema de mio Cid*, p. xxxiv.

10. Manuel Sito Alba, "La teatralitá seconda e la struttura radiale nel teatro religioso spagnolo del medioevo: La *Representacion de los reyes magos*," in *Le laudi drammatiche umbre dell origini* (Viterbo, 1980), pp. 261, 265–67.

11. Rafael Lapesa, "Mozárabe y catalán o gascón en el *Auto de los Reyes Magos*," first published in *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes oferts a R. Aramón i Serra en el seu setantè aniversari*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1979–84), 3: 277–94, reprinted in *Estudios de historia lingüística española* (Madrid, 1985), pp. 138–56; cf. his earlier "Sobre el *Auto de los Reyes Magos:* sus rimas anómalas y el posible origen de su autor," in *Homenaje a Fritz Krüger*, 2 vols. (Mendoza, 1952–54), 2: 591–99; also Corominas's criticism of Lapesa's 1954 article in his review of Tomás Navarro's *Documentos lingüísticos del Alto Aragón* in *Nueva revista de filología hispánica*, 12 (1958): 75, n. 8.

12. "El *Auto de los Reyes Magos:* Impacto gascón o mozárabe?" *Romance Philology* 29 (1975): 20–27.

argue that it was composed in the Rioja, probably at a monastery like San Millán de la Cogolla. Hilty argues that the four pairs of line ends whose rhymes do not work in the poem (*fembra/december,* vv. 15–16; *escarno/de carne,* vv. 38–39; *el mundo/redondo,* vv. 40–41; *mayordo[ma]/toma,* vv. 117–18) are the result of the bungling of the Castilian scribe who imperfectly Castilianized the Arago-Navarrese original. He argues that the original was perfect with respect to its metre and rhyme scheme.[13] I am very wary of an argument based on a reconstruction of a text that may never have existed at the expense of the evidence we do have, which is of a pretty good text written in a dialect of Castilian localizable to the region of Toledo. Hilty's association of the text with the Rioja seems to be based on weak grounds, and he offers no particular reason why he puts its composition at San Millán rather than at some other location. I believe that, combined with Lapesa's observations concerning the philology of the text, my argument that the *Auto* stems from early thirteenth-century Toledo based on the content it shares with Rodrigo's *Dialogus* is stronger.

Not least of the peculiarities of the *Auto* is its content. It is very different from a typical Epiphany play because it ends neither with the Three Kings reaching Bethlehem to adore Jesus and present their gifts nor with Herod massacring the innocents. The absence of a typical ending has caused most scholars to consider that the text as we have it is a fragment. Recently, however, David Hook and Alan Deyermond have argued convincingly that the scribe was not called away in the middle of his task but copied all the *Auto* he wished to copy. They suggest that the scribe marked the completion of his task by copying the last few words in a larger script and by ending in the middle of a line with a large final period. They argue, moreover, that there is no reason to think the text is incomplete in any sense, that there was ever an adoration or a massacre scene.[14] I believe they are correct, and the argument I make here explains why the final scene we have is the real and intended climax and conclusion of the play.

What happens in this final scene? By this point, the kings have each seen the star; they have met up with each other; they have travelled to

13. "La lengua del *Auto de los Reyes Magos,*" in *Logos Semantikos,* ed. Horst Geckeler et al., 5 vols. (Madrid, 1981), 5: 289–302; idem, "El *Auto de los Reyes Magos,*" in *Philologica hispaniensia in honorem Manual Alvar,* 4 vols. (Madrid, 1983–87), 3: 21–31.

14. David Hook and Alan Deyermond, "El problema de la terminación del *Auto de los Reyes Magos,*" *Anuario de estudios medievales,* 13 (1983): 269–73; p. 269, n. 3, lists some of those who have argued the text as we have it is a fragment.

look for the king and have encountered Herod; they have explained that the appearance of a new star in the sky has moved them to journey to venerate the King of Kings; and they have been sent on their way by Herod. Herod then soliloquizes in rage about the possibility of a new king, more powerful than he, and calls for his majordomo to summon his counsellors, among whom are named scribes, grammarians, rhetoricians, and astrologers. We join the action at the entry of the counsellors:

> Counsellors: King, what pleases you? We have come.
> Herod: And do you bring your writings?
> Counsellors: King, yes we bring / The best that we have.
> Herod: So think / Tell me the truth / If that man is born / About whom these three kings have told me / Tell, Rabbi, the truth if you have known it.
> First Rabbi: I am going to tell you truly / That I do not find it written.
> Second Rabbi: Praise Allah, how you are deceived! Why are you called a Rabbi? / You do not understand the prophecies / Which Jeremiah told us / By my law, we have wandered. / Why are we not in agreement? / Why do we not speak the truth?
> First Rabbi: I do not know the truth, by charity.
> Second Rabbi: Because we have not used the truth / Nor is it found on our lips. (vv. 127–47)

The play ends with this expression of shame. This scene, in which the Jews disagree among themselves, is unique among medieval literature about the Three Kings. It makes a very effective and dramatic climax to the play, and Hook and Deyermond are correct to assert that nothing is missing from it.

What do we learn from this final scene of the play? We learn that the Jews have books that they read in addition to Scripture; that some of them might consult these books prior to consulting Scripture; that they have erred or wandered from truth; that they disagree among themselves; and that they do not know the truth. The Three Kings function as the representatives of Christianity, the Church or *Ecclesia.* They are gentiles. The Jews are the *Synagoga,* but the *Synagoga* is not one; it is disunited. There is no suggestion here, I believe, that even the rabbi who has a glimmer of what Jeremiah means is going to cross over to the *Ecclesia.* The Jews end not by converting but by showing themselves to be confused, which was, as I suggest in the previous chapter, an express

goal of Christian polemic. This is not a conversion story but a tale that crystalizes Jews in the initial moment of their enduring error.

The notion that the Jews disagree amongst themselves and that they are disunited is, as I demonstrate in the previous chapter, the central theme of Rodrigo's *Dialogus.* Most importantly, the *Dialogus* is the only Christian polemic I am aware of that makes this argument that the Jews quarrel amongst themselves. It is not a feature of other Christian polemic concerning the Jews, even that which shows an awareness of rabbinic exegesis. Jewish "uarietas," changeableness, is central to Rodrigo's work right from the prologue. Moreover, their error is one of interpretation. They do not know how to read Scripture, especially, as we see in book V, the prophecies. John Dagenais has connected the text of the *Auto* to the exegetical material that precedes it and to a short passage from Isidore of Seville that follows the play and explains how Scripture must be read according to its literal, moral, and allegorical or mystical senses. Dagenais argues from this that the central message of the play is that of correct interpretation of biblical prophecy. Rodrigo explains in book II how Christians understand the prophecies to have been fulfilled by the Incarnation. In book V, he argues that the Jews have misread and disagreed about the prophecies concerning their Messiah in the last days, and he gives the Christian explanation of the end of time in books VII and VIII. The complexity of Rodrigo's arguments in the *Dialogus* suggests it was the inspiration for the *Auto* and not the other way around.

In the final scene of the *Auto,* translated in the preceding, Herod asks his counsellors if they have brought their writings. They answer that they have brought the best that they have. What writings might these be? It is possible that the author simply has in mind astrological texts like the collections of predictions translated by Christians in Spain such as Hugh of Santalla and Hermann of Carinthia. Their description of these books as "the best that they have" recalls Peter the Venerable's castigation of Jewish preference for the Talmud over all other books: "I put before you in the presence of everyone, O Jew, O beast, your book, I say, that book of yours, that Talmud of yours, that famous teaching of yours, to be placed ahead of the books of the prophets and all authentic teachings."[15] The *Auto* may be making an oblique allusion to rabbinic

15. Peter the Venerable, *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem,* V, ii, 32–33, pp. 125–26.

literature here. References to this literature are similarly oblique in Rodrigo's *Dialogus.*

An explicit link between the *Auto* and the *Dialogus* is the reference to the book of Jeremiah in the final scene of the former. Scholars have been perplexed as to why the second rabbi names specifically the prophecies of Jeremiah as having been misunderstood by the first rabbi. Micah or Isaiah might have been more likely candidates to mention at this point. Julian Weiss notes that the text follows directly on the gloss of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and has suggested the author had in mind Jeremiah 23:5, 31:22, or 33:15–16.[16] These all contain very similar content. Jeremiah 23:5 is as follows:

> Behold the day will come, says the Lord, and I will raise up a righteous branch from David ("suscitabo Dauid germen iustum") and a king will reign and he will be wise and he will issue judgement and justice ("iudicium et iustitiam") in the land.

Weiss is certainly correct in his identification because the third king paraphrases that exact passage of Jeremiah in his opening speech in the *Auto:*

> A man is born from flesh
> Who is Lord of the whole world,
> Just as the sky is round.
> He will be Lord of all the peoples,
> And he will judge the earthly realm. (vv. 38–43)

Jeremiah 23:5 did not form part of the liturgical readings for Epiphany, nor does the exegesis of it in the *Glosa ordinaria* connect it to the three wise kings. In the following I suggest some liturgical contexts for this verse, and thus some possible opportunities when the play might have been performed.

The verse does have an important place in Rodrigo's *Dialogus,* however. As I suggest in the preceding, book II is a kind of counterpart to book V because it sets up and defends the Christian interpretation of many of the verses whose Jewish interpretation Rodrigo condemns in book V. The first biblical verse quoted in book II is Jeremiah 23:5, used

16. "The *Auto de los Reyes Magos* and the Book of Jeremiah," *La corónica* 9, no. 2 (1981): 128, 130.

as a proof text to support the Incarnation of Christ against the Jewish idea of a Messiah who will be purely human.[17] The prominent position of the verse indicates its importance to Rodrigo as a prophecy of the Christian Messiah, the events of whose life Rodrigo outlines chronologically in the remainder of book II. Rodrigo's comparatively long chapter on the Adoration of the Magi in book II opens by giving conventional explanations of the usual Old Testament verses said to foreshadow the arrival of the kings. At the end of each chapter in book II, Rodrigo customarily urges his Jewish opponent to understand the Old Testament prophecies according to Rodrigo's interpretation of them. Just prior to the usual invocation to the Jew in the chapter on the Three Kings, Rodrigo includes a paragraph that makes extended oblique allusions to Jeremiah 23:5. It connects the verse to the recognition of Christ by the gentile kings. Rodrigo speaks of one who comes from the line of kings ("de regum germine uenerat"), from the city of David ("de qua Dauid stiterat oriundus"), and he explains that the Messiah reigned on a throne in his Father's house ("in paterno domicilio sibi solium ordinauit"). The gentiles were to be the ones to preserve the justice of this royal branch ("primicias gencium inuitauit, ut iurisdictionem regii germinis conseruaret"), and the power of this eternal branch was to be demonstrated by the creation of a new star ("eterni germinus potestatem creacione noui sideris demonstrauit").[18] As I note in the preceding, traditional exegesis of Jeremiah 23:5 does not relate it to the Magi. Its prominence in both the *Auto* and the *Dialogus* is not a coincidence.

