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**CHRISTIANS AND JEWS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CASTILE:
THE CAREER AND WRITINGS OF RODRIGO JIMÉNEZ DE RADA,
ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO (1209-1247)**

by

Lucy Kristina PICK

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies,
in the University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

CHRISTIANS AND JEWS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY CASTILE: THE CAREER AND WRITINGS OF RODRIGO JIMÉNEZ DE RADA, ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO (1209-1247)

by

Lucy Kristina PICK

(Ph.D. thesis in the Centre for Medieval Studies,
University of Toronto, 1995)

The life of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada offers a window on many of the principal issues of his day. He is best known for his role in the victory over the Almohads at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) and for several works of history in which he traces the emergence of Castile, with Toledo as its political and spiritual centre. Rodrigo was also an important figure in the shifting relationship between Christians and the Jews in thirteenth-century Spain. He worked to protect the Jews of Castile from the restrictions imposed on Europe's Jews by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and by the popes. Rodrigo also undertook business transactions using Jews as his agents, causing the clergy of the Toledo cathedral chapter to complain that he was overly friendly with Jews.

The Archbishop composed a treatise, the *Dialogus libri uitae*, to foster conversions from Judaism. The text survives in one manuscript, Salamanca, Bibl. Univ., ms. 2089 (saec. xiv^{ex}-xvⁱⁿ). The work attacks Talmudic and Midrashic predictions about the Messiah, and seeks to demonstrate the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies about the coming of Christ, using philosophical arguments, biblical exegesis, and patristic authorities. The text reflects the practical and philosophical stance of the most powerful prelate in Castile at a crucial juncture in Christian-Jewish relations, when the papacy was tightening its restrictive legislation against the Jews and attacking the Talmud. Unlike most treatises against the Jews, which demonstrate little knowledge of contemporary Judaism, Rodrigo's work displays an awareness of current Jewish concerns and beliefs.

The work has attracted little attention hitherto, and no study or printed text of it exists. Writers of anti-Jewish polemic and prelates who had dealings with Jews were common in the Middle Ages, but it is unusual to possess documents by and about an individual who acted in both capacities. Considering the *Dialogus* against Don Rodrigo's day-to-day dealings with the Jews and his treatment of them in his historical works sheds new light on the state of Christian-Jewish relations in thirteenth-century Spain.

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A NOTE ON SOURCES AND A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise noted, biblical citations and their numbering follow the Vulgate text of Jerome as edited by R. Weber, B. Fischer, et al. (*Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 2d ed., 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1975). Biblical books are indicated according to the Beuron system of abbreviation (cf. H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1981). Where I quote directly from manuscript sources, I preserve the original orthography except in the case of Jiménez de Rada's *Dialogus libri uitae*. The lone manuscript of this text (Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 2089) is late, and its spellings highly variable. I normalize all spellings in this text according to preferences of C. T. Lewis and C. Short (*A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1879, with frequent reprintings.) and the rule that *i* stands for *i/j*, *u* for lower case *u/v*, and *V* for upper case *U/V*. The following list presents abbreviations used for some frequently cited works:

ACT	Archivo Catedral de Toledo
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AHDLMA	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litteraire du moyen âge</i>
BCT	Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid
<i>Breuiarium</i>	Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. <i>Breuiarium historie catholice</i> . Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. CCCM 72A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis. vols. 1-. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966-.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. vols. 1-. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-.
<i>De rebus hispanie</i>	Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. <i>Historia de rebus hispanie siue Historia gothica</i> . Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. CCCM 72. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987.
<i>Dialogus</i>	Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. <i>Dialogus libri uitae</i> . In ms. Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 2089, fols. 25r-83r.

<i>Glossa ord.</i>	<i>Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria.</i> Introduction by Karl Froelich and Margaret T. Gibson. 4 vols. 1480–81. Reprint. Brepols: Turnhout, 1992.
Mansilla1	Mansilla, Demetrio. <i>La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III.</i> Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Sección: Registros, vol. 1. Rome: Instituto Español de Estudios Eclesiásticos, 1955.
Mansilla2	Mansilla, Demetrio. <i>La documentación pontificia de Honorio III.</i> Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Sección: Registros, vol. 2. Rome: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1965.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historiae
Midrash Ps	Braude, William G., trans. <i>The Midrash on Psalms.</i> 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
Midrash R	<i>Midrash Rabbah.</i> Edited by H. Freedman and Maurice Simon. 10 vols. London: Soncino Press, 1939.
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca.</i> Edited by J. P. Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857–.
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina.</i> Edited by J. P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–.
BT	<i>The Babylonian Talmud.</i> Edited by Isadore Epstein. 35 vols. London: Soncino Press, 1935–48.

CHAPTER 1

RODRIGO JIMÉNEZ DE RADA AND THE JEWS OF TOLEDO

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was archbishop of Toledo from 1209 to 1247. This powerful prelate was a leading adviser to Fernando III (1217-1252) and a staunch defender of his own ecclesiastical privileges. He is best known for his role in the crucial victory over the Almohads at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 and for writing several works of history which trace the emergence of the kingdom of Castile, with Toledo as its political and spiritual centre, from Spain's Roman, Visigothic and Arabic past to his own day. Despite his wide-ranging endeavours, his career has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. His life has been the subject of three twentieth-century biographies. The first, and most complete, is by Javier Gorosterratzu.¹ Gorosterratzu used the Toledo cartularies at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid and the eighteenth-century document collections copied under the direction of Andrés Burriel. Gorosterratzu is, nevertheless, excessively credulous in accepting unsubstantiated stories about Rodrigo found in earlier accounts of the archbishop's doings. 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. Estella Zalaya's composition relies heavily on Gorosterratzu's work, which he supplemented with the material found in Toledo.² The

¹Javier Gorosterratzu, *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada* (Pamplona: Imp. y Lib. de Viuda de T. Bescansa, 1925).

²Eduardo Estella Zalaya, *El fundador de la Catedral de Toledo* (Toledo: A. Medina, 1926)

final effort, by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, is not based on any new research.³ All three works are hampered by the fact that their authors were more interested in writing hagiography than history.

More recently, several authors have focussed on more limited aspects of the archbishop's career. Hilda Grassotti examined many of Rodrigo's business dealings in an extremely useful book-length article. Unfortunately, she did not consult the material at Toledo.⁴ Peter Linehan devoted a large part of his latest work on medieval Spanish historiography to an evaluation of Rodrigo's contributions in that area; here he develops the negative picture of the archbishop found in his earlier work on Spanish church history in the thirteenth century.⁵ Derek Lomax has explored the archbishop's relations with the Order of Santiago.⁶ Many more aspects of his career deserve examination, however, and a modern, critical biography which takes into account all the sources for Rodrigo's life remains a desideratum.

The present study does not hope to fill all these gaps, but rather seeks to investigate one aspect of his life which affected both his writings and his activity as archbishop, that is, his relationship with the Jews. The archbishop wrote a treatise, the *Dialogus libri uitae*, intended to foster conversions from Judaism. The work attacks Jewish predictions about the Messiah found in rabbinic literature, and seeks to

³Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1936).

⁴Hilda Grassotti, "Don Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada, gran señor y hombre de negocios en la Castilla del siglo XIII," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 55-56 (1972): 1-302.

⁵Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), *passim*, esp. pp. 313-412. Peter Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

⁶D.W. Lomax, "El arzobispo Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y la Orden de Santiago," *Hispania* 19 (1959): 323-65.

demonstrate the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies on the coming of Christ with philosophical arguments, biblical exegesis, and patristic authorities. Unlike most treatises against the Jews, which display little knowledge of contemporary Judaism, Rodrigo's work betrays an awareness of current Jewish preoccupations and beliefs. To date, no critical edition or full study of this text exists.

Contra Iudaeos texts were common during this part of the Middle Ages.

What is unusual is to possess such a text written by a man who had regular dealings with Jews, and whose dealings are relatively well documented. Rodrigo was an important figure in the shifting relationship between the Christians and the Jews in thirteenth-century Spain. He worked vigorously to protect the Jews of the kingdom of Castile from the dress regulations and taxes imposed on their community by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). He also undertook business transactions in which he engaged Jews as his agents. These activities caused the members of the Toledo cathedral chapter to complain that he was overly friendly with certain Jews.

After a brief outline of what is known about Rodrigo's early career, this chapter will evaluate Rodrigo's relationship with the Jews of Toledo. The remainder of the dissertation will focus on Rodrigo's varied portrayal of the Jews in his historical writings and in his *Dialogus libri uitae*. By assessing the *Dialogus* against Don Rodrigo's day-to-day dealings with the Jews and his treatment of them in his historical works, this study hopes to shed new light on the state of Christian-Jewish relations in thirteenth-century Castile and to situate Rodrigo's relations with the Jews in the broader context of these relations in the Latin Middle Ages.

Rodrigo's Early Life

Few facts about Rodrigo's life are certain before his nomination as archbishop of Toledo. Nevertheless, several things can be said about his early life with some degree of precision. His modern biographers, Javier Gorosterratzu and Eduardo

Estella Zalaya have both favoured a date of birth for him some time between 1170 and 1180, tending towards the earlier of the two dates.⁷ He was named bishop of Osma no earlier than 1207, and according to canon law, he must have reached the age of thirty before this appointment,⁸ and therefore must have been born before 1177. He died in 1247 which means that he led an exceptionally long life for this period, being over seventy at the time of his death. His longevity is particularly impressive because in the end he did not die peacefully in his own bed, but rather drowned in the Rhone on the way back from visiting Innocent IV in Lyon. The two epitaphs on his tomb at Santa María de Huerta both refer to the manner of his death and give the date as 10 June 1247.⁹

These two epitaphs outline some of the events of Rodrigo's life. The earlier of the two was written on the wall above the tomb and it reads in part:

Mater Navarra, nutrix Castella, Toletum
Sedes, Parisius studium, mors Rhodanus, Horta
Mausoleum, coelum requies, nomen Rodericus.¹⁰

Rodrigo's father was the Navarrese noble Jimeno Pérez de Rada and the "Mater Navarra" of the epitaph indicates that Rodrigo himself was born in that kingdom.¹¹ His mother was Eva de Hinojosa, member of a noble Castilian family whose lands lay close to the border with Navarre. Her brother was Martín de Hinojosa, abbot of Sta. María

⁷Gorosterratzu, p. 19; Estella Zalaya, p. 5.

⁸The Third Lateran Council mandated thirty as the youngest age at which one could become a bishop in the third of its canons. Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 1: 212.

⁹Gorosterratzu, pp. 401-403.

¹⁰I have quoted the epitaph from the version reported by Gorosterratzu, p. 401, based on the actual epitaph. Juan Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *De rebus hispanie*, pp. x-xii, records both epitaphs based on a transcription of them located at the beginning of El Escorial ms. Q.II.19.

¹¹Gorosterratzu, p. 9.

de Huerta from 1162 to 1186, and thereafter bishop of Sigüenza, until 1192, when he resigned the episcopacy in favour of another nephew named Rodrigo and himself returned to Huerta. This monastery had been richly endowed by the father of Eva and Martín.¹² The “nutrix Castella” of the epitaph may signify that Rodrigo completed his early education under the care of his uncle, either at Huerta or at Sigüenza.

The epitaph relates that Rodrigo continued his studies in Paris (“Parisius studium”). This revelation is supported by Rodrigo’s familiarity with the writings of many of the more prominent masters teaching in Paris at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, which will be discussed later in the dissertation. It is also corroborated by the dating formula of Rodrigo’s will, which was drafted in Paris on 24 April 1201. The text of the will is preserved in the medieval cartulary of Huerta and in the original parchment document, which had been buried with the archbishop. The will simply relates his request to be buried at Huerta. One element of the text is quite odd however. Rodrigo writes that he is confirming that Huerta is his choice of burial place, “So that if I die in Spain and the monks of the aforementioned monastery seek my body, no one should be able to deny it to them even if I have become a prelate.”¹³ This seems extraordinarily prescient of Rodrigo. Rodrigo either knew while still a student in Paris that he was destined to hold episcopal office — perhaps he had been sent there to acquire the sort of education deemed essential for a future prelate — or the document is a forgery produced at Huerta after Rodrigo became archbishop and was written to preempt the claims of Toledo for his remains. Even if

¹²Julio González, *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960) 1: 421, 514; Gorosterrazu, pp. 13, 23.

¹³“... ita quod si in Hyspania obiero monachis predicti monasterii corpus meum requirentibus, etiam si prelatus fierem, nullus eis ualeat denegare.” José Antonio García Luján, ed., *Cartulario del Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta* ([Huerta]: Monasterio de Santa María de Huerta, 1981), no. 71, p. 113.

the will were forged, however, it is not likely that the forgers would have placed him in Paris if he had never been there, for surely some people in Toledo would have known whether Rodrigo had studied there.

Gorosterratzu hypothesizes that Rodrigo probably was a deacon while attending the university, because this would have enabled him to hold an ecclesiastical benefice to finance his studies.¹⁴ If this were the case, it is curious that his will makes no mention of any title; Rodrigo refers to himself as “ego Rodericus Semenī.”¹⁵ Norman Roth likewise speaks of Rodrigo as a deacon, ascribing his concern for the rights of the Jews while archbishop to his “early close relations with Jews while still a deacon in Toledo, fully documented.”¹⁶ The footnote that follows the paragraph containing this assertion cites an earlier article by Roth which contains no mention of Rodrigo as a deacon in Toledo or anywhere else at any time.¹⁷ In Francisco Hernández's catalogue of the Toledo cartularies I identify two deacons named Rodrigo associated with the cathedral of Toledo. One is present in six documents between 1160 and 1174, while the other is found in six documents between 1187 and 1195.¹⁸ Even with the thirteen year hiatus between 1174 and 1187, it is possible that these two Rodrigos are the same person, but this individual would be active too early for one to identify him with Jiménez de Rada, born ca. 1170. If one posits two separate persons,

¹⁴Gorosterratzu, p. 34.

¹⁵The original document, reproduced but greatly reduced in the frontspiece to Gorosterratzu's study reads “rodericus semenī.” The cartulary reads “rodericus semera.” García Luján, *Cartulario*, no. 71, p. 113, and facsimile fol. 79r.

¹⁶Norman Roth, “Bishops and Jews in the Middle Ages,” *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994): 12.

¹⁷Norman Roth, “Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y los judíos: La ‘divisa’ y los diezmos de los judíos,” *Anthologica Annua* 35 (1988): 469-81.

¹⁸Francisco J. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1985), p. 766.

the later Rodrigo is still too early to be Jiménez de Rada, since he would not have attained the requisite age of twenty-five years to be made a deacon.¹⁹ In any case, none of these documents mentions any dealings with Jews.

Rodrigo's second epitaph is an amplification of the first and was copied onto a leaf of parchment affixed to a tablet suspended below the first and above the tomb itself. It was written by a monk named Richard, who may be the same Richard, monk of Huerta, who declared in a chronicle of the monastery that he lived during the same century as Jiménez de Rada.²⁰ The second epitaph appears to be later than the first. It also differs from the first in the addition of a significant detail. The second epitaph begins "Fontibus Bononiae potatus philosophiae."²¹ Scholars who have written about Rodrigo have generally taken this assertion at face value to mean that Rodrigo studied philosophy at Bologna,²² but this may not be the case. First, Bologna was an odd place to go in order to study philosophy at the end of the twelfth century. Second, we have only the testimony of the second subscription that Rodrigo studied there. The possible author of the epitaph, the monk Richard, can only pride himself in having lived in the same century as Rodrigo, so his information may not be accurate. I have found no evidence that Rodrigo was influenced by Bolognese thought of the period, while the influence of Parisian thinking and scholarship is clear.

There is no secure evidence about Rodrigo's return to Spain, but he probably attached himself to the court of Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158–1214) since it was

¹⁹Lateran III in its third canon mandated twenty-five as the youngest age at which one could become a deacon. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1: 212.

²⁰Gorosterratzu, p. 402.

²¹Gorosterratzu, p. 402.

²²Gorosterratzu, p. 24–25; Estella Zalaya, p. 7; Roth, "Jiménez de Rada y los judíos," p. 469.

Alfonso who conferred his episcopal promotion. His first position was bishop of Osma. The previous incumbent died in 1207, and in 1208 Rodrigo's name first appears as a signatory to royal charters as "Oxomensis electus."²³ He did not even hold this status long enough to be consecrated since Archbishop Martín of Toledo died on 28 August 1208,²⁴ and Rodrigo was named his successor. On 12 December 1208, Rodrigo was still "Oxomensis electus,"²⁵ but on 5 January 1209, he appears for the first time as "Rodericus Toletane sedis electus Hispaniarum primas."²⁶ The letter from Innocent III confirming Rodrigo's election as archbishop is dated 27 February 1209.²⁷

Rodrigo's Dealings with Toledan Jews

There was a large and important Jewish population in Navarre, where Rodrigo was born, and Rodrigo was probably in Paris in 1198 when Philip Augustus invited the Jews to return to the royal domain whence they had been expelled in 1182.²⁸ Certainly he came under the influence of Parisian masters who used information in their own writings garnered from Jews, particularly on points of biblical exegesis.

²³"Diego Oxomensis episcopus" last appears in a document of November 30, 1207 in González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 815, p. 432. "Rodericus Oxomensis electus" first appears on September 23, 1208 in González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 824, p. 448.

²⁴*Anales Toledanos I, España Sagrada*, ed. Enrique Flórez, 51 vols. (Madrid: M.F. Rodríguez, 1747-1879), 23: 394.

²⁵González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 828, p. 452

²⁶González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 834, p. 463. 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: no. 835, p. 464, no. 838, p. 470, and no. 839, p. 472. This should perhaps caution us against taking these kinds of signatures too literally in determining the dates of a given person's tenure of an ecclesiastical office.

²⁷Mansillal, no. 398, p. 416.

²⁸William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 38.

When he became archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo had for the first time to act as governor over large numbers of Jews, interpreting and enforcing papal and royal legislation in the presence of the vibrant and in some respects powerful Jewish communities of the Toledan archdiocese. Earlier studies of Rodrigo's career, including Gorosterratzu and Estella Zalaya's biographies, Hilda Grassotti's examination of the archbishop's business dealings, and Norman Roth's articles which discuss Rodrigo and the Jews,²⁹ have made reference to this aspect of the archbishop's activities. None of these authors has considered all the evidence for Rodrigo's relationship with the Jews, however, and a fresh look at the evidence with different questions in mind yields a new understanding of Rodrigo's motives and actions.

The number of documents detailing Rodrigo's relationship with the Jewish community of Toledo and with individual Jews is not enormous, but enough evidence survives to detect the emergence of distinctive patterns. Most of the documents referred to in this chapter can be found in more than one source. Many are extant in their parchment originals, either in the Archivo Catedral de Toledo or in the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid. Many documents, some of which do not survive in their parchment originals, were copied into one or more thirteenth-century cartularies belonging to the cathedral.³⁰ Papal bulls issued by Innocent III and Honorius III have been edited by Demetrio Mansilla,³¹ and bulls from Innocent IV have been edited by

²⁹Roth, "Jiménez de Rada y los judíos," 469-81; Roth "Bishops and Jews," 11-3; and Roth, "New Light on the Jews of Mozarabic Toledo," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 9 (1986): 189-220.

³⁰Documents that I have consulted in manuscript are cited first in the references that follow. I have consulted the cartularies BNM ms. Vit. 15-5; AHN ms. 996B; and AHN ms. 987B, all of which are from the thirteenth-century. A description of all the Toledo cartularies can be found in Ramón González's Prologue to Hernández, *Los cartularios*, pp. xvi-xxii.

³¹Bulls up to Innocent III are in Mansilla¹ and the bulls of Honorius III are in Mansilla².

Augusto Quintana Prieto.³² Angel González Palencia has edited the Arabic documents pertaining to Toledo and provided a summary in Spanish for each one.³³ Francisco J. Hernández catalogued all the documents found in the Toledo cartularies and provided either a partial or a full transcription of them, as well as full bibliographical information. The volume also contains an extremely useful index of persons and places.³⁴ Pilar León Tello's study of the Jews of Toledo includes an inventory of most of the documents pertaining to Toledan Jews and a transcription of several of the documents of interest to this study.³⁵

One of the earliest references to Rodrigo acting in his new role as archbishop of Toledo is in a document which records a purchase of land from a Jew. At the end of October 1209, Rodrigo's newly appointed archdeacon of Toledo, Mauricio, bought property at Olías on behalf of the new archbishop from Abu Harun Musa b. Ashaat, his wife Sitbona, and his sons Yusuf and Abraham.³⁶ The archdeacon paid the family 381

³²Augusto Quintana Prieto, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243-1254)*, 2 vols. (Rome: Instituto Español de Historia Eclesiástica, 1987).

³³Angel González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 3 vols. and preliminary volume (Madrid: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, 1926)

³⁴Francisco J. Hernández, *Los cartularios de Toledo*, (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1985). The documents included in the cartularies include brief summaries in Romance of many of the Arabic documents edited by González Palencia.

³⁵Pilar León Tello, *Judíos de Toledo*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1979). She discusses Rodrigo's period in 1: 38-66.

³⁶González Palencia, no. 373, p. 312; León Tello, 2: no. 88, p. 27 and no. 89, pp. 27-8; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 305, p. 306.

I have chosen to follow the spelling of Jewish names used by Hernández wherever possible. Norman Roth condemns what he calls González Palencia's transliteration of names and titles into medieval Spanish, which León Tello largely follows, but since Roth refers to the principal individual in the document under consideration here once as "Abū Harūn Mūsā al Isrā'īlī Shahaṣ (or Shaḥat; in Spanish, "Abenxaat")," and elsewhere in the same article as "Abū Harūn Mūsā Ibn al-Shakhath (or possibly Shakhah; in any event, hardly "Axxahats," as the Spanish version has it)," I do not feel I can rely on his testimony. Roth, "New Light on the Jews," pp. 202, 209 n. 50, 211.

morabetinos (hereafter, *mrs.*) for two plots of land, one measuring four *yugadas* and the other measuring two, and a corral with all its appurtenances. Several documents trace the acquisition of property by Abu Harun Musa in Olías. He was the “Abubaron ben Alharits” whom a document dated April 1192 records having purchased a *corral* in Olías for 36 *mrs.* with one Zacarías, “grandson of the Cordoban.” Later he bought out Zacarías’ share in the property.³⁷ In December 1202 he acquired land at Olías worth 80 *mrs.* from Galiana, widow of Pedro Martín, and their children. He only paid the family 14 *mrs.*, the rest of the price going to repay loans he had made to them previously.³⁸ In February 1204 another widow, Dominga, sold to Abu Harun Musa another plot of land in Olías, bordered on one side by a large house belonging to the purchaser. The price was 9 *mrs.* and the document records that the widow was selling the land in the name of her children of minor age in order to relieve their poverty.³⁹ Finally, in the same month as the sale to the archbishop, Abu Harun Musa purchased a *mesón* and another part of the *corral*, where he had acquired property in 1202, from one Esteban Petrez for 16 *mrs.*⁴⁰ The document of sale to the archbishop in 1209 states explicitly that it is the properties acquired from Zacarías and Galiana which are being sold to Rodrigo. The small plot bought from Dominga is mentioned, as is the corral which is probably the one including the section recently purchased from Esteban Petrez. A moneylender and property owner, clearly Abu Harun Musa was a man of substance.

³⁷González Palencia, 3: no. 1055, p. 471–72; León Tello, 1: 46–47, 2: no. 44, p. 16.

³⁸González Palencia, 1: no. 320, pp. 259–61; León Tello 2: no. 67, p. 21.

³⁹González Palencia, 1: no. 331, p. 272; León Tello, 2: no. 71, pp. 22–23.

⁴⁰González Palencia, 1: no. 374, p. 314; León Tello, 2: no. 87, p. 27.

According to the original Arabic version of the document, which records the sale to the archbishop in 1209, the purchase price of 381 *mrs.* was equivalent to a debt that Abu Harun Musa owed to the previous archbishop, Martín. A separate record of the original debt exists. This document states that in January 1206, Abu Harun Musa placed his lands, vineyards, and oxen in Olías, his houses inside and outside of Toledo, and all his goods, in the hands of the canons of Toledo as security for a debt of 300 *mrs.* which he promised to repay by the following feast of John the Baptist (24 June). If he did not repay the debt, the canons were to sell what they wanted to cover the sum owing.⁴¹ The document of 1209 does not, therefore, record a simple sale, but rather the calling in of a debt by the archbishop.⁴² Two things are noteworthy about this transaction: First, the debt, which was originally incurred to the canons, was depicted in the later document as being incurred to Archbishop Martín, and it was repaid, not to the canons, but to Rodrigo himself through the agency of his archdeacon. Second, the original debt of 300 *mrs.* had climbed to 381 *mrs.* two and three-quarter years later. The additional 81 *mrs.* no doubt represents interest on the original loan.

This transaction is the only one to survive in which Rodrigo acquired property from a Jew. His predecessor Martín, however, twice purchased large amounts of property from another wealthy and prominent Jewish family. In May 1204 he bought houses and shops in the neighbourhood of the church of San Ginés in Toledo for 250 *mrs.* from Abu ‘Omar b. Suxen,⁴³ the almojarife, or tax collector to whom Alfonso VIII bequeathed 12,000 *mrs.* in his will of 1204 as repayment of a debt he

⁴¹González Palencia, 3: no. 907, pp. 178–79; León Tello, 2: no. 79, p. 25.

⁴²Grassotti, pp. 120–21.

⁴³González Palencia, 1: no. 335, pp. 278–79; León Tello, 2: no. 73, p. 23.

owed to the Jew.⁴⁴ Abu 'Omar died in 1205, and in December of that year Martín purchased all his property in Olías for 300 *mrs.*⁴⁵ Like Abu Harun Musa, Abu 'Omar b. Suxen's acquisition of property in Olías and San Ginés, over a period of two years beginning in November 1197, can be traced through several documents.⁴⁶

The only known challenge to the physical safety of the Jews of Toledo during Rodrigo's tenure as archbishop came at the time of the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The *Anales Toledanos* describe how Rodrigo travelled to France, Germany, and Rome and promised pardon for the sins of those who came to fight and continues:

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.⁴⁷

The annals go on to say that the visitors, "ficeron mucho mal en Toledo, è duraron y mucho."⁴⁸ The protection of the Jews by the Toledo militia is usually seen as exemplifying the excellent state of *convivencia* between Christians and Jews at this time,⁴⁹ but for the purposes of this study it is striking that in the annalist's terse account, the wrongdoing of the Transpyrenean crusaders is depicted as a direct result of Rodrigo's efforts to bring foreigners to aid in the Reconquest. Rodrigo himself mentions none of this in his own account of the preparations for Las Navas in the *De*

⁴⁴González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 769, p. 344.

⁴⁵González Palencia, 1: no. 344, pp. 285–87; León Tello, 2: nos. 77 and 78, pp. 24–25.

⁴⁶González Palencia 1: no. 276, pp. 216–17; no. 279, pp. 218–19; no. 280, pp. 219–20; no. 282, p. 223; no. 284, p. 224; no. 290, p. 228; no. 297, pp. 238–39; León Tello, 2: nos. 52–58, pp. 18–19.

⁴⁷*Anales Toledanos* I, p. 395.

⁴⁸*Anales Toledanos* I, p. 395–96.

⁴⁹León Tello, 1: 38–39.

rebus hispaniae, unless his statement that, "The mode of worship of the foreigners was dissimilar and they differed in customs from the natives," is an oblique reference.⁵⁰ His omission is not surprising, however, since his desire is to depict the *ultramontani* not as villains but rather as effete soldiers who weakly gave up the battle before it had begun because they felt it was too hot, despite the excellent treatment they had received from the king of Castile.

Three years after Rodrigo's great victory at Las Navas, Innocent III (1198–1216) rewarded the archbishop by granting him an opportunity at the Fourth Lateran Council to justify his claim to be the primate of all Spain, a matter very close to Rodrigo's heart. The council sat from 11 to 30 November 1215, and according to eyewitness testimony, recorded in the spring of 1216 in a letter from Rome, the discussion of the primacy of Toledo occurred on November 13th.⁵¹ The letter states that on the third day of the Council, the quarrel between the archbishops of Compostela and Toledo was discussed and the pope tried to put an end to their dispute.⁵² This is the only evidence of non-Toledan origin which proves that Rodrigo attended and spoke at the council, but two accounts originating in Toledo relay the arguments given by the various sides in the dispute. The first of these is found in BCT ms. 42-21, a cartulary produced in the early years of Rodrigo's archiepiscopacy which contains papal bulls

⁵⁰"Diuersus esset ritus alienigenarum et in moribus ab indigenis dissiderent," *De rebus hispanie*, VIII, iv, ll. 27–28, p. 263. Much of this chapter describes Alfonso VIII's wise and generous treatment of those who came to Toledo from beyond the mountains.

⁵¹Stephen Kuttner and Antonio García y García, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 115.

⁵²"Tercia uero die litem que inter Compostellanum et Tolletanum episcopos super optinendo primatum hucusque durauit, dominus papa dirimere et rationabiliter inde diffinire conabatur." Kuttner and García y García, p. 124.

related to the primacy dispute, from Urban II (1088–99) to Honorius III (1216–1227).⁵³ It contains a brief account of the speeches on the primacy issue and concludes with a list of some of the Spanish bishops who attended the council, naming members of their entourage. The chancellor of Castile, Diego García, the archdeacon of Toledo, the dean of Segovia, the philosopher Michael Scot, and others are listed as part of Rodrigo's retinue, as well as several lay members of his household including his butler, treasurer, and cook.⁵⁴ The second, and longer account is preserved in Madrid BN, Vitr. 15-5 (formerly Toledo BC 15-22), folios 22 and 23. The text was published by Fidel Fita in 1902.⁵⁵

This evidence serves to establish Rodrigo's presence at the council, but what is of significance for this study is not the dispute concerning the primacy of Spain, but the anti-Jewish legislation passed at Lateran IV. The canons passed by this council defined the spiritual and political borders of Christendom and the duties and responsibilities of those who called themselves Christians. They also detailed the actions to be taken against those who fell outside the community of the Christian faithful: heretics, Muslims, and Jews. The final five canons are the ones which concern us. Canon 67 orders Christians to have no contact or business dealings with Jews who charge excessive interest, under threat of ecclesiastic censure. Likewise, it compells Jews to pay tithes on property acquired by them from Christians. The church

⁵³Ramón González, in his prologue to Hernández, *Los cartularios*, discusses the date and composition of BCT 42-21, p. xvii.

⁵⁴Juan Francisco Rivera, "Personajes hispanos asistentes en 1215 al IV Concilio de Letrán," *Hispania Sacra* 4 (1951): 336–37.

⁵⁵Fidel Fita, "Santiago de Galicia: Nuevas impugnaciones y nueva defensa (V)," *Razon y Fé* 2 (1902): 182–95.

cannot punish the Jews for these offences directly, so it attempts to get at them by stopping their Christian customers from dealing with them. Canon 68 opens by declaring that in many regions Jews and Muslims dress differently from Christians. Where they don't, through error, they often have sexual relations with each other's women. To prevent this occurrence, Jews and Muslims are ordered to dress differently from Christians. In addition, they are forbidden to go out in public ("minime prodeant") on Passion Sunday and on "days of lamentation," because some of them do not fear to mock Christians on those days. Finally, the canon orders secular princes to restrain those who ridicule Christianity. Canon 69 forbids Jews and pagans from holding public office over Christians and refers to canon 14 of the Third Council of Toledo as a precedent.⁵⁶ Canon 70 forbids "converts" from returning to their former practices. While canon 71 is primarily concerned with preparations for the upcoming crusade, it concerns Jews insofar as it prevents them from charging interest to crusaders.⁵⁷

Does the reference to the Third Council of Toledo in canon 69 mean that the Spanish prelates had a hand in framing this legislation? More likely it implies the opposite. The rule against Jews in public office would have been known to Innocent at least from Gratian's *Decretum*; he would not have needed the advice of the Spaniards.⁵⁸ Since the Iberian peninsula was the place where this canon was most likely to be

⁵⁶José Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, in collaboration with Tomás Marín Martínez and Gonzalo Martínez Díez (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), p. 129.

⁵⁷The canons are edited in Antonio García y García, *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum Commentariis glossatorum*, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series A, vol. 2 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981), pp. 106–109, 114–15.

⁵⁸Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1990), p. 114. Roth, "Jiménez de Rada y los judíos," p. 472.

breached, it is most probable that Innocent included the reference to the council in Toledo to remind the prelates that this law originated in their own land as a way of encouraging them to obey. In any case, this was the one canon regarding the Jews which no later pope ever even attempted to compel Archbishop Rodrigo to obey. The measure prescribed by this canon is not the only one with a precedent. Most of the legislation had appeared in some form in canon law before Lateran IV. The only part of the programme which is truly original in a Christian context is the first section of Canon 68 which mandates that Jews and Muslims dress differently from Christians. This canon finds parallels in Muslim Spain and it may reflect Spanish influence. From at least the early eighth century, Islamic law required non-Muslims to dress distinctively, and this principle had been applied intermittently in lands under Muslim rule ever since. Most recently, in Spain, the Almohads — under the leadership of al-Manṣūr (1184–1199) — began to enforce this rule in 1198, and required the Jews to wear a variety of distinguishing garments.⁵⁹ Unlike Innocent III, the Muslims did not use the possibility of accidental sexual congress with unbelievers as the pretext for their law. Given Rodrigo's later struggles to have the Jews of Toledo papally exempted from the dress regulations, it is unlikely that he himself revealed or encouraged the adoption of the Islamic regulation, but it may easily have been someone else from the Iberian peninsula.