Thus far we have seen how the *Auto* carries Rodrigo's message about the Jews at the theological, exegetical level. The Jews were those who missed their way by misunderstanding Scripture. The *Auto* was also designed to convey Rodrigo's understanding of the importance of conquering Muslims in Spain and the inevitability of their final defeat. This is not at all obvious to us when we read the *Auto* now: it seems to treat purely historical events concerning Herod and the Jews long before the emergence of Islam. How, therefore, can it say anything about the defeat of the Muslims in Spain? That it does is evident when it is compared with the section of Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispanie* that describes the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which we examine in chapter 2. Even though the *De rebus Hispanie* was completed some three de-

17. *Dialogus* II.i, lines 41–44, p. 206.
18. *Dialogus* II.xi, lines 110–22, p. 228.

cades or so after the *Auto* was most likely composed, in the teens of the thirteenth century, I believe Rodrigo reflects in his description of the battle themes first explored through the *Auto*.

As I argue in the second chapter, Rodrigo's description of the battle of Las Navas, and the book as a whole, has usually been read as an extended praise of the kingdom of Castile and Alfonso VIII. Alfonso VIII was grandfather of King Fernando III, to whom Rodrigo dedicated the book. This reading has obscured the extent to which the section on Las Navas de Tolosa describes the expedition of three kings—of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre—to another king, the Almohad caliph. These three kings, like the biblical ones, are gentiles because of their Visigothic origins, but also like their biblical counterparts, they are bearers of Christian truth who confront another, non-Christian king. Rodrigo uses explicitly trinitarian language to describe their action in concert: "And so the three-fold kings set out in the name of the holy Trinity."[19] The three act as one throughout the account. They ascend the mountain to occupy the castle of Ferral ("tres reges . . . ascenderunt"); they follow the path through the mountains indicated by the mysterious shepherd ("tres reges . . . ad predictum montem . . . peruenerunt"); and they each take charge of a wing when they engage in battle. The caliph treats them as a unity, swearing in letters to Baeza and Jaén that he will capture the three kings in three days ("unde et epistolas misit Biaciam et Giennium quod tres reges obsederat intra triduum capiendos").[20]

This evidence not only connects Rodrigo to the text of the *Auto,* it also demonstrates the conceptual connection in his mind between the conquest activities I discuss in the second chapter of this book and the polemical writing and theorizing I recount in the subsequent two chapters. History collapses itself into a series of events that repeat over and over again and in which Christian truth always prevails at the end. The actual events of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa—the attack by three kings on another of a different faith—are given a biblical, historical resonance in the *Auto.* In the *Auto,* three gentile kings, whose faith allows them to believe, also encounter an unbelieving king. Rodrigo depicts the history of the battle in his *De rebus Hispanie* by evoking the biblical story described in the *Auto.* This may not be the only way in which Rodrigo's representation of life in the *De rebus Hispanie* imitates art. Peter Linehan

19. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.vi, p. 266.
20. *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.vii, p. 268; viii, pp. 269, 270; viiii, pp. 270–71.

observes that echoes of the *Cantar de mio Cid* can be found in Rodrigo's description of the gathering of the Christian allies in Toledo prior to Las Navas, and notes that Diego García flatters Rodrigo in his *Planeta* using the same language Ibn-Bassam uses to describe the Cid in the poem. Linehan suggests that "Rodrigo had the poet's 1207 description of the 1090s in mind when in the 1240s he wrote his account of 1212." When we add to this evidence Linehan's tantalizing suggestions of further links between Rodrigo and the creation of the *Cantar,* we may be in danger of coming up with a Unified Field Theory for the composition of hitherto anonymous works of Castilian literature.[21]

Rodrigo is able to present the Almohad caliph in the *De rebus Hispanie* as a Herod figure because the Herod character in the *Auto,* with his court of Jewish advisers, is represented as a Muslim caliph—the really dangerous enemy of the period. A link between the Jewish Herod and the Almohad caliph is not implausible, given the tradition that Herod's family were foreign-born usurpers, non-Jewish in origin. The *Glosa ordinaria* on Matthew 12:1 reports the tradition that Herod was foreign-born.[22] His non-Jewish descent was used to explain how the prophecy of Genesis 49:10, *The sceptre shall not be taken from Judah, nor a ruler from his thigh, till he come that is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of nations,* was fulfilled with the coming of Christ. Christian polemicists argued that Jesus was *he . . . that is to be sent* because he was born after the sceptre was removed from Judah, that is, when Herod became king.[23] Rodrigo was very familiar with these traditions. He explains how Scripture relates that even during the captivity of the Jews leaders from the tribe of Judah still ruled the Jews and that the priests who later led the people were also descended from Judah through Aaron's wife, Elizabeth. The rulership of Israel only passed from the house of Judah when Herod became king, on the eve of Christ's birth.[24] This was Herod the Great, whose grandfather Antipater I, the Idumean, converted to Judaism. Herod definitively displaced the Hasmonean dynasty and became king of Judea under Rome's aegis in 37 B.C. The Idumeans, or Edomites, were thought to be descendants of Esau, and Rodrigo makes much of these links, and their connection to Herod, in his *Breuiarium.*[25] Even

21. Linehan, *History and the Historians,* pp. 322–27.
22. *Glosa ordinaria,* 4: 8a.
23. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens,* p. 496.
24. *Breuiarium* II.lvi, lines 32–54, pp. 95–96; *Dialogus* III.vi, lines 2–12, pp. 287–88.
25. For example, II.xxxvii, pp. 83–85; VIII.cx, lines 2–8, p. 508.

more useful for Rodrigo's association of Herod with the Almohads, Herod's mother was a Nabatean named Cypros; Rodrigo calls her father "king of the Arabs."[26]

The connection I suggest here between Herod and the recently defeated Almohad caliph shows that the Three Kings story, among all possible biblical tales, was picked to dramatize the conflict between Christians and Jews precisely because of the way it could link both biblical and contemporary Spanish history. The narrative of the drama reflects the understanding that the Jews allied themselves with the Muslims, which I explore in the previous chapter. The Jewish rabbi uses what must be a Christian author's understanding of the Arabic interjection to refer to God, "al-ḥamd lil-lāh." The *Auto* transliterates it as "Hamihala" (v. 138), rendered as "Praise Allah" in my translation (see the preceding).[27] This interjection is a marker telling the audience of the play that the action, long since past in Herod's palace, can be seen to be repeating itself in the audience's own lifetime at a Muslim court. We can imagine that the audience could have been made further aware of the connection between Herod and the caliph by dressing the Herod character in appropriate garb. Although the text of this drama preserves no staging directions, other contemporary plays do contain costuming notes that allow observers to penetrate beyond the literal meaning of a character to its allegorical or tropological significance. Thus, the *Ordo representacionis Ade* has God the Father represented through the *figura* of the Son, who is dressed in clerical vestments visually linking him to the Church.[28]

Situating Jews in the court of the Herod/caliph figure may have helped Rodrigo both rationalize and whitewash the presence of Jews both in his own circle and at the royal court, at the same time that it allowed him to express his own fears that Jews allied themselves with Muslims. In the play, Herod is served by Jewish advisers; in real life the notion of an Almohad assisted by Jewish courtiers is highly anachronistic, given the Almohad persecution of the Jews. Nevertheless, Rodrigo himself expresses concern that unhappy Jews in Christian Spain might decamp to

26. *Breuiarium* VIII.xcvii, line 33, p. 494.

27. Gerald J. MacDonald, "Hamihala, a Hapax in the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*," *Romance Philology* 18.1 (1964): 35–36.

28. Margot Fassler, "Representations of Time in *Ordo representacionis Ade*," in *Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature*, ed. Daniel Poirion and Nancy Freeman Regalado, Yale French Studies, Special Issue (New Haven, 1991), p. 101.

give the Muslims assistance, as we indicated in the letter from Honorius III to Rodrigo, in which the reason for not enforcing the distinctive dress provisions of Lateran IV against the Jews of Toledo was the fear that it would cause the Jews to make conspiracies with the Almohads against the Christians.[29] The same council repeated the exclusion of Jews from holding public offices first pronounced at the council of Toledo of 589.[30] In real life, it was Rodrigo who had a Jewish majordomo, Abraham of Talamanca, and used other Jews as business agents.[31]

Placing the Jews squarely in the camp with the Muslims in the *Auto* may also have helped Rodrigo deal with any discomfort he might have felt about the Jewish and Muslim contribution to emerging Christian science, astrology, and philosophy. Alan Deyermond has observed that the *Auto* was written in the context of the expansion of Christian knowledge characterized by the twelfth-century Renaissance. As shown in the preceding chapter, the translation activity that epitomized this movement was still very much part of Rodrigo's Toledo. Deyermond points to the frequent use of vocabulary within the drama related to seeing, knowing, and proving the truth.[32] The Jews of the *Auto* are not the only scholars in the tale. Melchior announces in his opening speech, "Such a star is not in the sky / Of this I am sure; I'm a good astrologer / I see it well without deception" (vv. 36–38), and Caspar later asks Balthasar whether he too is an astrologer (v. 52). We have here three gentile astrologers whose science is able to lead them to an understanding of truth because, unlike that of their Jewish counterparts, it is backed by right faith. This activity in the dramatic realm mirrors the Christianization and Latinization of knowledge sponsored by Rodrigo.

The discovery of this link between the *Auto* and Rodrigo's *Dialogus* solves some of the biggest problems that have vexed scholars concerning the *Auto*. It explains why the seemingly unusual ending is entirely appropriate, and it accounts for the reference to Jeremiah. The play as we have it makes linguistic sense as a product of Rodrigo's Toledo. His cathedral included canons and officeholders from all over the peninsula and be-

29. Mansilla, *Honorio III*, no. 212.

30. *Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis*, pp. 107–9.

31. AHN MS 996B, fols. 48vb–49ra; Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo," 280–81; Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, no. 397; León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo*, 1: 64; 2: nos. 106, 122, 127, 186; González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo*, 3: nos. 841, 934, 960.

32. "El *Auto de los reyes magos* y el renacimiento del siglo XII," in *Actas del IX congreso de la asociación internacional de hispanistas*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1989), 1: 187–88.

yond. In a region of high mobility and relatively new written vernaculars, as Spain was at the time, the detection of linguistic footprints only suggests the origins of the person who put the text into its written form; it does not determine the origin of the text. I argue that at the very least Rodrigo commissioned the *Auto* and dictated its form and content. The text hand is not Rodrigo's; he could not have been the scribe. But if he personally authored the piece, this might explain why linguists like Corominas and Hilty have detected Arago-Navarrese dialectical traces under the Castilian. Rodrigo's father's seat was in exactly that part of Spain, near the confluence of the Ebro and the Aragon Rivers. His mother came from the Castilian side of the Ebro.

Rodrigo's involvement with the *Auto* would also explain why we have this unique and early Castilian example of what is generally thought to be a French dramatic form and why some of the content of the text mirrors—or, better, predicts—vernacular Epiphany plays of a later date.[33] Rodrigo could easily have become familiar with this dramatic form and could have seen its potential as an effective means of conveying ideas to a large audience while he was a student in Paris. It should be clear from my discussion, however, that the *Auto* as we have it is in every important sense an indigenous creation. It was composed in the context of a very particular cultural and political situation to express notions concerning both.