How well were any of these anti-Jewish provisions enforced in the Spanish kingdoms, particularly in the archdiocese of Toledo? Pope Honorius III sent a letter on

⁵⁹Antoine Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmanes en pays d'Islam*, Recherches, L'Institut des Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, vol. 10 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1958), pp. 96–98, p. 105. Muslim evidence that al-Manṣūr forced the Jews to wear distinctive garb is cited in Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 286. Bat Ye'or prints the complaints of the Jew, Ibn Aqnin (1150–1220), regarding this regulation in *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam* (London: Associated University Presses, 1985), pp. 349–50.

this subject on 27 January 1217 to the bishop of Palencia, the abbot of Husillos, and the dean of Toledo, in apparent response to a petition from the bishop of Burgos, who was the same Mauricio who had been the archdeacon of Toledo who had served as Rodrigo's representative in the land purchase from Abu Harun Musa discussed above. Mauricio had complained that the Jews of the diocese of Burgos neither paid their tithes, nor dressed differently from Christians, and in his letter, Honorius instructed his correspondents to forbid Christians to have contact with Jews who acted in this way.⁶⁰ A year later, on 26 January 1218 Honorius directed a letter to Rodrigo himself, charging that Jews throughout the province of Toledo did not pay tithes or wear distinctive dress. Honorius wrote that the Jews of Rodrigo's province disobey the canons because they are bolstered by the support from certain Christians. To make the Jews obey, the Christians must be prevented from having dealings with them.⁶¹

A further letter to Rodrigo dated 18 March 1219 tightened the requirement that the Jews pay tithes. Honorius now demanded that they not only tithe for land that they had purchased from Christians as required by canon 67 of Lateran IV, but also for new houses that they themselves built on that land.⁶² The following day, however, Honorius sent Rodrigo a missive which exempted the Jews of Castile from the dress regulations of Lateran IV. This exemption was a response to complaints from the archbishop and King Fernando III that, rather than obey the dress regulations, the Jews of Castile were either returning to live under the Moors or were making "conspirationes et conventicula" against the kingdom. Since the greatest part of the king's revenues come from the Jews, as Honorius wrote, this was causing financial

⁶⁰Mansilla2, no. 26, p. 22.

⁶¹Mansilla2, no.142, pp. 115–16.

⁶²Mansilla2, no. 211, p. 163.

losses and discord in Castile, and Rodrigo was therefore unable to enforce the dress regulations.⁶³ The exemption from Canon 68 in this letter seems to have been secured by the extension of the property subject to tithes in the letter of the previous day. If Honorius reported Fernando and Rodrigo's reasons for demanding an exemption from the dress regulations accurately, however, this suggests that the king and archbishop were deliberately misleading the pope. There was no chance that the Jews would decamp for Muslim Spain if they were forced to dress differently from Christians, because Jews were already compelled to wear distinctive garb in Muslim Spain by the Almohads. Al-Manṣūr, in 1198, had made them wear dark blue clothing with long sleeves and a cap which covered their ears. His son modified this order to prescribe garments of yellow, the colour most often associated with the Jews later in Christian Europe, and a turban, a costume that the Jews were still required to wear in 1224, five years after the date of Honorius's exemption.⁶⁴

What exactly were the Jews of Toledo exempted from wearing by the papal letter of 19 March? Canon 68 of Lateran IV and the earlier papal instructions said merely that the Jews were required to adopt dress different (*"diuersitas habitus"*) from that of Christians. There was no mention of any special badge or sign. The letter of 19 March 1219, however, indicates that Lateran IV intended that special signs be worn by the Jews to set them clearly apart.⁶⁵ Are these *"signa"* to be understood as actual badges, or are they just unspecified differences in dress which would distinguish the Jews? A letter of the following year directed by Honorius to the archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans, seems to clarify matters. In it, the pope reports the

⁶³Mansilla2, no. 212, p. 164.

⁶⁴Fattal, pp. 105–106.

⁶⁵"... quod de signis ferendis statutum fuit in concilio generali," Mansilla2, no. 212, p. 164.

complaint of King Jaime I of Aragon that, although the Jews in his kingdom have always dressed differently from Christians, some of the archbishop's men were compelling them to wear new signs ("noua signa") to extort money from them — presumably by exempting some of the Jews from wearing these "signs" in exchange for money.⁶⁶ It seems, then, that Lateran IV simply prescribed that the Jews exhibit some visible, external marker of their otherness, not necessarily a badge. Different ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Latin West came up with their own ways of fulfilling the Lateran canon, most often by imposing a particular badge.

Honorius's exemption of the Jews of Castile from the dress regulations of Lateran IV was not to last for very long. He rescinded it in a letter of 24 November 1221, because, as he says, a certain Hospitaller knight, Gonzalvo, had informed him that Jews in the archdiocese of Toledo did not dress differently from Christians.⁶⁷ In writing this letter, Honorius seemed to have forgotten that he had himself released the Jews from this requirement. The earlier exemption had not been granted because Jews dressed differently from Christians in Toledo, but rather because they had to be allowed to dress in the same way as Christians to avert the negative consequences — allegedly their departure — of forcing them to do otherwise. Peter Linehan has observed that inconsistency was "the mark of all of Honorius's dealings with the Spanish Church."⁶⁸ The pope's actions regarding the dress of the Jews of Toledo is but one example of his changeability. Yet the letters Honorius addressed to Rodrigo concerning the Jews between 1218 and 1220 were not sent in a vacuum; they must be

⁶⁶Mansilla2, no. 317, p. 236.

⁶⁷Mansilla2, no. 381, p. 284.

⁶⁸Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 9.

evaluated against the backdrop of Honorius's other dealings with Rodrigo over the same period.⁶⁹

Honorius's letter to Rodrigo of 26 January 1218 urging that the Jews of Toledo be compelled to obey the canons of Lateran IV was only one of a series of letters he sent that archbishop that month. Between 4 and 8 January, he responded to a request by the archbishop and the chapter of Toledo by dispatching five letters confirming the privileges his predecessors had conferred on earlier archbishops of Toledo concerning the primacy.⁷⁰ However, Honorius wrote on the 4th to the dean and chapter of Toledo, and then on the 19th to Rodrigo and the chapter, and he declared that he could not at that time make a final, definitive decision as to which of the Spanish archbishoprics should possess primatial status.⁷¹ On 25 January 1218 — one day before he sent Rodrigo his first letter concerning the Jews⁷² — Honorius confirmed that Toledo was the primatial see in the Spanish kingdoms, insofar as this had been recognized by the pope's predecessors, and in still another letter the pope granted Rodrigo primatial jurisdiction over Seville.⁷³ Five days later Honorius told the archbishop of Tarragona and several of Rodrigo's suffragans that he had named Rodrigo his papal legate for the purpose of encouraging war against the Muslims in Spain and that they should obey Rodrigo's orders.⁷⁴ On the same day Honorius also asked Rodrigo to preserve peace between the Christian rulers of Spain to foster the

⁶⁹For an outline of Rodrigo's relationship with Honorius, which I have summarized here, below, see Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 8–12.

⁷⁰Mansilla2, nos. 119–23, pp. 93–96.

⁷¹Mansilla2, no. 118, p. 93; no. 137, pp. 111–12.

⁷²Mansilla2, no. 142, pp. 115–16.

⁷³Mansilla2, nos. 139–40, pp. 112–14.

⁷⁴Mansilla2, no. 148, p. 119–21.

Reconquest.⁷⁵ Finally, in a series of letters of privilege on 31 January 1218, Honorius gave the archbishop permission to allocate benefices otherwise conferred by the papal see; he permitted Rodrigo to absolve those who had perpetrated acts of violence against clerics or who had committed fraud over the payment of the twentieth (the tax on clergy to pay for the crusade); he instructed the kings and princes of Spain that the see of Toledo held the primacy over Seville; he allowed Rodrigo to fill empty benefices in the lands of his suffragans; and he ordered Alfonso IX, king of León, to obey Rodrigo's commands concerning the war against Muslims and keeping the peace among Christians.⁷⁶ This flurry of correspondence must have been a response to heavy and intense petitioning by Rodrigo. The pope permitted much of what the Toledan archbishop sought, except for his claim to absolute primacy over all Spain and an exemption of the Jews of Toledo from the regulations of Lateran IV.

This was not the last of Honorius's gifts to Rodrigo. The following year, on 9 February 1219, to further the Reconquest, the pope granted the archbishop half of the revenues of Toledo and Segovia from the twentieth, the tax originally intended to pay for the recapture of the Holy Land.⁷⁷ The next month, on 15 March, the pope then allowed Rodrigo to enlist those who had taken vows to go on crusade to fight instead in Spain, and on 16 March Honorius granted Rodrigo a third of the Church's tithes in the province of Toledo for three years to fund the reconquest effort.⁷⁸ Two days later, on

⁷⁵Mansilla2, no. 149, p. 121.

⁷⁶Mansilla2, nos. 151–55, pp. 122–24.

⁷⁷Mansilla2, no. 207, pp. 160–61.

⁷⁸Mansilla2, no. 208, p. 161; no. 210, pp. 162–3. This was the portion of the tithe which was usually directed to the physical upkeep of the churches. Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 111. Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 43–4 n. 3, pp. 54–5 n. 4, pp. 316–7.

March 18, Honorius issued the letter commanding the payment of tithes by the Jews, and then on 19 March, exempted the Jews of Castille from the dress regulations of Lateran IV.⁷⁹ But by July 1220, Honorius discovered that Rodrigo, abetted by the papal tithe administrator Huguicio, had been abusing his control of the monies made over to him by the pope.⁸⁰ In a letter of 1 July 1220, Honorius berated Rodrigo for shamelessly allowing and encouraging Huguicio (“abieto pudore”) to play the role of a plenary legate, when he had merely been dispatched for the purposes of collecting money, and 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.⁸¹

Judging from these letters, Rodrigo and Honorius sought different, but compatible, things from each other. Honorius desired Rodrigo to continue to prosecute the recovery of those parts of Spain still held by the Muslims and to enforce the canons of Lateran IV. In turn, Rodrigo wanted Honorius to grant him absolute primacy over the Church in Spain and to assist in preserving and enhancing the security and financial strength of Toledo and Castile. This aim dictated Rodrigo’s desire that nothing be done to upset the Jews, some of whom were major financial assets to the kingdom. Each party needed the other to fulfill his goals. It is not surprising, then, that after Rodrigo had lost the pope’s favour, Honorius lashed out by rescinding the exemption of Castilian Jews from the dress regulations of Lateran IV.⁸²

⁷⁹Mansilla2, nos. 211–12, pp. 163–64.

⁸⁰Linehan, *Spanish Church*, pp. 9–10.

⁸¹Mansilla2, nos. 300–301, pp. 225–27.

⁸²24 November 1221, Mansilla2, no. 381, p. 284.

Although Rodrigo never recovered Honorius's good will and was never given full primatial rights over Spain, he did win a small victory with respect to the papal and conciliar anti-Jewish legislation. In the autumn of 1228, the papal legate, John of Abbeville, convened a provincial council at Valladolid in the province of Toledo. The canons of this council repeated the strictures of Lateran IV and rendered the penalties for offenders more severe in some cases. Both Jews and Muslims were to pay tithes for formerly Christian-owned property, but there was no command that they were to dress differently from Christians, that they might not hold office over Christians, or for that matter any repetition of the other strictures enacted at Lateran IV. Jews were simply admonished not to wear the type of hat worn by clerics.⁸³ The omission of the other strictures amounts to a tacit agreement between the pope's representative and the prelates who attended the council to ignore the unpopular Roman dress regulations in Castile.

Long before John of Abbeville's arrival, Rodrigo had already 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 resolve the question of the tithes. The pact specified that every male Jew over twenty years of age and every married Jewish male had to pay one-sixth of a gold *morabetino* annually to the archbishop. Neither poverty nor any other justification would excuse them from not paying the tax. Women, however, regardless of age or marital status, were explicitly excluded from making any kind of payment. In return, all the Jews of the Toledan archdiocese, "both present and future" ("tam modernos quam posteros"), were freed from paying the tithes and offerings enjoined on them by Lateran IV. Rodrigo was to select four elders from the *aljama* of Toledo, the Jewish town council, and two from

⁸³Manuel Risco, ed., *España Sagrada*, 36: 222. Linehan describes the Valladolid Council in *Spanish Church*, pp. 28–29.

other *aljamas* in the archdiocese to swear one time and not more (“semel et non amplius”) as to the age of their residents and whether they were liable to pay the tax. The pact covered all lands purchased from Christians before the date of the agreement. A Jew would not pay tithes for land bought at a future date from a Christian, provided that the Jew in turn sold a parcel of land of equal value to a Christian. The Jews would have to pay tithes on land purchased from Christians after the date of the pact, but not for any building on that land, whether built at the time of the purchase or not. This provision directly contradicted Honorius’s letter of 18 March 1219, which ordered Jews to pay tithes for houses newly built on property purchased from Christians.⁸⁴ If any Jew should refuse the payments stipulated by the pact, the Jewish elders were to compel him to pay, or the *aljama* as a whole would be collectively liable for the sum. The money was to be paid each year between the feasts of Saint Michael (29 September) and Saint Martin (11 November). Finally, Rodrigo promised to defend and aid the Jews so far as he was able: “Preterea dominus archiepiscopus promittit quod secundum Deum et honestatem suam, quantum facere potuerit, et defendet et iuuabit eos.”⁸⁵

This pact is well known to historians, but it has inspired disparate interpretations. For Gorosterratzu, it shows that Rodrigo successfully reconciled the canons of Lateran IV to the special situation in Spain.⁸⁶ In Gorosterratzu’s assessment,

⁸⁴Mansilla2, no. 211, p. 163.

⁸⁵AHN ms. 987B, fols. 20r–20v; Julio González, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, 3 vols. (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1983)3: no. 77, pp. 94–96. Norman Roth asserts that Rodrigo promised in this pact to protect the Jews from the dress regulations of Lateran IV, but these regulations are mentioned nowhere in the pact. Roth, “Bishops and Jews,” p. 12. Roth himself remarked about this text in an earlier article, “No se dice nada aquí acerca de la divisa.” Roth, “Jiménez de Rada y los judíos,” p. 475.

⁸⁶“Esta concordia ingeniosa y audaz, sin semejante en la historia española, prueba que el Arzobispo, en vez de poner en práctica los cánones, los armonizaba con la situación presente.” Gorosterratzu, p. 207.

Rodrigo is appropriately anti-Jewish. Estella Zalaya takes an identical line. Both are careful to "defend" the archbishop from a statement by Amador de los Ríos which implied that, in offering to protect the Jews of Toledo, Rodrigo was somehow a supporter of Jews.⁸⁷ For Norman Roth, on the other hand, the pact exemplifies Rodrigo's friendly relations with the Jews of Toledo.⁸⁸ This view understands the tax accord as essentially a favourable gesture toward the Jews. But who really benefited from the bargain? With the pact, the archbishop replaced the tithe, a tax on revenue, with a poll tax. A tax on revenue can only be applied to those who have earnings, but a poll tax is owed by everyone, rich or poor, in the same amount. The sum involved here was small, one sixth of a gold piece, but its payment burdened many who previously would have been subject to no ecclesiastical impost whatsoever. The pact explicitly stated that no exemptions from the tax due to lack of funds would be allowed.

The tax massively favoured the half-dozen or so wealthy and prominent Jewish families with extensive property holdings who would have been liable to pay a large tithe under the system prescribed by papal legislation. Several of these families can be identified from the surviving documents. In particular, the tax favoured Jews who had come to Toledo since the Christian conquest of the city in 1085, and who would have thus been more likely to buy property from Christians. This group included those Jews who had come north to Toledo in the twelfth century to flee persecution at the hands of the Almohads. The pact explicitly stated that it applied to all the Jews of the diocese, both present and future ("tam modernos quam posteros") no doubt to include these recent arrivals. Rodrigo's desire to keep this group mollified is

⁸⁷Gorosterratzu, p. 207; Estella Zalaya, p. 97; José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal*, 3 vols. (1875-76; reprint ed., Ediciones Turner: Madrid, 1960)1: 359.

⁸⁸Roth, "Jiménez de Rada y los judíos," p. 477.

evident from his concern, accepted as legitimate by the pope, that many of the Jews of Toledo would decamp to Muslim-held territory, taking their skills and potential revenues with them, if they were forced to dress differently from Christians.⁸⁹ Recent arrivals to the city would be those most likely to feel it worthwhile to leave. A head tax may also have been more popular than a tithe even with less wealthy Jews who had come to Toledo from places of Muslim rule because it resembled the *ġizya*, or poll tax, owed by the *dhimmi* population of Christians and Jews under Islamic law.⁹⁰ Like Rodrigo's poll tax, the Muslim *ġizya* was not required of minors or women, but unlike Rodrigo's tax, both paupers and the infirm were exempt and the tax was calculated at three different rates, depending on the wealth of the individual.⁹¹

Some of the Jews most likely to benefit from the pact were those the church had the most dealings with, although this is difficult to judge since documentation concerning these families survives simply because it was preserved by the ecclesiastical establishment party to the dealings. The families of Abu Harun Musa and Abu 'Omar b. Suxen, some of whose transactions were discussed above, stood to gain a great deal from paying a small head tax rather than a tithe. It is not known whether these two families were long standing residents of Toledo, but Abu Harun Musa dealt with one Zacarías "grandson of the Cordoban," which suggests that Zacarías's family at least had only arrived recently in Toledo. The abbess and nuns of the convent of San Clemente traded property with a Jew, Ibrahim ben Ismail, called "el Valenciano,"

⁸⁹"Nonnulli eorum potius eligant ad mauros confugere quam signa huiusmodi baiulare." Mansilla2, no. 212, p. 164.

⁹⁰Fattal, p. 264.

⁹¹I have not been able to determine the rates of the *ġizya* in Muslim Spain during this period, but a comparison of it with Rodrigo's tax, if possible, would be interesting.

presumably himself also a relative newcomer.⁹² Finally, a substantial number of documents trace the activities of a family with the cognomen "el Barcelonés."⁹³ One of these documents concerns Rodrigo, and will be treated in more detail below.

Rodrigo may also have benefited from collecting a poll tax rather than a tithe. Without knowing the number of Jews in Toledo and their relative wealth, it is impossible, however, to determine whether income from the poll tax or from the tithe would have been greater. Yitzhak Baer estimated that the total number of tax-paying Jewish families in Castile was 3,600 in 1290.⁹⁴ If only one person per household was eligible to pay the poll tax, it would be worth 600 *mrs.*, not an inconsiderable sum. A single, tax-paying household containing more than one member eligible to pay the tax is also conceivable, so this estimate is probably too low. Baer also recorded later testimony that put the Jewish population of the city of Toledo at around 12,000 in the early thirteenth century. He likewise reports the assertion of Juan Gil de Zamora, writing during the time of Alfonso X (1252–84), that there were 70,000 Jewish taxpayers in Toledo.⁹⁵ If Roth's hypothesis that Gil de Zamora was referring to the entire province of Toledo is correct,⁹⁶ this would mean that the poll tax could bring in over 10,000 *mrs.* annually, an astounding and probably unrealistic total. In any case, Rodrigo was likely to raise a greater sum enforcing a poll tax accepted by the leaders of the Jews than a tithe that the community was resisting strenuously. There may also

⁹²González Palencia, 3: no. 808, p. 85; León Tello, 2: no. 90, p. 28.

⁹³Roth summarizes the activities of this family in "New Light on the Jews," p. 216.

⁹⁴Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1978), 1: pp. 190, 418, n. 1.

⁹⁵Baer, *History of the Jews*, 1: pp. 190, 418–9, n. 2.

⁹⁶Roth, "New Light on the Jews," p. 196.

have been a positive incentive for Rodrigo to change the tax structure. He may have received favours, or promises of favours in return for the change. He certainly continued to receive aid from those Jews whom the pact benefited the most. The pact must therefore not be regarded as an act of Christian charity towards the Jews by the archbishop, but rather as a deal in which Rodrigo and the wealthiest Jews would profit and less prosperous Jews stood to lose.

Rodrigo took care to ensure that the incomes generated by the poll tax would be under his personal control. On 16 April 1229, Rodrigo made a trade with the cathedral chapter of certain properties, revenues, and rights. Rodrigo gave the canons his houses, lands, and vineyards at Fuente el Madero; the village of Hubaniel; a potter's furnace; and the part of the tithe of the church of Villamiel allotted for the clergy's clothing allowance (the "uestiarium").⁹⁷ In exchange, Rodrigo obtained from the canons the rights to all the payments ("oblationibus et offerendis") of all the Jews of the archdiocese. This gave him sole control over the monies that accrued to the archdiocese by virtue of the pact of 1219. The archbishop also received the property originally given to the canons by García Ruiz, bishop of Cuenca (1208-24), which must refer to holdings at Cobeja and Alameda which the bishop donated to the canons of Toledo in February 1211.⁹⁸ In return, the canons gave Rodrigo part of their property at Luna; their rights to the "uestiarium" of the parishes of Trijueque, Archilla, and Orcales; and finally, the chapter promised to allot to each canon and prebendary a double portion of money on the anniversaries of the decease of the archbishop's parents.⁹⁹

⁹⁷Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 33.

⁹⁸González Palencia, no. 1023, pp. 398-99; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 308, p. 309; AHN, ms. 987B, fol. 85r.

⁹⁹AHN, ms. 987B, fol. 22v; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 427, p. 381-82.

On the surface, this seems like a simple, mutually beneficial trade, but a closer look at the sums, properties, and parties involved demonstrates that it was not. The first aspect of the trade which is surprising is that, although the amounts involved were large and directly affected their material well-being, no ordinary canons signed the document. The usual practice, well attested by the charters in the Toledo cartularies, was that several canons would witness important transactions.¹⁰⁰ The six signatories of this document included Rodrigo himself; Miguel Estébanez, the cathedral dean; Diego Zapata, treasurer; Fernando Gil, archdeacon of Guadalajara; Martín Giménez, archdeacon of Madrid; and Beltrán, archdeacon of Toledo. This is the first document witnessed by Miguel Estébanez as cathedral dean. Previously he had been a canon of Toledo and the archdeacon of Calatrava.¹⁰¹ The latter two signatories were both related to the archbishop and cannot be considered disinterested parties. Martín calls Rodrigo his maternal uncle ("auunculus suus" [*sic*]) in his will, dated 29 June 1237 at Vercelli in Italy.¹⁰² The evidence for Beltrán's relationship with Rodrigo is found in another document that concerns the Jews, and will be discussed below. As for the other two subscribers of the exchange, Diego Zapata and Fernando Gil, they also received favours from the archbishop, and cannot be viewed as disinterested.

¹⁰⁰For example, an agreement with the Hospitallars, reached the year before the trade with the canons, was signed by ten men, each of whom referred to himself simply as "canonicus." Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 423, pp. 378-79.

¹⁰¹Hernández, *Los cartularios*, p. 723.

¹⁰²ACT A.6.H.1.19. In the will, Martín bequeathed the archbishop all his ecclesiastical revenues and permitted him to dispose of them as he chose. See also Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 427, pp. 381-82, who discusses the identification of Rodrigo's nephew (giving an incorrect shelfmark for the will). The will also refers to a sister, Eva, probably the Eva Giménez who, with her husband Rodrigo Alvarez, sold the archbishop the villa of San Cristóbal in 1233 for 1,300 *mrs.* and a life interest in the property of 300 *mrs.* a year. This document of sale is witnessed by one, "Maestro Martín Xemenez," no doubt her brother. Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 439, pp. 392-93; Grassotti, p. 111, no. 8, pp. 287-89.

Further clues to the nature of the transaction come from the properties and rights being exchanged. There is no statement concerning the value of what was being traded in the document itself, but some of the holdings can be traced in a long document of 1 May 1234 which González Palencia reproduced in its entirety in the preliminary volume to his study of the Mozarabs of Toledo.¹⁰³ This document catalogues the properties owned by the cathedral, the names of the lessors, and the annual rents owed for them. Several of the lessors figure among the higher clergy of the archdiocese of Toledo. For example, the archdeacons Beltrán, Bartolomé (of Calatrava), Aznar (of Talavera), Martín Giménez, and "Gil" are all listed as renting property from the cathedral.¹⁰⁴ The archdeacon "Gil," who rents Arcicollar for 200 *mrs.* annually, must be Fernando Gil, the archdeacon of Guadalajara who signed the exchange of 1229. From the 1234 document we also learn that Diego Zapata, the treasurer, rented Fuente el Madero, one of the properties which Rodrigo traded to the canons in 1229, upon payment of 85 *mrs.* per annum.¹⁰⁵ Diego Zapata, Fernando Gil, Beltrán, and Martín Giménez, like the other clergy who leased property from the cathedral, presumably then sublet their holdings at a higher rent and kept the difference for themselves. This practice was a means to earn extra income, and one of Rodrigo's own forays into this kind of rental transaction will be discussed further below. In any case, such deals ran against the interests of the ordinary clergy of the cathedral, for they did not receive the full market rental income from the properties they owned.

¹⁰³González Palencia, pp. 163–72 based on ACT X.10.B.1.3. References to González Palencia's preliminary volume will not contain a volume number.

¹⁰⁴González Palencia, pp. 163–4.

¹⁰⁵González Palencia, p. 164. Diego Zapata appears to have succeeded Martín Giménez as archdeacon of Madrid in a document of February 1242; Hernández, no. 461, p. 411.

Several of the other properties exchanged in 1229 are also mentioned in the 1234 document, and their relative value can be determined from the amount of annual income they generated for the cathedral. Hubaniel, together with some other property, is described as providing 18 *mrs.* yearly.¹⁰⁶ The potter's furnace exchanged in the trade is probably the one in the parish of San Genés, with an annual income of 18 *mrs.*¹⁰⁷ Compared with these small sums, what Rodrigo received from the canons in return is truly considerable. The exchange gave him all the payments of the Jews, which as we have seen must have been ample and alone would have been worth more than what the canons received from the archbishop. The other property at Cobeja and Alameda, together with Alexar, was worth 322 *mrs.* a year.¹⁰⁸ There is no record of the income from the property at Luna, nor is there a record of the income from ecclesiastical tithes and other taxes, but Rodrigo did give up the "uestiarium" of one parish in exchange for the "uestiarium" of three others. Likewise, the amount the chapter would have had to pay on the anniversaries of Rodrigo's parents' deaths is unknown. Rodrigo clearly got the best of the bargain, however, and he was supported by a group more interested in pleasing the archbishop and augmenting its own personal earnings than in improving the collective income of the cathedral chapter.

The timing of the trade is also suspicious. It was made a few months after the council at Valladolid of 1228, presided over by the papal legate, John of Abbeville, at which the legate pressed the papal demand for the Jews to pay tithes. This renders Rodrigo's acquisition of all the monies owed to the church as a consequence of the

¹⁰⁶González Palencia, p. 164.

¹⁰⁷An earlier, unrelated document places the potters in the parish of San Genés. González Palencia, no. 801, pp. 76-78; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 246, pp. 227-28.

¹⁰⁸González Palencia, p. 164.

1219 agreement on the poll tax highly significant. Less than two months later, at Ocaña, near Toledo, in a letter of 3 June 1229, John of Abbeville confirmed the constitution of the Toledan church which had been established by Archbishop Martín, Rodrigo's predecessor, on March 19, 1195. This constitution had stated that the chapter was to include forty resident canons, "canonici mansionarii," and twenty non-resident canons, "canonici extravagantes," the former residing at the cathedral, the latter usually attached to another church and possessing fewer rights than the former. Also, Martín had provided for a maximum of thirty "portionarii," or prebendaries.¹⁰⁹ Prebendaries were not considered canons, and their prebends were worth only half as much as the benefices of the canons. In the document of June 1229, Abbeville also addressed a number of abuses he believed were prevalent in Toledo. As at the Valladolid Council, he was concerned to ensure that the number of canons did not exceed the limit set, so that benefices would not have to be subdivided, and to prevent non-residents from holding benefices. A large part of John's letter concerns specific applications of the right of the canons to the "uestiarium," the clothing allowance: he states that resident canons who become attached to another church become non-resident canons and so lose their right to the "uestiarium," that the "uestiarium" cannot be taken from a resident to be given to a non-resident, and that a resident who is away for a full year will not receive that year's "uestiarium."¹¹⁰ A letter of the same date from John of Abbeville to the dean and chapter of Toledo attempts to redress specific injustices in the way money was shared in the cathedral of Toledo by sharing out monies between

¹⁰⁹AHN ms. 996B, fols. 21r-21v; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 257, pp. 236-37.

¹¹⁰Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 24; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 428, pp. 382-3.

the resident canons that were unlawfully held by non-residents.¹¹¹

Read in the light of these documents, the exchange made with the canons two months earlier looks like an attempt by Rodrigo and his coterie to paper over some of the areas of possible complaint by Abbeville. Giving Rodrigo rights over the Jews' offerings may have been a way of hiding the pact of 1219 from the legate. Likewise, Rodrigo's acquisition of the "uestiarium" of three parishes may have permitted him to allot those funds to people ineligible under John's legislation. At the end of the document of exchange, the "canons" swear that they are fully satisfied about all the rental arrangements the archbishop has made for the property which he held from the canons.¹¹² In the context of Abbeville's later letter, this statement does not seem merely to be a formula. The assertion that the canons were satisfied with Rodrigo's arrangements would, the archbishop must have hoped, protect him from accusations that he was alienating their property improperly. As we shall see, it did no such thing.

The distinction between the property of the canons and the property of the Archbishop was frequently blurred by Rodrigo to his own benefit, and the trade of 1229 is but one example. We have already seen the archbishop acquire the debt originally owed to the canons of Toledo by the Jew, Abu Harun Musa. In 1236, two members of the cathedral clergy saw fit to complain to Rome about his handling of cathedral property. Because one of their grievances concerns Rodrigo's treatment of Jews, the document deserves to be considered in some detail. Their complaints are preserved in the verdict on the case (29 October 1236) rendered by the cardinal deacon

¹¹¹ACT Z.1.G.1.4a. This document does not give the year of its publication but the date of 3 June, the name of the sender, and its issuance at Ocaña make it clear that it was issued together with the confirmation of the constitution of the Toledan church in 1229.

¹¹²"Confitemur preterea et recognoscimus nobis ab eodem archiepiscopo de omnibus arrendationibus que a nobis tenuit esse plenarie satisfactum." AHN ms. 987B, fol. 22v.

assigned to adjudicate the canons' dispute with the archbishop. This document is still extant in the cathedral archive of Toledo.¹¹³ It was never included in any Toledan cartulary, no doubt because it was so critical of the archbishop, but it was copied into one of the document collections prepared under the aegis of Andrés Marcos Burriel in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁴ Gorosterratzu, who was not permitted to consult the material in the Toledo archive by Estella Zalaya, the canon archivist, based his edition of this document on Burriel's transcription, but introduced additional errors and corrections.¹¹⁵ Grassotti also printed the document, but she likewise did not examine the original and so reproduced the alterations made in the Burriel copy and by Gorosterratzu.¹¹⁶

The two plaintiffs are both prebendaries, and their grievances centre on wrongs committed against this group by the archbishop. Their names are given as P. Castellanus and G. Petri. Nothing else is known about the pair; there is no one with the former name of the right date listed in Hernández's edition of the Toledo cartularies, and while there are several people with the latter name who witness documents for the Toledo cathedral, none refers to himself as a prebendary and all are too early. Their catalogue of grievances opens with a statement of the number and kind of canons and prebendaries who are supposed to be attached to the cathedral. This is based on Archbishop Martín's constitution which had been confirmed by John of Abbeville seven years before. The pair accuse Rodrigo of not selecting new resident canons from the ranks of the prebendaries, as he is supposed to, but rather choosing

¹¹³ACT A.6.H.1.24

¹¹⁴BNM ms. 13022, fols. 94r-97v.

¹¹⁵Gorosterratzu, no. 130, pp. 449-51.

¹¹⁶Grassotti, no. 9, pp. 289-92. She records that the document had also been published by Fidel Fita in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 11 (1887): 401-405. I have not been able to examine this version. Grassotti discusses the charges against the archbishop on pp. 199-201.

foreigners and non-residents with other benefices for these positions with the result that in the Toledan church out of the seventy residing canons and prebendaries, there are only eight or nine canons and a few prebendaries who are locally born, serving regularly.¹¹⁷

Most of the other complaints about Rodrigo centre on his mis-management of the common property of the canons, the “*mensa communis*.” He is accused of not giving the canons what they were owed from bequests made in the wills of Alfonso VIII; Alfonso’s son, the Infante Fernando; Fernando Sánchez; Sancho, archdeacon of Madrid; P. Rodriguez; M. Lopez, archdeacon of Calatrava; Gil archdeacon of Talavera; and the archdeacon of Cuellar.¹¹⁸ Alfonso VIII, in his will of 1204, had bequeathed the royally-owned parts of Torrijos, Esquivias and Talavera to the cathedral to pay for anniversary masses.¹¹⁹ Enrique I (1214–1217) confirmed his father’s will, but substituted the village of Talamanca for the royal warehouse at Talavera.¹²⁰ The complaint by the prebendaries mentions Torrijos and Esquivias and refers to the exchange of the warehouse at Talavera for Talamanca. In 1215, Rodrigo used the properties at Torrijos and Esquivias, and his mills at Talavera to endow one chaplain to say daily masses for the soul of Alfonso VIII.¹²¹ Some time between his son’s death on

¹¹⁷“*Archiepiscopus, postpositis semper portionariis antiquis et residentibus, quibusdam extraneis et non residentibus et alias beneficiatis tot contulit canonicas et portiones, quod hac occasione ex septuaginta personis, XL scilicet canonicis et XXXta portionariis, non sunt in ecclesia toletana nisi octo uel VIII canonici et pauci portionarii oriundi de patria continue seruientes.*” Grassotti, p. 290. My citations are made on the basis of my own transcription of the original, but they are keyed to the page numbers of Grassotti’s edition.

¹¹⁸Grassotti, p. 290.

¹¹⁹González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 769, p. 345.

¹²⁰J. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 969, pp. 672–75. Fernando III in turn confirmed this donation in 1218; J. González, *Fernando III*, 2: no. 35, p. 43–44.

¹²¹AHN ms. 996B, fols. 28vb–9ra; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 362, p. 327.

14 October 1211 and his own death on 5 or 6 October 1214, Alfonso VIII had also given Rodrigo the village of La Guardia for the souls of his wife and his son Fernando.¹²² The prebendaries complain that Rodrigo was cheating them in regard to the village of Villaumbrales once belonging to Fernando Sánchez. This village had been a gift to him from Alfonso VIII in 1210¹²³ and Sánchez in turn had handed Villaumbrales over to Rodrigo in 1215 in exchange for a life interest of 300 *mrs.* and fifty *cahices* of wheat yearly.¹²⁴ Nothing can be said with regard to the properties left to the cathedral by the rest of the testators except for Gil, the archdeacon of Talavera until 1223. While he was still the cantor of Palencia and a canon of Toledo, he gave Rodrigo vineyards and houses at Medina del Campo, as well as properties at Viana; this must be the property the prebendaries are complaining about.¹²⁵

The two prebendaries accuse the archbishop of unlawfully renting the village of Illescas, part of the common property of the cathedral, for 700 *mrs.*, and then subletting it immediately for 1000 *mrs.* annually, plus fines of 500 *mrs.* Rodrigo and his partner in this deal were to hold this property for the rest of their lives under this arrangement, and if one of the two died, the other was to acquire his rights to the property. In the original document, Rodrigo's partner is called "archidiaconus toletanus, consanguineus suus." Beltrán, the archdeacon who witnessed Rodrigo's trade with the canons in 1229, was still the archdeacon of Toledo at the time of the

¹²²La Guardia is mentioned by name by the prebendaries. Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 350A, pp. 316–17.

¹²³J. González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: no. 865, pp. 517–18.

¹²⁴AHN ms. 996B, fols. 35ra–rb; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 358, p. 324.

¹²⁵AHN ms. 996B, fol. 73va–b; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 345, p. 311. In 1223, Fernando III confirmed Rodrigo's possession of them; J. González, *Fernando III*, 2: no. 189, p. 230.

complaint in 1236. This proves that he was related to Rodrigo by blood.

Gorosterratzu and Grassotti both name the archdeacon of Madrid as Rodrigo's partner here, no doubt because they both knew that Martín Giménez, who held that position, was Rodrigo's nephew, and assumed an error must have been made in the original document.¹²⁶ It was certainly Beltrán who was Rodrigo's partner, however, not Martín Giménez, because the list of property holdings of the cathedral made in 1234 opens with the statement that Beltrán and Rodrigo were renting Illescas from the cathedral for the sum of 650 *mrs.* per annum, which would rise to 700 *mrs.* in 1236.¹²⁷ The prebendaries accuse Rodrigo of making similar arrangements for the villages of Fuente el Madero, Cespedosa, and Alcabón. Above we saw that Fuente el Madero had been rented out to Diego Zapata, the treasurer of the cathedral. Cespedosa and Alcabón, as well as a mill at Molina had been leased to Aznar, the archdeacon of Talavera, for 225 *mrs.* per annum.¹²⁸ The prebendaries believed that, like Beltrán and Rodrigo, these two were acquiring these properties from the cathedral for excessively low rents, subletting them at their proper market value to someone else, and keeping the difference for themselves.

Rodrigo is charged with keeping for himself and renting out for his own profit the portions of those clergy who are absent from the cathedral, not for the

¹²⁶Gorosterratzu merely transcribes, "Archidiaconus Majarensis," p. 450; Grassotti records, "Archidiaconus maieritensis, consanguineus suus," p. 290.

¹²⁷González Palencia, p. 163. Grassotti, p. 140. Although Grassotti makes reference to the list of 1234 in this context, it is clear that she does not realize that Beltrán was Rodrigo's partner and relative in this deal, not Martín Giménez. Further evidence concerning Beltrán and Rodrigo comes from a document of 26 December 1248 in which Pedro, abbot of Huerta, sells to the Toledo cathedral for 350 *mrs.* the lands at Borox which Beltrán, then deceased, had left the abbey to endow a chaplaincy for the soul of Rodrigo. AHN ms. 987B, fols. 64r-v; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 483, pp. 430-31.

¹²⁸González Palencia, p. 164.

purposes of study. According to the prebendaries, these portions, worth 3 *mrs.* a day, were supposed to be used for the common good. They accuse the archbishop of giving a village of the “*mensa communis*,” worth 100 gold *solidi* per year, to one of his soldiers, “*cuidam militi suo*,” for 50 *mrs.* ten years before. They complain that the goods of the archbishop are kept separate from those of the rest of the cathedral and that Rodrigo burdens the vassals of the cathedral, usurping for himself their rights in the villages belonging to the “*mensa communis*.” These last charges are difficult to validate, without the names of the people and properties involved, but they should probably be taken seriously, given the demonstrable veracity of the other accusations against Rodrigo. The pair reproach Rodrigo for imposing treaties concerning the common property of the cathedral, contrary to what is just.¹²⁹ This accusation brings to mind the exchange of 1229, which certainly seems to be a case of Rodrigo pushing his wishes on the ordinary clergy of the cathedral, without letting them have a say.

The prebendaries charge Rodrigo with alienating two castles belonging to the church and with subdividing benefices and establishing chaplaincies contrary to the constitution put forward by Archbishop Martín and confirmed by the papal legate, John of Abbeville. They specifically attack him for giving benefices to Pedro Giménez, Guillermo, and Pedro de Baiona, all described as “*magistri*.”¹³⁰ A “Don Peydro Xemenez,” who may be the one alluded to by the prebendaries, witnessed a document on 18 December 1234.¹³¹ “*Magister Guillelmus (or Willelmus) canonicus*” signs three

¹²⁹“*Archiepiscopus ... ingerit [ms. ingent] se tractatibus mense communis contra iustitiam.*” Grassotti, p. 291.

¹³⁰Grassotti, p. 291.

¹³¹Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 444, p. 398. Hernández hypothesizes, p. 744, that this man may be the Pedro Giménez described as the brother of María Giménez and Archbishop Rodrigo who died in Ultramar in María’s sale of family property to Rodrigo, no. 479, p. 428, which is undated in the cartulary where it appears. This is unlikely, since the original document of sale, ACT A.6.H.1.21, which I have been unable to examine, is given a date of March 7, 1211 in its entry in the card catalogue of the Toledo archive. This earlier dating is accepted by

documents between 1242 and 1257.¹³² In 1238, “magister Petrus Baionensis canonicus Toletanus” confirms a document.¹³³ The “Baiona” in question is probably Bayonne, which is interesting because of that city’s proximity to the kingdom of Navarre, Rodrigo’s country of birth. It may also be Bayona, a village near Túy. Both are far enough away from Toledo for the prebendaries to consider him a foreigner. The prebendaries’ final complaint is that they, and the handful of other residents, who have scarcely enough to live on, are compelled to perform the weekly services for all the non-residents while the non-residents hold the benefices of a resident canon, as well as other rich sources of revenue.¹³⁴ In other words, the non-residents reap all the rewards while the residents do the work.

One complaint concerns Rodrigo’s treatment of the Jews. The prebendaries protest that Rodrigo has appointed Jews as bailiffs (“prepositi”) over the chapter’s property with the result that they rob the chapter and the friends of the Church with their usury; the Jews cross through the middle of the cathedral to enter the Chapterhouse, to the great shame of the Christian people;¹³⁵ they collect tithes and

Gorosterratzu, p. 20, and tallies with Hernández’s own identification of the persons involved.

¹³²He is also referred to as a deceased canon of Toledo in a trade of properties between the archbishop and dean in 1271. Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 461, p. 411; no. 478, p. 427; no. 500, p. 444; no. 505, p. 448.

¹³³Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 449, p. 402.

¹³⁴Grassotti, pp. 291–92.

¹³⁵Rodrigo was not the only cleric to have to endure complaints that he let the Jews wander where they should not. Jocelin of Brakelond, writing about events at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund’s at the end of the twelfth century wrote about the abbey sacrist: “The Jews, I say, for the Sacrist was called their father and their patron; they rejoiced in his protection, had free entrance and exit, and went everywhere through the monastery, wandering by the altars and about the feretory, while masses were being sung, and their money was kept in our treasury under the Sacrist’s custody — and more unseemly still, in the days of the war their wives and children took refuge in our pittancery.” H.E. Butler, trans, *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1949), p. 10.

thirds owed to the church and tyrannize over the Church's vassals and possessions; and they have thus enriched themselves at the expense of the patrimony of Christ. The two plaintiffs ask that the Jews be expelled from their positions and be ordered to restore what they have acquired from the Church.¹³⁶ Here too the prebendaries' claims reflect Rodrigo's known activities. On 24 November 1221, Rodrigo purchased the village of Novospes from the cathedral chapter of Segovia for 1200 *mrs.*: 50 *mrs.* were paid at the time of the contract and the remainder was to be paid in two installments of 350 and 800 *mrs.*, due before the feast of Saint John (June 24) in the following year. Five people guaranteed Rodrigo's payment of the purchase price, one of whom was the Jew Abraham of Talamanca, who was described in the charter as Rodrigo's "mayordomus."¹³⁷ The majordomo was the official who ran the household and kept the accounts; he kept track of expenditures as well as of the income from rents or other dues. With regard to the Toledo cathedral, the archbishop's majordomo was probably in charge of collecting sums owed to the Church in the form of rents or tithes and administering cathedral property. The gap of fifteen years which separates this document from the prebendaries' complaint suggests that Abraham was not the only Jew to hold such a position under Rodrigo.

Two worries appear to preoccupy the prebendaries. One is financial. They see rich sources of revenue everywhere in Toledo and no reward for themselves. The

¹³⁶"Item, cum in mensa communi iudeos prepositos fecerit, que (*sic*) mensam communem et socios ecclesie cum usuris suis et alias defraudantes, per mediam ecclesiam inrant 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 prepusitura expelli et a predictis arceri, et ad restituenda ab ecclesia acquisita compelli." Grassotti, p. 291.

¹³⁷AHN ms. 996B, fols. 48vb-49ra; Grassotti, no. 4, pp. 280-81; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 397, pp. 357-58; León Tello, 2: no. 106, pp. 32-33.

second is a fear that their rights are being usurped by outsiders. They emphasize that there are fewer than twenty locally born resident canons and prebendaries (“oriundi de patria”). Gorosterratzu, a Basque, when evaluating this charge against the archbishop, did state that almost all of the prebendaries had Navarrese names, and that this demonstrates Rodrigo’s affection for the land of his birth.¹³⁸ On the other hand, Hernández has defended Rodrigo against the charge that he was anti-Mozarab.¹³⁹ It is clear, however, that Rodrigo, like many of his contemporaries, was not above making strategic grants of benefices to outsiders in exchange for favours.¹⁴⁰ The prebendaries’ suspicion of outsiders must have contributed to their distress that Jews were being placed in positions of authority over them and were profiting from the finances of the church.

The archbishop’s two modern biographers had a difficult time situating the accusations found in this document in their hagiographical accounts of Rodrigo’s life. Estella Zalaya attributed Rodrigo’s financial exactions to the exigencies of the Reconquest and his building of a new cathedral, and in presenting the charges levelled against the archbishop, he chose to bypass the complaint that Rodrigo gave too much power to Jews, perhaps to avoid any suggestion that Rodrigo was less than appropriately anti-Jewish, as he took such care to emphasize elsewhere in his account.¹⁴¹ Gorosterratzu did admit that there may have been some truth to the

¹³⁸Gorosterratzu, p. 305.

¹³⁹Francisco J. Hernández, “Language and Cultural Identity: the Mozarabs of Toledo,” *Boletín Burriel* 1 (1989): 39–40.

¹⁴⁰Linehan, *Spanish Church*, p. 9.

¹⁴¹Estella Zalaya, pp. 173–75.

accusations, but he excused Rodrigo's appointment of Jews as his officials because, "¡eran tan excelentes financieros!"¹⁴²

What was the reaction in Rome to the prebendaries' complaints? Otto, the cardinal who adjudicated the dispute, supported the pair in many of their grievances. He enjoined the chapter to act to have the castles alienated by the archbishop restored; to take back the tithes which were owed to them; to take action against those improperly named to benefices; and to defend themselves from having to take up the duties of those who are absent. If the chapter did not act to address these complaints, it had to explain why. The cardinal required no direct action of Rodrigo himself, and the prescribed remedies are vague enough — "Agant, si uelint et possint."¹⁴³ Otto did not mention the complaint levied against Rodrigo based on his privileged treatment of Jews, although Rodrigo's use of Jews as officials contravened c. 69 of Lateran IV, which forbade Jews from holding offices over Christians.

Rodrigo, however, addressed several of the prebendaries' objections on his own. On 10 July 1238, two years after the cardinal's decision, Rodrigo increased the number of prebendaries from thirty to fifty, in order to have more people available to serve in the cathedral; he spelled out their specific duties and guaranteed them an income of two *solidi* a day. The prebendaries were barred from participating in chapter business such as elections, and they were allowed to leave the cathedral for the sake of their studies, forfeiting one of their two daily *solidi*. Rodrigo kept the number of resident and non-resident canons at their old levels. As a justification for his actions, Rodrigo cites the ongoing restoration of the Toledan church "which, once noble and famous, has been prisoner under the tyranny of the Saracens for a long time,"

¹⁴²Gorosterratzu, p. 305.

¹⁴³Grassotti, p. 289.

particularly mentioning the work he had done to build a new cathedral, transforming the old one “a forma Mezquite in formam ecclesie.”¹⁴⁴

On the same day, in another charter, Rodrigo defined more closely the responsibilities of the new prebendaries. In this document he stated that he was endowing twenty chapels, nineteen of which were to be located in the new cathedral, “quod meo tempore a prima lapide cepit erigi.” The first fourteen were to be dedicated to the Trinity; the Nativity; the Transfiguration; the Passion; the Resurrection; the Ascension; the Holy Spirit; Saint Ildefonsus; the angels; John the Baptist, the patriarchs, and the prophets; the Apostles and the Evangelists; the martyrs; the confessors; and the virgins. Five more were for Alfonso VI, “who founded Toledo”; Alfonso VIII, “who conquered the Saracens at Las Navas de Tolosa”; to Fernando III and his mother Berenguela; for Rodrigo’s own soul; and for the souls of his parents and siblings. There is no indication as to the dedication of the final chapel, but it was to be located in the archiepiscopal palace, then under construction. The chaplains were to receive two solidi per day, and were to assist the rest of the prebendaries with their daily duties, just as the previous document had stated. Of particular interest is that several of the properties given by the archbishop to endow these chapels were those he had been accused of alienating or possessing unlawfully by the two prebendaries. He now assigned Villaumbrales, La Guardia, and several other properties for their support and then substituted them, “quia ista utiliora poterant esse nostris successoribus quam capitulo,” for the mills at Talavera, rights and lands in Torrijos and Esquivias, as well as other taxes and properties. Significantly, one of the sources of income he made over

¹⁴⁴“Que olim nobilis et famosa, multis temporibus fuerit sub sarracenorum tyrannide captiuata.” AHN ms. 987B, fols. 23v–24r; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 449, pp. 402–403.

to the canons was the annual poll tax owed by the Jews of the village of Maqueda.¹⁴⁵ This sum cannot have been huge, but perhaps it had a symbolic value in addressing the prebendaries' charge that Rodrigo overly favoured the Jews, when we recall that in 1229, Rodrigo had acquired all of the money owed by the Jews for himself.

Although Rodrigo nowhere mentioned the prebendaries' accusations against him in these two documents, the purpose of these endowments was clearly to address their complaints. By increasing the number of prebendaries and guaranteeing their income he could ensure that they would have enough resident clergy to perform the tasks required, while still permitting Rodrigo to grant benefices strategically to absentee incumbents whose favour he sought to win. His donation of some of the properties that the prebendaries had accused him of alienating or keeping for himself unlawfully was a further conciliatory gesture.

While Rodrigo may have felt that he had to address some of the prebendaries' complaints, he did not let the protests against his using Jews as officials affect him. On 23 July 1244, the archbishop purchased land in Madrid for 120 *mrs.* from María Gonzalez, the niece-in-law of the cathedral dean, Miguel Estébanez. Rodrigo's agent in the transaction, who payed out the sum owed to María Gonzalez, was the Jew Abulhasan Benyamin b. Abi Ishac el Barcelonés, a member of the wealthy and prominent Toledan family, originally from Barcelona, discussed above.¹⁴⁶ He appears in other documents as a money-lender.¹⁴⁷ This is the final evidence for Rodrigo's direct dealings with Jews before his death in 1247.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵AHN ms. 987B, fols. 30r-31r; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 450, pp. 403-405.

¹⁴⁶González Palencia, 2: no. 564, pp. 156-57; León Tello, 1: 2: no. 137, pp. 40-41; Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 475, p. 422.

¹⁴⁷González Palencia, 3: no. 841, pp. 128-29; no. 934, p. 223; no. 960, pp. 276-79; León Tello, 1: 64; 2: no. 122, p. 37; no. 127, p. 38; no. 186, p. 53.

¹⁴⁸Norman Roth states that in a document of 1246, Benjamin al-Barjilūnī was

Conclusion

What can these documents tell us about the relations between the Church and the Jews in thirteenth-century Castille? Does Rodrigo deserve to be named the patron saint of the Jews, as Norman Roth suggested, not entirely tongue in cheek, in a recent article?¹⁴⁹ The foregoing pages may, at times, have appeared to descend into seemingly pointless digressions concerning Rodrigo's relationship with the papacy, his business dealings, or his treatment of the cathedral clergy — subjects which on the surface have little to do with his dealings with the Jews. But it is impossible to understand the archbishop's relations with the Jews by treating this relationship as though it existed in a vacuum. The Jews were a small but important cog in Rodrigo's machinations to expand and enhance the archdiocese of Toledo and to amplify the archbishop's own power and prestige across the entire kingdom of Castile. One can not make sense of Rodrigo's treatment of the Jews without reference to his ambitions for himself and for Toledo.

This brief study of a narrow section of Rodrigo's actions makes the archbishop's goals plainly visible. The documents that survive reveal that Rodrigo's chief aim was to enlarge the territory subject to his control. He accomplished this mostly by means of military conquest of Muslim-held areas and by acquiring grants of land from the king and others. Sometimes these were outright gifts, but often the donor retained a life interest in the property. The archbishop also amassed land through strategic purchases, and Hilda Grassotti has rightly called him an expert businessman.¹⁵⁰ Yet, ever cautious, Rodrigo sought to have the king and the pope

appointed administrator of houses owned by the cathedral chapter of Toledo (Roth, "New Light on the Jews," p. 203). The document in question (González Palencia, 2: no. 572, pp. 164–65) simply testifies that a woman named Orabuena sold a house to the archpriest of Rodillas, Martín Jofre for 40 *mrs.* Orabuena then handed the sum over to Abulhasan Benyamin b. Abi Ishac el Barcelonés to repay a debt. The original sale, which occurred in 1241, is recorded in González Palencia 2: no. 545, pp. 137–38, and Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 457, pp. 408–409.

confirm his acquisitions in writing, and attempted to maintain good relations with both powers for this reason. Meanwhile, he seems to have fought simultaneously with every military order active in Spain, disputing their claims to lands and tax revenues in the newly conquered areas. Much of Rodrigo's income went to finance Toledo's new cathedral. However much land, money, and power the archbishop possessed, he always used it to acquire more. Towards the end of his career, in 1243, he risked a huge portion of the territory he had painstakingly amassed over many years, by trading it to Fernando III against the promise of receiving the town and region of Baeza, which still lay under Muslim control.¹⁵¹

The Jews fit quite easily into this pattern of activity. Put simply, some of them were wealthy, and Rodrigo needed their wealth and financial expertise to further his goals. He protected the whole community on behalf of those individuals and families who could help him realize his ambitions. He and the king agreed in this regard, for the monarch also valued the Jews as a group whose skills and financial successes could be usefully exploited. In turn, the Jews relied on Rodrigo in the way they always depended on the local Christian authority that seemed best able to guarantee their personal safety and communal security. The archbishop's day-to-day relations with the Jews do seem to have been cordial and amicable, but this reflected the fact that both parties had particular goals that could be secured only through mutual cooperation, rather than any supposed fondness on either side or a display of selfless charity on Rodrigo's part. Most of Rodrigo's actions concerning the Jews, like most of his actions in other areas, were based on a desire to have control — control of their revenues, control over how they lived, and who had jurisdiction over them.

¹⁴⁹"If Jews, indeed, could put forward a candidate for sainthood, this remarkable man ... would certainly be such a candidate." Roth, "Bishops and Jews," p. 13.

¹⁵⁰Grassotti, p. 3. The picture of Rodrigo in this paragraph owes a great deal to Grassotti's evaluation of his activities in her article.

The foregoing chapter has attempted to avoid the temptation to regard Christian-Jewish relations in this period as a simple matter of Church, allied or not with the State, versus Jews. There was no such thing as “the Church” when it came to dealing with Jews in this period. Against Rodrigo, who, like the king of Castile, valued Jewish revenues and expertise, stood the pope, who worked to have the anti-Jewish conciliar canons enforced and who was seconded in this effort by the Hospitaller Gonzalvo and the canons of the cathedral, particularly the prebendaries, who saw the Jews as one more tool used by their archbishop to afflict them. Although the position of the Jews in Toledo was better than in most places in the Latin West in this period, it was still extremely precarious precisely because there was no consensus on exactly how they should be treated. It is a further testament to Rodrigo’s strength as archbishop that he largely managed to impose his vision of Christian-Jewish coexistence on the archdiocese of Toledo.

¹⁵¹Grassotti, pp. 204–206; no. 10, pp. 292–94.

CHAPTER 2

RODRIGO'S LITERARY WORKS

Rodrigo is perhaps better known today as a historian than for his many activities as archbishop of Toledo. His histories tended to focus most on those matters which affected Spain in general and Castile and Toledo in particular. Two of these, the *De rebus hispanie* and the *Historia arabum* include material on the Jews. A close reading of the relevant passages from these works will shed light on the archbishop's view of the place of the Jews in the history of the Iberian peninsula. Rodrigo's *Breuiarium historie catholice* is a slightly different case. It is 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, the picture of the Jews which emerges from it is consistent throughout.

Historia de rebus hispanie

The work by Rodrigo best known both during the Middle Ages and now is his history of Spain from Noah to his own time called either the *Historia de rebus Hispanie* or the *Historia Gothica*. The work's continued popularity is demonstrated by its numerous manuscripts, several editions, and translations.¹ It was also an important source for the compilers of Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*.² The first redaction of the

¹Fernández Valverde lists thirty manuscripts in his edition of the work, "Introducción," *De rebus hispanie*, pp. xiii-xvi. This tally does not include manuscripts of the several translations of the work.

²It was, however, less central than has been hitherto suspected. See Linehan, *History and Historians*, p. 452.

De rebus hispanie was completed before the death of Alfonso IX of León in 1229 and the archbishop finished the second and final redaction in 1243.³ Jews are mentioned in only a few places in the text, but these references are highly significant. Some of them come directly from Rodrigo's pen, while others have their origins in the sources the archbishop consulted to compile his work.

Jews are first mentioned in a passage discussing their forced conversion to Christianity in 613 by the Visigothic ruler, Sisebut. Norman Roth has quoted these lines as an example of Rodrigo's tolerance towards the Jews.⁴ The passage reads:

At the beginning of his reign, he (i.e., Sisebut) drove the Jews to the Christian faith, and he was zealous indeed, but not in accord with (right) knowledge. He compelled by force those who ought to have been induced to faith by reason. But just as Paul says: *Whether Christ is proclaimed by occasion or by truth, in this I rejoice and will rejoice* (Phil 1, 18).⁵

Roth, relying on an old edition, did not recognize that Rodrigo took this passage almost word for word from Isidore of Seville's *Historia Gothorum*.⁶ The sentiments it reflects are thus more indicative of those of the earlier rather than the later author. In any case,

³Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *De rebus hispanie*, pp. xvi–xix.

⁴Roth, "Bishops and Jews," p. 13.

⁵"Qui in inicio regni Iudeos ad fidem christianam permouens, emulationem quidem habuit set non secundum scienciam; potestate enim compulit quod prouocari oportuit fidei ratione. Set sicut Paulus dicit: *Siue per occasionem, siue per ueritatem Christus annuncietur, in hoc gaudeo et gaudebo* (Phil 1, 18)." *De rebus hispanie* II, xvii, ll. 4–8, pp. 64–65. My translation differs substantially from that supplied by Roth which reads as follows: "In the beginning of [Sisebut's] reign the Jews were persuaded to the Christian faith, emulation of which they indeed had [i.e. Judaism] but not according to knowledge; it is possible, certainly to compel those who ought to be called to faith by reason, but just as Paul said: *Whether from false motives or true, Christ is preached, and in this I rejoice* (Phil 1, 18)." "Bishops and Jews," p. 13.

⁶"Sisebutus ... in initio regni Iudaeos ad fidem Christianam permouens aemulationem quidem habuit, sed non secundum scientiam: potestate enim compulit, quos prouocare fidei ratione oportuit. sed, sicut scriptum est, *siue per occasionem siue per ueritatem Christus adnuntietur*. Isidore of Seville, *Historia Gothorum*, ed. Theodore Mommsen, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 11 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), 60, p. 291.

the passage is hardly pro-Jewish; after a light tap on Sisebut's wrists for his unorthodox manner of persuasion, Isidore tells his reader that, according to his interpretation of Paul, conversions are valid no matter how they occur. If anything, Rodrigo strengthens the acceptance of forced conversions found in Isidore by adding to Isidore's account the conclusion of Phil 1, 18: *In hoc gaudeo et gaudebo*.

Other references to the Jews are taken from Lucas of Túy's (d. 1249) *Chronicon mundi*, a crucial source for the entire *De rebus hispanie*. Lucas, bishop of Túy, wrote his history, which begins at creation and ends with the conquest of Córdoba in 1236, at the behest of Berenguela, Fernando III's mother. One example of Rodrigo's use of Lucas's work is the account of the revolt which broke out in Septimania during the reign of King Wamba (672–80) and the description of its subsequent suppression by the king. Hilderic, count of Nîmes, Gumilo, bishop of Maguelonne, and Ranimir, abbot, the original band of conspirators, as part of their rebellion, according to Rodrigo, "called the Jews back into the country, against the laws of the Goths."⁷ When Wamba had finally subdued the rebellious provinces, Rodrigo writes, "He ordered that the Jews whom Hilderic had summoned be expelled from those regions, he strengthened the union of peace of all levels, and he entirely extirpated the root of rebellion and schism."⁸ Rodrigo takes both these passages from

⁷"Nam Hildericus, qui Nemausensis urbis comitatum tenebat, fauentibus sibi Gumilo pernicioso Magalonensi episcopo et Ranimiro abbate, contra statuta Gothorum Iudeos in patriam reuocauit." *De rebus hispanie* III, ii, ll. 3–6, p. 76

⁸"Qui Nemausensis urbis curam sub comitali praesidio gerens, non solum nomen sed titulum et opus sibimet infidelitatis assumpsit, adiungens etiam sibi prauitatis suae socios Gumildum Magalonensis sedis detestandum antistitem et Ranimirum Abbatem: quorum fauore in patriam Iudaeorum gentem perfidam euocauit contra constituta regni Gothorum." Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon mundi*, ed. Andreas Schott, *Hispania illustrata*, vol. 4 (Frankfurt, 1608), III, p. 59, ll. 37–41.

⁸"Precepit etiam ut Iudei quos Hildericus uocauerat ab illis finibus pellerentur, statum omnium pacis concordia roborauit et radicem rebellionis et scismatis penitus extirpauit." *De rebus hispanie* III, xi, ll. 10–13, p. 90.

"Ibique quae dirupta atque depasta ab hostibus fuerant, iubet princeps sollicite instaurare, atque Narbonensem prouinciam regia dispositione reformat, consiliis instruit, Iudaeos abiicit, clementiores rectores instituit, per quos tanti mali placaretur

Lucas's *Chronicon*. Rodrigo does not call the Jews a "gentem perfidam" as Lucas does when he describe the original recall of them by the conspirators, but the effect of both these passages, in the *De rebus hispanie* as in Lucas's history, is to portray people who would grant privileges to Jews as traitors and to depict the suppression of Jews as one of the duties of a good king.

In another passage which makes reference to the Jews, Rodrigo describes Julian, archbishop of Toledo (679/80–690), as being of Jewish descent, "from the lineage of the Jews as the flowers of roses are put forth from among thorns."⁹ He takes this description of Julian's origins directly from the Mozarabic chronicle.¹⁰

The archbishop returns to the theme of bad leaders as supporters of the Jews in his chapter, "On the reasons for the dissension on account of which the destruction of Spain occurred," again using Lucas of Tuy as his source. Describing the crimes of King Witiza (702–10), Rodrigo writes, "So that he might add iniquity to iniquity, having violated the privileges of the Church, he (i.e. Witiza) called the Jews back and honoured them with more immunities than he honoured the Church with privileges."¹¹

offensa, et constuprata tantis sordibus terra nouo caelestium institutionum baptismo depurata ad veniam admittetur." Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon mundi* III, p. 66, ll. 28–33.

⁹"Ex traduce Iudeorum ut flores rosarum de inter uepres spinarum productus." *De rebus hispanie* III, xiii, ll. 31–32, p. 93.

¹⁰*Chronica Muzarabica*, ed. Juan Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973), 1: 31, ll. 8–9, p. 28.

¹¹"Et ut iniquitatem iniquitati adiceret, uiolatis priuilegiis ecclesiarum reuocauit Iudeos et maioris immunitatis quam ecclesias priuilegiis honorauit." *De rebus hispanie* III, xvii, ll. 23–26, pp. 98–99.

"Addidit et Vuitiza iniquitatem super iniquitatem, et Iudaeos ad Hispanias euocauit, atque fractris (*sic*) ecclesiarum priuilegiis Iudaeis immunitatum priuilegia dedit." Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon mundi* III, p. 69, ll. 56–57.

Again, supporting Jews is perceived as the action of a bad leader. The archbishop concludes the chapter by describing Witiza's overthrow by King Rodrigo.

Rodrigo and Lucas's accounts of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs provide a useful point of comparison between the two histories. Lucas's version of the conquest occupies a bare page and a quarter in its printed edition, while Rodrigo's takes up seven chapters. 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.¹² The reason for this judgement is that Lucas describes the taking of Toledo by the Arabs as being due to Jewish aid, while Rodrigo leaves this story out of his own work. Lucas's version reads:

The city of Toledo, conquerer of many peoples, (now) defeated through the triumphs of the Ismaelites, succumbed owing to the treason of the Jews since (their treason) was stronger and more 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 to the Saracens. Thus the faithful Toledan populace, found defenceless outside the city, was destroyed by the sword.¹³

As in Lucas's accounts of the rebellion against Wamba, here too the Jews are a people who help and are helped by the enemy.

Rodrigo omits the attribution of the capture of Toledo to Jewish treachery, but he does refer to the Jews frequently in his account of the takeover of the city. He writes, "Tariq fortified Toledo with the Arabs whom he brought with him and with the

¹²See for example, Linehan, *History and Historians*, p. 75 and n. 99.

¹³"Vrbs quoque Toletana multarum gentium victrix Ismaelitis triumphis victa succubuit per prodicionem Iudaeorum, quia fortior et rebellior fuerat. Nam dum Christiani in die ramis palmarum ad ecclesiam sanctae Leocadiae extra urbem regiam ob reuerentiam tantae solemnitatis ad audiendum verbum Domini conuenissent, Iudaei qui prodicionis signum dederant Sarracenis, Christianis claudentes portas Sarracenis aparuerunt. Ideo fidelis Toletanus populus inermis inuentus extra urbem gladio deletus est." Lucas of Tuy *Chronicon mundi* III, p. 70, l. 55—p. 71, l. 2.

Jews whom he found in Toledo.”¹⁴ 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.”¹⁵ Likewise at Granada: “Another army in a similar victory occupied Granada, which had been besieged for a long time, and it strengthened [the city] with the Jews living there and with Arabs,”¹⁶ and at Seville: “He (Musa) populated captive Seville with Jews and Arabs.”¹⁷ In all four cities, the Jews help the Muslim conquerors to establish their rule. Rodrigo’s account of Jewish cooperation with the Arabs is more subtle than Lucas’s; he may not have wanted to focus a particularly harsh light on the Jews in his own city of Toledo. Nevertheless, his depiction of the Jews as partners with 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.

The editor of the *De rebus hispanie* found the origin of Rodrigo’s account of the conquest of Spain in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, but Jewish participation is only mentioned in this chronicle’s report of the taking of Toledo. After the conquest of the city, it 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

¹⁴“Taric autem ex Arabibus quos secum duxerat et Iudeis quos Toleti inuenerat muniuit Toletum.” *De rebus hispanie* III, xxiii, ll. 20–21, p. 111.