Given the relevance of the work's context, it is worth asking, although it is impossible to answer with any certainty, in what liturgical context and before whom the play might have been performed. The general content of the play as I have interpreted it immediately suggests either the Christmas season or a public, royal occasion or both. The best clues as to when the performance might have occurred lie in its use of Jeremiah 23:5. The use of this reading, which is never associated with Epiphany, and the absence of a scene in which the Three Kings adore the infant Jesus suggest that, contrary to expectations, this is not a play performed at Epiphany. In both the Roman and the Spanish Mozarabic tradition, Jeremiah 23:5 is associated with Advent. In the Roman tradition, it is the first reading for the Sunday before Advent.[34] It was used in

33. Winifred Sturdevant, *The Misterio de los Reyes Magos,* Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures 10 (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 78–79.

34. Antoine Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains de la messe,* 2 vols. (Fribourg, 1993), 1: 53; 2: 21. *Missale ad usum Sarum,* ed. Francis Henry Dickinson (Oxford, 1861–63), cols. 534–35.

the Roman and Mozarabic office during Advent and was also used in several Advent sermons including one very popular one attributed to Augustine that found its way into numerous important homiliaries.[35] James Burke connects the play with the carnivalesque Christmas traditions of the Feast of Fools and the role of the mock king in these celebrations.[36] The theme of good Christian kings versus bad, unbelieving kings and the implicit praise the play contains for the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa suggest it would have been suitable for performance before a royal audience gathered at court for the Christmas season. The most obvious occasion for its performance would have been before Alfonso VIII at the Christmas court at Burgos in 1212 itself.[37] Rodrigo was still writing the *Dialogus* in 1214, but the play could have been performed before the polemic was completed. Alfonso spent Christmas 1213 at the siege of Baeza. Could the play have been performed there, to put heart into the famished troops and to remind them of the glory of the previous year?[38] Or might the play have been performed for Fernando III in 1217, the first year of his rule, to honour his grandfather?

The Advent-Christmas season is not the only, or necessarily the most likely, candidate for the performance of the play before a royal audience. Jeremiah 23:5 is an Advent or, better, a pre-Advent verse, and Advent is not the most usual time for the performance of liturgical drama. There is another candidate for its performance, however. The Mozarabic votive mass for the king uses Jeremiah 23:5–8 as its first reading.[39] This mass, with its prayers asking for protection for the king and his wife, success against internal and external enemies, and peace for the realm, would make a wonderful backdrop for the performance of the *Auto*. There is one problem with this hypothesis, which is that this mass forms part of the Mozarabic liturgy that had supposedly been banished from the Spanish kingdoms in the eleventh century on the

35. The sermon "Ecce ex qua tribu" can be found in PL 47, cols. 1133C–1136B. Margot Fassler says it is now attributed to Ps.-Maximus but also suggests it might have a Spanish origin. Another sermon using the verse is Martín de Léon, *Sermo primus in aduentu domini*, PL 208, cols. 31D–38B. On the Mozarabic and Roman offices, see PL 86.

36. *Desire against the Law* (Stanford, 1998), pp. 89–93.

37. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: 902–4.

38. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: 914; *De rebus Hispanie* VIII.xiiii, pp. 278–79.

39. This mass exists in two manuscripts, one belonging to the collection of the monastery of Silos, dated 1052, and the second from San Millán de la Cogolla, dated from the end of the tenth century. The rite is edited in José Janini, *Liber ordinum episcopal* (Silos, 1991), pp. 234–37, 372–74.

orders of Pope Gregory VII. All may not be lost, however. When the Council of Burgos banned the Mozarabic rite in 1080, Toledo was still in the hands of the Muslims. When it was conquered in 1085, its Mozarabic inhabitants were permitted to keep their old liturgy. We know of six active Mozarabic parishes in the thirteenth century. Their liturgy has usually been thought to have been kept rigourously separate from the cathedral liturgy, but there is evidence that things might have been more permeable than the papal ideal. Some eight liturgical manuscripts and fragments containing elements of the Mozarabic rite, found today in the cathedral library, date to the twelfth or thirteenth century, thus after the official banning of the rite, and one, BCT MS 35-4, seems to have been commissioned by Rodrigo's predecessor as archbishop, Martín.[40] One of Rodrigo's successors, García Gudiel, himself a Mozarab, was instrumental in reforming local liturgical performance of the Mozarabic rite, and throughout the period clergy from Mozarabic backgrounds served in the cathedral at its highest levels.[41] As seen in chapter 4, Rodrigo himself praises the existence of different forms of Christian worship in his *Dialogus*. That the Mozarabic mass for the king might have been the context for the performance of the *Auto* remains a tantalizing hypothesis.

Even without being able securely to locate or date its performance, merely linking the *Auto* and the *Dialogus* broadens our understanding of the goals and significance of polemic within the larger sphere of relations between Christians and those of other faiths. The *Auto* is evidence that the message of the *Dialogus* was deemed important enough to be disseminated to a larger public through the medium of performance. What was this message? It was not about conversion—none of the nonbelievers in the *Auto* become Christian. Nor was conversion the goal of the *Dialogus*. When conversion is mentioned in the *Dialogus*, it is either in the context of the conversion of the Christian soul through penance, the conversion of all the Jews at the end of time, or the conversion of some of their number to follow the Antichrist. The aim of the *Auto* was that of representation, of demonstrating what Jews, Muslims, and Christians are like, what they stand for, and what they believe. The characters are not just

40. Janini and Gonzálvez, *Manuscritos litúrgicos*, BCT MSS 33–3, 35–3, 35–4, 35–5, 35–6, 35–7, 35–8, 44–2.

41. On the persistence of the Mozarabic liturgy in Toledo, Ramón Gonzálvez, "Las minorias etnico-religiosas en la edad media española," in *Historia de la iglesia en España*, vol. 2 pp. 506–8.

defined in the past, at the time of the Epiphany, but for all time to come by their response to the events of Christ's coming. Whatever the exact context of its performance, this liturgical drama performed the same function as all liturgical dramatic moments; that is, it brought past events into the present through their reenactment in the liturgy. This participation in the past was made especially vivid through the dialogue form of the drama. Hearing the words of the dialogue spoken between Jewish counsellors and Herod allowed the faithful to be present simultaneously at different moments in salvation history and to be vividly aware of the collapse of time invoked by the drama.[42] At the historical level, the prophecy of Jeremiah finds its literal fulfillment in Christ's birth. The three gentile kings stand allegorically for all the gentiles who understand the Christian message and form the Church. Finally, the events are linked tropologically to the battles with Muslims of Rodrigo's own day, and this link showed its Christian viewers that they still had a role to play in the important events of salvation history, a history that would extend to the end of time when all would be resolved in the Second Coming of Christ. This play represents the "all time" Margot Fassler describes as the setting for another closely contemporary drama, the *Ordo representacionis Ade,* "a time wherein all events can be seen at once, placed one on top of the other in layers, lined up, focused, and explained through Christ."[43]

James Burke argues that the *Auto* demonstrates how seemingly intractable antipathies and paradoxes may be resolved within the person of Christ, who, through his Incarnation as divine and human, is able to harmonize contraries. Burke suggests that vv. 23–26, "To be sure there has been born on earth that one who in peace and war will reign over all from the east even unto the west," evoke this resolution of paradox in Christ.[44] Here, we find the notion that East and West were not viewed as irreconcilably opposed and contradictory entities. They had the capacity to be united under God, and in this way, according to this understanding of a broken world that could be reunited under Christ, non-Christians might live under Christian rule in this age in an albeit fragmentary reversal of the disunity after the Fall, a disunity that would be completely repaired only at the End of Time when all would convert to Christ. The

42. On the use of dialogue in medieval liturgy and its effects on the faithful, see Rachel Fulton, "*Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?* The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption," *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (1998): 99–101, 121–22.

43. Fassler, "Representations of Time," p. 98.

44. Burke, *Desire against the Law,* pp. 83–84.

Auto marks the delineation between groups but also gives the same kind of hope for assimilation and unity, if not uniformity, that is described in the political theology of the *Dialogus*.

John Dagenais notes that for medieval people reading was an ethical activity, "Texts engaged the reader, not so much in the unravelling of meaning as in a series of ethical meditations and of personal ethical choices. They required the reader to take a stand about what he or she read."[45] The opposition of contraries, of ideas, people, and actions that are worthy of praise and others that deserve blame, provides the opportunity and the requirement for these choices to be made. As Burke says about what he calls didactic writing, "the writer exposed the reader to both sides of an issue or concept in order to condition the will and teach the intellect to make correct choices."[46] Whether there was any writing in the Middle Ages that was not didactic, I do not discuss here. Suffice it to say that both the *Auto* and the *Dialogus* had this didactic purpose and commanded an ethical reading.

While the notion of including negative examples for edificatory purposes aids our reading of the *Auto*, it helps us even more to understand the *Dialogus* and its importance and significance as polemic. It also requires us to take seriously Rodrigo's claim in the prologue to be addressing his work to Catholic readers. Rodrigo's *Dialogus* provides us with both a correct and an incorrect reading of a single text, the Bible. He opposes the "correct" Christian reading to the "incorrect" and "internally contradictory" Jewish one in order to show the virtue of the former. All polemical writing shares this feature to a greater or lesser degree. Rodrigo's histories operate under the same principle—as does most historical writing from this period. Good kings are opposed to bad; Catholics are opposed to Arians, Jews, and Muslims; unity is opposed to fraction. The former are praised; the latter are condemned, and the working out of history itself shows how they are defeated partially in Rodrigo's own day and definitively at the end of time. This message can be read in a book, or for those who cannot read the book, it can be witnessed directly when performed through the liturgy in a vernacular drama.

---

45. John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de Buen Amor* (Princeton, 1994), p. xvii.

46. Burke, *Desire against the Law*, p. 20.

CHAPTER SIX

Epilogue

The goal of this book is to show how Rodrigo used conquest and settlement, patronage and scholarship, and the writing of polemic as part of one program for dealing with diversity in his world. We can see all of the elements of Rodrigo's strategy operating in the bare fifty-two manuscript lines of the *Auto,* where questions about the proper way to interpret Scripture mingle with pride both at the defeat of an enemy of the faith and at the new Christian facility with science, philosophy, and biblical exegesis. This program was aimed at containing threats, whether internal or external, Christian or non-Christian. It permitted Christians, Muslims, and Jews to live together by creating a theoretical justification and practical implementation of this state of affairs. Neither justification nor implementation can be set prior to the other, either chronologically or in order of importance. Rather, the two were created together, in a mutually reflexive way.

I suggest at the outset of this book that we ask first how *convivencia* could ever be maintained before asking how it collapsed. One element that supported the right kind of coexistence was conquest—*convivencia* in the Christian interest could best be maintained with weak external enemies. Muslims under strong Almohad rulers with bases in North Africa had to be conquered; however, Muslims who were tributaries of Christian kings, like al-Bayyāsī, could be useful. Lands under Muslim control should be brought beneath Christian rule both so they might no longer be used as bases from which to attack Christians and so these lands could be subjected to the rule of Christian bishops under the aegis of the archbishop of Toledo, the primate of Spain. Ordinary Muslims and Jews under Christian rule could be desirable. Their economic skills and financial resources could be utilized, and their eventual conversion could be hoped for. Any threat they posed of treacherous acts against Christian polities could best be contained by keeping them within those

polities, rather than by casting them out. At least, this was Rodrigo's position, and although it was not universally accepted throughout the Latin West of his day, it remained the modus vivendi for the Spanish kingdoms for the next several centuries.