¹⁵“Iudeos autem qui inibi morabantur, cum suis Arabibus ad populationem et custodiam Cordube dimiserunt.” *De rebus hispanie* III, xxiii, ll. 49–51, p. 110.

¹⁶“Alius exercitus Granatam diucius impugnatam uictoria simili occupauit et Iudeis ibidem morantibus et Arabibus stabiliuit.” *De rebus hispanie* III, xxiii, ll. 3–5, pp. 110–11.

¹⁷“Ipse autem captam Hispalim de Iudeis et Arabibus populauit.” *De rebus hispanie* III, xxiii, ll. 59–60, p. 112.

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.¹⁸

Here, the Jews turn to the Arabs out of desperation, and they have to pay yearly for what Tariq gives them. In Rodrigo's account, no indication is made of what the Jews owed to the Arabs, and the overall impression is that they were willing to be the accomplices of their Arab masters.

The final reference to a Jew in the *De rebus hispanie* is quite different from those which come before, and it is a tale which is original to Rodrigo. The story describes an event in the early twelfth century, close to Rodrigo's own time, involving a Jew, Joseph Ferrizuel, known as "Cidellus," physician and advisor to Alfonso VI of Castile-León (1065-1109). In Rodrigo's account, after the death of Alfonso VI's son-in-law, Raymund of Burgundy in 1107, the counts and magnates gathered together and decided that Alfonso's widowed daughter, Urraca, should marry Count Gomez of Candespina:

And since no one dared to offer advice to the king, fearing the magnificence of his rage, they approached a certain Jew, Cidellus by name, who was quite close to the king because of his diligence and knowledge of medicine; and laying bare their purpose to him, they sent him to the king so that he might tell of what they had decided. Then the king, as if moved by two-fold grief, is said to have given to that Jew the response: "I do not blame you for having presumed to say this, but rather I blame myself, by whose friendship you have broken forth into such audacity. Beware lest you dare to appear in my presence again, because if you do so, then you will die. To provide for my daughter is my affair, but not as they think." Hearing this, the counts and magnates withdrew, ashamed.¹⁹

¹⁸"E quando los judios vieron que se perdian e que tota la tierra era perdida, vinieronse todos para Tarife e rogaronle que les diese adonde estar e poblar. E tobo por bien, e dioles a Toledo, e fizo con ellos cartas de fermidumbre, e de algo que auian todos los años de le dar." *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Diego Catalan and Ma. Soledad de Andrés, Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España, vol. 3 (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1974), CXLI, pp. 354-55.

¹⁹"Et quia consilium regi proponere non audebant animositatis eius magnificenciam formidantes, quendam Iudeum, Cidellum nomine, ascuerunt, qui satis erat familiaris regi propter industriam et scienciam medicine; et huic consilium denudantes mittunt ad regem, ut que tractauerunt nunciaret. Tunc rex quasi dolore duplici stimulatus Iudeo tale dicitur dedisse responsum: 'Non tibi imputo quod hoc dicere presumpsisti, set michi, cuius familiaritate in tantam audaciam prorupisti. Caue ergo ne de cetero audeas in mei presencia comparere, quod si feceris, ilico morieris.'

The moral of this tale is difficult to discern. The brave Jew who risked his position to bring advice to his king is a positive figure to modern eyes, a man to be pitied.

Perhaps this was not so for medieval readers, however, who might have found the fall of a Jew, who thought he was so high in the king's favour that he could tell the king what to do, amusing. Rodrigo may have been cautioning his own king, Fernando III, for whom he wrote this history, not to let his own Jewish advisors and servants get too close to him, lest they take the same liberties Cidellus did.

Historia arabum

A Jewish magician plays a prominent role in the tale of Mohammed's youth and formation found in Rodrigo's *Historia arabum*. This work is an account of the early years of Islam and the history of the conquest and rule of Spain by the Arabs. The archbishop writes that, at the time of Mohammed's birth, "Arabia and Africa were being pulled by conflicting desires, between Catholic faith, Arian heresy, Jewish faithlessness, and idolatry."²⁰ Mohammed's own father, Aly, fluctuated between the Catholic faith and Judaism, influenced by a certain Jewish friend of his who was a magician.²¹ Rodrigo explains about the prophet's birth:

When Aemina (Mohammed's mother) conceived there was a great famine throughout Arabia such that, since there was no bread, they ate wild grasses. When the time for Aemina's labour had come, that Jew, since he was a magician,

Mea autem intererit mee filie, set non ut postulant, prouidere.' Hoc audito recesserunt confusi comites et magnates." *De rebus hispanie* VI, xxxiii, ll. 10-21, pp. 217-18. Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) does not mention this story, no doubt believing it to be apocryphal.

²⁰"... Arabia et Africa inter fidem Catholicam, et haeresim Arianam, et perfidiam Iudaicam, et Idolatriam diversis studiis traheretur." *Historia arabum* I, p. 242.

²¹"Arabs praedictus Aly familiaritate cuiusdem Iudaei, qui erat geneaticus, inter fidem Catholicam et Iudaeorum perfidiam fluctuabat." *Historia arabum* I, pp. 242-3.

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 everything the magician had seen about the child, he revealed and he predicted that he would be marvellously exalted in dominion and law.²²

Rodrigo recounts the story, which he describes as a lie of Mohammed ("ut ipse mentitur"), that two angels came to the infant Mohammed, cut out his heart, washed it of blood, and weighed it first against ten, then against one thousand Arab hearts. The angels concluded that his heart would be heavier than all Arab hearts put together.²³ Mohammed's father died while he was a baby and his mother gave him to his grandmother to nurse when he was five years old. His mother took him back again when he was seven but she died a few days later. A woman named Daymen took Mohammed and went with him to Mecca. Mohammed's grandfather died when he was eight and his uncle, Abū Tālib, took him in. Rodrigo writes, "He gave him to be instructed to the aforementioned magician who 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."²⁴ Rodrigo thus characterizes Islam as a religion that blends some aspects of Christianity and Judaism.

²²"Cumque Aemina concepisset, facta est sterilitas magna per totam Arabiam, adeo ut, pane deficiente, herbis dumtaxat silvestribus vescerentur. Cum autem tempus partus Aeminae advenisset, Iudaeus ille, ut erat geneaticus, captavit consistentiam planetarum, et horam nativitatis infantis. Aly autem in sanctam Ierusalem iverat ad orandum, et rediens, invenit filium suum natum: et quidquid ille geneaticus de infante perceperat, revelavit, et praedixit eum in regno et lege mirabiliter exaltandum." *Historia arabum* I, p. 243.

²³*Historia arabum* I, p. 243.

²⁴"Et iste tradidit eum praedicto geneatico instruendum, qui eum instruxit in naturalibus scientiis, et lege Catholica, et Iudaicae perfidiae documentis: unde et ipse postmodum aliqua de fide Catholica, aliqua de lege veteri in suae sectae subsidium usurpavit." *Historia arabum* II, p. 243.

Rodrigo's account of Mohammed's youth and early influences owes something to genuine Islamic legends about the prophet's origins and something to the archbishop's own ingenuity. His ultimate source is the *Kitāb Nasab Rasūl Allāh* whose authorship is ascribed to Ka'b al-Aḥbar, a Yemenite Jew, who was contemporary with Mohammed and who converted to Islam. The Arabic version is extant in two manuscripts of Spanish provenance. Translated by Herman of Carinthia as the *Liber generationis Mahumet*,²⁵ this text forms part of the compilation of works prepared in Toledo under the direction of Peter the Venerable (b. 1092/94–1156) during his visit to Spain from 1142 to 1143. This compilation, known as the *Collectio Toletana*, includes Peter the Venerable's *Summa totius heresis Saracenorum* and a dedicatory letter from him to Bernard of Clairvaux; a translation of the Koran and a collection of Islamic traditions under the rubric *Fabule Saracenorum*, both translated by Robert of Ketton; the abovementioned *Liber generationis* and the *Doctrina Mahumet*, a dispute between a Jew and Mohammed which ends with the conversion of the Jew, also translated by Herman of Carinthia; and, lastly, the *Risāla* of al-Kindi, an Arabic work of Christian apologetics, translated by the mysterious Peter of Toledo, who assisted Peter the Venerable in planning the entire compilation.²⁶

Some thirty-one manuscripts containing part or all of the *Collectio* exist.²⁷ They include the original, or one of the original witnesses to the compilation, a

²⁵Norman Daniel noted that the *Historia arabum* was based on *Liber generationis Mahumet* in his *Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1958), p. 87.

²⁶On the composition of the *Collectio Toletana* see James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), *passim* and esp. on the *Liber generationis*, pp. 84–5; and Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age," *AHDLMA*, vols. 22 and 23 (1947–48): 69–113.

²⁷d'Alverny discusses the manuscripts containing the *Collectio* in "Deux traductions," pp. 108–113; and in "Quelques manuscrits de la *Collectio Toletana*," *Petrus Venerabilis*, eds. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck, *Studia Anselmiana*, vol. 40 (Rome: Herder, 1956), pp. 202–218.

manuscript copied in Spain before the middle of the twelfth century which is now ms. 1162 at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris.²⁸ An examination of the *Liber generationis* as it appears in this manuscript shows clear affinities between its text and Rodrigo's life of Mohammed. But the archbishop did not necessarily use the Latin translation prepared by Herman of Carinthia, and he does not appear to have availed himself of other material in the *Collectio*. The Arabic text was available to Herman in Toledo in the 1140s, and may still have been there in the thirteenth century for Rodrigo to consult, perhaps with the aid of a translator.²⁹ The texts in the *Collectio* seem to have been familiar ones in Spain. The Jewish convert to Christianity, Petrus Alfonsi, wrote in the anti-Islamic section of his work of Christian apologetics, the *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, which was completed in 1108 or 1110, that Mohammed had been advised by two Jewish heretics, Cahbalahabar and Abdias.³⁰ Cahbalahabar is none other than Ka'b al-Aḥbār, author of the Arabic original of the *Liber generationis*,³¹ and Abdias is 'Abdallāh ibn-Salām, the Jew who disputed with Mohammed and converted to Islam in the *Doctrina Mahumet*,³² the second text translated by Herman of Carinthia for the compilation. Allan and Helen Cutler regard Petrus Alfonsi's reference to this

²⁸d'Alverny, "Deux traductions," pp. 77–8.

²⁹Rodrigo's biographers (eg., Gorosterratzu, pp. 204–205) as well as the editor of his *De rebus hispanie* (Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *De rebus hispanie*, p. xl) assume that the archbishop knew Arabic, but this is disputed by Francisco J. Hernández in his review of Fernández's edition in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990): 104. He suggests the name of at least one Mozarab associated with the cathedral who could have aided Rodrigo in reading Arabic.

³⁰Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, PL 157, 600B. For Petrus's life and works, see John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993) pp. 9–11.

³¹Bibl. de l'Arsenal ms. 1162, fol. 11ra, renders his name as "Kalahabar."

³²In Bibl. de l'Arsenal ms. 1162, fol. 19ra, Abdias is referred to as, "Abdia ibensalon postea dictus abdalla ibensellem," that is, after his conversion to Islam.

pair as one piece of evidence that he was the Peter of Toledo who assisted with the production of the *Collectio*.³³ In any case, Petrus Alfonsi's reference to these two shows that their works were familiar in the Iberian peninsula.

The *Liber generationis* in ms. 1162 of the Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal begins with Ka'b al-Aḥbār describing how he came to be acquainted with Mohammed. First, he learned from reading the scriptures that a prophet would be born in his time and verified this by means of astrological evidence.³⁴ He later heard that a man had been born in Arabia showing all the signs of what he had predicted. The Jewish astrologer went to see him, observed his manner, and saw present in him all the indications which he had foreseen, "like a mark on his face."³⁵ The rest of the text traces the generations from Adam to Mohammed and discusses the miracles which occurred at Mohammed's birth and during his childhood. It includes other elements found in Rodrigo's *Historia arabum*, notably the famine in Arabia at the time of Mohammed's birth, the story of the washing and weighing of the prophet's heart, and the account of him being taken to Mecca by a woman (Rodrigo calls her Daymen, but her name is Halima in ms. 1162).³⁶

³³Allan Harris Cutler and Helen Elmquist Cutler, *The Jew as Ally of the Muslim* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 72.

³⁴"Primus igitur Kabalahbar sequentium omnium testimonio cum in scripturis prophetam hunc seculo nasciturum studiose didicisset omnemque historiam uiri astrologico testimonio approbasset." Bibl. de L'Arsenal ms. 1162, fol. 11ra.

³⁵"Ecce seculorum serie in ipsis diebus suis uirum natum audit in ciuitate Arabię Ieserab, omnia prouidentię suę signacula preferentem. Celebri demum fama frequentique testimonio motus hominem adit quem undique uersum perspiciebat, omnemque modum eius et conuersationem obseruans ita quidem, ut ipsas etiam corporis notas easdem quas presignauerat reperiret, ut in fronte maculam, inter scapulas huiusmodi karakterem hunc ipsum esse plane apprehendit." Bibl. de l'Arsenal ms. 1162, fols. 11ra-11rb.

³⁶For the famine in Arabia, see fol. 15rb; for the weighing of Mohammed's heart see fol. 17va-17vb; and for his journey to Mecca as a boy see fols. 16rb-18ra of Bibl. de l'Arsenal ms. 1162. Kritzeck describes the contents of the entire treatise on pp. 85-88.

Considering only those parts of the story which deal with the Jewish astrologer, Rodrigo's modifications to the original story stand out. He took the original story that a Jewish astrologer read in the scriptures and in the heavens that a great prophet would arise, and later saw that prophet in Mohammed, and built around it the stories that the astrologer had been a friend of Mohammed's father, that he cast Mohammed's horoscope when he was a baby, and that he had taught Mohammed about natural science and the Jewish and Christian faiths. Rodrigo's appointment of the astrologer as Mohammed's teacher is not unusual since Western Christian accounts of the prophet's life invariably describe him as being educated by a Jew or a Christian or both.³⁷ Rodrigo never gives the name of the astrologer in his account. The fact that "Kabahbar" is nowhere described as a Jew in ms. 1162, although Ka'b al-Aḥbār was commonly known to be a Jewish convert to Islam, suggests that Rodrigo did not in fact use Herman of Carinthia's translation of the *Liber generationis*.

The portrayal of the Jewish astrologer as Mohammed's guide in the *Historia arabum* is negative, especially considering the context in which it was written. Even after the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, Toledo was still a frontier region, under threat of Muslim attack. Furthermore, it housed a large population of Jews, whom Rodrigo once represented to Honorius III as being a potential fifth column against the Christians, if they were forced to obey the rules of Lateran IV, notably the dress code.³⁸ In the *Historia arabum*, a Jew is depicted allied with Mohammed from the very origins of Islam.

³⁷Daniel, p. 84.

³⁸See Chapter 1.

Breuiarium historie catholice

This recently edited work is extant in two medieval manuscripts and an eighteenth-century copy made for Cardinal de Lorenzana (b. 1722–1804), then archbishop of Toledo.³⁹ The *Breuiarium* is a sacred history, beginning with Creation and ending with the dispersal of the Apostles to preach to the gentiles. The *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor (b. ca. 1100–1179) is the model for the work and this text provided the *Breuiarium* with its internal structure and much of its content. The *Breuiarium* differs from the *Historia scholastica* by including long scriptural passages within the body of the text, and includes far less analysis than its source.⁴⁰ Now that an edition of the *Breuiarium* exists, a study of what sections of the *Historia scholastica* Rodrigo chose to incorporate or to leave out of his own work and what material he took from other sources would be desirable. Although such a study is beyond the scope of this dissertation, an examination of references to the Jews, citations of the *hebraica ueritas*, and Jewish interpretations of scripture in the *Breuiarium* provides a useful point of comparison between the *Breuiarium* and the *Historia scholastica* and amplifies our knowledge of Rodrigo's understanding of the place of Jews and Judaism in his own day. Rodrigo takes his references to the Jews in the *Breuiarium* mostly from the *Historia scholastica* and the *Glossa ordinaria*. Other passages are original with Rodrigo.

Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*

The largest number of references to the Jews found in the *Breuiarium* are taken from the *Historia scholastica*. Peter incorporates Jewish interpretations

³⁹For a description of the manuscripts see Juan Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *Breuiarium*, pp. ix–xiv.

⁴⁰On Rodrigo's use of Comestor, see Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *Breuiarium*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

throughout the *Historia* to clarify points of the biblical narrative. Esra Shereshevsky has identified some fifty passages in Comestor's explication of Genesis alone which show signs of being influenced by Jewish exegesis.⁴¹ Shereshevsky's error in his study was to assume that Comestor gleaned all this information from the Jews of his own day, neglecting the presence of many of these interpretations in works by earlier authors, particularly Jerome.⁴² Without a critical edition of the *Historia scholastica*, it is difficult to determine exactly from where Comestor is taking his Jewish interpretations, but it seems that, in addition to patristic sources, he was influenced by Jewish readings found in Andrew of St. Victor's biblical commentaries,⁴³ and that, like Andrew before him, Comestor must have had recourse to contemporary Jews since some of the traditions he relates have no precedent in Christian texts.⁴⁴

Whether they were traditions long known to Christians or only recently learned, Peter Comestor's constant use of Jewish readings exemplifies the almost universal interest in such interpretations which developed over the course of the twelfth century, an interest shared by Rodrigo himself. Rodrigo does not copy every instance

⁴¹Esra Shereshevsky, "Hebrew Traditions in Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 59 (1969): 269-89.

⁴²Samuel Thobias Lachs, "The Source of Hebrew Traditions in the *Historia Scholastica*," *Harvard Theological Review*, 66 (1973): 385-87, takes Shereshevsky to task for not appreciating Comestor's debt to patristic authors, but Lachs himself does not recognize that Comestor took interpretations from contemporary Christian authors who did have direct contact with Jews, or that Comestor includes references for which no Christian source can be found.

⁴³Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964). pp. 178-80 first identified Comestor's use of Andrew of St. Victor in this regard.

⁴⁴Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 298 and n. 123. Gilbert Dahan, "Les interprétations juives dans les commentaires du Pentateuque de Pierre le Chantre," *The Bible in the Medieval World*, ed. Katherine Walsh and Diane Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 136 makes reference to Peter Comestor's possible Jewish interlocutor.

of Comestor's borrowing from the Jews in the *Breuiarium*, just as he does not cite all of Comestor's other interpretations. Nevertheless, a glance at the footnotes of the *Breuiarium* shows just how many of the phrases beginning "Iudei" or "Hebrei narrant ..." are taken from the *Historia*. A few examples, not found in the footnotes to the *Breuiarium*, will suffice to make clear the extent of Rodrigo's borrowing. Discussing a reference to Seir and Edom in Idc 5, 3, Rodrigo writes:

Dicunt Hebrei quod Dominus daturus legem filiis Israel primo misit angelos suos ad filios Esau et ad alios populos, inuitans eos ut legem reciperent; et quia ipsi noluerunt, uenit ad Synai et inde dedit legem filiis Israel.⁴⁵

The editor of the *Breuiarium* gives no source for this passage but Rodrigo in fact took it from the following section of the *Historia scholastica*, in which Comestor comments on Dt 33, 2, which mentions Seir and Mount Pharan:

Tradunt Hebraei quod Dominus misit angelos suos ad Idumaeos et ad Ismaelitas in Pharan et obtulit eis legem suam. Quam cum recipere nolent, venit ad Iudaeos in montem Sina, cum multis millibus angelorum.⁴⁶

This interpretation was first cited by Andrew of St. Victor, also commenting on Dt 33, 2,⁴⁷ and was also used by Peter the Chanter (b. 1120/30–97), who took it either from Comestor or from Andrew, to explicate the same verse from Deuteronomy. The

⁴⁵"The Hebrews say that the Lord, before giving the Law to the sons of Israel, first sent his angels to the sons of Esau and to other peoples, inviting them to receive the Law; and since they did not wish to do so, he came to Sinai and gave the Law to the sons of Israel." *Breuiarium* IV, xxix, ll. 23–26, p. 217.

⁴⁶Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1260A. The editor may have missed it because in the chapter where Rodrigo is quoting this passage, he uses material from the *Historia Scholastica*, coll. 1276A–77A, not col. 1260.

⁴⁷"Tradunt etiam Hebraei Dominum misisse angelos suos ad Idumaeos et ad illos de monte Pharan, Ismaelitas scilicet, et legem suam illis obtulisse. Quam postquam recipere noluerunt, uenit ad Iudaeos in monte Sinai et cum multa milia angelorum." Andrew of St. Victor, *In Deuteronomium, Expositio super heptateuchum*, ed. Charles Lohr and Rainer Berndt, CCCM 53, ll. 614–618, pp. 211.

Jewish source of the tradition is a passage from the Midrash on Lamentations.⁴⁸ It is not surprising that such a passage should be popular among Christian exegetes, because to a Christian audience the idea that God offered the Law to other groups before the Jews would serve to minimize the Jews' status as the "chosen people." In a Christian context, the extract takes on a polemical significance.

Another passage which came to the *Breuiarium* from Andrew of St. Victor via Peter Comestor is an observation on contemporary Jewish practice. Commenting on Nm 15, 38, where God orders Moses to tell the Jews to put tassels on the corners of their garments and to put a blue cord in each tassel so that they might remember His commandments, Andrew of St. Victor observes:

In huiusmodi uestis quattuor angulis usque hodie in synagogis suis habent Iudaei fimbrias hyacinthas ob recordationem legis caelitus datae. Olim faciebant has fimbrias, ut etiam cultu a ceteris gentibus distingueretur.⁴⁹

Peter Comestor observes very similarly, also commenting on Nm 15:

Quadratis tunc utebantur palliis, et adhuc in angulis vestis quadratae in synagogis suis habent fimbrias hyacinthas ob recordationem legis datae de coelo. Hoc autem faciebant, ut a caeteris gentibus etiam habitu discernerentur.⁵⁰

Commenting this time on Dt 22, 12, where the Jews are again commanded to put tassels on their cloaks, Rodrigo explains, "The Jews wore these, especially in the

⁴⁸"At first He revealed Himself to the sons of Esau; that is what is written, *And He said: The Lord came from Sinai, and rose from Seir unto them*, but they rejected it. Then He offered it to the sons of Ishmael who rejected it, as it is written, *He shined forth from Mount Paran*. Finally He offered it to Israel who accepted it, as is written, *And He came forth from the myriads holy, and at His right hand was a fiery law unto them* (Dt 33, 2)." Midrash R, *Lamentations*, III, i, p. 189. Dahan, "Interprétations juives chez Pierre le Chantre," pp. 137, 155, cites this passage's Jewish origin and also discusses its use by Comestor, Andrew of St. Victor, and Peter the Chanter.

⁴⁹"Even today, Jews wear blue tassels on the four corners of a garment of this sort in their synagogues as a reminder of the Law given from heaven. Once they made these tassels so that they might be distinguished by (their) worship from other nations." Andrew of St. Victor, *In Numeris*, CCCM 53, ll. 309–12, pp. 187.

⁵⁰Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1230A.

synagogues."⁵¹ Although Rodrigo is discussing a different Bible verse, his source for this statement is most likely the *Historia scholastica*.⁵²

In several places Rodrigo expands the explication of the Jewish reading beyond what is found in the *Historia scholastica*. Discussing the account of which foods are forbidden to the Jews in Lv 11, Comestor writes:

The Lord ordered Moses and Aaron to give to the sons of Israel a law on distinguishing foods. According to the letter, then, the Lord limited for them, owing to their gluttony, the foods allowed to Man.⁵³

Commenting on the same passage from Leviticus in the *Breuiarium*, Rodrigo explains:

The Lord said the opposite to Noah in Genesis: *Everything that moves and lives will be food for you* (Gn 9, 3); but there the use of creatures was permitted to Man, here it is limited by the gluttony of the Jews.⁵⁴

The question of the continued validity of the dietary laws was an important feature of anti-Jewish polemic. Christians such as Gilbert Crispin and, following him, Alan of Lille argued from Gn 1, 31 that all creation is essentially good and so animals cannot be inherently unclean.⁵⁵ Rodrigo implies as much when he reminds his reader that under Noah, all these animals were permitted for use by Man. He blames their later

⁵¹"Hiis utebantur Iudei et precipue in sinagogis." *Breuiarium* III, cxxvi, ll. 17-18, p. 193.

⁵²The editor of the *Breuiarium* did not identify a source for this passage.

⁵³"Praecipit Dominus Moysi, et Aaron, ut traderent filiis Israel legem de discretione ciborum. Ad litteram enim Dominus cibos homini concessos, eis arctauit propter gastrimargiam eorum." Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1204B-C.

⁵⁴"Contrarium in Genesi dixit Dominus ad Noe: *Omne quod mouetur et uiuit erit uobis in cibum* (Gn 9, 3); set ibi usus creaturarum homini indulgetur, hic Iudeorum castrimargia coartatur." *Breuiarium* III, lv, ll. 12-15, pp. 157-58.

⁵⁵Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani* in *The Works of Gilbert Crispin*, eds. Anna Sapir Abulafia and G. R. Evans, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, vol. 8 (London: British Academy, 1986), 16-18, pp. 11-12; 47-49, pp. 18-19. Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos*, III, PL 201, col. 407C-D, 409C-410A. Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 506-7.

prohibition on the sins of the Jews, not on any quality inhering in the animals themselves. Rodrigo's explicit mention of the Jews, not found in Comestor's version, underscores the polemical nature of this passage. Like Rodrigo, the anonymous Spanish author of the anti-Jewish text "Qui ceptum," written around 1222, points out that between the time of Noah and Moses all animals were permitted for Man's use but this author explains the later prohibition as due in part to the fact that the gentiles worshipped idols that looked like the forbidden animals.⁵⁶

The Glossa ordinaria

Most of the passages in the *Breuiarium* that do not come from the *Historia scholastica*, including those which make reference to the Jews, come from the interlinear and marginal glosses of the *Glossa ordinaria*. The *Glossa ordinaria* was produced by a group of scholars associated with Anselm of Laon (b. ca. 1050–1117) in the first decades of the twelfth century.⁵⁷ Like the *Historia scholastica*, it is replete with references to Jewish interpretations of scripture. The editor of the *Breuiarium* chose not to cite these and other borrowings from the *Glossa* in his apparatus to the text.⁵⁸

Several examples indicate Rodrigo's use of this material. Some are of quite brief snatches of text. On Ex 23, 14, discussing the three feasts of the Jews, Rodrigo copies the interlinear gloss, "Hoc est, Pascha, Pentecoste et Cenophagia."⁵⁹ Iud 5, 12,

⁵⁶José M. Millás Vallicrosa, "Un tratado anónimo de polémica contra los judíos," *Sefarad* 13 (1955), p. 31.

⁵⁷Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. 63.

⁵⁸See Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *Breuiarium* pp. xxiv–xxviii, for a discussion of how Rodrigo used the *Glossa* and a partial list of some of the places in the *Breuiarium* where citations from the *Glossa* can be found.

⁵⁹*Breuiarium* III, xiv, ll. 4–5, p. 125. *Glossa ord. ad Ex 23, 14, I*, p. 159b.

Surge, Barach, et apprehende, has the note, "In Hebreo predare predam tuam," which also comes from the *Glossa*.⁶⁰ Rodrigo uses some longer sections of the *Glossa* too.

From a reference to the Hebrew month "Elul" in I Mach 14, 27, Rodrigo explains:

Elul mensis est sextus apud Hebreos, qui apud Grecos dicitur Gorpeios, apud Latinos uero September, set dispari ordine numerorum propter diuersas inchoationes annorum que apud singulas gentes existunt; nam Hebrei, qui primum mensem habent Nisam, hoc est Aprilem, in sexto loco habent supra memoratum Elul; Greci autem, qui suum annum inchoant a primo mense eorum Apileos, hoc est, a kalendis Decembris, decimum mensem habent Gorpeyum; Latini autem, qui antiquitus primordium anni sui a kalendis Marciis habuere, Septembrem septimum mensem computauerunt.⁶¹

This entire section is lifted directly from the commentary on the same verse in the *Glossa*.⁶²

Elsewhere, Rodrigo makes use of both the *Historia scholastica* and the *Glossa* to compile his text. This is clear from his discussion of Gn 46, 28, in which Jacob sends Judah ahead of him into the land of Goshen to meet Joseph. Here, Rodrigo comments on the text of the Hebrew scripture:

Alia translacio habet: ut occurreret ei ad urbem Heroum in terra Ramesses. Aliqui Iudeorum dicunt Iessen Thebayden uocari, et dicunt optime terre solum Ramesses pagum Arsenoitem uocari, qui pagus pars est Thebaidis, et sunt iste Thebe Egipciorum, unde sanctus Mauricius.⁶³

The *Glossa ordinaria* likewise glossing Gn 46, 28, has:

Iudam vero misit ante se a ioseph ut oecurreret et ei ad vrberum heroum in terra ramesses. In hebreo nec habetur vrberum heroum. nec ramesse. sed tantum modo

⁶⁰*Breuiarium* IV, xxix, ll. 52–53, p. 217. *Glossa ord. ad* Idc 5, 12, I, p. 479b.

⁶¹*Breuiarium* VIII, lxxxiii, ll. 4–14, p. 479.

⁶²*Glossa ord. ad* 1 Mcc 14, 37, III, p. 501b. The main difference between the two versions is that the text in the *Glossa* incorrectly gives the Hebrew name of the month as "Ebul," not "Elul."

⁶³"Another translation has: so that he might meet him in the city of Heroum in the land of Ramses. Some Jews saw that Goshen is called Thebes, and they say that only the field of Arsinoeum is called the best land of Ramses, which field is part of Thebaid, and this is the Thebes of the Egyptians, whence Saint Maurice." *Breuiarium* II, liii, ll. 6–10, pp. 93–94.

iessen vel gesem. Non nulli iudeorum asserunt iessen nunc thebaiden vocari. et quod sequitur. dedit ei ut possiderent in egipto terram optimam in ramesse: pagum arsenoyten sic olim uocatum autumant.⁶⁴

Peter Comestor does not cite the Jews as the source of the alternate name for the place where Judah met Joseph, but he includes the reference to Maurice:

Alii dicunt ad urbem Heroum in terre Ramesse, quae tunc Gessen, post Thebais dicta est, aqua Thebaei, quorum legioni praefuit beatus Mauricius.⁶⁵

St. Maurice was the legendary leader of the entirely Christian so-called "Theban legion" which was massacred by Emperor Maximian (286–305) in Gaul when it refused to sacrifice. Here we can see Rodrigo deliberately picking and choosing between two models to produce his own variation on the story.

Other Sources of Jewish Interpretations

Rodrigo drew from texts other than the *Historia scholastica* and the *Glossa ordinaria* in the *Breuiarium* only to a very limited extent. These include works by Isidore, Orosius, and Jerome.⁶⁶ Occasionally, these borrowings include references to the Jews. For example, commenting on the *fruits of the most beautiful tree* (Lv 23, 40) which the Jews were supposed to collect on the feast of Succoth, Rodrigo explains, "The Jews say this is the citrus tree."⁶⁷ Rodrigo takes his interpretation from Jerome's commentary on Zacharias where, also discussing the wood used at Succoth, he writes,

⁶⁴*Glossa ord. ad Gn 46, 28, I, p. 103b.* The *Glossa* gives Jerome as the source for this extract. In his *Hebraicae quaestiones*, CCSL 72, p. 50, the following passage can be found explicating Gn 46, 28: "In hebraeo nec urbem habet heroum nec terram Ramesse, sed tantum modo Gosen. Non nulli Iudaeorum asserunt Gosen nunc Thebaidem uocari."

⁶⁵Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1134D. The edition of the *Breuiarium* gives only this passage as Rodrigo's source for his version.

⁶⁶Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *Breuiarium*, p. xxviii.

⁶⁷"Hanc dicunt Iudei cytrum." *Breuiarium* III, lxxi, l. 58, p. 168.

"Praecepit quoque ut facerent tabernacula de ligno pulcherrimo, quod Iudaei citrum uocant."⁶⁸

Did Rodrigo use the biblical commentaries of Stephen Langton (b. ca. 1150–1228) as a source for the *Breuiarium*? This question is posed because in the collection of manuscripts once belonging to the monastery of Sta. María de Huerta, now located at the Biblioteca Provincial of Soria, there are two manuscripts containing Langton's biblical commentaries; the first (ms. 10-H) comprising Esdras, Maccabees, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Ezechiel, and Daniel; the second (ms. 11-H) containing Kings, Chronicles, Tobias, Judith, Esther, and the twelve minor prophets. A third manuscript containing Langton's commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, has vanished since the three were mentioned in a seventeenth-century account of the Cistercian order by A. Manrique. Manrique asserted that all three once belonged to Rodrigo.⁶⁹ If the Langton manuscripts in Soria did belong to Rodrigo, it is conceivable that they were acquired by him while Rodrigo was studying in Paris, which was during the same period that Langton was lecturing. Fernández Valverde, editor of the *Breuiarium*, rejected the possibility that Rodrigo was influenced by these commentaries, because he could not find any similarity between Rodrigo's text and the various extracts from Langton's commentaries published by Beryl Smalley in her several discussions of Langton and his works.⁷⁰ But as Smalley herself explains,

⁶⁸Jerome, *In Zachariam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 76A, III, 14, ll. 645–46, p. 894. The editor of the *Breuiarium* has missed this reference.

⁶⁹T. Rojo Orcajo, "La Biblioteca del Arzobispo don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada y los manuscritos del monasterio de Sta. María de Huerta," *Revista Eclesiástica*, 1 (1929): pp. 198, 207–208.

⁷⁰Fernández Valverde, "Introducción," *Breuiarium*, p. xxviii. George Lacombe and Beryl Smalley, "Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton," *AHDLMA*, 5 (1930): 1–266, is still the most complete work on Langton's commentaries. See also Smalley's articles, "Stephen Langton and the Four Senses of Scripture," *Speculum*, 6 (1931): 60–76; "Exempla in the Commentaries of Stephen Langton," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 17 (1933): 121–29; her *Study of the Bible*, *passim*, esp. chapter 5, as well as M.-B. de Vaux St. Cyr, "Les deux

Langton used his commentaries in his lectures in the schools of Paris. The commentaries thus survive in the form of the transcript, or *reportatio*, his hearers made of these lectures. Stephen Langton's commentaries exist in two or three versions that vary a great deal one from another, for each book of the Bible.⁷¹ It follows then that the only way to be certain that Langton did not influence Rodrigo is to examine the actual manuscripts of the glosses believed to have belonged to Rodrigo, since any others may show misleading variations.

I have not yet had the opportunity to consult the manuscripts at Soria, and a full investigation of Stephen Langton's potential influence on Rodrigo falls outside the purview of this dissertation. Nevertheless, a heavily glossed manuscript of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* located in the Biblioteca Capitular of Toledo (ms. 10-3) may shed light on this question and further illuminate Rodrigo's attitude to the Jews. The manuscript dates from the first half of the thirteenth century and contains glosses in several medieval hands.⁷² One set of glosses in a large hand contemporary with the text hand interests me in particular because I believe that the glosses may be Rodrigo's own work and that the entire manuscript may have been in his possession. This gloss hand bears some resemblance to the photograph of Rodrigo's signature reproduced in Francisco Hernández's catalogue of the cartularies of Toledo⁷³ and an even closer

commentaires d'Étienne Langton sur Isaïe," *Revue des sciences philosophique et théologique*, 39 (1955): 228-36. On Jewish exegesis and anti-Jewish polemic in Langton's Genesis commentary, see Gilbert Dahan, "Exégèse et polémique dans les Commentaires de la Genèse d'Étienne Langton," *Les juifs au regard de l'histoire* (Paris: Picard, 1985), pp. 129-48.

⁷¹Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, pp. 182, 205-207.

⁷²See the description of the manuscript in Klaus Reinhardt and Ramón González, *Catálogo de códices bíblicos de la catedral de Toledo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1990), pp. 266-69.

⁷³Hernández, *Los cartularios*, plate 25.

likeness to the signature reproduced as the frontispiece to Gorosterratzu's biography of the archbishop. Without a larger sample of writing known to be in the archbishop's hand, however, the content of the glosses written by this hand is of more utility than the script in determining a relationship with Rodrigo.

Klaus Reinhardt and Ramón González have already noted a connection between this glossator and Stephen Langton, citing the following gloss as evidence:

Magister dicit etiam se vidisse in quadam fenestra vitrea Trecensis ecclesie depictum, quod super empyrean erat rota quedam non multum lata, sed tota rubicunda, in qua sedebat homo Christus, quod cum hac opinione facere videtur, sed nec istud comprobat.⁷⁴

They compared this gloss to a similar passage taken from Stephen Langton's gloss on the *Historia scholastica*, reported by George Lacombe:

Hanc, inquit opinionem audiui a quibusdam et vidi scriptam et etiam pictam in Trecensi ecclesia, ubi ad celum empyreum in quadam vitrea, baiulis nubibus fertur Christus. et istud sapphirium est, et angelis repletum, supra quem sperula admodum rubicunda.⁷⁵

The similarity between the two passages and the glossator's use of the word "Magister" to describe Stephen Langton suggests that the glossator may have been a pupil of Langton.

An examination of the passages quoted by Gilbert Dahan in his study of references to the Jews in Langton's Genesis commentary turns up other examples of influences of Langton on the glossator. Commenting on Gn 37, 28, where Joseph is sold to the Ishmaelites by his brothers for thirty silver pieces, Langton has:

⁷⁴"The Master says that he saw depicted in a certain glass window of the church of Troyes that above the empyrean there was a certain wheel, not very large, but all red in which Christ sat as a man, which seems to match with this opinion, but does not prove it." BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 2r. Reinhardt and González, *Códices bíblicos*, p. 286.

⁷⁵"I heard this opinion,' he said, 'from certain people and I saw it written and even painted in the church of Troyes where, in a certain window, Christ is born up by carrying clouds to the empyrean heaven, and this is sapphire-coloured and filled with angels, above which there is a reddish sphere." Lacombe and Smalley, p. 41.

Notandum quod quidam ueteres codices habent .xx. argenteis, quod mendosum est. Item dicit Ieronimus quod uenditus est .xxx. aureis, sed hoc ebraica ueritate reprobatur, que dicit hic argenteis. Non enim uiliore precio debuit uendi Deus quam Ioseph.⁷⁶

The glossator, at the site of Comestor's discussion of the same passage from Genesis has:

Vendidunt ysmahelites XXti argenteis, non XXXa argenteis ut Septuaginta transtulerunt, sed XXti argenteis ut hebraica ueritas habet quia non debuit Christus viliori precio vendi quam Ioseph.⁷⁷

Although the glossator disagrees with Langton, preferring that Joseph be sold for a lower price than Christ, not at the same price, he seems to be influenced by Langton's interpretation in his wording.

Dahan relates another passage in Langton's Genesis commentary which finds a parallel in the words of the glossator. Langton, commenting on Gn 9, 22, recites a well-known couplet stating that, just as Ham laughed when he saw his father's nudity, so too the Jews laughed when they saw Christ at the passion.⁷⁸ The glossator copies a

⁷⁶Note that certain old books have twenty silver pieces, which is not true. Likewise, Jerome says that he was sold for thirty gold pieces, but this is disproved by the Hebrew truth which says that these are silver pieces. God should not have been sold for a lower price than Joseph." Quoted in Dahan, "Exégèse et polémique," p. 134, based on Paris, BN ms. lat. 14414, fol. 14ra. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 177, fol. 10va, a thirteenth-century manuscript containing Langton's Genesis commentary contains the same passage.

The relevant passage in Jerome reads: "Pro aureis in hebraeo argenteos habet, neque uiliore metallo dominus uenum dari debuit quam Ioseph." Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, ed. Paul de Lagarde, CCSL 72, 57, ll. 25-27, p. 45.

⁷⁷The Ishmaelites sold (Joseph) for twenty silver pieces, not thirty silver pieces as the Septuagint translates, but twenty silver pieces as the Hebrew truth has it since Christ ought not be sold for a lower price than Joseph." BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 17r.

⁷⁸Dahan, "Exégèse et polémique," p. 143. Cambridge, Trinity College ms. 86 (B.3.7), fol. 47ra, a fifteenth-century manuscript containing Langton's Genesis commentary has, "Cham ridet dum membra uidet detecta parentis. Iudei risere Dei penas pacientis."

version of the couplet at the place where Comestor discusses the same biblical verse. It reads:

Cham ridet dum nuda uidet pu<dibunda> parentis
Iudei risere Dei pena morientis.⁷⁹

These examples of Langton's influence on the glossator are based on the very limited number of printed sections of Langton's commentaries in Dahan's article. A study of the manuscripts of Langton's writings would no doubt turn up more evidence of borrowing by the glossator.

Is there any way to connect Rodrigo with the glossator on the basis of textual similarities between the *Breuiarium* and the glosses? Parts of the *Breuiarium* resemble elements of BCT ms. 10-3. A chapter of the *Breuiarium* discussing the priestly vestments contains the following passage:

In hac lamina erat scriptum nomen Dei tetragramaton, quod hiis litteris scribebatur: yoth, he, uau, heth, et interpretatur hee quatuor littera principium uite passionis iste.⁸⁰

A note at the foot of the page relates that the version of the tetragramaton found in the earliest manuscript of the *Breuiarium* was not ordered as it is here, but rather read,

⁷⁹BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 9r. See Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac uersuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), no. 2674, and his *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi*, 9 vols. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 1: no. 2710. This evidence may not be very significant, however. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. ms. 1973, fol. 14v, a late twelfth-century glossed manuscript of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* contains in its bottom margin the couplet, "Cham ridet dum membra detecta parentis, Iudei risere dei penam patientis." Likewise, the late twelfth-century ivory cross at the Cloisters museum, known as the Bury St. Edmund's Cross has the couplet in a version similar to that of the Toledo glossator: "Cham ridet dum nuda uidet pudibunda parentis, Iudei risere Dei penam mor[ientis]." Sabrina Longland, "A Literary Aspect of the Bury St. Edmund's Cross," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 2 (1979): 54-55. Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles C. Little, *The Cloisters Cross* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 52-56.

⁸⁰"On this plate was written the name of God as the tetragramaton, which is written with these letters: yoth, he, uau, heth, and these four letters mean this beginning of the passion of life." *Breuiarium* III, xxviii, ll. 118-21, p. 142.

"he, yoth, heth, uau." The entire passage derives from the *Historia scholastica* and in Comestor's text in BCT ms. 10-3 it reads, "... quod hiis litteris scriptur: he, ioth, eth, uau, que sonant uite principium passionis iste."⁸¹ Furthermore, the glossator has written in the margin six folios before, "He, ioth, eth, uau que sonant principium passionis tui propter que legata audierunt prophetiam."⁸² Both this gloss and the Comestor text found in ms. BCT 10-3 have the tetragramaton disordered in the same way as the earliest extant manuscript of the *Breuiarium*.

Another parallel is found in a chapter of the *Breuiarium* discussing types of leprosy, based on Lv 13, 40-46 which reads:

Notandum quod sex species lepre posuit legislator: prima est capitis et barbe, secunda caluicii et recalucionis, tercia carnis et cutis, quarta cutis corporis et cicatricis albe cum rubore, quinta ulceris et cicatricis, sexta ustionis in capite.⁸³

The editor of the *Breuiarium* did not locate a source for this section. The relevant passage in the *Historia scholastica* simply has: "Sunt autem quatuor genera leprae, in cute, in capillis, in veste, in domo."⁸⁴ In BCT 10-3, however, the glossator has added in the margin to Comestor's words:

Legimus VI colores lepre Mopsuisse: pallidum, rubeum, album, liuidum, nigrum, florescentem, et VI species lepre ipsum Mopsuisse assignasse: prima est capitis et barbe, secunda caluicii et recalucionis, tertia carnis et cutis, quarta cutis et corporis et cicatricis albe cum rubore, quinta ulceris et cicatricis, sexta ulceris in capite.⁸⁵

⁸¹BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 29vb. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1186B.

⁸²BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 23v.

⁸³"Note that the legislator reckoned six types of leprosy: the first is of the head and beard, the second is of baldness and frontal baldness, the third is of flesh and skin, the fourth is of the skin of the body and of a white mark with redness, the fifth is of a sore and a mark, the sixth is of a burn on the head." *Breuiarium* III, lviii, ll. 3-7, p. 160.

⁸⁴Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1205D.

⁸⁵BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 33v.

There is an ultimate source for both these passages. Isidore of Seville's commentary on Leviticus has the following line:

Huius scilicet leprae inuenimus legislatorem sex species in homine posuisse: primam capitis, et barbae, secundum caluitii, et recaluacionis, tertiam carnis, et cutis, quartam cutis, et corporis, et cicatricis albae cum rubore, quintam vlceris, et cicatricis, sextam vstionis.⁸⁶

This explanation was subsequently copied, under Isidore's name, in the *Glossa*.⁸⁷

Rodrigo could have taken his version directly from Isidore or from the *Glossa*, but its similarity to the passage by the glossator is suggestive.

Reinhardt and González describe the possible owner of BCT 10-3 in a way which fits Rodrigo, as a Castilian influenced by the rest of Europe. A gloss which gives the dimensions of Babylon in leagues suggests that the glossator was in fact from the Iberian peninsula.⁸⁸ They conclude, "Este manuscrito apunta a un personaje toledano de amplia formación y de intereses muy variados."⁸⁹ The inventory of the cathedral's books made in 1255 lists one copy of the *Historia scholastica* as belonging to the cathedral at that time. Reinhardt and González argue that this citation does not refer to ms. 10-3, but rather to another of the library's four copies of the *Historia scholastica*, because of the large number of glosses found in ms 10-3 which, they suppose, indicates that it was in private hands.⁹⁰ If, however, this were Rodrigo's copy and the glosses were his own, this would explain their presence in a book possessed by

⁸⁶Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones in Leuiticum*, in *Opera omnia*, 7 vols. (Rome: Apud Antonium Fulgonium, 1797-1803), 5: 417.

⁸⁷"Sex species leprę inuenimus legislatorem posuisse. Primo est capitis et barbę. Secunda caluicii et recaluacionis. Tercia carnis et cutis. Quarta cutis et corporis et cicatricis albę cum rubore. Quinta vlceris et cicatricis. Sexta vlceris in capite." *Glossa ord.* I, p. 241b.

⁸⁸BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 9v.

⁸⁹Reinhardt and González, *Códices bíblicos*, p. 15.

⁹⁰Reinhardt and González, *Códices bíblicos*, pp. 265-66, 427.

the cathedral in 1255. None of this evidence alone is sufficient to prove that Rodrigo was the owner of BCT 10-3. Further analysis of its glosses, comparison of them with Rodrigo's known writings, and an examination of the Langton commentaries in Soria to check for similar hands at work is needed before a definitive judgement can be made.

The reason for spending so much time on this question in this dissertation is that many of the glosses in BCT 10-3 contain material referring to the Jews. I have already referred to the glosses discussing the Hebrew version of the price Joseph was sold for, and the couplet comparing Ham viewing his father's nudity to the Jews witnessing the Passion. Some references are merely informative such as those providing information about the meaning of the Scripture;⁹¹ a long description of Jewish holidays in the margin of Comestor's chapter "De obseruantia iubilei;"⁹² or a statement that the Jews write from right to left.⁹³ Others are more polemical.

Speaking of God's questioning of Cain, the glossator writes:

The Lord questioned Cain, not as someone ignorant so that he might learn, but as a judge so that he might punish. Even today the Jews, when we ask them about Christ in the scriptures, respond that they do not know what we are saying. The lie of Cain and the ignorance of the Jews is a false denial. They would have been the guardians of Christ if they had believed in their hearts and confessed with their mouths.⁹⁴

Commenting on Gn 26, 7, where Isaac speaks of his wife as his sister to the men of Gerar, the glossator writes, "*My sister*, for thus many disciples in the primitive Church

⁹¹For example, fols. 7r, 12r.

⁹²BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 35v. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1214D-1216A.

⁹³BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 87r.

⁹⁴"Interrogant dominus Caym non ignarus ut discat, sed iudex ut puniat. Vsque hodie Iudei, cum per scripturas eos interrogamus de Christo, respondent se nescire que dicimus. Mendax Chaym, ignorantia Iudeorum est falsa negatio. Essent uero Christi custodes, si corde crediderent et ore confiterent." BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 7r.

had to hide on account of fear of the Jews.”⁹⁵ He also quotes a long section from Petrus Alfonsi’s *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* where Alfonsi compares the three fingers in the priestly blessing to the Trinity, and the knots in the fringes worn by the priests to the Trinity and two Testaments.⁹⁶ If these and other references to the Jews are by Rodrigo, it adds to our knowledge of his attitude towards the Jews.

Many of Rodrigo’s own references to the Jews in the *Breuiarium* are simply informative, providing an alternate, or sometimes a better interpretation of a troublesome passage of scripture. At other times, Rodrigo’s citation of the Jews is more blatantly polemical in tone, and these are usually passages which are original to Rodrigo. An example of this use can be found in the Prologue. He explains that the final book of his opus ends with the dispersal of the apostles to minister to the different peoples of the world, “When, repulsed with obstinate perfidy by the Jews, Paul and Barnabas said, ‘*It was fitting to speak the word of God first to you, but since you have repulsed it and judged yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold we are turning to the gentiles* (Acts 13, 46).’”⁹⁷ This phrase, appearing as it does in the Prologue, which sets the tone for the entire work, indicates that Rodrigo held the traditional, Christian view of the Jews as a perfidious people who rejected God’s word, and whose place was taken over by the gentiles who became believers. Rodrigo reinforces this sense as a central theme of the *Breuiarium* by quoting this passage from Acts, in which Paul and Barnabas say in the synagogue of Jerusalem that they are turning away from the Jews to

⁹⁵“*Soror mea* (Gn 26,7), enim sic multi discipuli in primitiua ecclesia oculi propter metum Iudeorum.” BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 14r.

⁹⁶BCT ms. 10-3, fol. 36v. Quoted in Reinhardt and González, *Códices bíblicos*, pp. 268–69. Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, PL 157, col. 612A–C.

⁹⁷“Quando obstinata perfidia a Iudeis repulsi Paulus et Barnabas dixerunt: ‘*Vobis oportebat primum loqui uerbum Dei, set quoniam repulistis illud et indignos uos iudicastis uite eterne, ecce conuertimus ad gentes* (Acts 13, 46).’” *Breuiarium* prologue, ll. 122–25, p. 6.

preach to the gentiles, at the very end of the *Breuiarium*.⁹⁸ Although the *Historia scholastica* had treated all of Acts,⁹⁹ Rodrigo made a deliberate decision to end his own account with this episode.

The same message is found at the opening of Book IX, the final book of the *Breuiarium*, which covers the New Testament. He explains Jh 1, 10–13 in terms of the Jewish rejection and Christian acceptance of Christ:

*He was in the world, as God is creator of the world and part of the world, as man was made in the world, and the world was made through Him, yet the world knew Him not, thinking that He was a pure man, son of Joseph. He came to His own place, which He created, and His own people, the Jews whom he adopted as sons, did not receive Him, since, not yet illuminated, they wandered between sense and understanding. To all those who received Him, He gave to them the power of free will to become adoptive sons of God, not to all but to those who believed in His name namely those who, not from blood, nor from the will of the flesh, nor from the will of man, that is, from carnal generation which does not give life, but to those who through water and the word, which is spiritual regeneration, were born of God.*¹⁰⁰

God once adopted the Jews as sons, but now anyone who believes can be adopted by Him. Rodrigo takes a similar approach using stronger language a few chapters further, glossing Lc 1, 52–54:

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

⁹⁸*Breuiarium* IX, clvii, ll. 8–11, p. 594.

⁹⁹Peter Comestor's original version concluded with the end of the Gospels. Peter of Poitiers (b. ca. 1130–1205) wrote a continuation of the *Historia scholastica* which extended to the end of Acts.

¹⁰⁰*"In mundo erat, ut Deus factor mundi et pars mundi, ut homo factus in mundo, et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit, putantes purum hominem filium Ioseph. In propria uenit, que creauerat, et sui, Iudei quos in filios adoptauerat, eum non receperunt, quia inter sensum et intellectum nondum illuminati errabant. Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem liberi arbitrii filios adoptiuos Dei fieri, non omnibus set hiis qui credunt in nomine eius, qui scilicet non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri, id est, carnali generatione que non dat uitam, set hiis qui per aquam et uerbum, que est spiritualis regeneratio, ex Deo nati sunt."* *Breuiarium* IX, i, ll. 19–30, p. 511.

his death, *He sent away, devoid of kingdom or priesthood. He took up Israel, that is, flesh from Israel, His son, mindful of His mercy.*¹⁰¹

Rodrigo reminds his readers that the Jews not only rejected Christ, they also caused his death. The polemical nature of these two passages, coming as they do at the opening of his commentary on the New Testament, is not accidental. Rodrigo, through his various sources, made constant reference to the Jews, usually referred to as *Hebrei*, in the preceding eight books, quoting their interpretations to clarify the meaning of the scriptures. He serves notice in Book IX, however, that no matter how useful the Jews are for understanding the Old Testament, they have failed to recognize the New, and for this they deserve condemnation. The notion that the Jews can provide useful information for interpreting the Old Testament is not inconsistent with the belief that they were a people who had lost their way.

Conclusion

The picture that emerges of the Jews from the *Breuiarium* is largely traditional: The Jews cast aside their chance to remain God's chosen people when they rejected Christ and their role has been taken over by the gentiles. This picture is supplemented by an awareness that the Jews themselves can still usefully be consulted to provide a fuller understanding of the Old Testament; an awareness which had been renewed over the course of the twelfth century as theologians, led by the Victorines, asked contemporary Jews how they interpreted their scriptures. Rodrigo's *Breuiarium* reflects this new appreciation for the *hebraica ueritas*. His historical writing is more pointed in tone. In the *De rebus hispanie* and the *Historia arabum*, the Jews are

¹⁰¹“*Deposuit potentes Iudeorum de sede legis sibi concessa et exaltauit humiles apostolos in solio regni Ecclesie. Esurientes, pauperes Euangelii qui esuriunt iusticiam, impleuit bonis et diuites, Iudeos quos dedit in exterminium pro morte sua, dimisit inanes regno et sacerdocio. Suscepit Israel, id est, carnem de Israel, puerum suum recordatus misericordie sue.*” *Breuiarium* IX, iii, ll. 13–19, p. 514.

portrayed over and over again as allies of the Muslims. At a time when the Christians still feared the Muslim threat, the archbishop's words must have confirmed if not encouraged their fear of the Jews. Rodrigo's portrayal of the Jews in these two historical works cannot be regarded as neutral.

CHAPTER 3

RODRIGO'S *DIALOGVS LIBRI VITAE*

If we had only the few letters and charters which concern the Jews and the scattered references to Jews found in Rodrigo's *De rebus hispanie*, *Historia arabum*, and *Breuiarium historie catholice*, we could still say a great deal about Rodrigo's relationship with the Jews. There is one more piece of evidence about this relationship however which has yet to be discussed — Rodrigo's anti-Jewish polemical treatise, the *Dialogus libri uitae*. In contrast with his *De rebus hispanie*, which is both well known and extant in numerous manuscripts, editions, and translations, and the *Breuiarium* which is extant in only three manuscript but has long been accepted as the work of the archbishop, Rodrigo's *Dialogus libri uitae* is little known in its solitary witness. It is, however, the only one of his writings which contains a sustained critique of Judaism, and a preliminary evaluation of it will comprise the rest of this dissertation. This chapter will consider the single manuscript witness to the text and will discuss the form and content of the treatise. The next two chapters will examine some of Rodrigo's sources as well as his method of biblical exegesis.

The Manuscript

The text of the *Dialogus* is transmitted in only one manuscript, Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2089 (hereafter, *S*). The manuscript once formed part of the collection of the Colegio de Cuenca at the University of Salamanca, and bears the mark "Cuenca 314" on the verso of the front flyleaf and the partially effaced mark, ".314", on the first recto. When the university colleges were disbanded at the end of the eighteenth century, the codex passed to the Biblioteca del Palacio Real in Madrid.

A bookplate in the top left corner of the inside front cover bears the legend, "Biblioteca del Rey N. Señor, VII-J-3." In the top left corner of the bookplate the shelfmark has been changed to "2-K-4" and a sticker below the bookplate witnesses a further alteration to "1470". Wilhelm von Hartel catalogued the book for the first time under the second shelfmark, "2-K-4".¹ By a decree of 5 May 1954, along with the other manuscripts that had belonged to the *Colegios Mayores*, it was transferred to the library of the University of Salamanca.²

Notwithstanding Hartel's citation of the text, the *Dialogus* long remained neglected. Rodrigo's twentieth-century biographers — J. Gorosterratzu, E. Estella Zalaya and M. Ballesteros Gaibrois — seem not to be aware of the work. In 1962, Guy Beaujouan described the manuscript in his catalogue of scientific manuscripts held by the University of Salamanca.³ In the same year, Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, the librarian of the university, wrote an article in which he described the manuscript, argued that Rodrigo was the author of the *Dialogus*, and briefly outlined the work's contents.⁴ In 1986, the *Dialogus* and Rodrigo's *Breuiarium historie catholice* were included among the Iberian bibles and biblical commentaries catalogued by Klaus

¹Wilhelm von Hartel, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1887), 1: 475–76.

²Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, "El «*Dialogus libri vitae*» del arzobispo Jiménez de Rada," *Salmanticensis* 9 (1962): 618, gives an account of the history of the manuscript.

³Guy Beaujouan, *Manuscrits scientifiques médiévaux de l'Université de Salamanque et de ses "Colegios Mayores"* (Bordeaux: Férét et fils, 1962), pp. 108–111.

⁴Marcos Rodríguez, "El «*Dialogus libri vitae*»," pp. 617–22. See also his *Los manuscritos pretridentinos hispanos de ciencias sagradas en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia de la Theología Española, 1971), pp. 411–12.

Reinhardt and Horacio Santiago-Otero.⁵ Two years later, Norman Roth briefly mentioned the work in an article on Rodrigo's relations with the Jews.⁶

Codex *S* contains other texts in addition to the *Dialogus*. Its complete contents are listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Contents of *S*

1.	fols. 1r-22r	"Tractatus theologicus vetustissimus incerti auctoris qui centum disputationibus de Dei creentia (<i>sic</i>) precipue et de diuinis attributis absolvitur" ⁷
	(fols. 22v-24v)	blank)
2.	fols. 25r-83r	Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, <i>Dialogus libri uitae</i>
	(fols. 83v-84v)	blank)
3.	fols. 85r-99v	Isidore of Seville (d. 636), <i>De fide catholica contra Iudaeos</i> ⁸
4.	fols. 99v-102r	Leo III (emperor, 717-741), <i>Epistola ad Omarum saracenum</i> ⁹
5.	fols. 102r-102v	"Qua causa sanctorum memoriae pene sunt deletae in partibus Hispaniae"
6.	fols. 102v-108v	Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270-1349), <i>Probatio aduentus Christi contra Iudaeos</i>
7.	fols. 109r-119v	Honorius Augustoduniensis (fl. 1106-1135), <i>Elucidarium</i> (mutilated at the beginning) ¹⁰
	(fols. 120r-121v)	blank)
8.	fols. 122r-132v	Arnau of Vilanova (ca. 1240-1311), <i>Tractatus de diuersitatum infirmitatum curis</i>

⁵Klaus Reinhardt and Horacio Santiago-Otero, *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986), pp. 303-306.

⁶Norman Roth, "Jiménez de Rada y los judíos," pp. 479-81. See also his "Bishops and Jews," p. 13.

⁷Beaujouan quotes this description of the text by Antonio Tavera y Almazán (b. 1737-1807), bishop of Salamanca. I have not been able to make a more precise identification of the work in question. Beaujouan, p. 108.

⁸PL 83, coll. 449A-538C.

⁹PG 107, coll. 315A-324B.

¹⁰The actual content of the manuscript corresponds to PL 172, coll. 1115B-76D.

The manuscript comprises 132 folios numbered consecutively in the upper right corner of each recto. The first text of the codex was copied by a fourteenth-century cursive hand on four ternio booklets; the outer leaf of each booklet is of parchment, while the inner leaves are paper.¹¹ The *Dialogus*, which follows on fols. 25–83, was copied by a second cursive hand with added rubrication in hybrid script (*bastarda*) by a third hand; these two scribes were no doubt working together. The two hands are datable on paleographic grounds to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The hand of the rubricator copied all of texts three to six (cf. Table 1). Catchwords in the mid-lower verso margins of fols. 36, 48, 60, 72 and 96 reveal that texts two through six were copied as a group in seven paper sexenio booklets. Folio 84, at the end of the *Dialogus*, is blank and folio 108 ends Nicholas of Lyra's *Probatio*, so neither contains the expected catchwords. The *Elucidarium*, by Honorius Augustoduniensis, was copied by a fourth, fourteenth-century cursive hand. In addition to the continuous foliation at the top of each recto, the *Elucidarium* also has a separate foliation in each lower right corner, beginning with "2" on fol. 109r. As a consequence of the lost first folio, the text is missing its beginning.¹² The hand that rubricated the *Dialogus* and copied texts three to six also rubricated the text by Honorius. Arnau of Villanova's medical treatise was copied in a fifteenth-century cursive by a fifth hand on paper of a markedly different quality from the rest.¹³

¹¹Fols. 1, 6, 7, 12, 13, 18, 19, and 24 are thus of parchment.

¹²The *Elucidarium* in this codex begins on col. 1115B of the PL edition (PL 172). It is missing the equivalent of five and a half columns in the PL. Fol. 109r covers the text of approximately two and three quarters columns in the PL edition.

¹³Beaujouan, p. 111.

The original core of texts thus comprised Rodrigo's *Dialogus*, Isidore's *De fide catholica*, Emperor Leo's *Epistola*, the "Qua causa," and Nicholas of Lyra's *Probatio adventus Christi contra Iudaeos*. The *Elucidarium* was no doubt appended to this collection at an early date by the original two scribes. The "Tractatus" and Arnau of Villanova's medical work are later additions which may date from the execution of the current modern binding. The texts making up this original core share obvious similarities. Three are works of anti-Jewish polemic. Leo's letter explains the truth of Christianity to a Muslim king and the "Qua causa" is a page-long tract that interprets the defeat of the Visigoths by the Muslims as a sign of God's anger. Several of these treatises, including Rodrigo's *Dialogus libri uitae*, bear marginal annotations by various medieval hands, usually indicating the biblical source for a particular passage. Isidore's *De fide catholica* is by far the most heavily annotated text. It is no coincidence that this group of works was copied in series in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. In the aftermath of the pogroms of 1391, masses of Jews received baptism and the present compendium may have seemed useful as a tool for converting and educating a Jewish audience about Christianity. The *Elucidarium*, a summa of Christian doctrine in the form of questions and answers between a master and his pupil, may have been appended to the original collection because it too was deemed a useful teaching text.

Polemical treatises, singly or in collections, were popular during this period. At least eight manuscripts containing anti-Jewish texts are mentioned in the inventory of the library of the anti-Pope Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna), prepared after his death in 1423.¹⁴ Other Spanish compilations of the late fourteenth century preserve rare anti-

¹⁴These are manuscripts Pb 526, 865, 712, 713, 714, 1309, 1341, and 1348. Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol and Jacques Monfrin, *La bibliothèque pontificale à Avignon et à Peñíscola*, 2 vols., Collection de l'École Française de Rome, vol. 141 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991).

Jewish works. The anonymous “Qui ceptum” written in 1221/22, is preserved in two manuscripts. One of these, now in the collection of the Biblioteca de la antigua Colegiata de Santa María de Uncastillo, is transmitted together with a life of Muhammed and dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. The other, Biblioteca Catedral de Burgo de Osma ms. 35, dates from 1380 and accompanies Petrus Alfonsi’s *Dialogus*, Bernardo Oliver’s *Tractatus contra Iudaeos*, and a Spanish translation of part of the Talmud tractate *Sanhedrin*.¹⁵

Authorship of the Dialogus

The first scholars to consider *S* — Hartel, Beaujouan and Marcos Rodríguez — agreed that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was the author of the *Dialogus libri uitae*. Marcos Rodríguez, in his article on the *Dialogus*, discusses the question of authorship in some detail and adduces several arguments in favour of Rodrigo. First, the rubricator has written, “Incipit Dialogus libri uitae editus per dominum Rodericum archiepiscopum toletanum,” at the top margin of fol. 25r. On fol. 83r, where the *Dialogus* ends, the same hand has written, “Explicit Dialogus libri uitae editus per dominum Rodericum archiepiscopum toletanum.” Prior to the copying of *S*, the only archbishop of Toledo named Rodrigo was Jiménez de Rada. Likewise, in the prologue to the *Dialogus* on fol. 25ra, the author describes himself as, “Ego Rodericus sacerdos indignus cathedrae toletanae, hebes ingenio, deses studio, pauper eloquio, flagrans zelo.” In his *De rebus hispanie* Rodrigo twice called himself, “Rodericus indignus cathedre Toletane sacerdos.”¹⁶ The incipit to the *Breuiarium* states that the work was

¹⁵Millás Vallicrosa, “Un tratado anónimo,” pp. 3–4. Timoteo Rojo Orcajo, *Catálogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Burgo de Osma* (Tipografía de Archivos, 1929), pp. 101–103.

¹⁶*De rebus hispanie*, l. 4, p. 3; Prol., ll. 88–89, p. 7.

compiled, “a Roderico Toletane ecclesie sacerdote.”¹⁷ Finally, Marcos Rodríguez compares the prologues to the *Breuiarium* and the *Dialogus*. He notes that there are similarities both in rhetoric and in structure. He is not particularly complimentary about Rodrigo’s writing style, citing “la predilección por las imágenes, estilo no siempre claro ni sencillo, sino muchas veces rebuscado, ampuloso y obscuro, frecuentemente ininteligible,” among the features shared by both prologues.¹⁸

Not all modern scholars have accepted this attribution. The *Dialogus* does not feature in the works listed by Fernández Valverde as being “unanimously” recognized as Rodrigo’s.¹⁹ Norman Roth also raised doubts about Rodrigo’s authorship. He states that the copyist indicated solely that the author is a “Rodrigo,” whom he called archbishop of Toledo only once.²⁰ This evidence, Roth argues, is not sufficient to accept the attribution given in the manuscript and favoured by Marcos Rodríguez. Roth also contends that the style of the *Dialogus* is not similar to that of Rodrigo’s *De rebus hispanie*.²¹

Despite Roth’s arguments, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was in all likelihood the author of the *Dialogus*. The incipit, explicit, and attribution within the text must be taken seriously because they are clear and emphatic. It is easier to argue, moreover, that Rodrigo was in fact the author than to find convincing reasons why a medieval

¹⁷*Breuiarium* Prol., p. 9.