Patronage of scholarship was another tool in this program of coexistence. Christians could engage with their own theological tradition to find models of understanding the relationship of God to Creation that justified Christian superiority but allowed the presence of non-Christians. The expression of the doctrine of divine unity and the unfolding of Creation found in the teachings of Alan of Lille became a useful model for Rodrigo and his companions for understanding the continued fact of religious pluralism within the world in general and in the Spanish kingdoms in particular. Translation was another important plank in this program because through it the esoteric could be familiarized and domesticated. Just as Muslims and Jews themselves were most properly ruled by Christians, so too all right knowledge and wisdom possessed by them truly belonged under the Christian umbrella. This was true of scientific and philosophical texts, but it could even be true of works of Muslim theology that contained rational support for dogmas also held by Christians, like the unity of God.

Finally, the threat posed by non-Christians who possessed different and possibly attractive beliefs could be stabilized through the writing of polemic that showed why those beliefs were not acceptable to Christians, while simultaneously explaining and defending the content of Christian teachings. Rodrigo's polemical writing was very far from simply being a sterile, academic exercise, but neither was it written in the vain hope of converting Toledo's Jews. Effective polemic could neutralize the effects of external religious ideas on Christians. Contemporary Christians seemed to have felt especially threatened by the idea that Judaism had transformed itself since the days of the Temple. Rodrigo's awareness and criticism of rabbinic Jewish traditions allowed him to feel himself in control of this disturbing changeableness. Likewise, he could put forth a response to what Judaism offered in the representation of Christianity included in the polemic. He contrasted undesirable Jewish *uarietas* with the model of Christian stability, uniformity of doctrine, and consistency of exegesis. Writing the *Dialogus* permitted him to allow Jews to live within the peninsula he thought of as his by counterbalancing the possible challenging or seductive effects of their different beliefs.

The fate of the different elements that made up Rodrigo's program

of activity after his death in 1247 was various. Subsequent holders of the archbishopric of Toledo continued to assert the primacy of their see over all the Spains without much real effect. As Rodrigo himself might have predicted, the capture of Sevilla by Fernando III in 1252 brought that see into competition with Toledo for importance. Moreover, its conquest definitively ended Toledo's status as a frontier diocese, an ending heralded already by the conquest of Córdoba in 1236. The conquest of Muslim Spain pretty much ground to a standstill, however, after the capture of Sevilla. The frontier between the Christian kingdoms and Naṣrid Granada would remain stable, although contested, until the time of Fernando and Isabel, because both Christian and Muslim rulers had other tasks and internal frictions to occupy their attention. Rodrigo's account of the period of Christian gains, however, and more importantly his depiction of that period as a time of deliberate conquest would be immortalized both in his own *De rebus Hispanie* and through the incorporation of that work in Alfonso X's vernacular *Estoria de España.*

It is to Alfonso X and his court that we must look for the successors to much of Rodrigo's program of activity. To trace all the lines of this succession would require another book, but I can point to a few avenues where we might find Alfonso following in Rodrigo's footsteps. Alfonso X continued to refer to expeditions against Muslims as crusades and obtained papal privileges supporting his claims. His assault on north Africa seems to show him interested in offensively garnering more territory for Christian rule and not merely reacting defensively to prospects of attack. We may see in Alfonso's quest to be emperor an echo of the desire for a world united, seen in Rodrigo's own efforts to be primate of Spain with effective jurisdiction. Another avenue in which Alfonso followed Rodrigo is his patronage of translation activity. The sponsorship of scholarship passed away from the cathedral of Toledo after Rodrigo's death, to be taken up eventually at the court of Alfonso X. Here we continue to see features evident in Rodrigo's Toledo, like the use of Jewish collaborators in the project to make all branches of knowledge accessible to Christians. Alfonso's debt to Rodrigo's histories for both the content and form of his own historical writing is well-known. We also see in Alfonso's court an explosion in the growth of the use of the vernacular to disseminate ideas to a wider audience. These ideas expanded from the biblical-historical ones we see in the *Auto* to include legal, poetic, and scientific works in the vernacular. And one scholar

even makes Alfonso's *Cantigas de Santa María (Songs of Holy Mary)* a candidate to be the second medieval Castilian dramatic text, after the *Auto de los Reyes Magos.*[1]

Other aspects of Rodrigo's program had different fates. Theologically, the eclipse in the Latin West of the *porretani* positions espoused by Alan of Lille and others was evident when the Fourth Lateran Council enshrined the Lombardian position in its canons. We know far too little still about theological trends and influences in thirteenth-century Spain to know whether this brief Toledan "school" had any lasting impact. Michael Scot, at least, went on to have a successful career at the court of Frederick II. His involvement with the introduction of Aristotelian and Averroistic thought and his later reputation as a magician have shrouded his earlier neo-Platonic and Eriugenian influences.

As for the *Dialogus,* although it doubtless did not directly influence this trend, the aggressive attack it makes against rabbinic exegesis was a harbinger of things to come in Spain. Later disputations and polemical texts written in the peninsula frequently make Jewish interpretations a focus of their attention. Nevertheless, if either the *Dialogus* or the *Auto,* which it inspired, themselves attained any kind of wide distribution, the evidence for this is still hidden in uncatalogued manuscript libraries. The *Auto* languished in its single manuscript until it was placed under the scrutiny of untold numbers of philologists in the modern era. The single manuscript of the *Dialogus* was copied at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, possibly after the pogroms of 1391 brought thousands of Jews to the baptismal font. Its inclusion in a codex with other works of polemic and instruction in Christian doctrine suggests it might have been deemed useful for teaching these new Christians about their religion. It was copied in an era when the equilibrium in Spain between Christians and Jews, and then Christians and Muslims, was being shattered for good. But how and why this equilibrium was shattered is a story for another book.

1. John E. Keller, "Drama, Ritual, and Incipient Opera in Alfonso's *Cantigas,*" in *Emperor of Culture,* ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 72–89.

Appendix

Two Charters from the Cathedral Archive of Toledo

Editorial Sigla

< >	difficult, sometimes conjectural reading
. . .	lacuna
(*sic*)	appearing thus, not an error
⌜ ⌝	superscript
[ ]	editorial addition

ca. June–October 1211

ACT I.6.G.1.13

Rodrigo, dei gratia toletane sedis archiepiscopus et ispaniarum primas dictus, omnibus qui christiana fide consentur (*sic*) illa respuere quę huic inimica sunt nomini, et quę sunt apta sectari.

Uobis omnibus notum esse credimus resur<rexisse> multitudinem sarracenorum huc cura mare in ispaniam iam nuper transmeasse et ad conterendam christianam gentem unanimiter conspirasse. Quibus si in primis collectis uiribus, deo iuuante, non resistimus . . . <procul du>bio ad inferendam stragem nobis omnibus uiam illam aperimus. Quapropter communi utilitati cons<ulueritis> feruorem uestrę fidei . . . ndo rogamus ut ad defendendam ęcclesiam dei contra inimicos crucis . . . <ui>riliter accingamini. Nec mors ipsa uos terreat quam aliquando ex necessitate subire debetis, sed potius si acciderit pro lucro uobis ipsa reputetur. Quando quidem in conspectu domini preciosa mors effictur, quę pro defensione fidei toleratur. Ad maiorem etiam spei uestre fiduciam addimus ut quisquis in hac expeditione ierit, si prius de peccatis suis uere penituerit, ex auctoritate dei omnipotentis et domini papę et nostra et

uenerabilium fratrum nostrorum coepiscoporum, uidelicet, Oxom[en]-sis, Calagurrutani, Palentini, Burgensis, Secobiensis, Abulensis, Seguntini, omnium peccatorum suorum ⌜tantam⌝ absolutionem sibi factam ⌜esse⌝ non dubitet, quntam is qui Iherosolimam uadit habet. Unde quia totam penę ispaniam in tantis periculis esse conspicimus, omnino prohibemus ne quisquis portandis armis idoneus existit Iherosolimam causa peregrinationis addeat, sed in ispania remanens predictis fidei hostibus occurrat quousque ispania ab hac infestatione liberetur et ipse pro defensione fidei maiore quam si ierosolimam iret mercede remuneretur. Quod et nos facere nobiscum similiter, deo iuuante, parati sumus.

Rodrigo, by the grace of God archbishop of Toledo and called primate of the Spains, to all those who are in agreement in the Christian faith to spurn those things that are enemies to this Name and are fit to be cut off.

We believe that it has become known to all of you that a multitude of Saracens has risen up again and has recently crossed over the sea this way into Spain and unanimously conspires to destroy the Christian people. If we do not, with God's help, resist these men in their earliest assemblage . . . we will open the way for them to bring carnage against all of us. On account of this, you will have reflected on the fervour of your faith for the common good . . . we ask that you gird yourselves . . . manfully to defend the Church of God against the enemies of the cross. Let not even death itself, which some day you are required to endure out of necessity, frighten you, but rather, should death occur, let it be thought as your gain. When death is endured for the defense of the faith, it is made precious in the sight of God. We add for the greater assurance of your hope that whosoever goes on this expedition, if first he has truly been penitent for his sins, by the authority of Almighty God and the Lord Pope, and our own authority and that of our venerable brother cobishops, namely those of Osma, Calahorra, Palencia, Burgos, Segovia, Ávila, and Siguënza, let him not doubt that he has made as much absolution for all of his sins as one who goes to Jerusalem possesses. Whence, since we see almost all of Spain in such grave danger, we wholly prohibit anyone fit to bear arms from going to Jerusalem for the sake of pilgrimage, but remaining in Spain, let him attack the enemies of the faith until Spain is liberated from this infestation, and may he be recompensed for the defense of the faith with a reward greater than if he had gone to Jerusalem. We are prepared to do likewise with our own people, with God's help.

ca. 1212–13

A ACT A.6.H.1.22a (original parchment with archiepiscopal seal)

B BNM MS 13022, fol. 92–92v (eighteenth-century transcription by Burriel)

Rodericus, dei gratia Toletane sedis archiepiscopus, hyspaniarum primas, dilectis in Christo filiis et amicis, omnibus militibus tocius regni Castelle ad quoscumque presens scriptum peruenerit, salutem in eo qui salus est omnium.