¹⁸Marcos Rodríguez’s discussion of the authorship of the *Dialogus* is in his “El «*Dialogus libri vitae*»,” pp. 618–19.

¹⁹Fernández Valverde, “Introducción,” *De rebus hispanie*, p. xii.

²⁰Roth is incorrect about this: both the incipit and the explicit call Rodrigo archbishop.

²¹Roth, “Jiménez de Rada y los judíos,” pp. 479–80.

scribe should have attributed the work to him, either through deliberate forgery or carelessness.

In addition to the stylistic similarity observed by Marcos Rodríguez, other parallels of wording exist between the prologue of the *Dialogus* and those of Rodrigo's other recognized works. At the conclusion to the prologue of the *Dialogus*, the author writes, "Stilo simplici, prosa rudi, intellectu tenui, magna tetigi et presumi." The prologue of the *De rebus hispanie* likewise reads, "Stilo rudi et sapientia tenui ... compilaui."²² The author of the *Dialogus* says that he has written, "ut ueritas euangelii, quae in prophetarum nubibus, in reuelationem gentium effulgeat."²³ In the *Breuiarium*, describing the effects of Christ's coming, Rodrigo adds, "clarent aque tenebrose in nubibus prophetarum noue gratie diffusis eloquiis."²⁴ Both the *Dialogus* and the *Breuiarium* rely heavily on biblical exegesis: the former on the Psalms and Prophets, the latter on the Pentateuch, the historical books, and the New Testament. The method used to interpret the Bible is the same. In the *Breuiarium* Rodrigo writes:

Deducto uero triplici riuo catholice hystorie in loco campestri prestolans, in montem ascendere non presumo: anagogicum, allegoricum, tropologicum intellectum illis relinquo qui mel et simulam degustantes dulci eloquio mel de petra, de saxo oleum, de testa nucleum et lac de ouibus iocundo studio eduxerunt.²⁵

²²*Dialogus* Prol. 26rb; *De rebus hispanie* Prol. ll. 89–90, p. 7.

²³"... So that the truth of the Gospel, which is in the clouds of the prophets, might shine forth in the revelation of the gentiles." *Dialogus* Prol. 26ra.

²⁴"The dark waters in the clouds of the prophets become clear in the diffused eloquence of the new grace." *Breuiarium* Prol., ll. 66–67, p. 4. My understanding of this passage is based on a punctuation that differs from that in the edition of Fernández Valverde.

²⁵"Waiting for the drawn out, three-fold, river of Catholic history in a level field, I do not presume to ascend to the mountain: I leave the anagogical, allegorical, and tropological sense to those who, tasting honey and flour with sweet eloquence, bring forth honey from a stone, oil from a rock, a nut from a potsherd, and milk from sheep with happy zeal." *Breuiarium* Prol., ll. 137–43, p. 6.

The author of the *Dialogus* shows a similar preference for the literal sense of scripture: "In persecutione autem huius operis ab anagogico et allegorico et tropologico abstinui intellectu, ut non habeat Iudaeus aduersarius quid causetur."²⁶ In the light of these close stylistic and methodological parallels, Marcos Rodríguez's conclusion that the *Dialogus* and the *Breuiarium* were written by the same person is no doubt correct. The author of the *Dialogus* was Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.

There are many other parallels of wording between the *Breuiarium* and the *Dialogus libri uitae*. Several of these will be noted as they come up in the ensuing chapters. Doctrinal similarities between the *Breuiarium* and the *Dialogus*, Rodrigo's two theological works, are likewise manifest. These parallels will be discussed in greater detail below, when Rodrigo's exposition in the *Dialogus* is considered in detail. The similarities are particularly evident in Rodrigo's treatment of cosmology, which occupies an important place in Book 1 of the *Dialogus* and in the first eight chapters of Book I of the *Breuiarium*.

Dating the Dialogus

The next problem is establishing the period during Rodrigo's life when he wrote the *Dialogus*. He was born as early as 1170, and he died on 10 June 1247. The task of dating the *Dialogus* is eased, but only somewhat, by clues Rodrigo has left within the work itself. At four different places Rodrigo seems to give an indication of the year in which he wrote. In Book IV he compares the "short-lived" Temple of Solomon to the long existence of the Church, "which has already endured for 1,214 years, and which will last forever."²⁷ Taking the institution of the Church to be at

²⁶"In the elaboration of this work I have held back from the anagogical, allegorical, and tropological senses (of Scripture) so that a Jewish adversary may not have anything to complain about." *Dialogus* Prol. 25vb.

²⁷"Quae iam mille CCis XIII annis durauit, et est in perpetuum duratura." *Dialogus* IV 52rb.

Christ's birth, Rodrigo is writing in 1214. Also in Book IV, Rodrigo writes that the Emperor of Constantinople is a vassal of the Church.²⁸ This indicates that Rodrigo was writing after the Latin conquest of Byzantium in 1204.

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."²⁹ Adding seventy-five 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 seventy-five plus 1,143, which would give a date of 1218. Such an error is plausible, given the late date of the manuscript.

Yet another dating appears in Book VII. In the context of determining when the Antichrist will come, inspired by Dn 12, 11 Rodrigo writes:

Partem vero prophetiae quae dicit, *a tempore cum ablatum fuit iuge sacrificium et cetera dies mille CCos et LXXXX*,³⁰ quidam computant a destructione facta per Titum postquam fuerunt abominanda sacrificia desolata. Et hoc fuit XL anno post Domini passionem. Et ab illa destructione computant dies istos annum pro die sicut et alibi legitur computantes, et fuerit a Tito usque nunc mille C <vigin>ti IIIor anni et semis. Et dicunt ad blasphemias Antichristi restare C LXVIa annos.³¹

²⁸"Imperator constantinopolitanus et multi alii reges romanae ecclesiae sunt uassali." *Dialogus* IV 51vb.

²⁹"A natiuitate Domini usque ad desolationem per Titum, que fuit XLo Ilo anno post passionem Domini, anni LXXa quinque; ab alia desolatione usque nunc anni mille CCti XLa tres." *Dialogus* V 65va.

³⁰This figure has been corrected against the Vulgate, Daniel 12, 11. On the same folio, Rodrigo quotes this figure correctly as it appears in the Vulgate.

³¹"The part of the prophecy which says *from the time when the continual sacrifice is taken away* and so on, *1,290 days*, certain people count 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 164 years remain until the blasphemies of the Anticrist." *Dialogus* VII 74vb.

Just prior to this passage, Rodrigo had written that Christ was thirty-two and a half when he was crucified, so adding forty and thirty-two and a half gives seventy-two and a half years from the birth of Christ to the fall of Jerusalem.³² Adding 1,124 and a half years to seventy-two and a half years gives 1197. This year may be the year in which Rodrigo is writing, but it may also refer to the year in which the unnamed author who made the calculations Rodrigo discusses here, wrote.³³ If the latter possibility is the case, the year 1197 at least represents the *terminus a quo*.

If these dates are accurate, the *Dialogus* was compiled over a surprisingly long period of time, perhaps from as early as 1197 until at least 1218. It may have taken even longer; there is no guarantee that 1197 was the starting date and 1218 was the year of completion. The earliest year, 1197, suggests that Norman Roth's suspicion that, if the work is indeed Rodrigo's, it was perhaps written while he was a student in Paris, may have some basis in truth.³⁴ This dating is, moreover, plausible if Rodrigo was born in the early 1170s.

The Structure of the Dialogus

Although the *Dialogus* may have been written over the course of two or more decades, Rodrigo's treatise displays a coherent structure and methodology. It is organized into a prologue and eight books. The prologue lists the titles of the eight

³²Note that all these dates differ from those supplied in Book 5, which said Christ died at age thirty-three and Titus took Jerusalem forty-two years later.

³³The figure 1,124 poses some difficulty. The manuscript seems to read, "mille . c . cc^u . iii^{or} . anni et semis." The third figure must be wrong. "Viginti" is the only cardinal number which is a multiple of ten, less than one hundred, and ends in "ti". This hypothesis is consistent with the rest of the information in the passage, since 1290, the "year" given in Daniel, minus 1124 (the half has disappeared) does give 166, the number of years which remain until the Antichrist comes, according to some. Rodrigo concludes the passage by discounting the usefulness of these calculations.

³⁴Roth, "Jiménez de Rada y los judíos," p. 480.

ensuing books, each of which is subdivided into unnumbered, but titled chapters. The table which follows gives the titles of the books as they are listed in the prologue and the folios on which they appear.

TABLE 2

	Prologus	fol. 25r-26r
Book I	De trinitate	fol. 26r-31v
Book II	De incarnatione et operibus saluatoris et spiritus sanctus missione	fol. 31v-47r
Book III	De principatu apostolorum et reprobatione legalium et gentium uocatione	fol. 47r-50v
Book IV	De regno ecclesiae et statuta desolatione	fol. 50v-53r
Book V	De fabula Iudaeorum	fol. 53r-66r
Book VI	De ecclesiasticis sacramentis	fol. 66r-70v
Book VII	De Antichristo	fol. 70v-76v
Book VIII	De generali resurrectione et iudicio separationis et mundi consummatione	fol. 76v-83r

Notwithstanding its title, the work is not written in the form of a dialogue between a Jewish and a Christian interlocutor. In this the text differs, for example, from Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, which purports to describe a conversation between Petrus' converted and unconverted selves. Nevertheless, many of the individual chapters of Rodrigo's work bear headings such as, "Obiectio Iudaei contra praedicta," and, "Responsio iudaicae obiectioni." Rodrigo has tried to anticipate and address possible challenges to the arguments presented. Likewise, he seeks to preserve the illusion of a debate by apostrophizing an unknown Jewish adversary. He addresses a Jew in the second person throughout the work, but the "Jew" himself is never allowed to respond.

The structure of the *Dialogus* is closer to that of a *Summa* of Christian doctrine than it is to a typical anti-Jewish treatise. It begins with a discussion of God's

existence and the Trinity; progresses through the Incarnation, the rule of the Church, and the sacraments; and concludes with the coming of the Antichrist and the Last Judgement, those things which will occur at the end of time.³⁵ Only Book V, on the fables of the Jews, would be completely out of place in a theological *Summa*. Each book has a different focus, yet Rodrigo relies on a mixture of biblical exegesis and rational arguments to “prove” the falsity of Jewish beliefs and the truth of Christian doctrine throughout. What follows is only a brief, book-by-book outline of the *Dialogus*; some more important themes in the *Dialogus* will be taken up in the next two chapters.

Prologue

Although the prologue necessarily comes first in Rodrigo’s *Dialogus*, it was probably written last, after the rest of the work was completed. It describes Rodrigo’s aims, methodology, and organizational principles and sets the tone for the rest of the treatise. He wrote the prologue in an overblown, rhetorical style replete with mixed metaphors, reminiscent of the prologues to his historical works. Despite his flights of oratory, an examination of the prologue does give valuable insight into how the archbishop approached his subject.³⁶

Rodrigo opens by blaming human “uarietas,” inconstancy, for causing men to depart from God’s plan, influencing them to worship idols instead. This inconstancy led them into error which in turn brought them to damnation. Only the knowledge of

³⁵Compare, for example, with Peter Lombard’s *Sententiae* in which Book I discusses the unity and Trinity of God; Book II considers the Creation of angels, the World, and Man, as well as the Fall; Book III discusses the Incarnation, the virtues, and the Law; and Book IV covers the sacraments and the final Judgement. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctis*, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, 1971–1981).

³⁶An edition and translation of the entire prologue can be found in the Appendix.

God preserved in Abraham and the progeny of Abraham saved mankind. For God, as He had promised to 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, however, but was rather hidden inside that letter. God's hiding of the New Testament inside the Old is the theme of the entire prologue and Rodrigo condemns 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.³⁷

Rodrigo thus establishes from the very outset that his dispute with the Jew will centre around the interpretation of the Bible.

Rodrigo, however, also condemns Christians who strive only after mortal 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, but rather that everything in the Gospels can be found in the Old Testament. He states here that he has commented on the mysteries of the books of the Old Testament.³⁸ It is not clear from this statement if he is referring to the present work or whether he is referring to some earlier biblical commentary. No commentary of any part of the Bible known to be by Rodrigo exists, but is not inconceivable that he could have written one during his student days in Paris.

³⁷"Tu autem, Iudaeae, qui a ueritatis itinere aberrasti et in terrae faecibus oculos defixisti, impingens in meridie quasi caecus (Cf. Dt 28, 29), coaptas fabulis prophetias, et iniectis aggeribus accusationis mysteria fidei cum Galaat resina (Cf. Jr 8, 22; Jr 46, 11) niteris obturare." *Dialogus* Prol. 25ra.

³⁸"... quia in ueteri serie arcana annotaui per quae euangelii ueritas lucidatur." *Dialogus* Prol. 25ra.

Rodrigo allegorizes the story of the finding of the infant Moses in a reed basket by the Pharaoh's daughter, Ex 2, 3-9. The basket represents the Old Testament which contains, but conceals the truth of God's plan, and which the Jews hid out of fear. The Pharaoh's daughter represents the gentiles who, although they were enemies of the Jews, recognized the fulfillment of the Old Testament and believed in Jesus Christ. The infant Moses who allowed himself to be cared for by the Egyptians but would only be fed by his own mother, represents both the fulfillment of God's promise in the New Testament, and Christ who was born to a Jewish woman, although He was rejected by the Jews. The conversion of the gentiles thus occurred to the shame of the Jews, who rejected Christ. The Jews, fearing to lose their place as the chosen people of God if the Romans and gentiles learned about Christ, decided to destroy Him, but as a result of this act, the Jews themselves were expelled from the Holy Land.³⁹ The interpretation of the basket as the Old Testament; Moses as Christ or the New Testament; and the Pharaoh's daughter as the gentiles who believed and entered the Church is a common medieval interpretation and is found, for example, in the *Glossa ordinaria*.⁴⁰ This allegory explains that God passed from the Jews to the gentiles and that the New Testament superseded the Old. By using an allegory to elucidate this, moreover, Rodrigo demonstrates with an example what he means when he says that Christians read the Bible differently from Jews and that Christians get at the full sense of the scripture while Jews are stopped by the letter.

Rodrigo frequently uses metaphors related to the safe-keeping of money or treasure to explain how what is in the New Testament lurks within the Old, and how the Jews did not recognize the worth of what they had. Rodrigo refers to the Old

³⁹*Dialogus* Prol. 25rb-25va.

⁴⁰*Glossa ord. ad Ex 2, I*, pp. 114b-115a.

Testament as a hidden treasure which contains the Gospel, "like a deposit which He who would become flesh deposited among them."⁴¹ 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.⁴² Christ looked for this deposit of truth in the treasure chest of antiquity, where the fathers of old had hidden it, so that it could be brought forth in the time of grace.⁴³ The Jews neglected to guard their treasure properly, and the watchmen set to guard the treasure gave it instead to the kingdom of Christ.⁴⁴ The prophets, however, did strive to dig up this treasure, and they were followed in this by the early Christian fathers.⁴⁵ Finally, the tropological, anagogical, and allegorical senses of the Old Testament lay hidden in the literal sense, as if inside a safe, until the time of Christ, when they remedied the defects of the letter.⁴⁶

⁴¹ "... Euangelium ueritatis tamquam depositum contineri, quod apud eos deposuit Incarnandus." *Dialogus* Prol. 25ra.

⁴² "Et tamen sepulcra regum et prophetarum et thesauros absconditos (Cf. Is 45, 3.) domus Dei Babyloniis (Cf. Is 39, 6) reuelasti et a tuo populo occultasti." *Dialogus* Prol. 25ra.

⁴³ "Et depositum euangelicae ueritatis requisit in armario uetustatis cui antiqui patres crediderant in tempus gratiae proferendum." *Dialogus* Prol. 25ra-25rb. Also, "Ecce autem aquae ueteris testamenti, quae depositum continent Incarnati, non restituunt nisi scripti chirographum; manus (mane *cod.*) eius, quod crucis signaculo est signatum. Thesauros autem spiritus sanctus tuae duritiae occultauit." *Dialogus* Prol. 25rb.

⁴⁴ "Et thesauros effodere neglexisti, sed iracundiae obice excaecatus, non attendis regnum, sacerdotium, uasa templi, et pontificum ornamenta — de quorum gloria te iactabas — uigiles, qui Christi custodiunt sanctitatem cum thesauris (-auros *cod.*), absconditis a tuis materiis obduxisse, et uetustae litterae rubigine expurgata in regnum Christi et sacerdotium apostolicum transtulisse." *Dialogus* Prol. 25va.

⁴⁵ *Dialogus* Prol. 25va.

⁴⁶ "Tropologicus ergo, et ana·gogicus, et alle·goricus intellectus, qui apud litteram, ut apud depositarium, aliquandiu latuerunt, reuelationis tempore hospiti litterae occurrerunt, et defectum eius in pluribus suppleuerunt, ut quod litteralis expositio non sufficeret, declaratio mystica id suppleret." *Dialogus* Prol. 25vb.

I do not believe that Rodrigo chose this sort of vocabulary accidentally. At the time when he was writing, Jews were active in the economy of the Iberian peninsula in many fields other than that of providing financial services. Nevertheless, the lending and safekeeping of money were important functions performed by the Jews of Rodrigo's day.⁴⁷ 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 for 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 *Poema de Mio Cid*, Rachel and Vidas, who are asked to safeguard two chests supposedly containing tribute money collected by the Cid and who, not knowing what the chests contained, lost their money to the Cid.⁴⁸

Having addressed the Jew, Rodrigo then turns to his Christian audience and explains his methodology. Although, as he demonstrated in his analysis of Moses in the reed basket, scripture must be interpreted according to more than just the literal sense for its full meaning to be completely understood, nevertheless, Rodrigo writes, he will confine himself mostly to discussing the literal sense, and will avoid tropological, anagogical, and allegorical interpretations. He does this, he says, so that his Jewish adversary will not have anything to take issue with.⁴⁹ Rodrigo explains that he will open his work with a discussion of the Trinity, the instigator of the Old and New

⁴⁷For the occupations of Toledan Jews while Rodrigo was archbishop see León Tello, 1: 64-66. More generally, see Baer, *History of the Jews*, 1: 197-212.

⁴⁸Colin Smith, ed., *Poema de Mio Cid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 6-11, pp. 5-8. Scholarly consensus seems to agree that the *Poema* was set into its written form in the early thirteenth century; Smith, p. xxxiv. In making this comparison, however, I do not mean to connect the *Poema* with Jiménez de Rada or with Toledo; see Linehan, *History and Historians*, pp. 319-27.

⁴⁹*Dialogus* Prol. 25vb.

Testaments, and he lists the eight books which will form the treatise. He explains that he discusses the same prophecies of the Old Testament in more than one place, so different points can be made on the basis of them. He apologizes rhetorically for his lack of skill and ability and sums up the subject matter of the ensuing eight books:

The subject matter of this work are those things which the patriarchs, prophets, and hagiographers predicted about the Lord; and what the Lord began to do and teach; what the apostles preached to the gentiles; what grace the Church followed; and what things are reserved in the end times for the good and the reprobate.⁵⁰

Lastly, Rodrigo explains why he has entitled his work the *Dialogus libri uitae*. It deserves to be called a dialogue because Rodrigo addresses himself directly to the Catholic and to the Jew. It is a *Dialogue on the Book of Life* because every Christian lives by faith.

Book I: *De trinitate*

As Rodrigo promised in his Prologue, he begins his exposition with the Trinity. The Trinity and the Incarnation, the subject of Book II, were the most crucial topics in the Christian attack on Judaism, and they are usually the first items covered in any work of anti-Jewish polemic. The two books which treat them here are among the longest in the *Dialogus*. Book I is exceptional among the books of the *Dialogus* for its use of philosophical argument to prove the unity of God and the Trinity of the divine persons. Rodrigo begins by focussing on the unity of God. He explains, taking his inspiration from Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* VIII, 6, how the philosophers recognized the existence of one Creator from the presence of created things. He connects the persons of the Trinity with the divine attributes power, wisdom, and will. He cites the analogy of the Trinity to the powers of the soul found in Augustine's *De trinitate* X,

⁵⁰"Materia autem huius uoluminis sunt ea quae patriarchae, et prophetae, et hagiographi de domino praedixerunt, et que coepit dominus facere et docere, et quae apostoli gentibus praedicaunt, quam ecclesia gratiam consecuta, et quae in nouissimo tempore bonis et reprobis reseruetur." *Dialogus* Prol. 26ra.

11. He digresses to pose the question, "Is the Holy Spirit sent personally, or does he infuse his gifts into the hearts of the elect?" The authorities and arguments he lists here are substantially those used by Peter Lombard in his discussion of the same question in his *Sententiae* I, 14, 2. Rodrigo, however, adds the evidence of several collects for Pentecost which are equivocal on the question.

He picks up his main narrative again with proofs for the Trinity taken from the Old Testament. The texts he mentions are among those traditionally used in anti-Jewish polemic notably, Gn 1, 1; Gn 1, 26; and Is 6, 1-3. His use of biblical exegesis here and elsewhere in the *Dialogus* will be treated further in Chapter 5. Rodrigo continues by connecting the second person of the Trinity with references to divine wisdom found in the Old Testament. He concludes with a discussion of the role and function of the Holy Spirit. In addition to his more traditional sources, Rodrigo relied greatly on the thought of Alan of Lille and other twelfth-century theologians in composing Book I. These will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Book II: *De incarnatione*

Book II, "De incarnatione," is the longest book of the *Dialogus* and the most traditional. It recounts the events surrounding the Incarnation, birth, life, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ and attempts to show that each of these events are foreshadowed in the Old Testament. Much of the book thus reads as a long series of proof texts. The texts presented here are for the most part the usual ones cited in medieval anti-Jewish polemic.

Rodrigo opens by attempting to address Jewish suspicions about the Incarnation. To the Jewish objection that, why was only the Son incarnate and why, if only one person of the Trinity was incarnate, was it the Son, Rodrigo answers that the other two persons could have been incarnate, but it was more appropriate that it be the Son so that the person who was eternally generated from the Father could be generated

from his mother in time, and so that two persons of the Trinity would not be called "Son."⁵¹ He answers the more serious objection that the Messiah whom the Jews expect does not have to be the Son of God, but can be purely human, by stating that if the Messiah were purely human, he could not fulfill the many Old Testament prophecies about his coming and his actions. Rodrigo uses this line of argumentation elsewhere in Book II and returns to it in Book V to show the error of Jewish beliefs about the Messiah.

Rodrigo discusses the predictions of the Messiah's advent in the Old Testament, and the promise that the gentiles will be blessed through him. He explains that sometimes the prophecies foretell Christ's human nature, sometimes his divine nature, and sometimes both. He cites Is 7, 14, *Ecce uirgo concipiet et pariet filium*, and rejects the Jewish argument that the Hebrew word which *uirgo* translates, 'almah, means simply "young woman" or "hidden," and thus does not prove that the Messiah's mother must be a virgin.⁵² This is an extremely popular approach to this verse in anti-Jewish polemic and has its origins in Jerome.⁵³ Rodrigo explains that Christ's birth in Bethlehem was foretold, as was the way in which Joseph learned what his name would be. The appearance of the star which lead the Magi was foretold in Nm 24, 17. Rodrigo describes the presentation at the Temple, the flight into Egypt and

⁵¹"Sed quaeris iterum, cur potius quam pater et spiritus sanctus, filius fuerit incarnatus? Ad hoc respondeo quod illa summa aequitas et summa benignitas incarnationem filii sic prouidit ut persona que a patre gignitur ab aeterno, a matre in tempore gigneretur, et qui filius extat in trinitate filius existeret hic a matre, ne si pater uel spiritus sanctus incerneretur, necessario filius diceretur et ita in trinitate duo filii haberentur." *Dialogus* II 31vb.

⁵²*Dialogus* II 33rb.

⁵³Jerome, *In Esiam*, ed. Mark Adriaen, CCSL 73, III, vii, 14, ll. 16-61, pp. 103-104. Dahan *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 391, 449.

the return after Herod's death, Jesus's baptism, His preaching and the miracles He performed.

The remaining half of the book treats the events surrounding the Passion of Christ, from the triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the events leading to the crucifixion including the treachery of Judas and the confrontation with Pilate, the crucifixion itself, Christ's death and burial, his descent into Hell, Resurrection, and ascent into Heaven. The book concludes with the appearance of the Holy Spirit before the apostles at Pentecost. What is curious about this entire section is that Rodrigo does not take advantage of his discussion of the Passion to blame the Jews for Christ's death. This is especially surprising since their culpability in Christ's death was a common theme of polemic against the Jews between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁴ He is not afraid to confront the Jews elsewhere in this Book, frequently responding to perceived Jewish objections to his arguments.

Book III: *De principatu apostolorum*

Book III, "De principatu apostolorum," also covers a popular theme in *Contra Iudaeos* literature: the end of Jewish law in the coming of Christ and the displacement of their role by the gentiles. The arguments he includes to show the end of the old Law and the conversion of the gentiles are typical of Christian polemic, and are founded in biblical exegesis. For example, the opening quotation, *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii. Constitues eos principes super omnem terram* (Ps 44, 17), is interpreted to indicate that the patriarchs are the fathers while the apostles are the princes of the verse, the true sons of the prophets.⁵⁵ Rodrigo responds to a common Jewish objection to the belief that Jesus was the Messiah, namely that the era of peace

⁵⁴Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 562–63.

⁵⁵*Dialogus* III 47rb.

promised in Is 2, 2–4 was not brought about by Jesus's advent.⁵⁶ He attempts to counter this in Book III by confining the era of peace to just the time around Jesus's life on Earth, when the world was under the peaceful domination of Augustus's *pax romana*. He writes that while Jesus was alive, no wars or other strife were stirred up. The peace of the time of Jesus Christ began to be disturbed in the fortieth year after his passion when Titus began his war against the Jews ("contra tuos")⁵⁷

Rodrigo does not include an evaluation of specific, current Jewish practices in Book III, such as is found in Petrus Alfonsi's rejection of circumcision, the Sabbath, Passover, and prohibitions against eating unclean foods in Chapter 12 of his *Dialogus*⁵⁸, or in the contemporary, anonymous, Iberian anti-Jewish treatise, the "Qui ceptum."⁵⁹ Rather, he focuses his attention on rejecting the belief that the sacrifices of the Old Testament would be restored at some time in the future. He returns to this theme in Book V.

Book IV: *De regno ecclesiae*

Rodrigo compares the victorious Church of his own day to the destroyed Temple of the Jews in Book IV, "De regno ecclesiae." This is another common theme in *Contra Iudaeos* texts, and follows logically from his consideration of the end of the old Law and the conversion of the gentiles in Book III. While the theme is popular,

⁵⁶See for example, the thirteenth-century Rabbi Meir ben Simon of Narbonne's use of this argument in his *Milhemet Mizvah*, described in Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 57–58. Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 393, 498.

⁵⁷"Quod subiungit, *nec exercebuntur ultra ad proelium*, (Is. 2, 4) toto tempore domini Iesu Christi in orbe nec bellum nec seditio legitur suscitata ... Tunc pax temporis domini Iesu Christi coepit post passionem anno XLo perturbari cum incipit Titus proelium contra tuos." *Dialogus* III 49va–vb.

⁵⁸Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogus*, PL 157, coll. 656–672.

⁵⁹Millás Vallicrosa, "Un tratado anónimo," pp. 12–17.

however, the style and execution are Rodrigo's own. Rodrigo expands on his views concerning the relationship between secular and spiritual authority in this book. Rodrigo opens conventionally by using Lm 4, 20 (*Spiritus oris nostri Christus dominus in peccatis nostris captus est cui diximus: sub umbra tua uiuemus in gentibus*) to show that Jeremiah foresaw the subordination of the Jews to the Church. He expands on this with Ps 58, 12 (*Deus ostendit mihi super inimicos meos; ne occidas eos, nequando obliuiscantur populi mei*), explaining that God showed to the Church, through the prophet, that it must not kill the Jews, but should protect them so that they might testify to the Law and the prophets and be witnesses to their own blindness and to the truth of the prophecies.⁶⁰ This explanation is the classic medieval statement of why Jews must continue to be allowed to live in Christian society, and it is found in Augustine's explication of this psalm.⁶¹ Rodrigo then argues that Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dn 2 also foretells the rule of the Church and that the stone cut off the mountain without hands is Jesus Christ; this too is a standard Christian interpretation.⁶²

The archbishop asserts that the *signum meum* of Is 49, 22 is the cross on which Jesus was crucified and that the sign of the cross, which is used in baptism, or which is made when the gospel is read, is what distinguishes believers from unbelievers.⁶³ Rodrigo adds that the prophecy which continues in Is 49, 23, *Erunt reges nutricii tui et regines nutrices tuae*, was fulfilled in the Church, since the

⁶⁰"*Deus ostendit ecclesiae per (pro cod.) prophetam ne interficiat te et tuos sed te sustineat ut sis in testimonium legis et prophetarum et tu ipse caecitatis tuae et ueritatis propheticae testis adsis.*" *Dialogus* IV 50vb.

⁶¹Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, eds. Eligius Dekkers, Iohannes Fraipont, CCSL 39, Ps. 58, I, 21, ll. 18–40, p. 744.

⁶²*Dialogus* IV 50vb–51rb.

⁶³*Dialogus* IV 51rb–va.

emperors, kings, and princes who once condemned Jesus to death, were later filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit and worshipped 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 their gifts, and endowed them with castles, cities, and lands.⁶⁴

Alluding to the supposed Donation of Constantine, Rodrigo discusses how Constantine yielded the imperium to Pope Sylvester, "taking himself down from the imperial summit and relinquishing power of command to the pope."⁶⁵ 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 rulership and even taxation by local churches.⁶⁶

Rodrigo is making a strong statement here on the sovereignty held by the Church over temporal rulers.

Continuing his exegesis of Psalm 44, Rodrigo explains that the queen with golden robes of verse 10 is the Church and discusses the different places of worship — cathedrals, convents, chapter houses, monasteries, and baptistries — which are her garments. He adds:

Often, as custom directs, one (place) is found for another, and devotion inclines these generous ranks of kings, princes, and other faithful to gifts of cities, fortresses, castles, towns, districts and other lands. And since they were established by the Church, it is a fact that their goods belong to the dominion of

⁶⁴ "Et tantus erat dolor et gemitus ex consideratione uulnerum Iesu Christi quod se inferiores calcato puluere reputabant, et tunc ecclesias construxerunt et muneribus ornauerunt et castris, ciuitatibus, et pastionibus dotaerunt." *Dialogus* IV 51va.

⁶⁵ "Ab imperiali culmine se deponens et papae concedens imperii potestate." *Dialogus* IV 51vb.

⁶⁶ "Et qui nunc imperator dicitur Romanorum se uassalum ecclesiae confitetur; imperator constanopolitanus et multi alii reges romanae ecclesiae sunt uassali; multi alii censuales; multi alii et terrarum principes, duces, comites, marchiones, et plurimi milites censu et dominio etiam particularibus ecclesiis sunt subiecti." *Dialogus* IV 51 vb.

the Church. Kings, princes, and other Christians pay tithes for all their goods, just as tithes are paid to the kings of the world in foreign nations. Penalties are exacted by prelates or their vicars for the sacrilegious acts and crimes of clerics. In spiritual cases, kings, princes, and the other faithful are judged by bishops.⁶⁷

The phrase, "In causis etiam qui a iudicio ecclesiae sit exemptus," concludes this passage. Some words are certainly missing here, and it is not exactly clear what Rodrigo wanted to say about those who are exempt from judgement of the Church. The archbishop comments that, while the Temple of Solomon only lasted for two hundred and thirty-four years, the Church has endured for 1,214 years and will last forever.⁶⁸ He ends this section by explaining that the Church was not established by man but by Christ, and he lists the orders of the Church, beginning with the pope, "who alone has the plenitude of power."⁶⁹ He then asks his adversary, the Jew, "When you see this, why do you, knowledgeable and prudent, speak falsely and why all your life do you seek to lose your way when it is so clear that the kingdom of the Church is exalted, since all obey the high priest and he is not subject to anyone for anything?"⁷⁰

⁶⁷"Frequenter tamen, ut usus dirigit, unum pro altero inuenitur, et hos ordines regum et principum et aliorum fidelium liberales deuotio ciuitatum et oppidorum, castrorum, uillarum, pagorum, et aliorum pastionum concessionibus inclinauit. Et quia ab ecclesia constituti, bona eorum constat ad regnum ecclesiae pertinere. Reges etiam et principes et caeteri christiani ecclesiae soluunt decimas (dezimas *cod.*) de omnibus suis, sicut in exteris nationibus mundi regibus persoluuntur. Poene etiam pro sacrilegiis et uitiiis clericorum a praelatis uel eorum uicariis exiguntur. In causis etiam spiritualibus reges etiam principes et fideles caeteri ab episcopis iudicantur." *Dialogus* IV 52ra.

⁶⁸*Dialogus* IV 52rb.

⁶⁹"Primus omnium summus pontifex qui solus habet plenitudinem potestatis." *Dialogus* IV 52 rb.

⁷⁰"Cum ergo hoc uideas, cur sciens et prudens falsa loqueris et ab utero niteris aberrare, cum sic pateat regnum ecclesiae exaltatum, quia omnes obediunt summo pontifice et ipse nulli in aliquo est subiectus." *Dialogus* IV 52rb.