Cum uniuersi christiane fidei professores domino Deo laudem et gloriam dare teneantur, eo quod in bello preterito plebem suam dignatus est uisitare et ei dare uictoriam de[1] inimicis nominis christiani, nos tamen precipue qui de hoc regno sumus ei cantare debemus et glorificare ac laudare nomen eius in secula benedictum eo quod in terra nostra fuit[2] uictoria[3] et specialiter causa nostri. Quia igitur, prout nobis relatum est, alii ex uobis per se, alii cum dominis et amicis, relicta gente sua et patria, se confederare sarracenis attemptant, ut cum eis, si potuerit,[4] populum inpugnent et opprimant[5] christianum, uniuersitatem uestram rogamus in domino et monemus quatinus in tanto necessitatis articulo ab hoc proposito desistatis, et illi nephande genti non presumatis adherere. Immo sicut atlethe[6] christi et sui nominis et fidei catholice deffensores uos murum pro domo Israel opponatis, pro patriis legibus et gente et patria si necesse fuerit morituri. Si forte dominus rex aduersus aliquem uestrum deliquit in aliquo unde merito de eo debeat conqueri, proponat querimoniam suam in curia, et nos, prout in domino confidimus et de discretione et benignitate domini regis speramus, secundum consuetudinem curie faciemus sibi iusticiam exhiberi. Si uero aliqui[7] ex uobis de cetero se confederare presumpserint sarracenis in detrimentum et obprobrium fidei christiane, nouerint se anathamatis uinculo innodandos.

Rodrigo, by the grace of God archbishop of Toledo and primate of the Spains, sends greetings in Him who is the salvation of all to his

1. uictoriam de] "m de *oblit.*" *A*, "uictoriam de" *B*.
2. fuit] "dedit" *B*.
3. uictoria] "uictoriam" *B*.
4. potuerit] "potuerint" *B*.
5. opprimant] "oppugnent" *B*.
6. atlethe] "athlete" *B*.
7. aliqui] "aliquis" *B*.

beloved sons and friends in Christ, all the knights of the whole kingdom of Castile, to whomsoever this present charter shall reach.

Although all those who profess the Christian faith are bound to give praise and glory to the Lord God because in the past war He deigned to visit His people and to give them victory over the enemies of the Christian name, nevertheless we especially who are from this kingdom ought to sing to Him and glorify and praise His name as blessed forever because the victory was in our land and it was especially our cause. Since it has been related to us that some of you by yourselves and some with your lords and friends, deserting your people and your land, are trying to enter into an alliance with the Saracens so that, if you are able, you can fight and oppress the Christian people with them, we ask all of you in the Lord and we advise you not to presume to cleave to this wicked people and to abandon this plan at such a moment of need. Nay rather, may you station yourselves as a wall around the house of Israel just like atheletes of Christ and defenders of His house and of the Christian faith and, if necessary, die for the laws of your fathers, your people, and your land. If by chance the lord king has offended against anything of yours in any manner whence with some reason he ought to be reproached, propose your quarrel in the courts, and we, so far as we trust in the Lord and hope in the discernment and liberality of the lord king, will cause justice to be shown to you according to the custom of the court. But if any of you should presume to enter into an alliance with the Saracens to the detriment and scandal of the Christian faith, know yourselves to be bound by the bond of anathema.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Bern. Bürgerbibliothek	MS 335
Madrid. Archivo Histórico Nacional	MS 987B
	MS 996B
Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid	MS 13022
	MS 21546
	MS Vitr. 15–5
Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	MS CLM 10268
Cambridge. Pembroke College	MS 45
Salamanca. Biblioteca Universitaria	MS 2089
Toledo. Archivo Capitular	A.3.A.1.14
	A.6.H.1.24
	A.6.H.1.22a
	1.6.G.1.13
	O.2.Q.9.4
	Z.1.G.1.4a
Toledo. Biblioteca Capitular	MS 9–9
	MS 13–4
	MS 33–3
	MS 35–3
	MS 35–4
	MS 35–5
	MS 35–6
	MS 35–7
	MS 35–8
	MS 37–27
	MS 42–20
	MS 42–21
	MS 42–22
	MS 42–41
	MS 42–22
	MS 44–2

Primary Sources

Abaelard, Peter. *Theologia 'Scholarium.'* Ed. E. M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews. CCCM 63. Turnhout, 1969.

Abraham bar Ḥiyya. *Megilat ha–megaleh*. Trans. J. Millás Vallicrosa. Barcelona, 1929.

Agobard of Lyons. *Opera Omnia*. Ed. L. Van Acker. CCCM 52. Turnhout, 1981.

Alan of Lille. *Opera Omnia*. PL 210. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1855.

al-Biṭrūjī. *De motibus celorum: Critical Edition of the Latin Translation of Michael Scot*. Ed. Francis J. Carmody. Berkeley, 1952.

Alfonsi, Petrus. *Dialogi contra Judaeos*. PL 157. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1899.

———. *Diálogo contra los judíos*. Ed. Klaus Peter Mieth. Huesca, 1996.

Amalarius of Metz. *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. PL 105. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1864.

Amulo of Lyons. *Liber contra Judaeos*. PL 116. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1879.

Anales Toledanos I. In *España Sagrada,* ed. Enrique Flórez, vol. 23, 381–400. Madrid, 1747–1879.

Andrew of St. Victor. *Expositio in Ezechielem*. Ed. Michael Signer. CCCM 53E. Turnhout, 1991.

———. *In Numeros*. In *Opera: I, Expositio super Heptateuchum,* ed. Charles Lohr and Rainer Berndt, CCCM 53, vol. 1, 180–94. Turnhout, 1986.

Anselm of Canterbury. *Opera omnia*. Ed. F. S. Schmitt. 6 vols. Rome, 1940.

Augustine. *De civitate dei*. Ed. Bernard Dombart and Alfons Kalb. 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1993.

———. *De doctrina christiana*. Ed. Joseph Martin. CCSL 32. Turnhout, 1962.

———. *De trinitate*. Ed. W. J. Mountain. CCSL 50–50A. Turnhout, 1968.

———. *Opera Omnia*. PL 47. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1877.

"Auto de los Reyes Magos." Ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos* 4 (1900): 453–62.

Averroës. *Commentariis*. 12 vols. Venice, 1562–74.

———. *Commentarium magnum in Aristotelis De anima libro*. Ed. F. Stuart Crawford. Cambridge, Mass., 1953.

Babylonian Talmud. Trans. I. Epstein. 35 vols. London, 1935–48.

Bacon, Roger. *Opera inedita*. Ed. J. S. Brewer. London, 1859.

Bernard of Clairvaux. *Opera*. Ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais. 8 vols. Rome, 1977.

Biblia latina cum glosa ordinaria. 4 vols. 1480–81; reprint ed., Turnhout, 1992.

Bielawski, Jósef and Marian Plezia. *Lettre d'Aristote à Alexandre sur la politique envers les cités*. Archiwum Filologiczne 25. Wroclaw, 1970.

Blumenkranz, Bernhard (ed.). "Altercatio aecclesie contra synagogam." *Revue du moyen âge latin* 10 (1954): 5–40.

Bocados de oro. Toledo, 1502.

Boethius. *In perihermenias*. Ed. Charles Meiser. Leipzig, 1880.

———. *Opera omnia*. PL 64. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1891.

———. *Theological Tractates*. Trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass., 1973.

The Book of Sainte Foy. Trans. Pamela Sheingorn. Philadelphia, 1995.

Breuiarium Gothicum. Ed. A. Lorenzana. PL 86. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1891.
Bullaire du Pape Calixte II. Ed. Ulysse Robert. 2 vols. Paris, 1891.
Caesarius of Heisterbach. *Dialogus miraculorum.* Ed. Josephus Strange. 2 vols. Cologne, 1851.
Chartularium universitatis parisiensis. Ed. H. Denifle et al. 4 vols. Paris, 1889–97.
Chronica hispana saeculi xii. Ed. Emma Falque, Juan Gil, and Antonio Maya. CCCM 71. Turnhout, 1990.
Chronica Najerensis. Ed. Juan A. Estévez Sola. CCCM 71A. Turnhout, 1995.
Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta. Ed. Joseph Alberigo et al. Bologna, 1973.
Constitutiones concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum commentariis glossatorum. Ed. Antonio García y García. Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series A, vol. 2. Vatican City, 1981.
Crónica del Moro Rasis. Ed. Diego Catalan and María Soledad de Andrés. Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España 3. Madrid, 1974.
Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla. Ed. Luis Charlo Brea. Cádiz, 1984.
"Ecce ex qua tribu." PL 47. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1877.
Edwards, Glenn M. "The *Liber introductorius* of Michael Scot." Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1978.
Emo of Huizinga and Menko. *Chronica.* Ed. Ludwig Weiland. MGH, Scriptores 23. Hannover, 1874.
Eriugena, John Scotus. *Expositiones in ierarchiam coelestem.* Ed. Jeanne Barbet. CCCM 31. Turnhout, 1975.
———. *Versio operum S. Dionysii Areopagitae.* PL 122. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1853.
García, Diego. *Planeta*. Ed. Manuel Alonso. Madrid, 1943.
García Luján, José Antonio. *Cartulario del monasterio de Santa María de Huerta.* Santa María de Huerta, 1981.
———. *Privilegios reales de la Catedral de Toledo (1086–1462).* 2 vols. Granada, 1982.
Gerard of Cremona. "A List of Translations Made from Arabic into Latin in the Twelfth Century." Trans. Michael McVaugh. In *A Source Book in Medieval Science,* ed. Edward Grant, 35–38. Cambridge, Mass., 1974.
Glorieux, P. "La somme 'Quoniam homines' d'Alain de Lille." *AHDLMA* 28 (1953): 113–369.
González Palencia, Angel. *Los mozarabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII.* 3 vols. and preliminary volume. Madrid, 1926–30.
Grayzel, Solomon. *The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century.* New York, 1966.
Guillaume of Bourges. *Livre des guerres du Seigneur.* Ed. Gilbert Dahan. Sources chrétiennes 288. Paris, 1981.
Häring, Nikolaus M. *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers.* Studies and Texts 13. Toronto, 1966.
———. *The Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres.* Studies and Texts 20. Toronto, 1971.
———. (ed.). "Magister Alanus de Insulis. *Regulae caelestis iuris.*" *AHDLMA* 48 (1981): 97–226.