Having elaborated on the security and strength of Christianity, Rodrigo concludes Book IV by discussing the abject state of the Jews. He cites verses from the Old Testament, including Dn 9, 26 and Os 3, 3–5, to show that their ruin was foretold. He tells his interlocutor:

You see but you are not mindful of the reason that you are without a king, without a prophet, without a priest, without seraphin, without a sacrifice, without a temple, everywhere scattered, everywhere a slave, nowhere free having your own dwelling place, and you purchase an unhappy life with commerce and usury.⁷¹

Rodrigo's words here are strongly reminiscent of the passage in Peter Abelard's *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum* in which Abelard takes on the persona of the Jew to evoke their lowly status:

The princes themselves who rule over us and for whose patronage we pay dearly desire our death all the more to such a degree that they then snatch away the more freely what we possess. Confined and constricted in this way as if the whole world had conspired against us alone, it is a wonder that we are allowed to live. We are allowed to possess neither fields nor vineyards nor any landed estates because there is no one who can protect them for us from open or occult attack. Consequently, the principal gain that is left for us is that we sustain our miserable lives here by lending money at interest to strangers; but this just makes us most hateful to them who think they are being oppressed by it.⁷²

⁷¹"Vides et causam non respicis quod es sine rege, sine propheta, sine sacerdote, sine seraphin, sine sacrificio, sine templo, ubilibet distractus, ubilibet seruus, nusquam liber habens propriam mansionem, et infelicem uitam redimis commerciis et usuriis." *Dialogus* IV 52va.

⁷²Peter Abelard, *A Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew, and a Christian*, trans. Pierre J. Payer, *Medieval Sources in Translation*, vol. 20 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979), p. 33. "Principes ipsi, qui nobis presunt, et quorum graviter emimus patrociniū, tanto amplius mortem nostram desiderant, quanto licencius ea, que possidemus, diripiunt. Quibus etiam adeo constrictis et oppressis, quasi in nos solos coniurasset mundus, hoc ipsum mirabile est, si vivere licet; nec agros nec vineas aut terrenas aliquas possessiones habere conceditur, quia non est, qui eas nobis ab infestatione manifesta vel occulta protegere possit. Unde nobis precipue superest lucrum, ut alienigenis fenerantes hinc miseram sustentemus vitam, quod nos quidem maxime ipsis efficit invidiosos, qui se in hoc plurimum arbitrantur gravatos." Peter Abelard, *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum*, ed. Rudolf Thomas (Stuttgart: Friedrich Frommann Verlag, 1970), p. 51. The quoted section is only part of the Jew's lament.

The archbishop next describes the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, basing himself on the account by Josephus,⁷³ and adds that after the battle, Jews were sold as slaves for thirty to a penny.⁷⁴ He closes with a topic introduced in Book III and which will be discussed further in Book V, a comparison between the Christian Messiah and Jewish beliefs about what their Messiah will be like.

Despite the at times harsh statements directed at the Jews, this book really appears to have been addressed to a Christian audience, particularly to its secular rulers. It is they who are blamed for Christ's death, not the Jews, and Rodrigo outlines the penance they made in the form of richly endowing the Church with properties and becoming vassals of the Church. He makes it clear that these gifts from princes to prelates are right and proper and should continue. It may be no coincidence that in the year he was writing these words, 1214, Rodrigo received extensive donations of properties from Enrique I, Alfonso VIII's minor heir who succeeded his father in that year.⁷⁵ The archbishop makes a strong, unequivocal statement in favour of papal sovereignty in Book IV, one that would surely have pleased Innocent III, pope when the book seems to have been elaborated. Rodrigo justifies the collection by the Church of revenues, notably the tithe, a subject always dear to his own heart. He is almost sympathetic to the Jews, commiserating with them on the state which their rejection of Jesus has led them, and calling his interlocutor, "knowledgeable and prudent."⁷⁶

⁷³Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans., H. St. J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Series, vol. 3 (London: William Heinemann, 1928), VI, ix, 3, pp. 497–98.

⁷⁴*Dialogus* IV 52vb.

⁷⁵Hernández, *Los cartularios*, no. 351, pp. 317–18; no. 352, pp. 318–19; no. 353, p. 319; no. 354, p. 320; no. 355, pp. 321–22; no. 356, pp. 322–23. Also in González, *Alfonso VIII*, 3: nos. 964–69, pp. 664–75.

⁷⁶*Dialogus* IV 52rb.

Book V: *De fabula Iudaeorum*

Rodrigo departs from the pattern of those anti-Jewish treatises which preceded his with his Book V, one of the longer books of the *Dialogus*. This book is the lynchpin of the entire treatise. Having explained how Christians read the Old Testament to find foreshadowed in it information on the Trinity, Incarnation, life and death of Christ, rise of the Church and decline of the Jews in the previous four books, in Book V he turns to a direct challenge to Jewish beliefs about the coming of the Messiah, the Messianic age, and life in the time to come as they appear in the Talmud and Midrash. Some of these beliefs were known to earlier Christian authors, notably Jerome, but others seem to imply a more recent source of information. Rodrigo's method is to outline the Jewish beliefs and then to argue that they contradict each other, or are contradicted by passages from the Old Testament. The evidence he presents in this book will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

Book VI: *De ecclesiasticis sacramentis*

With Book VI, Rodrigo returns to an exposition of the Christian faith. This time his subject is the seven sacraments. While most anti-Jewish treatises discuss one or more of the sacraments, usually baptism and the Eucharist, an expansive discussion of all seven is unusual and is a distinctive feature of Rodrigo's work. Rodrigo considers each sacrament individually. His treatment of baptism and then the Eucharist occupies over half the chapter. These two are followed by the sacraments of penance and of Holy Orders. His discussion takes the form of an attempt to find as many Old Testament parallels and foreshadowings of these sacraments as possible.

Rodrigo's treatment of the sacrament of marriage is especially interesting, because it may reveal an awareness of Jewish customs in the Spain of his day. He describes matrimony as the sacrament, "Which you (the Jews) receive, but which you

break."⁷⁷ This is because, he explains, although God made man and woman so there would be one woman for each man, the Jews take more than one wife. They justify this principle by pointing to the example of the patriarchs. But, Rodrigo argues, the patriarchs had more than one wife, not because they had a right to do so, but rather because they were dispensed from the law which forbade them from multiple marriages so they could generate more offspring.⁷⁸ Rodrigo's statement that Jews had more than one wife may be based on personal experience. The eleventh century rabbi, Gershom of Mainz forbade Jews from taking multiple spouses. Although previously they had been theoretically permitted to have more than one spouse, in Western Europe at least this custom had probably fallen into complete disuse long before then. Under the influence of Muslim law, however, in Islamic countries, including Spain, Jews still sometimes practised polygamy. In tenth and eleventh-century *responsa* cases of polygamy are mentioned. This custom seems to have continued in those lands which came under Christian rule.⁷⁹ Solomon ibn Adret, rabbi of Barcelona in the second half of the fourteenth century, said in a *responsum* that in couples that are childless after ten years, the husband must take another wife.⁸⁰ Jews seem to have continued occasionally taking multiple spouses in the Iberian peninsula into the fourteenth century.⁸¹

⁷⁷"Quintum sacramentum est matrimonium quod recipis sed infringis." *Dialogus* VI 70ra.

⁷⁸"Sed intellige patriarchis non de iure matrimonii hoc fecisse, sed in eis generationis necessitas dispensavit." *Dialogus* VI 70rb.

⁷⁹Ze'ev W. Falk, *Jewish Matrimonial Law in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 11-13.

⁸⁰Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1964), pp. 20-24, 27, 28. Baron, 6: 135-37.

⁸¹Baer, *History of the Jews*, I, p. 372.

Rodrigo discusses the final two sacraments — Confirmation and Extreme Unction — in a brief paragraph each. He says that neither were practised by the Jews. Confirmation, he says, “is only given by our bishops because the Holy Spirit was neither sent visibly to you nor to your people.”⁸² Rodrigo explains that while the Jews only anointed their kings and priests, all Christians are anointed at Baptism, Confirmation, and during the last rites.

Book VII: *De Antichristo*

Discussions of the Antichrist in the Middle Ages often make reference to the Jews because it was commonly believed by Christians that the Jews would follow the Antichrist when he came, believing him to be their long-promised Messiah. Nevertheless, extended treatment of the Antichrist was not usually found in anti-Jewish treatises, and is another exceptional feature of the *Dialogus*.

Rodrigo's portrait of the Antichrist is conventional: The Antichrist will be born in the city of Babylon. The devil will possess him from the moment he is in his mother's womb. He will perform miracles and produce great riches to convince people to follow him. The ten and a half lost tribes of the Jews who are living in the Caspian mountains will think he is the promised Messiah and, desiring to return to Palestine, they will aid him successfully to wage war against other nations. The Antichrist will rule the world and many Christians and gentiles will convert. Enoch and Elijah will return and they will preach against the rule of the Antichrist for three years and five and a half months. The Antichrist will then have them killed, but they will have already turned many against him.

⁸²“Non nisi a pontificibus nostris datur et quia nec tibi nec tuis spiritus sanctus uisibiliter fuit missus.” *Dialogus* VI 70va.

Rodrigo at this point begins a close reading of the prophecies of Dn 10–12. Here, Rodrigo counters Jewish assertions that the individual foreseen in these chapters is Antiochus Epiphanes, by arguing that sometimes Daniel refers to Antiochus, sometimes to the Antichrist, and sometimes to both in his predictions. Rodrigo returns again to his account of the Antichrist's deeds, stating that the Antichrist will sit in the Temple in Jerusalem and worship idols. He will then go to the Mount of Olives where he will be killed by the archangel Michael. Rodrigo next hypothesizes concerning the date when the Antichrist will come, but concludes that only God knows the exact time. Rodrigo finishes the book by describing the judgement of fire and resurrection of the dead which will follow the Antichrist's death, and the forty-five years which will then ensue before the final judgement. These years are given to humankind to give them an opportunity to do penance for their sins.⁸³

The most striking aspect of this book is its neutral tone. Although Rodrigo does state that many of the Jews will follow the Antichrist, thinking him to be their Messiah, Rodrigo does not take this opportunity to fulminate against the Jews for accepting him. He even asserts that the Antichrist will attract an equal number of Jews and gentiles to his service⁸⁴ and emphasizes that those who follow the Antichrist are tricked into doing so. His language throughout is calm, and he simply reports events as he believes they will happen.

⁸³See Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 79–107, for a recital of the usual events found in medieval accounts of the life of the Antichrist. On the interval of time between the two judgements, see 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.

⁸⁴"Et sic utrumque parietem ex gentibus et Iudaeis ad sui uersutia inclinabit." *Dialogus* VII 74ra.

Book VIII: *De generali resurrectione*

Book VIII continues the story of the events which will occur at the end of time, begun in Book VII. It speaks of the resurrection and the Last Judgement. The book opens with the statement that all Catholics, Jews, philosophers, and Saracens agree that the soul is immortal. Rodrigo explains that it must be immortal because it is made in the image of God, describes the powers of the soul, and concludes that the resurrection of the body is necessary so that a home may be provided for the soul. Rodrigo next interprets Ez 37 to refer to the resurrection of the body and argues that these verses indicate not the resurrection of just one nation, but of everyone.⁸⁵ He lists other Old Testament proof texts for resurrection and then, in an unusual move, also cites passages from the New Testament which foretell the general resurrection.

Rodrigo takes the traditional view that the Last Judgement will take place in the Valley of Jehosaphat, near Jerusalem. He recounts various opinions about how the judgement will be transmitted to the judged. The people will be divided into the City of the good, or the triumphant Church militant, associated with Jerusalem, and the City of the wicked, or the recumbent Church militant, associated with Babylon.⁸⁶ Rodrigo explains the origins of Lucifer and the Church of the wicked. He ends the book, and the treatise, with a description of the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the elect.

Like Book VII, Book VIII seems almost to forget it is part of an anti-Jewish treatise. Rodrigo refers to his Jewish audience only a few times, usually when he is emphasizing that all he is saying can be found in the prophets. Although he twice

⁸⁵"Et apparet quod non unius gentis sed omnium erit resurrectio generalis." *Dialogus* VIII 77va.

⁸⁶"Ecclesiae electorum militans et triumphans; ecclesiae malignorum similiter militans et succumbens." *Dialogus* VIII 79rb.

refers to the Church of the wicked as a synagogue,⁸⁷ he does not directly relate it to the Jews of his own day. He does associate the City of the wicked with the Jews once, speaking of "our and your Cities, or Churches."⁸⁸ These two books are not out of place in the *Dialogus*, however; they do fit into Rodrigo's plan for the work. In Book V, Rodrigo already attacked Jewish beliefs concerning the Messiah, the new Jerusalem, the Resurrection and the World to Come so he does not have to continue his attack in Books VII and VIII. Rodrigo can simply set out what the Christian beliefs are on these subjects. He even alludes to this in the text of Book VIII. When he interprets Ez 37, 9, he states that he has already argued against the Jewish interpretation that this verse refers to the golden Jerusalem, and he does not repeat that argument here in Book VIII.⁸⁹ This argument can, in fact, be found in Book V.⁹⁰

⁸⁷*Dialogus* VIII 79va and 80va.

⁸⁸"Ecce quod de nostris et tuis ciuitatibus seu ecclesiis audisti, et de principibus, et de fine." *Dialogus* VIII 80vb.

⁸⁹"Ad ea quae contra hanc prophetiam dicere poteris, tibi superius est responsum cum de tua Ierusalem aurea tractabamus." *Dialogus* VIII 77vb.

⁹⁰Cf. *Dialogus* V 54vb.

CHAPTER 4

THE TRINITY AND THE CREATION

Book I of the *Dialogus*, “De trinitate,” deserves close attention because of the range and variety of sources and arguments Rodrigo marshalls to compile it. Rodrigo supplies a variety of rhetorical proofs for the Trinity, ranging from explanations founded in grammar, logic, and mathematics, and analogies based on the divine attributes to exegesis of the Old Testament. This last class of evidence will be considered in Chapter 5. The explanations are interesting not only because they shed light on Rodrigo’s thought, but also because they demonstrate his dependence on the teachings of Alan of Lille (ca. 1125/1130–1203) and, through Alan, Boethius (ca. 480–524), John Scotus Eriugena (fl. 860), and Gilbert of Poitiers (ca. 1180–1154). Book I also contains many passages in which Rodrigo describes his understanding of cosmology. His focus on Creation in a book devoted to the uncreated Trinity should not be surprising because, as Rodrigo explains, quoting Romans and echoing Augustine, it is by means of the visible world that the early philosophers reached some understanding of God.¹ Rodrigo’s views on cosmology connect him with the beliefs of thinkers associated with the School of Chartres, and also serve as bridge between the *Dialogus* and Rodrigo’s *Breuiarium historie catholice*.

¹“Verum diuina gratia eorum studia adiuuante, usque adeo ratione, ingenio, intellectu et studio profecerunt quod per ea <quae> facta sunt uisibilia perceperunt; sempiterna quoque eius uirtus et diuinitas fuit ab eis uisibilia per eadem intellecta, et ea per ea quae facta sunt a primo principio cognouerunt.” *Dialogus* I 26va. *Inuisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque eius uirtus et diuinitas*. Rm 1, 20. Cf. Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei*, eds. Bernardus Dombart and Alphonsus Kalb, CCSL 47, VIII, 6, ll. 48–52, p. 224.

Grammar, Logic, and the Trinity

The twelfth century witnessed an enormous flowering of interest in the relationship between logic and grammar, and an increasing awareness of the usefulness of both in theological discourse. Rodrigo's discussion of the divine essence and the Trinity in Book I of his *Dialogus* reflects this interest. His arguments and choice of language seem to have been influenced by the thought of Alan of Lille. Alan borrowed from Gilbert of Poitiers the idea that concepts and terms used in one science could be adapted to describe another. Of special importance here is Alan's application of grammatical and logical terms to the study of theology. When used to discuss God, who is simple, grammatical and logical terms often take on different meanings from those they hold when used to describe created things.² Of the 134 theological maxims included in the critical edition of Alan's *Regulae caelestis iuris*,³ some forty-five concern the rules for constructing valid statements about God. The rules of grammar and logic applied to theology merited special consideration. The ideas expressed in this section of the *Regulae* are also found in Alan's *Summa 'Quoniam homines'*, where they are expressed in a less systematic and schematic form.⁴ Rodrigo appropriates Alan's grammatical theories in a piecemeal fashion, scattering them throughout Book I of the *Dialogus*, whenever he feels they lend support to his arguments. Often, Rodrigo's use

²For 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: Cambridge University Press, 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*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1972, pp. 66–72, 157.

³Nikolaus M. Häring, ed., "Magister Alanus de Insulis. *Regulae caelestis iuris*," *AHDLMA* 48 (1981): 97–226, hereafter *Regulae*.

⁴P. Glorieux, "La somme 'Quoniam homines' d'Alain de Lille," *AHDLMA* 28 (1953): 113–369, hereafter *Quoniam homines*.

of Alan's teachings is cryptic and allusive, so much so that without knowing the source for Rodrigo's statements, his meaning would be difficult to discern.

Medieval discussions of grammar begin with a consideration of its objects: words and speech. Rodrigo says 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 palate. By means of this beating, man devised words which 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, existed eternally and that now, although metaphorically, they can be signified by words. These words connote temporal effects in created things.⁵ What exactly does Rodrigo mean by this passage?

The definition of voice as the beating of air is found in Boethius, and his description recurs in numerous twelfth-century authors.⁶ Boethius also noted that only

⁵"In hunc mundum creationis tempore non erant uocabula nec prolator, quae post creationem hominis sunt creata percussione aeris in palato, et homo percussione huius uocabula adinuenit quibus nomina imposuit creaturis, et haec uoces sensibile aurium distribuntur. Rerum enim naturae, essentiae siue formae non discernuntur nisi uocis rationalis stridulo distinguntur. Ceterae uoces significatiuo nil distingunt; nec enim aliquid uocabulum ab aeterno cum non esset proferens uel prolaturum, nec aer qui est materia proferendi. Vnde et nullum uocabulum praedicare de Deo potuit ab aeterno, sed res quae nunc uocabulis supponuntur, ut essentia uel persona fuerunt, sine creato principio ab aeterno et nunc in tempore, licet improprie, uocabulis supponuntur, et illa uocabula temporales effectus connotant in creatis." *Dialogus* I 30ra-30rb.

⁶"Vox est aeris per linguam percussio," Boethius, *In Perihermenias*, ed. Charles Meiser (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880), I, l. 18, p.4. See, for example, Peter Helias, *Summa super Priscianum*, ed. Leo Reilly, 2 vols., Studies and Texts, vol. 113 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993), 1: 66. Priscian himself defined voice as, "aerem tenuissimum ictum uel suum sensibile aurium, id est quod proprie auribus accidit." Heinrich Keil, ed., *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols. (1857; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), 2: I, 1, ll. 1-2, p. 5.

man could give names ("nomina") to things,⁷ and this axiom was cited by Alan in his *Regulae* and *Quoniam homines*. In both works, Alan specifies that what man names are things that exist by virtue of matter and form.⁸ 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. Similarly, Rodrigo cited form as one of the things that words can distinguish and said 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 cause of justice: not because he acts in a just fashion, but because "just" exists by that justice which is God himself. In one manner he 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 makes us just ("sed ab effectu iusticie, quia nos efficit iustos, iustus dicitur").⁹ The same argument appears in the *Regulae*: one thing is predicated when we say "God is just," another thing is compredicated. His divine

⁷"Rebus praeiacentibus, et in propria principaliter naturae constitutione manentibus, humanum solum genus exstitit, quod rebus nomina posset imponere." Boethius, *In categorias*, PL 64, col. 159A.

⁸"Rebus ex materia formaque constantibus solus humanus animus exstitit qui prout uoluit nomina rebus impressit," *Regulae*, R. 17, p. 136. See also *Quoniam homines*, p. 141.

⁹*Quoniam homines*, pp. 140-41.

justice is predicated; the effect of his justice on us is compredicated.¹⁰ These passages seem to be the source of Rodrigo's statement that words used about God connote temporal effects in creatures. 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").¹¹

Rodrigo resorts to these concepts about language at two other points in Book I, using slightly different wording. First, 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 particles said about God unite ("copulant") the divine essence; either supposit substance, quality or quantity, or assign relation; and connote an effect on a creature."¹² This passage defines more closely how words may be used about God: All words referring to God predicate the divine essence and compredicate its effects on us. They also can say something about God in terms of Aristotle's logical categories of substance, quality, quantity or relation.

Immediately following this passage, Rodrigo compares statements made about God to statements made about created beings, like angels. Unlike God, but like other created things, angelic nature receives its name from its form. No word can

¹⁰"Cum enim dicitur: Deus est iustus, hoc nomen iustus transfertur a sua propria significatione ad hoc ut conueniat Deo sed res nominis non attribuitur Deo sed potius ipsa iusticia diuina Deo attribuitur, non illa a qua datum est hoc nomen iustus. Aliud enim predicatur cum dicitur: Deus est iustus, aliud compredicatur. Predicatur enim diuina iusticia. Conpredicatur effectus iusticie in nobis." *Regulae*, R. 26, p. 142.

¹¹Potter, p. 158.

¹²"Omnia enim nomina, uerba et pronomina et particula dicta de Deo copulant diuinam essentiam; aut supponunt uel substantiam uel qualitatem uel quantitatem, aut referunt uel relationem; et connotant effectum in creatura." *Dialogus* I 28vb.

unite, supposit, or relate divine essence and angelic nature because affirmations about angelic nature are composed, while affirmations about divine nature are uncomposed.¹³ Again the explanation of this passage can be found both in Alan's *Regulae*, and his *Quoniam homines*. The ultimate source is Pseudo-Dionysius' *De caelestis hierarchibus*: "Si igitur depulsiones in divinis verae, intentiones vero incompactae, obscuritati arcanorum magis apta est per dissimiles reformationes manifestatio."¹⁴ Eriugena's commentary on Ps-Dionysius explains that "depulsiones" or negative statements are truly appropriate for signifying divine things, while "intentiones" or affirmative statements are not suitable for signifying divine things.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

¹³"Et cum angelica natura habeat nomina a forma indita ... nullum uocabulum potest copulare, supponere uel referre diuinam essentiam et angelicam cum affirmationes de natura angelica sint compactae, de diuina essentia incompactae." *Dialogus* I 28vb.

¹⁴Ps-Dionysius, *Caelestis hierarchibus*, PL 122, col. 1041C.

¹⁵"Si, inquit, depulsiones, hoc est negationes, quas Greci ΑΠΟΦΑΘΕΙC uocant, in diuinis significationibus uere fiunt, non autem intentiones, affirmationes uidelicet, quas ΚΑΤΑΦΑΘΕΙC dicunt, eisdem diuinis significationibus compacte et conuenientes sunt." John Scotus Eriugena, *Expositiones in ierarchiam coelestem*, ed. Jeanne Barbet, CCCM 31, II, ll. 517-21, p. 34.

¹⁶*Regulae*, R. 18, 136-137. Cf. *Quoniam homines*, p. 140.

Rodrigo further illustrates his point that talk about God differs from talk about creatures. He cites Gn 1, 26, "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram," and explains why "faciamus" 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."¹⁷ Rodrigo uses grammatical arguments to demonstrate how reason, memory, and intellect exist differently in God from the manner in which they are present in rational creatures, both men and angels. Rodrigo explains that if the Bible sometimes applies words commonly used to describe the abilities of men or angels to God, these are cases of "anthropopathos". This expression likewise appears in Alan's *Regulae*, where it is likewise defined as the attribution of words said about a creature to the Creator.¹⁸ Rodrigo concludes his exposition of this point with the now familiar refrain, "Nec tamen a Deo ista abscidimus, cum eorum uocabula pro Deo, ut pro homine, copulant uel supponant; diuinam enim essentiam praedicant et effectum connotant in creatis."¹⁹

¹⁷"Sed alia est similitudo Dei et angeli uel imago quia aliter de creatore, aliter de creatura uocabula praedicant, copulant, referuntur uel supponunt." *Dialogus* I 29ra. Note the similarity between this passage and the following one from the *Breuiarium*, I, vii, ll. 21-25, p. 23, which also discusses Gn 1, 26: After stating that both God and man are just and wise, Rodrigo continues, "Set aliter uocabula de Deo, aliter de homine praedicantur; de Deo enim siue secundum essentiam siue secundum qualitatem uel quantitatem uel relationem diuinam essentiam supponunt, refferunt, copulant uel personant; effectum tamen connotant in creatis."

¹⁸"Et ita in hoc est antropospatos quod uerba creature i.e. angeli attribuuntur creatori." *Regulae* R. 36, p. 149. This expression is found in several places in Jerome, for example to explain why God refers to his arm and his strength in Ier 34, 4, "Licet ἀνθρωποπαθῶς haec scriptura loquatur, quomodo nos homines loqui possumus et intellegere, tamen 'fortitudo' dei et 'bracchium' eius ille est, de quo et apostolus loquitur: 'Christus dei uirtus et dei sapientia'..." Jerome, *In Hieremiam*, ed. Siegfried Reiter, CCSL 74, V, 47, p. 263.

¹⁹*Dialogus* I 29ra.

To this point, only Rodrigo's application of grammar and logic to the divine essence has been considered. Understanding the Trinity itself is the major focus of Book I. Rodrigo employs grammar and logic to explain the Trinity while addressing the objections of his imagined Jewish interlocutor who 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*. The word "God", when it is placed with a notional verb like "generates," "is generated," or "proceeds," stands for, not God's essence, but rather the persons of the Trinity. Therefore, when we say, "God generates," God stands for the Father; when we say, "God is generated," God stands for the Son; and when we say, "God proceeds," God stands for the Holy Spirit.²⁰ The verb "supponere" — translated here as "supposit" — has a logical meaning when used by Alan of Lille. It 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, e.g. "The Father differs from God in nothing."²¹ This final mode of supposition is that applied by Rodrigo here. Rodrigo calls the verbs "generates," "is generated," and "proceeds," notional verbs because

²⁰"Hoc enim dictio "Deus" cum ponitur cum uerbo notionali "gignit," "gignitur," uel "procedit," supponit non pro essentia sed pro persona. Vnde cum dicitur "Deus generat," pro patre supponit; cum dicit "Deus gignitur," pro filio; cum dicitur "Deus procedit," pro spiritu sancto supponit." *Dialogus* I 27va.

²¹Potter, pp. 171–74, explains Alan's use of "supponere". See *Regulae* R. 36, pp. 146–47 and *Quoniam homines*, pp. 218–19.

they are the verbs which delineate the notions or personal properties which separate the Persons of the Trinity from each other. This will be discussed further, below.

Rodrigo explains that the Father is essentially by virtue of Himself, the Son is essentially generated from the Father, and the Holy Spirit essentially proceeds. The three persons are three hypostases, or subsistences ("subsistentiae"), of the divine essence. They are not three substances, Rodrigo says, because they subsist by virtue of the venerable properties ("proprietas adorandis") by which they may be distinguished from each other. These properties are "notions," which Rodrigo promises to discuss elsewhere.²² The use of "subsistentia" to translate "hypostasis" is striking. Alan of Lille, following Boethius' *Contra Eutychen*, translates οὐσία as "essentia", οὐσίωσις by "subsistentia", ὑπόστασις by "substantia", and πρόσωπον by "persona".²³ The use of "substantia" to translate "hypostasis" meant that God would be described as having three "substances," which was problematic, as Augustine had noted.²⁴ Nevertheless, Boethius' terminology became the standard in the West and was naturally used by Alan of Lille. In his *Quoniam homines* Alan did, however, attribute

²²"Pater essentialiter est a se ipso, filius essentialiter genitus est de patre, spiritus sanctus essentialiter de patre essentialiter procedens. Vnde tres personae leguntur tres hypostases essentiae diuinae, id est subsistentiae. Non dico substantiae sed subsistentiae quia subsistunt proprietatibus adorandis, quibus autem inuicem dinoscuntur, et hoc sunt notiones de quibus alibi facimus mentionem." *Dialogus* I 27va. Note the similarity of what is said here about the properties and the following passage from the *Breuiarium*: "Et sic omnia in se creauit, ut creaturis, locis et formis distinctis abinuicem diuina essentia nec meta nec forma nec alicubi separetur, licet persone adorandis proprietatibus dinoscantur." *Breuiarium* I, ll. 50-53, p. 12.

²³*Quoniam homines*, pp. 170-71. Boethius *Contra Eutychen* III, in *Theological Tractates*, ed. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1962), pp. 84-90. See *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, eds. Alfred Vacant and Eugène Mangenot, 26 vols. (Paris: Letouzet et Ané, 1908-) 7: part 1, coll. 391-393, 408 for a discussion of the use of substance and subsistence to translate hypostasis.

²⁴Augustine, *De trinitate*, ed. W. J. Mountain, CCSL 50, V, 8, ll. 43-51, p. 217.

to Jerome the phrase, "We believe not only in the names, but also in the properties of the names, that is, the persons, or as the Greeks say, "hypostases", that is, subsistences."²⁵ This expression can be found nowhere in Jerome, but it seems to be the source for Rodrigo's argument.

Under the heading, "How names said about God should be understood," Rodrigo contends that everything which is said about God is said according to substance or relation, not according to accident. Augustine had written that things said about God are said according to substance, not accident.²⁶ This is based on Augustine's statement that things may be said about God according to relation, which in God is not an accident, as well as according to substance.²⁷ Rodrigo continues: "There is no accident in God owing to the eternal properties by which the persons are distinguished one from another."²⁸ Rodrigo wrote, as we have seen above, that words may be used about God to assign relation.²⁹ Alan expresses the same views in his *Regulae*.³⁰ Relation, one of Aristotle's ten categories, is used specifically in theology to discuss the relationship of each of the three persons of the Trinity to the other two. In chapter IV of his *De trinitate*, Boethius examines how each of Aristotle's ten categories may be used to discuss God, and in chapter V he discusses the category of

²⁵"Item Ieronimus: non nomina tantummodo sed etiam nominum proprietates id est personas, vel ut greci exprimunt ypostases, id est subsistentias confitemur." *Quoniam homines*, p. 176.

²⁶"Sciendum autem omne quod de Deo dicitur dici secundum substantiam uel secundum relationem, non, dico, secundum accidens." *Dialogus* I 28rb.

²⁷Augustine *De Trinitate*, V, 5, esp. ll. 19-22, p. 211.

²⁸"Nullum autem accidens est in Deo propter aeternas proprietates quibus persone a se inuicem dinoscuntur." *Dialogus* I 28rb.

²⁹*Dialogus* I 28vb.

³⁰"Omnis terminus de Deo dictus aut dicitur de eo secundum substantiam aut relatiue." *Regulae* R. 23, p. 139.

relation in more detail. He explains 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 the 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.³¹ Gilbert of Poitiers builds on this use of relation to discuss the persons of the Trinity in his commentary on Boethius' *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 non-essential.³² Rodrigo appeals to the theological meaning of relation to differentiate the three persons according to their properties when he says that words may be used about God to assign relation.

What are these properties or notions which distinguish the persons? As he promised on fol. 27va, Rodrigo does eventually discuss them in more detail:

Power, wisdom, and will, that is, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinguished by properties which 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

³¹Boethius, *De trinitate* V, in *Theological Tractates*, pp. 26–28.

³²Michael E. Williams, *The Teaching of Gilbert Porreta on the Trinity* (Rome: Gregoriana, 1931), p. 68–69.

one person with the Father and Son.³³

Rodrigo's use of personal properties to distinguish the relationship between the persons of the Trinity derives from Gilbert of Poitiers' use of these properties to show how the Trinity could be one essence and three persons.³⁴ The names, "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 which are predicated extrinsically, as we saw above, and are not perfections or realities which differ from the divine essence.³⁵ Gilbert's use of personal properties or notions was one of the elements of his theology taken up most enthusiastically by the Porretani who followed him, such as Simon of Tournai (ca. 1130–1201), Everard of Ypres, and Alan of Lille, who were opposed in their use of

³³"Potentia autem, sapientia et uoluntas, id est pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, adorandis a proprietatibus dinoscuntur. Vnde et ille proprietates "notiones" a catholicis appellantur, et sunt quinque, scilicet, innascibilitas. Hac noscitur pater ab alio non prodire. Secunda proprietas est paternitas, qua pater noscitur filium generare, et hiis duabus pater dinoscitur non esse una persona cum filio uel spiritu sancto. Tertia notio est filiatio, qua a patre noscitur filius generari, et non est una persona cum illo. Quarta notio est spiratio. Hac noscuntur pater et filius eadem spiratione spiritum sanctum spirare, et non esse una persona cum spiritu sancto. Quinta notio est processio, qua dinoscitur quod spiritus sanctus a patre et filio sit procedens, et non sit cum patre et filio una persona." *Dialogus* I 29rb.

³⁴"Huc usque singularem ac simplicem Patris et Filii et Spiritus amborum essenciam, qua unusquisque illorum et est et Deus est et tres sunt unus Deus, theologicis rationibus ostendit. 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, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, Studies and Texts, vol. 13 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1966), ll. 17–21, p. 109. Marebon, "Gilbert of Poitiers," p. 335.

³⁵Williams, pp. 74–76.

these properties by Peter Lombard and others.³⁶

Gilbert did not use the term “notion” to describe these properties, and it is uncertain with whom this expression originates. Alan ascribes use of the term to Hilary, wrongly it seems.³⁷ Alan writes that 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.³⁸ Rodrigo listed five notions: innascability, paternity, filiation, spiration, and procession. Alan also says that there are five notions, but curiously he does not list them, although he mentions all those listed by Rodrigo at some point in the *Quoniam homines*. He applies the same language to speak of them as Rodrigo would later use, calling them things to be adored.³⁹ Rodrigo’s use of these personal properties, or notions, to describe the Trinity as well as his application of grammar and logic to theology, to understand how words can be used about God, all seem to have their source in the writings of Alan of Lille.