Helias, Peter. *Summa super Priscianum.* Ed. Leo Reilly. 2 vols. Studies and Texts 113. Toronto, 1993.
Hermann of Carinthia. *De essentiis.* Ed. and trans. Charles Burnett. Leiden, 1982.
Hernández, Francisco J. *Los cartularios de Toledo.* Madrid, 1985.
ibn Ezra, Abraham. *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah.* Ed. and trans. M. Friedländer. New York, 1873.
Jerome. *In Esaiam.* In *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera,* ed. Mark Adriaen, CCSL 73. Turnhout, 1963.
Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Breuiarium historie catholice.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. CCCM 72A–B. Turnhout, 1992.
———. *Historia de rebus Hispanie siue Historia Gothica.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. CCCM 72. Turnhout, 1987.
———. *Historiae minores. Dialogus libri uite.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde and Juan Antonio Estévez Sola. CCCM 72C. Turnhout, 1999.
Julian of Toledo. *Historia Wambae.* Ed. J. N. Hillgarth. CCSL 115. Turnhout, 1976.
Lema Pueyo, José Angel. *Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona.* San Sebastián, 1990.
Liber viginti quattuor philosophorum. Ed. Françoise Hudry. CCCM 143A. Turnhout, 1997.
Lull, Ramon. *Doctrina pueril.* Ed. Greta Schib. Barcelona, 1972.
———. *Obres del Ramon Lull.* 21 vols. Palma de Majorca, 1906–50.
———. *Vita coaetana.* Ed. Hermogenes Harada. CCCM 34. Turnhout, 1980.
Lucas of Túy. *Chronicon mundi.* In *Hispaniae illustratae,* ed. Andreas Schott, vol. 4, 1–116. Frankfurt, 1603–8.
Maimonides, Moses. *Epistles of Maimonides: Crisis and Leadership*. Trans. Abraham Halkin. Philadelphia, 1985.
Mansilla, Demetrio. *La documentación pontificia de Honorio III.* Monumenta Hispana Vaticana. Registros 2. Rome, 1965.
———. *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III.* Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana. Registros 1. Rome, 1955.
Martí, Ramon. *Pugio fidei.* Leipzig, 1687.
Martín de Léon. *Sermones.* Ed. A. Lorenzana. PL 208. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1855.
The Midrash on Psalms. Trans. William G. Braude. New Haven, 1959.
Midrash Rabbah. Trans. H. Freedman and Maurice Simon. 10 vols. London, 1939.
Millás Vendrell, Eduardo. *El comentario de Ibn al-Muṭannā a las Tablas Astronómicas de al-Jwārizmī.* Madrid, 1963.
Missale ad usum Sarum. Ed. Francis Henry Dickinson. Oxford, 1861–63.
Peter Comestor. *Historia scholastica.* PL 198. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris, 1855.
Peter the Venerable. *Adversus Iudeorum inveteratam duritiem.* Ed. Yvonne Friedman. CCCM 58. Turnhout, 1985.
Petrus Sarnensis. *Historia albigensis.* Ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon. 3 vols. Paris, 1926–36.

Poema de Mio Cid. Ed. Colin Smith. Oxford, 1972.
Pseudo-Boethius. *De disciplina scholarium.* Ed. Olga Weijer. Leiden, 1976.
Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III. Ed. Julio González. 3 vols. Cordoba, 1983.
Rouquette, J. and A. Villemagne. *Cartulaire de Maguelonne.* 4 vols. Montpellier, 1912.
Simon of Tournai. *Disputationes.* Ed. Joseph Warichez. Louvain, 1932.
Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña.* Textos Medievales 9. 2 vols. Valencia, 1962.
Vincent of Beauvais. *Speculum doctrinale.* Douai, 1624; reprint ed., Graz, 1965.
William of Conches. *Glosae super Platonem.* Ed. Édouard Jeauneau. Textes Philosophiques du Moyen Âge 13. Paris, 1965.
———. *Philosophia.* Ed. Gregor Maurach. Pretoria, 1980.

Secondary Sources

Abulafia, Anna Sapir. *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance.* London, 1995.
Abulafia, David. *Frederick II.* Oxford, 1988.
Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain. Ed. Jerrilynn Dodds. New York, 1992.
Alonso, Manuel. "Traducciones del archidiano Domingo Gundisalvo." *al-Andalus* 12 (1947): 295–338.
The Art of Medieval Spain. New York, 1993.
Baer, Yitzhak. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain.* Trans. Louis Schoffman. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1961.
Ballesteros Gaibrois, Manuel. *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.* Barcelona, 1936.
Bartlett, Robert. *The Making of Europe.* Princeton, 1993.
Beattie, Pamela. " 'Pro exaltatione sanctae fidei catholicae': Mission and Crusade in the Writings of Ramon Llull." In *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages,* ed. Larry J. Simon, 113–29. Leiden, 1995.
Beaujouan, Guy. *Manuscrits scientifiques médiévaux de l'Université de Salamanque et de ses "Colegios Mayores."* Bordeaux, 1962.
Berend, Nora. *At the Gates of Christendom.* Cambridge, 2001.
Berger, David. "Gilbert Crispin, Alan of Lille, and Jacob ben Reuben: A Study in the Transmission of Medieval Polemic." *Speculum* 49 (1974): 34–47.
———. "Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages." *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 576–91.
———. "Three Typological Themes in Early Jewish Messianism: Messiah Son of Joseph, Rabbinic Calculations, and the Figure of Armilus." *AJS Review* 10 (1985): 141–64.
Bishko, Charles Julian. "The Castilian as Plainsman: The Medieval Ranching Frontier in La Mancha and Extremadura." In *The New World Looks at Its History,* ed. Archibald R. Lewis and Thomas F. McGann. 47–69. Austin, 1963.
Blumenkranz, Bernard. *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen âge.* Paris, 1963.

Bollweg, John. "Sense of a Mission: Arnau de Vilanova on the Conversion of Muslims and Jews." In *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages,* ed. Larry J. Simon, 50–71. Leiden, 1995.

Bull, Marcus. *Knightly Piety and Lay Response to the First Crusade.* Oxford, 1993.

Burke, James. *Desire against the Law.* Stanford, 1998.

Burman, Thomas E. *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200.* Leiden, 1994.

———. "*Tafsīr* and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur'ān Exegesis and the Latin Qur'āns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo." *Speculum* 73 (1998): 703–32.

Burnett, Charles. "Arabic into Latin in Twelfth Century Spain: The Works of Hermann of Carinthia." *Mittellateinisches jahrbuch* 13 (1978): 100–134.

———. "*Magister Iohannes Hipanus:* Towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator." In *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au moyen âge, mélanges d'histoire et de sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan,* 425–36. Geneva, 1994.

———. "Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen." *Micrologus* 2 (1994): 101–26.

———. "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain." In *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyushi, 1036–58. Leiden, 1992.

Burns, Robert I. "Christian-Muslim Confrontation: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion." In *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia,* 80–108. Cambridge, 1984.

———. "Journey from Islam: Incipient Cultural Transition in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia (1240–1280)." *Speculum* 35 (1960): 337–56.

———. "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages." In *Medieval Frontier Societies,* ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, 307–30. Oxford, 1989.

Carmody, Francis J. *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation.* Berkeley, 1956.

Castro, Américo. *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History.* Trans. William F. King and Selma Margareten. Berkeley, 1971.

Chavasse, Antoine. *Les lectionnaires romains de la messe.* 2 vols. Fribourg, 1993.

Chazan, Robert. *Daggers of Faith.* Berkeley, 1989.

———. *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism.* Berkeley, 1997.

Chenu, M.-D. *La théologie au douzième siècle.* Études de Philosophie Médiévale 45. Paris, 1976.

Cohen, Jeremy. *The Friars and the Jews.* Ithaca, 1982.

———. *Living Letters of the Law.* Berkeley, 1999.

———. "The Muslim Connection: On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology." In *From Witness to Witchraft,* ed. Jeremy Cohen, 141–62. Weisbaden, 1997.

———. "Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and

Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom." *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 592–613.

———. " 'Slay Them Not': Augustine and the Jews in Modern Scholarship." *Medieval Encounters* 4, no. 1 (1998): 78–92.

Cohen, Mark. *Under Crescent and Cross.* Princeton, 1994.

Cole, Penny. *The Preaching of the Crusade to the Holy Land, 1095–1270.* Cambridge, Mass., 1991.

Constable, Giles. "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries." *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213–79.

Constable, Olivia Remie (ed.). *Medieval Iberia.* Philadelphia, 1997.

Corominas, Joan. Review of *Documentos lingüisticos del Alto Aragón* by Tomás Navarro. *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 12 (1958): 65–75.

Cronon, William. "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner." *Western Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1987): 157–76.

Dagenais, John. *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de Buen Amor.* Princeton, 1994.

Dahan, Gilbert. *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en occident médiéval.* Paris, 1999.

———. *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge.* Paris, 1990.

d'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse. *Alain de Lille: Textes inédits.* Paris, 1965.

———. "Alain de Lille et l'Islam. Le 'Contra paganos.' " In *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XIIe–XIVe s.),* Cahiers de Fanjeaux 18, 301–50. Toulouse, 1983.

———. "Avendauth?" In *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa,* vol. 1, 17–43. Barcelona, 1954.

———. "Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge." *AHDLMA* 22/23 (1947–48): 69–131.

———. "Liber XXIV philosophorum." In *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum,* ed. P. O. Kristeller, vol. 1, 151–54. Washington, D.C., 1960–.

———. "Marc de Tolède." In *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo,* vol. 3, 25–59. Toledo, 1987–90.

———. "Une rencontre symbolique de Jean Scot Érigène et d'Avicenne." In *The Mind of Eriugena,* ed. John J. O'Meara and Ludwig Bieler, 170–79. Dublin, 1973.

———. "Les traductions a deux interprètes, d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire et latin." In *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge,* ed. Geneviève Contamine, 193–206. Paris, 1989.

———. "Translations and Translators." In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century,* ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, 421–62. Cambridge, Mass.

d'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse and Georges Vajda. "Marc de Tolèdo, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart." *al-Andalus* 16 (1951): 99–140, 259–307.

de Ayala Martínez, Carlos. "Las órdenes militares y la ocupación del territorio manchego." In *Alarcos, 1195: Actas del congreso internacional conmemorativo del viii centenario de la batalla de Alarcos,* ed. Rícardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez, 49–104. Cuenca, 1996.

Denifle, P. H. "Quellen zur Disputation Pablos Christiani mit Mose Nachmani zu Barcelona, 1263." *Historisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1887): 225–44.

de Vaux, R. "La première entrée d'Averroës chez les latins." *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 22 (1933): 193–245.

Deyermond, Alan. "El *Auto de los reyes magos* y el renacimiento del siglo XII." In *Actas del IX congreso de la asociación internacional de hispanistas,* vol. 1, 187–94. Frankfurt, 1989.

Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources. Ed. D. R. Howlett et al. Oxford, 1975–.

Dictionnaire de théologie catholique. 15 vols. Paris, 1903–50.

Dondaine, H.-F. "Cinq citations de Jean Scot chez Simon de Tournai." *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17 (1950): 303–11.

Driver, Samuel R. and Adolf Neubauer. *The "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters.* 1877; reprint ed., New York, 1969.

Duggan, Joseph. *The 'Cantar de mio Cid.'* Cambridge, 1989.

Durán Gudiol, A. *Ramiro I.* Zaragoza, 1993.

Estella Zalaya, Eduardo. *El fundador de la Catedral de Toledo.* Toledo, 1926.

Fassler, Margot. "Representations of Time in *Ordo representacionis Ade.*" In *Contexts: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature,* ed. Daniel Poirion and Nancy Freeman Regalado, Yale French Studies, Special Issue. 97–113. New Haven, 1991.

———. "Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West: The Example of Advent." In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages,* ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, 15–47. Oxford, 2000.

Federici-Vescovini, Graziella. "Michel Scot et la 'Theorica planetarum Gerardi.' " *Early Science and Medicine* 1 (1996): 272–82.

Feige, Peter. "Zum primat der Erzbischöf von Toledo." In *Falschungen im Mittelalter,* MGH Schriften 33.1, 675–714. Hanover, 1988.

Fernández Valverde, Juan. "Datacion y autenticidad del *Dialogus libri uite* de Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada." In *Actas, I Congreso Nacional de latin Medieval,* 105–13. León, 1995.

Fita, Fidel. "La Guardia, villa de partido de Lillo." *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 11 (1887): 373–431.

———. "Santiago de Galicia: Nuevas impugnaciones y nueva defensa (V)." *Razon y Fé* 2 (1902): 182–95.

Fletcher, R. A. "Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, c. 1050–1150." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* series 5, 37 (1987): 31–47.

Fulton, Rachel. "*Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?* The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption." *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (1998): 55–122.

Funkenstein, Amos. "Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages." *Viator* 2 (1971): 373–82.

———. *Perceptions of Jewish History.* Berkeley, 1993.

Gauthier, R. A. "Notes sur les débuts (1225–1240) du premier 'averroïsme.' " *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982): 321–74.

Gelles, Benjamin J. *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi.* Études sur le Judaïsme médiéval 9. Leiden, 1981.
Gilson, Étienne. *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages.* New York, 1955.
Ginzberg, Louis. *Legends of the Jews.* Trans. Henrietta Szold. 6 vols. Philadelphia, 1968.
Glick, Thomas. "Convivencia: An Introductory Note." In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain,* 1–10. New York, 1992.
———. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages.* Princeton, 1979.
Glick, Thomas and Oriol Pi-Sunyer. "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11 (1969): 36–154.
Glorieux, P. "Simon de Tournai." In *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* vol. 14, 2124–30. Paris, 1941.
Goldstein, Bernard R. *Ibn al-Muthannā's Commentary on the Astronomical Tables of al-Khwārizmī.* New Haven, 1967.
Goñi Gaztambide, José. *Historia de la bula de la cruzada en España.* Vitoria, 1958.
González Jiménez, Manuel. "Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile." In *Medieval Frontier Societies,* ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, 49–74. Oxford, 1989.
González, Julio. *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III.* 3 vols. Córdoba, 1983.
———. *El reino de Castilla en el epoca de Alfonso VIII.* 3 vols. Madrid, 1960.
Gonzálvez Ruiz, Ramón. *Hombres y libros de Toledo.* Madrid, 1997.
Gorosterratzu, Javier. *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.* Pamplona, 1925.
Grassotti, Hilda. "Don Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, gran señor y hombre de negocios en la Castilla del siglo XIII." *Cuadernos de historia de España* 55–56 (1972): 1–302.
———. "Para la historia del botín y de las parías en León y Castilla." *Cuadernos de historia de España* 39–40 (1964): 43–132.
Gregory, Tullio. "The Platonic Inheritance." In *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy,* ed. Peter Dronke, 54–112. Cambridge, 1988.
Griffiths, Paul. *An Apology for Apologetics.* Maryknoll, 1991.
Guichard, Pierre and Pascal Buresi. "L'espace entre Sierra Morena et Manche à l'époque almohade." In *Alarcos, 1195: Actas del congreso internacional conmemorativo del viii centenario de la batalla de Alarcos,* ed. Rícardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez, 127–43. Cuenca, 1996.
Gutsch, Milton R. "A Twelfth-Century Preacher: Fulk of Neuilly." In *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Students,* ed. Louis J. Paetow, 183–206. New York, 1928.
Hailperin, Herman. *Rashi and the Christian Scholars.* Pittsburgh, 1963.
Häring, Nikolaus M. "The Cistercian Everard of Ypres and His Appraisal of the Conflict between St. Bernard and Gilbert of Poitiers." *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955): 143–72.
———. "John Scotus in Twelfth-Century Angelology." In *The Mind of Eriugena,* ed. John O'Meara and Ludwig Bieler, 158–69. Dublin, 1973.

Harris, Julie. "The Leire Casket in Context." *Art History* 18 (1995): 213–21.
Haskins, Charles Homer. *Studies in the History of Medieval Science.* Cambridge, Mass., 1924.
Hernández, Francisco J. "Language and Cultural Identity: The Mozarabs of Toledo." *Boletín Burriel* 1 (1989): 29–48.
———. *Las rentas del rey.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1993.
———. "Review of *Historia de rebus hispaniae siue Historia Gothica.*" Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990): 103–5.
Hernández Jiménez, Félix. "El camino de Córdoba a Toledo en la época musulmana." *al-Andalus* 24 (1959): 1–62.
Herrero Carretero, Concha. *Museo de telas medievales. Monasterio de Santa María la real de Huelgas.* Madrid, 1988.
Hillgarth, J. N. *Ramon Llull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France.* Oxford, 1971.
———. Review of *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century* by R. I. Burns. *Catholic Historical Review* 63 (1977): 129–30.
———. "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality." *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (1985): 23–43.
Hilty, Gerold. "El *Auto de los Reyes Magos.*" In *Philogogica hispaniensia in honorem Manual Alvar.* Vol. 3, 21–31. Madrid, 1986.
———. "La lengua del *Auto de los Reyes Magos.*" In *Logos Semantikos,* ed. Horst Geckeler et al., vol. 5, 289–302. Madrid, 1981.
Historia de la iglesia en España. Ed. Javier Fernández Conde. Vol. 2. Madrid, 1982.
Hook, David and Alan Deyermond. "El problema de la terminación del *Auto de los Reyes Magos.*" *Anuario de estudios medievales* 13 (1983): 269–78.
Huici Miranda, Ambrosio. *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista.* Madrid, 1956.
Iogna Prat, Dominique. *Ordonner et excluire: Cluny et la societé chretienne face a l'heresie, au judaïsme, et à l'islam, 1000–1150.* Paris, 1998.
Jacquart, Danielle. "Le sens donné par Constantin l'Africain à son oeuvre: les chapitres introductifs en arabe et en latin." In *Constantine the African and ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Maǧūsi,* ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart, 71–89. Leiden, 1994.
Janini, José. *Liber ordinum episcopal.* Silos, 1991.
Janini, José and Ramón Gonzálvez. *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la catedral de Toledo.* Toledo, 1977.
Jeauneau, Édouard. "Mathématiques et Trinité chez Thierry de Chartres." In *"Lectio Philosophorum": recherches usr l'École de Chartres,* 93–99. Amsterdam, 1973.
———. "Note sur l'école de Chartres." In *Lectio "Philosophorum": recherches sur l'École de Chartres,* 3–49. Amsterdam, 1973.
The Jewish Encyclopedia. Ed. Isidore Singer and Cyrus Alder. 12 vols. New York, 1905–6.
Johnston, Mark D. "Ramon Lull and the Compulsory Evangelization of Jews and Muslims." In *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages,* 3–37. Ed. Larry J. Simon. Leiden, 1995.

Kedar, Benjamin. *Crusade and Mission.* Princeton, 1984.
Keller, John E. "Drama, Ritual, and Incipient Opera in Alfonso's *Cantigas.*" In *Emperor of Culture,* ed. Robert I. Burns, 72–89. Philadelphia, 1990.
Kennedy, Hugh. *Muslim Spain and Portugal.* London, 1996.
Kuttner, Stephen and Antonio García y García. "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council." *Traditio* 20 (1964): 115–78.
Langmuir, Gavin. *History, Religion, and Antisemitism.* Berkeley, 1990.
———. *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism.* Berkeley, 1990.
Lapesa, Rafael. "Mozárabe y catalán o gascón en el *Auto de los Reyes Magos.*" In *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes oferts a R. Aramon i Serra en el seu setantè aniversari,* vol. 3, 277–94. Barcelona, 1983. Reprinted in *Estudios de historia lingüística española,* 138–56. Madrid, 1985.
———. "Sobre el *Auto de los Reyes Magos:* sus rimas anómalas y el posible origen de su autor." In *Homenaje a Fritz Krüger,* vol. 2, 591–99. Mendoza, 1954.
Lee, Harold, Marjorie Reeves, and Giulio Silano. *Western Mediterranean Prophecy.* Studies and Texts 88. Toronto, 1989.
Lemay, Richard. "Gerard of Cremona." In *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* vol. 15, 173–75. New York, 1970–.
León Tello, Pilar. *Judíos de Toledo.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1979.
Lerner, Robert E. "Ecstatic Dissent." *Speculum* 67 (1992): 33–57.
———. *The Feast of Saint Abraham.* Philadelphia, 2001.
———. "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought." *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144.
Lévi-Provençal, E. and Emilio García Gómez. *Sevilla a comienzos del siglo xii.* Madrid, 1948.
Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Iugoslaviae. Ed. Marko Kostrencic. 3 vols. Zagreb, 1973–78.
Limor, Ora. *Die Disputationen zu Ceuta (1179) und Mallorca* (1286). MGH. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 15. Munich, 1994.
Linehan, Peter. "From Chronicle to History: Concerning the *Estoria de España and Its Principal Sources.*" *In Historical Literature on Medieval Iberia,* ed. Alan Deyermond, 7–33. London, 1996.
———. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain.* Oxford, 1993.
———. "Segovia a 'Frontier' Diocese in the Thirteenth Century." *English Historical Review* 96 (1981): 481–508.
———. *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century.* Cambridge, 1971.
Loeb, Isidore. "La controverse de 1240." *Revue des études juives* 1 (1880): 247–61.
Lomax, Derek. "El arzobispo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y la órden de Santiago." *Hispania* 76 (1959): 323–65.
———. *The Reconquest of Spain.* London, 1978.
———. "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada como historiador." In *Actas del quinto congreso internacional de hispanistas,* 587–92. Bordeaux, 1977.
López Pita, Paulina. "Contribución al estudio de la familia mozárabe de los Polichení." *al-Qanṭara* 1 (1980): 429–34.

Lucks, Henry. "Natura naturans—Natura naturata." *New Scholasticism* 9 (1935): 1–24.

Luis Martin, José. "Orígenes de las Órdenes militares: la Orden de Santiago." In *Alarcos, 1195: Actas del congreso internacional conmemorativo del viii centenario de la batalla de Alarcos,* ed. Rícardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez, 33–45. Cuenca, 1996.

Maccoby, Hyam. *Judaism on Trial.* Rutherford, N.J., 1982.

MacDonald, Gerald J. "Hamihala, a Hapax in the *Auto de los Reyes Magos.*" *Romance Philology* 18.1 (1964): 35–36.

MacKay, Angus. "Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian–Granadan Frontier." In *Medieval Frontier Societies,* ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, 219–43. Oxford, 1989.

———. *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500.* London, 1977.

Mansilla Reoyo, Demetrio. *Iglesia castellano–leonesa y curia romana en los tiempos del rey san Fernando.* Madrid, 1945.

Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. *La frontera de al-Andalus en epóca de los omeyas.* Madrid, 1991.

Marcos Rodríguez, Florencio. "El *Dialogus libri vitae* del arzobispo Jiménez de Rada." *Salmanticensis* 9 (1962): 617–22.

———. *Los manuscritos pretridentinos hispanos de ciencias sagradas en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salmanca.* Salamanca, 1971.

Marenbon, John. "Gilbert of Poitiers." In *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy,* ed. Peter Dronke, 328–57. Cambridge, 1988.

Martín Rodríguez, José Luís. *Origenes de la Orden Militar de Santiago.* Barcelona, 1974.

Maurach, Gregor. "Daniel von Morley, 'Philosophia.' " *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 204–55.

McCrank, Lawrence J. "The Cistercians of Poblet as Medieval Frontiersmen." In *Estudios en homenaje a Don Claudio Sanchez Albornoz en sus 90 años,* vol. 2, 313–60. Buenos Aires, 1983.

McCulloh, John M. "Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth." *Speculum* 72 (1997): 698–740.

McGinn, Bernard. *Antichrist.* New York, 2000.

———. "Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100–1500." In *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism,* vol. 2, 74–109. New York, 1998.

———. "Cabalists and Christians: Reflections on Cabala in Medieval and Renaissance Thought." In *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews,* ed. Richard H. Popkin and Gordon M. Weiner, 11–34. Dordrecht, 1994.

———. *Visions of the End.* New York, 1998.

Mead, Jenna. "Reading by Said's Lantern: Orientalism and Chaucer's *The Treatise on the Astrolabe.*" *Medieval Encounters* 5, no. 3 (1999): 350–57.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Cantar de mio Cid: Texto, gramática, y vocabulario.* 3 vols. Madrid, 1908.

Menocal, Maria Rosa. *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain.* Boston, 2002.

Meyerson, Mark. *The Muslims of Valencia.* Berkeley, 1991.

Minio-Paluello, Lorenzo. "Michael Scot." In *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* vol. 9, 361–65. New York, 1970–.

———. "Plato of Tivoli." In *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* vol. 11, 31–33. New York, 1970–.

Molénat, J. P. "Les diverses notions de frontière dans la région de Castilla-La Mancha au temps des almoravides et des almohades." In *Alarcos, 1195: Actas del congreso internacional conmemorativo del viii centenario de la batalla de Alarcos,* ed. Rícardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez, 107–23. Cuenca, 1996.

Moore, R. I. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society.* Oxford, 1987.

Morpurgo, Piero. "Fonti di Michele Scoto." *Rendic. Accad. Lincei* series 8, 38 (1983): 59–71.

———. "Il 'Liber introductorius' di Michele Scoto: prime indicazioni interpretative." *Rendic. Accad. Lincei* series 8, 34 (1979): 149–61.

Morrison, Karl. *Conversion and Text.* Charlottesville, 1992.

———. *Understanding Conversion.* Charlottesville, 1992.

Moses Maimonides' Treatise on Resurrection. Trans. Fred Rosner. New York, 1982.

Mowinckel, S. *He That Cometh.* Trans. G. W. Anderson. Oxford, 1959.

Nielsen, Lauge Olaf. *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century.* Leiden, 1982.

Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence.* Princeton, 1996.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. "La vida de las órdenes militares de España según sus estatutos primitivos." In *Alarcos, 1195: Actas del congreso internacional conmemorativo del viii centenario de la batalla de Alarcos,* ed. Rícardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez, 9–29. Cuenca, 1996.

O'Connell, John P. *The Eschatology of Saint Jerome.* Mundelein, 1948.

Palacios Martín, Bonifacio. "Alfonso VIII y su política de frontera en Extremadura." *Anuario de estudios medievales* 19 (1989): 155–67.

Parent, J. M. *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres.* Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa. 8. Ottawa, 1938.

Paz, Ramón. "Un nuevo feudo castellano." *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 5 (1928): 445–48.

Pick, Lucy. "Edward Said, *Orientalism,* and the Middle Ages." *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999): 265–71.

———. "Michael Scot in Toledo: *Natura naturans* and the Hierarchy of Being." *Traditio* 53 (1998): 93–116.

———. "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the Jews: Pragmatism and Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Toledo." *Viator* 28 (1997): 203–22.

Potter, Suzanne Elizabeth. *A Study of the 'Regula de sacra theologia' of Alan of Lille.* Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972.

Powers, James F. *A Society Organized for War.* Berkeley, 1988.
Raizman, David. "A Rediscovered Illuminated Manuscript of St. Ildefonsus's *De Virginitate Beatae Mariae* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid." *Gesta* 26 (1987): 37–46.
Raynaud de Lage, G. *Alain de Lille.* Montreal, 1951.
Reinhardt, Klaus and Ramón Gonzálvez. *Catálogo de códices bíblicos de la catedral de Toledo.* Madrid, 1990.
Reinhardt, Klaus and Horacio Santiago-Otero. *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval.* Madrid, 1986.
Rembaum, Joel E. "The Development of a Jewish Exegetical Tradition Regarding Isaiah 53." *Harvard Theological Review* 75 (1982): 289–312.
———. "The Talmud and the Popes: Reflections on the Talmud Trials of the 1240s." *Viator* 13 (1982): 203–23.
Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading.* Philadelphia, 1986.
Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. "El adelantamiento de Cazorla durante la edad media." *Hispania* 8 (1948): 77–131.
———. *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII.* 2 vols. Rome, 1966–76.
———. "Nuevos datos sobre los traductores Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano." *al-Andalus* 31 (1966): 267–80.
———. "Personajes hispanos asistentes en 1215 al IV Concilio de Letrán." *Hispania Sacra* 4 (1951): 335–55.
Rose, Valentin. "Ptolemaus und die schule von Toledo." *Hermes* 8 (1874): 348–49.
Roth, Norman. "Bishops and Jews in the Middle Ages." *Catholic Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (1994): 1–17.
———. "New Light on the Jews of Mozarabic Toledo." *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 9 (1986): 189–220.
———. "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y los judícos: La 'divisa' y los diezmos de los judíos." *Anthologica annua* 35 (1988): 469–81.
Rubin, Miri. *Gentile Tales.* New Haven, 1999.
Ruíz de la Peña, J. Ignacio. "Ciudades y sociedades urbanas en la frontera castellano-leonesa." In *Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval,* 81–109. Zaragoza, 1993.
Sabra, A. I. "The Andalusian Revolt against Ptolomaic Astronomy: Averroes and al-Biṭrūjī." In *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences,* ed. Everett Mendelsohn, 133–53. Cambridge, 1984.
Saenger, Paul. "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society." *Viator* 13 (1982): 367–414.
Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York, 1978.
Saliba, George. "Arabic Planetary Theories after the Eleventh Century A.D." In *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science,* ed. Roshdi Rashed, vol. 1, 58–127. London, 1996.
Saperstein, Marc. *Decoding the Rabbis: A Thirteenth Century Commentary on the Aggadah.* Cambridge Mass.: 1980.

Sarachek, Joseph. *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature.* New York, 1932.
Schreckenberg, Heinz. *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte.* 3 vols. Frankfurt, 1982–94.
Seidel, Linda. "Apocalypse and Apocalypticism in Western Medieval Art." In *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism,* vol. 3, 467–506. New York, 1998.
Septimus, Bernard. *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition.* Cambridge, Mass., 1982.
Serrano, Luciano. *Don Mauricio, obispo de Burgos y fundador de su catedral.* Madrid, 1922.
Shatzmiller, Joseph. *La deuxième controverse de Paris.* Paris, 1994.
Silver, Daniel J. "The Resurrection Debate." In *Moses Maimonides' Treatise on Resurrection,* trans. Fred Rosner, 71–102. New York, 1982.
Sirat, Colette. *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge, 1985.
———. "Les traducteurs juifs à la cour des rois de Sicile et de Naples." In *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge,* ed. Geneviève Contamine, 169–91. Paris, 1989.
Sito Alba, Manuel. "La teatralitá seconda e la struttura radiale nel teatro religioso spagnolo del medioevo: La *Representacion de los reyes magos.*" In *Le laudi drammatiche umbre delle origini,* 253–77. Viterbo, 1980.
Słownik Łaciny Średniowiecznej w Polsce. 7 vols. Warsaw and Krakow, 1953–92.
Smalley, Beryl. *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages.* Notre Dame, 1964.
Sola Solé, J. M. "El *Auto de los Reyes Magos:* Impacto gascón o mozárabe?" *Romance Philology* 29 (1975): 20–27.
Southern, R. W. *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe.* Oxford, 1995.
———. *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages.* Cambridge, Mass., 1962.
Spiegel, Gabrielle M. "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59–86.
Stacey, Robert C. "The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England." *Speculum* 67 (1992): 263–83.
Stalls, William. "The Relationship between Conquest and Settlement on the Aragonese Frontier of Alfonso I." In *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages,* vol. 1, ed. Larry J. Simon, 216–31. Leiden, 1995.
Sturdevant, Winifred. *The Misterio de los Reyes Magos.* Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures 10. Baltimore, 1927.
Terrasse, Michel. "Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada et la fortification tolèdane aux lendemains de las Navas de Tolosa." *al-Andalus* 42 (1977): 229–35.
Théry, G. *Tolède: grande ville de la renaissance médiévale.* Oran, 1944.
Thorndike, Lynn. *Michael Scot.* London, 1965.
———. "A Third Translation by Salio." *Speculum* 32 (1957): 116–17.
Tolan, John. *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers.* Gainesville, 1993.
Torres Balbás, Leopoldo. *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas.* Madrid, 1985.
Vicaire, Marie-Humbert. " 'Contra Judaeos' meridionaux au début du XIIe siècle.

Alain de Lille, Évrard de Béthune, Guillaume de Bourges." In *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc,* Cahiers de Fanjeaux 12, 269–93. Toulouse, 1977.

———. "Les porrétains et l'avicennisme avant 1215." *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 26 (1937): 449–82.

von Hartel, Wilhelm. *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis.* 2 vols. Vienna, 1887.

Ward, Benedicta. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind.* Philadelphia, 1987.

Weber, Michael C. "Gerard of Cremona: The Danger of Being Half-Acculturated." *Medieval Encounters* 8 no. 2/3 (2002): 123–34.

Weijers, Olga. "Contribution à l'histoire des termes 'natura naturans' et 'natura naturata' jusqu'à Spinoza." *Vivarium* 16 (1978): 70–80.

Weiss, Julian. "The *Auto de los Reyes Magos* and the Book of Jeremiah." *La coronica* 9, no. 2 (1981): 128–31.

West, Geoffrey. "The Destiny of Nations: Treatment of Legendary Material in Rodrigo of Toledo's *De rebus Hispaniae.*" In *The Medieval Mind,* ed. Ian Macpherson and Ralph Penny, 517–33. London, 1997.

Williams, A. Lukyn. *Adversus Judaeos.* Cambridge, 1935.

Williams, Michael E. *The Teaching of Gilbert Porreta on the Trinity.* Rome, 1931.

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain.* Liverpool, 1990.

Wüstenfeld, F. *Die Übersetzungen Arabischer Werk in das lateinische seit dem XI Jahrhundert.* Göttingen, 1877.

List of Biblical Citations

Index

"An outstanding contribution not only to Spanish but to European history at large. Pick's book is the first to clarify the unity of purpose that drove Archbishop Rodrigo, a major figure not only as a historian and controversialist, but as a churchman whose military campaigns advanced the conquest of Muslim Spain and shifted the whole balance of power in the Iberian peninsula."

—J. N. Hillgarth, Professor Emeritus,
University of Toronto

"By focusing on the diversified activities of the talented mid-thirteenth-century archbishop of Toledo, Lucy Pick brilliantly illuminates the complex relations between the Christian conquerors of Spain and the conquered Muslim and Jewish populations. Students of medieval Spain, of the medieval Roman Catholic Church, of medieval Muslims and Islam, and of medieval Jews and Judaism will benefit from this excellent study."

—Robert Chazan, New York University

The University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor

www.press.umich.edu

ISBN 0-472-11387-9