³⁶M. -D. Chenu, “Grammaire et théologie,” *La théologie au douzième siècle*, Études de Philosophie Médiévale, vol. 45 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1976), pp. 106–107. 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): 143–172, 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: Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense, 1932), disp. LXXIX, p. 229. For Alan of Lille, see below.

³⁷*Quoniam homines*, p. 213.

³⁸*Quoniam homines*, p. 210.

³⁹“Quinque proprietates sunt Deus. Eadem ratione quinque res sunt Deus; et quinque res sunt adorande, quia quecumque res Deus est, adoranda est.” *Quoniam homines*, pp. 210–211.

Images and Analogies of the Trinity

Grammar and logic were relatively new techniques to be applied to understanding the Trinity; one of the oldest and most popular ways to explain the Trinity, both in works directed to Christians and in texts addressed to non-believers, was by means of images which were believed to convey the unity and trinity of God. The use of these images was fully exploited by the authors who influenced Rodrigo, and he adopted many of their examples. Rodrigo wove together analogies of the Trinity in creation derived from Augustine; representations of the Trinity based on the theory of divine attributes, accepted by many Jews; and descriptions founded in simple arithmetic of how pagan philosophers may have understood the Trinity.

Augustine: The Trinity and the Soul

Although Augustine was not the first to use analogies from creation to describe the Trinity, in his *De trinitate* he developed these images into a sophisticated form in which they were not merely comparisons to the Trinity, but indications of the presence of God in His works.⁴⁰ Augustine identified three triads within the human soul which reveal God's mark on us: *mens, notitia eius, amor; memoria sui, intelligentia, uoluntas; memoria, intelligentia, amor*. These triads were repeated by numerous authors, including Rodrigo. Rodrigo's immediate source for the latter two may not have been Augustine himself, however, but rather Alan of Lille. Book three of Alan's *Contra haereticos* is directed against the Jews. In its fifth chapter, Alan demonstrates how analogies ("similitudines") can be used to understand the Trinity. He conflates two passages from Augustine's *De trinitate*: X, 11, ll. 29–40, which explains the triad "memoria, intelligentia, uoluntas;" and XIV, 8, ll. 14–16 on

⁴⁰On Augustine's use of analogies to describe the Trinity, see *DTC* XV, part 2, cols. 1688–92.

“memoria, intelligentia, amor.”⁴¹ Rodrigo has conflated the same two passages using very similar wording.⁴² Likewise, both authors have written, “Hic enim apparet quaedam trinitas memoriae, intelligentiae, et amoris,” to describe the image of the Trinity in the soul. This sentence does not appear in Augustine. But Rodrigo adds material from Augustine’s *De trinitate* which is not found in Alan’s *Contra haereticos*, including a discussion of the triad “mens, notitia eius, amor,” which suggests that Rodrigo had access to both works.

To answer the Jew’s question of why there are only three persons in God, not four or five, Rodrigo names another triad of powers held by the soul, one not found in Augustine. He 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. Rodrigo goes on to explain how memory, reason, and intellect exist differently in God from the way they are present in rational, created beings.⁴³ Alan of Lille’s *Sermo de trinitate*, which is essentially a compendium of different analogies of the Trinity, also relates this ternary. He writes, “The Trinity of nature reverberates in the soul in intellect, reason, and memory. Intellect comprehends a thing, reason discerns it, and memory gathers it in a storehouse of recollection. Therefore, “intellect” belongs to the Father, “reason” to the Son, and “memory” to the Holy Spirit.”⁴⁴ Like Alan and Rodrigo, Michael Scot also compares the Trinity to intellect, reason, and memory in the soul in his *Liber introductorius*.⁴⁵

⁴¹Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos*, III, PL 210, col. 406B–D.

⁴²*Dialogus* I 27ra–27rb.

⁴³*Dialogus* I 28vb–29ra.

⁴⁴Alan of Lille, “Sermo de Trinitate,” ed. d’Alverny, *Alain de Lille* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1965), p. 257. Alan simply writes that reason, memory, and intellect are compounded in the human soul in *Quoniam homines*, p. 192.

⁴⁵Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1923–1958), 2: 317.

Power, Wisdom, and Will:
Divine Attributes and the Persons of the Trinity

Another set of terms used by Rodrigo to explain the Trinity is that of power, wisdom and will. Under the heading "De cognitione trinitatis per intellectum,"

Rodrigo writes:

Why do you deny for your Creator what you are compelled to confess exists in yourself? That the perfection of every thing may be accomplished, three things are required necessarily: power, wisdom, and will. If one of these is missing, imperfection, not perfection, follows. Therefore, if you begin to do something, if you cannot, or know not, or will not, what is begun will not come into effect. What you call "power," we call the Father; what you call "wisdom," we call the Son; what you call "will," we call the Holy Spirit. The highest Trinity, therefore, can, knows, and wills to bring to fullness what it chooses, since power, wisdom, and will are always present in it.⁴⁶

Here, the action of the three divine attributes together is necessary for the perfection of God's works. Power, wisdom, and will are mentioned in two other places in Book I of the *Dialogus*. To prove the existence of a supreme being, Rodrigo argues that there must have been some immortal principle that fashioned and adorned all corruptible things by means of power, wisdom and will.⁴⁷ Additionally, he calls the three persons of the Trinity power, wisdom, and will when speaking about the notions by which the persons are distinguished from each other.⁴⁸

Daniel Lasker has traced the identification of divine attributes with the Persons of the Trinity and the refutation of these arguments in Jewish polemical

⁴⁶"Cur in tuo abnegas creatore quod in te ipso cogeris confiteri? Vt omnis rei perfectio consummetur, tria necessario requiruntur: potentia, sapientia, et uoluntas. Si unum ex istis abfuerit, imperfectio, non perfectio subsequetur. Si ergo quicumque coeperis operari, si non poteris aut nescieris aut nolueris, inceptum non perueniet ad effectum. Quam tu potentiam, hunc nos Patrem; quam tu sapientiam, hunc nos Filium; quam tu uoluntatem, hunc nos Spiritum Sanctum dicimus et fatemur. Potest ergo summa trinitas et scit et uult que sibi placuerunt facere consummare, cum semper adsint potentia, sapientia, et uoluntas." *Dialogus* I 27ra.

⁴⁷"Ergo necesse fuit ut esset principium immortale quod potentia, sapientia, uoluntate omnia corruptibilia conderet et ornaret." *Dialogus* I 26vb.

⁴⁸*Dialogus* I 29ra.

literature.⁴⁹ John Scotus Eriugena was the first in the Latin West to describe the Persons in this way, identifying the Father with essence, the Son with wisdom, and the Holy Spirit with life.⁵⁰ Peter Abelard (1079–1142) named a triad closer to Rodrigo's, calling the Father "potentia," the Son "sapientia," and the Holy Spirit "benignitas" or "bonus affectus." Like Rodrigo, Abelard identifies the operation of all three together with perfection.⁵¹ His *Theologia 'Summi boni'*, which contains this ternary, was condemned and burnt at Soissons in 1121. In 1140, his writings were condemned again, at Sens. This condemnation was in large measure due to his use of divine attributes. His accusers believed that he had linked each attribute so closely to each individual member of the Trinity that he was limiting the extent to which the attribute could be shared by all three Persons. Thus they accused him of saying that "The Father is full power; the Son is a certain power; the Holy Spirit is no power," and that "Omnipotence, not wisdom or benignity, properly or particularly pertains to the Father, who is not from another."⁵²

⁴⁹Daniel J. Lasker, *Jewish Philosophical Polemics Against Christianity in the Middle Ages* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1977), pp. 63–76. Most of the authors in the discussion that follows were cited by Lasker.

⁵⁰John Scotus Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, ed. I. P. Sheldon-Williams, *Scriptores Latini Hibernici*, vols. 7, 9, 11 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968–1981), I, p. 68. Harry Wolfson suggests that Eriugena may have been influenced by Marius Victorinus' depiction of the Trinity as "esse," "vivere," and "intelligere." Harry Austyn Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 123.

⁵¹This identification appears in various places in Abelard's writings, including *Theologia 'Summi boni'*, ed. E. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCCM 13, I, 1–5, ll. 11–62; pp. 86–88; *Theologia 'Scholarium'*, ed. E. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCCM 13, I, 30–32, ll. 335–359, pp. 330–331 and II, 113–123, ll. 1676–1847, pp. 463–470; *Theologia 'Christiana'*, ed. E. Buytaert, CCCM 12, I, 1–7, ll. 1–101, pp. 72–75. The three are connected to perfection in *Theologia 'Christiana'* I, 5, ll. 59–61, p. 74.

⁵²D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 63, 115, 132.

In his *Philosophia mundi* written around 1125,⁵³ William of Conches (1080–1154) was the first Christian author to cite the exact triad applied by Rodrigo. He writes that the philosophers recognized that the Creator and Ruler of all things must possess power, wisdom and will:

For if He could, and did not know, how did He create such beautiful things? Again, if He created, and did not will it, He created either unknowingly or under compulsion. But what would He not know, He who knows the thoughts of men? Who would compel Him who can do all things? Therefore, in divinity there is power, wisdom and will which the saints call the three persons, transferring names to them from common usage on account of a certain affinity, calling the divine power "Father," wisdom "Son," and will "Holy Spirit."⁵⁴

William concludes, as Abelard had done, by using these three attributes to explain generation and procession in God.⁵⁵ Also like Abelard, his teachings on the subject were condemned, this time by William of St. Thierry (ca. 1085–1148/49) who attacked him in a letter addressed to Bernard of Clairvaux (ca. 1090–1153).⁵⁶ Despite these condemnations, in his *De sacramentis* written in the 1130s, Hugh of St. Victor (ca. 1096–1141) also calls the Father, "potentia," the Son "sapientia" or "scientia," and the Holy Spirit a variety of terms including "benignus," "bonus," "amor," and twice "uoluntas."⁵⁷ He does not use these attributes to discuss generation and procession, but, like Abelard and Rodrigo, does associate their collective action with perfection.⁵⁸ After Hugh, variants on this ternary were frequently used to explain the Trinity. Alan

⁵³Dronke, *Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, p. 450.

⁵⁴William of Conches, *Philosophia*, ed. Gregor Maurach (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1980), p. 20.

⁵⁵William of Conches, *Philosophia*, pp. 20–21

⁵⁶William of St. Thierry, *De erroribus Guillelmi Conchis*, PL 180, coll. 333A–334B.

⁵⁷Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, I, 2, vi, PL 176, col. 208B–C; I, 3, xxvi–xxix, coll. 227C–231C.

⁵⁸See col. 230C. Luscombe, p. 188.

of Lille calls power, wisdom, and goodness (“bonitas”) personal names which are appropriate to God by name and not by thing, unlike the personal properties (paternity, filiation etc.) which are appropriate by name and by thing.⁵⁹

These attributes, or variations on them, are commonly found in Christian polemic to describe the persons of the Trinity. Petrus Alfonsi (1062–ca. 1140) calls God substance, wisdom, and will.⁶⁰ Peter of Blois (c. 1135–1204), whose *Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum* was heavily influenced by Petrus Alfonsi’s *Dialogus*, calls the Son wisdom and the Holy Spirit goodness (“bonitas”) and says that if you can convince the Jew that wisdom and goodness are always with God, he cannot doubt the truth of the Trinity.⁶¹ Thomas Burman has discussed the passage on power, wisdom, and will in *Tathlith al-wahdānīyah*, a twelfth-century anti-Islamic text written by a Jewish convert to Christianity in Christian Spain, arguing that its anonymous author was influenced by Peter Abelard and Hugh of St. Victor.⁶² In the anonymous treatise, *Qui ceptum*, written in 1221 or 1222 by another Spanish-Jewish convert to Christianity, this time directed against his former co-religionists, the author first asks his Jewish interlocutor if he believes that God is omnipotent, wise, and kind (“benignus”). When the Jew responds affirmatively, the author states that Christians call “posse” the Father, “sapientia” the Son, and “velle” the Holy Spirit.⁶³ Moses Nahmanides states in his account of the Disputation at Barcelona, 1263, that the Christian disputants went to

⁵⁹*Quoniam homines*, p. 226.

⁶⁰Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, PL 157, coll. 606C–608B.

⁶¹Peter of Blois, *Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum*, PL 207, col. 834C.

⁶²Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 177–89.

⁶³Millás Vallicrosa, “Un tratado anónimo,” p. 10. Note here that the author has switched from speaking of good will to will in mid thought.

the Barcelona synagogue after the disputation was over. There Ramon de Penyafort preached that the Trinity was power, wisdom, and will, and asserted that Nahmanides himself had admitted this previously in Gerona to Paul Christiani. Nahmanides writes that he then recounted his version of the events at Gerona where he had said that although God wills, is powerful, and is wise, He is not a Trinity. This report is missing from the Latin account of the disputation.⁶⁴

Why is the ternary power, wisdom, and will, and its permutations so common in Christian polemic, particularly that written in Spain? Two reasons may account for its popularity. First, the use of rational arguments in general to supplement scriptural arguments in favour of Christianity was becoming increasingly widespread in anti-Jewish treatises over the twelfth century. Triads made up of divine attributes have the advantage over Augustinian trinitarian analogies that they are far easier for most people to understand: it is easier to convince someone that the Creator must possess power, wisdom, and will than to explain how the existence of memory, intelligence, and love in the human soul is an image of the Trinity. Likewise, the divine attributes are each connected to an individual member of the Trinity, making the explanation more vivid. The disadvantage of such argumentation, however, lies also in its simplicity. Christian polemicists who use them tie each attribute so closely to an individual member of the Trinity that they could be accused of denying the working of these attributes in the other two persons. This separates the persons sufficiently that the Christians can be accused of denying God's unity, and easily refuted. Robert Chazan cites Ramon de Penyafort's use of wisdom, will, and power as an example of "a

⁶⁴See Lasker, pp. 67–68, p. 206 n. 176.

watered down, popularly oriented philosophic position, which could be rebutted or rejected without great difficulty."⁶⁵

The second reason for using divine attributes in Christian polemic, particularly in Spain, concerns the audience these treatises were directed against. Both Muslims and Jews were familiar with questions surrounding God's attributes. Early in the eighth century, the belief that certain terms which are attributed to God in the Koran stand for real, incorporeal beings existing in God from eternity entered Islam, probably under Christian influence. Different Muslim writers referred to diverse groupings of attributes: knowledge, power, and life were the first terms mentioned; later speech and will were added. The Mu'tazilites, a branch of the Mutakallimūn that laid particular emphasis on God's unity, rejected these notions, arguing that God and his attributes are all one. Al-Ghazālī (1058-1111) specifically describes the denial by the Mu'tazilites of the attributes knowledge, power and will.⁶⁶ Jewish philosophy was powerfully affected by the Mutakallimūn and the Mu'tazilites, and the question of the reality of divine attributes was important to the discussion of God's unity and unicity. The solution to the problem of divine attributes was usually to argue either that God can be described only negatively, as Moses Maimonides (1135 or 1138-1204) had done, or that the attributes expressed positively about God are intended to negate the possibility that God possesses the opposite attribute: power and knowledge mean primarily that God is not impotent and not ignorant. Power and knowledge do not mean the same thing with respect to God as with respect to man, because God's

⁶⁵Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 52.

⁶⁶See Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Kalam*, pp. 112-113, 125-131.

attributes are identical with his essence.⁶⁷

Petrus Alfonsi, the authors of the *Tahkīth al-wahdānīyah* and the *Qui ceptum*, and Paulus Christiani were surely all familiar with the place of divine attributes in Muslim and Jewish thought, since they were all Jewish converts to Christianity who spent time in Spain. In their polemic they employ divine attributes which would have been familiar to their audience to describe the Trinity, and no doubt this was done consciously. Rodrigo was likewise probably aware that the attributes he applies would be known to his Jewish audience. When he writes, "What you call 'power,' we call the Father; what you call 'wisdom,' we call the Son; what you call 'will,' we call the Holy Spirit," he seems to be appealing to beliefs he understands to be shared between Christians and Jews.⁶⁸

Divine Wisdom and the Second Hypostasis

The only attribute that Rodrigo discusses in any detail is wisdom, "sapientia," which he associates, as was conventional, with the Son. The longest section of Book I, seven manuscript columns' worth in two chapters, is devoted to demonstrating that divine wisdom is uncreated. In these chapters, Rodrigo makes frequent digressions concerning cosmology and the work of the first six days, some of which will be discussed further, below. Outside of these cosmological explanations, the main sources for this section are scriptural. Rodrigo quotes verses from Sir 24 and

⁶⁷*The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion*, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1966), p. 49. Colette Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 25–26. The latter view was propounded by Saadiah Gaon (b. 882 in Egypt) and Bahya ibn Pakuda, who lived in Muslim Spain during the late eleventh century and wrote a treatise on the spiritual life.

⁶⁸*Dialogus* I 27ra.

Prv 8 in which Wisdom says that she existed before creation.⁶⁹ Much of what Rodrigo relates in this section is conventional; however one particular passage is worthy of closer attention since it demonstrates a familiarity with elements of twelfth-century neo-Platonism.

Under the chapter heading, "That Wisdom proceeding from the mouth of the Almighty is uncreated," he quotes Prv 8, 27–29 in which Wisdom says:

Quando praeparabat caelos praeordinando; quando certa lege et gyro uallabat abyssos; quando aethera firmabat sursum et librabat fontes aquarum; quando circumdabat mari terminum suum et legem ponebat aquis ne transirent fines suos; quando appendebat fundamenta terrae, cum eo eram, cuncta praeordinans et componens.

The passage describes Wisdom working alongside God at the moment of creation. Rodrigo has altered the Vulgate version, replacing "aderam" with "praeordinando" in Prv 8, 27 and adding "praeordinans" to the Prv 8, 29. Rodrigo continues in his own words, "The Father created everything with the Son. He established all things separately so as to show the genera of individual things and the individual members of genera, all of which were conceived of in advance in the World-archetype."⁷⁰ In this passage Rodrigo unites Wisdom, the Son, and the World-archetype. The alterations that Rodrigo made to the Vulgate version of Prv 8, 27–29 were probably intended to make the activities of Wisdom at the moment of creation more consonant with the role of the platonic World-archetype, as he understood it.

A similar section occurs at the beginning of the first book of Rodrigo's *Breuiarium*, where Rodrigo describes the first moment of creation. There he writes,

⁶⁹For example, Sir 24, 5: *Ego sapientia ex ore altissimi prodii, primogenita ante omnem creaturam, Dialogus I 29va*; Prv 8, 22: *Dominus possedit me ab initio uiarum suarum antequam quicquid faceret a principio, Dialogus I 30ra*.

⁷⁰"Pater enim cum Filio cuncta fecit; haec omnia ponit distincte ut ostendat genera singulorum et singula generum in mundo archetypo praeconcepita." *Dialogus I 30ra*.

"Through the Word which was in the beginning He caused all things to be according to the World-archetype." A few lines further he explains, "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."⁷¹ Here too the archbishop has linked divine Wisdom, the Son (the Word), and the World-archetype. Rodrigo's use of neo-Platonic vocabulary to discuss the Creation in the *Breuiarium* puts him in marked contrast to his main source for that work, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Rather than adopting Platonic terminology, Comestor had used his discussion of Creation to attack Platonism:

When Moses said *He 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*.⁷²

Rodrigo is not afraid to diverge from Comestor's views where he chooses.

Plato's thought was known in the Latin West through his cosmological treatise, the *Timaeus*, and Chalcidius' commentary on it. In this work, Plato describes the organization of the sensible world by the Demiurge, based on the Ideal Model. Chalcidius further systematized Plato's thought by distinguishing God from his Mind

⁷¹"Et per uerbum quod erat in principio fecit ut essent omnia quantum ad mundum archetipum ... id est, per uerbum quod est sapientia procedens ex ore Altissimi disposuit et ornauit omnia iuxta illud: sapientia disponit omnia suauiter suauitate mirifica Creatoris." *Breuiarium* I, i, ll. 5-7, 12-15, p. 9. Fernández Valverde has noted the quotation of Sap 8, 1, *disponit omnia suauiter*, which Rodrigo also quotes in the *Dialogus*, I 30vb, but he has missed the allusion to Sir 24, 5, *Sapientia procedens ex ore Altissimi*.

⁷²"Cum vero dixit Moyses, *creauit* trium errores elidit, Platonis, Aristotelis et Epicuri. Plato dixit tria fuisse ab eterno, scilicet Deum, ideas, ile, et in principio temporis, de ile mundum factum fuisse." Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1055B-C. Also, speaking on Gn 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." Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, PL 198, col. 1057A.

and the World-soul.⁷³ Christian thinkers were eager to christianize this schema. In his gloss on Plato's *Timaeus*, William of Conches follows Augustine in affirming the existence of divine Ideas in God, which William explicitly connects with divine Wisdom. After stating that God's Wisdom, like Himself, exists eternally, William identifies divine Wisdom as the formal cause of the World and says that it was called the World-archetype by Plato.⁷⁴ In his *Philosophia mundi*, as we have seen above, William links divine Wisdom with the Son.⁷⁵ Alan of Lille expresses similar views in a section of the *Quoniam homines* dedicated to proving that God's Wisdom is coeternal with Him. He erroneously ascribes to Augustine the statement that whoever denies that the World-archetype existed eternally, also denies that God was wise eternally.⁷⁶ He does not, however, explicitly link the Son to divine Wisdom and the World-archetype.

Mathematical Speculation and the Trinity

From the twelfth century, Christian writers of anti-Jewish polemic developed a range of rational arguments for the Trinity to supplement their use of biblical exempla. Christians shared the Bible only with the Jews, but they shared the faculty of

⁷³Tullio Gregory, "The Platonic Inheritance," in Dronke, *Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, pp. 54–55.

⁷⁴"Hec formalis causa mundi est quia iuxta eam Creator mundum formavit. Ut enim faber, volens aliquid fabricare, prius illud in mente disponit, postea, quesita materia, iuxta mentem suam operetur, sic Creator, antequam aliquid crearet, in mente illud habuit, deinde opere illud adimplevit. Hec eadem a Platone dicitur archetypus mundus." *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. Édouard Jeuneau (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1963), 27D, p. 99. J. M. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres*, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa, vol. 8 (Ottawa: Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1938), p. 50.

⁷⁵"Pater ergo genuit Filium, id est, divina potentia genuit sapientiam, quando providit qualiter crearet res, et creatas disposeret, et quia ante saecula hic providit, ante saecula sapientiam, id est, Filium genuit." William of Conches, *Philosophia*, pp. 20–21. Cf. Parent, p. 53.

⁷⁶*Quoniam homines*, p. 127.

reason with all of humankind, so arguments based on reason were viewed as convincing to everyone. Even pre-Christian pagans were believed to have had an intuitive knowledge of God, and to a lesser extent, of the Trinity, because of their use of reason. In addition, since real debate between Jews and Christians increased during the twelfth century, and Christians became aware that Jews had an exegetical tradition that differed from their own, they desired a weapon to use against Judaism which did not depend on a particular interpretation of scripture. This desire is reflected in Book I of Rodrigo's *Dialogus*; in his employment of grammar and logic to discuss God and use of these sciences to explicate scripture, and in his application of analogies and divine attributes to the Persons of the Trinity. Rodrigo provides another philosophical argument in Book I to explain God and the Trinity: that all plurality or number must have had its origin in Unity.

At the beginning of Book I, Rodrigo evaluates pagan philosophers' knowledge of God. "Deus" is a name describing God's nature and it derives from "theos", meaning "understanding." Philosophers who examined the essence of the First Being found the highest understanding and therefore called it His essence or intelligence.⁷⁷ Rodrigo continues, saying that these philosophers could not fully apprehend God with their imagination, reason, and intellect, however hard they tried.

⁷⁷"Deus nomen naturae, et a theos, quod est intelligens, diriuatur. Philosophi enim primi entis essentiam perscrutantes, summum intelligens inuenerunt propter quod eius essentiam seu intelligentiam uocauerunt." *Dialogus* I 26ra. The etymology of "theos" as "intelligens" is unusual. Isidore of Seville, for example, defines "theos" as "timor" (*Etym.* VII, 1). Édouard Jauneau has suggested to me that one source for Rodrigo's derivation may be the first of Eriugena's two possible etymologies for "Deus" in the *Periphyseon*: "Huius itaque nominis etymologia a Graecis assumpta est: aut enim a uerbo quod est *θεωρω*, hoc est uideo, diriuatur; aut ex uerbo *θεω*, hoc est curro." (*Periphyseon* I, p. 60). See also Jauneau, "Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot" *AHDLMA* 52 (1985): p. 14, reprinted in *Études érigéniennes* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), p. 648. "Videns" can be taken as a synonym of "intelligens" (see Lewis and Short, s.v. *uideo*, II A). Rodrigo repeats this etymology in the *Breuiarium* I, x, ll. 29-30, p. 28.

Borrowing from Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* VIII, 6, Rodrigo states that they did know that created, changeable, composed, mortal beings must have an uncreated, inalterable, simple, immortal origin.⁷⁸ But at the end of his first book, in a chapter describing the Holy Spirit, Rodrigo argues that pagan philosophers understood the Trinity only incompletely, not fully comprehending the third hypostasis. He discusses the extent of pagan knowledge about God in the following long passage, comparing the philosophers to the magicians of the Egyptian pharaoh who were confounded by their encounter with Moses:

Although in Exodus the magicians performed two miracles (namely changing water into blood and multiplying frogs) as had Moses, when it came to the third (that is, multiplying gnats) they failed, and in their confusion they said, *This is the finger of God* (Ex 8, 19). Just as the hand has fingers and the finger has three joints and the finger still remains one, so the persons are distinguished (as we have said) in a unity of essence. Thus, because they lacked a full awareness of the Spirit, the magicians named the finger itself without distinguishing its joints, for an awareness of the three joints, that is, of the persons, had not come to them. 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 Tm 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.⁷⁹

⁷⁸*Dialogus* I 26va–26vb.

⁷⁹"Item in Exodo cum duo miracula (scilicet mutationem aquae in sanguine et ranarum multiplicationem) ut Moyses magi fecissent, in signo tertio (scilicet cinifibus) defecerunt confusi, dicentes, 'Digitus Dei est hic' (Ex 8. 19). Sicut enim in una manu digiti et in digito tres iuncturae et tamen digitus unus manet, sic in unitate essentiae personae (ut diximus) dinoscuntur. Vnde quia Spiritus plenam notitiam non habebant, ipsum sine articulorum distinctione digitum appellarunt, quia trium articulorum, id est personarum, ad eos notitia non peruenit. Philosophi etiam et *tugaton* et *noym* (id est Deum et mentem eius) intellectu theorico didicerunt; ad cognitionem autem personae tertiae (id est Spiritus) minime peruenerunt. Sed Deum unum principium cognouerunt, et mentem eius, in qua omnia disponuntur; unde et ipsam mundum archetypum uocauerunt. Et ut Iamnes et Mambres (cf. 2 Tm 3, 8), ita et hii in cognitione Spiritus defecerunt + quia heucari {uel heucuri} corruerunt+. Vnus tamen ex eis sic ait, 'Monas monadem genuit, et in se suum reflectit ardorem.' Monas interpretatur unus uel unitas, et unus Pater unum Filium generauit; et in se suum amor reflectit ardorem

The connection of the failure of the magicians to perform the third miracle and the pagan philosophers' lack of awareness of the Holy Spirit is commonplace, and originated in Augustine.⁸⁰ Other elements of this passage are more unusual. Rodrigo's use of the three joints of a finger as an image of the Trinity appears to be original. He may have been influenced by Petrus Alfonsi's depiction of the three-fingered blessing given by the Jewish priests as an analogy to the Trinity.⁸¹ The phrase, "Monas monadem genuit et in se suum reflectit ardorem," comes from Alan of Lille who repeats it to explain the Trinity in at least three of his works. Alan got this expression from the *Liber XXIV Philosophorum*, a list of twenty-four characterizations of God supposedly compiled by an assemblage of twenty-four philosophers. In reality, it was probably composed during the second half of the twelfth century and it shows the influence of the School of Chartres. Its first definition reads, "Deus est monas, monadem gignens, in se suum reflectens ardorem."⁸² Alan's reformulation of that phrase is the third of his *Regulae*, and it is one of a group of rules which discuss the divine essence using mathematical terminology.⁸³ Alan 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

secundum Spiritum Sanctum, qui est amor [i] ab utroque procedens; ardens amor Patris et Filii cum eis aequaliter adoratur." *Dialogus* I 31rb.

⁸⁰Augustine *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ed. Iohannes Fraipont, CCSL 33, Exod q. 25, ll. 342–69, pp. 79–80. Rodrigo alludes to it in *Breuiarium* II, lxx, ll. 6–7, p. 109. The editor identifies Rodrigo's immediate source as Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* PL 198, col. 1150C.

⁸¹Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, PL 157, col. 612B–C.

⁸²Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, "Liber XXIV philosophorum," *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, 8 vols. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1960–), 1: 151–54.

⁸³Potter, p. 113.

connection of the Father and the Son, and a sign of their unity.⁸⁴ This is the same meaning as that given by Rodrigo in his *Dialogus*. The phrase appears again in the section directed against the Jews of Alan's *Contra haereticos*, as part of his proofs from reason for the Trinity. Like Rodrigo, he ascribes the statement here to "unus philosophus."⁸⁵

Alan's use of the phrase in his *Quoniam homines* is most reminiscent of Rodrigo's formulation of it in the passage quoted above. Alan states that the pagan philosophers were aware of traces ("vestigia") 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 says, they said many things about God and his Mind and the World-soul that could refer to the three persons, and so philosophers are said to have been aware of the Trinity. Alan, like Rodrigo, continues by questioning 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 "Anima mundi" can in some way be compared to the Holy Spirit. He justifies Augustine's statement by saying that the philosophers had said more which could be applied to the Father or the Son than the Holy Spirit. Alan then quotes pagan authorities which he believes reflect a full knowledge of the Trinity, including the phrase "Monas monadem ...," which he ascribes again to an anonymous philosopher.⁸⁶ While Rodrigo is happy to compare the Son, divine Wisdom and the World-archetype, he studiously avoids any mention of a World-soul here and elsewhere in his writings. This is probably because of the

⁸⁴*Regulae*, R. 3, pp. 127-128.

⁸⁵Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos*, PL 210, col. 405D.

⁸⁶*Quoniam homines*, p. 168.

condemnation of the identification of the World-soul with the Holy Spirit, an argument attributed to Peter Abelard, by the Council of Sens and William of St. Thierry's assault on the use of the term by both Abelard and William of Conches.⁸⁷ Indeed, the only other mentions of the World-soul in Alan's writings are in his *Sermo de sphaera intelligibili*, which is only preserved in one manuscript.⁸⁸

While Alan's phrase, "Monas Monadem genuit ..." originates in the *Liber XXIV philosophorum*, the idea behind it comes from Thierry of Chartres. This is clear from Édouard Jeuneau's analysis of Thierry's use of mathematical evocations of the Trinity: We can not 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.⁸⁹ Unity multiplied by itself, however, produces Unity: $1 \times 1 = 1$. The Unity that is produced is equal to the Unity which generated it. Between the generating Unity and the Equality generated by it, there is desire or Connection. Thierry interpreted the passage from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, "In patre unitas, in filio aequalitas, in spiritu sancto unitatis aequalitatisque concordia, et tria haec unum omnia propter patrem, aequalia omnia propter filium, conexa omnia propter spiritum sanctum," in terms of this arithmetical equation.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Gregory, "The Platonic Inheritance," in *Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Dronke, pp. 68–69.

⁸⁸Edited in d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, see pp. 299 and 302. D'Alverny wrongly states that this is the only one of Alan's works to mention the "anima mundi," p. 169.

⁸⁹As 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.

⁹⁰Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*, ed. Joseph Martin, CCSL 32, I, 5, ll. 15–18, p. 9. Jeuneau, "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*. Thierry outlines his arguments in *De sex dierum operibus*, in *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, ed. Nikolaus M. Häring, Studies and Texts, vol. 20

Alan's Monad which generates the Monad and turns its love back on itself is just a reformulation of Thierry's understanding of the passage from Augustine. Alan may have been a student of Thierry, so similarities between their thought are not surprising.⁹¹ In several places, Alan uses Thierry's exact wording. For example, the fourth of the *Regulae* is, "In patre unitas, in filio equalitas, in spiritu sancto unitatis equalitatisque connexio."⁹² Rodrigo never uses this precise expression, but he alludes to it twice. When he is discussing the Augustinian triad "mens, notitia eius, amor," he writes, "Thus the love between the Parent and Child is a connection or embrace, and neither of these two is greater than the other, nor lesser, since although it is a Trinity, no inequality can be found there."⁹³ The second allusion is more opaque. After listing the five notions by which the Persons of the Trinity are distinguished he writes:

Some wish to call equality a notion, since equality cannot exist except between more than one thing, and they say that it is common to the three Persons, and that it is to be adored together with the other properties. But since one Person cannot be distinguished from another by means of it, although it is held, not of itself to itself, but between more than one thing, there is no reason why it should be called a notion.⁹⁴

(Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), 30–47, pp. 568–75.

⁹¹D'Alverny suggests that Alan may have been a student of Thierry and highlights his influence on Alan's writings in *Alan of Lille*, pp. 20–21. See also Potter, p. 5.

⁹²*Regulae*, R. 4, p. 128. See also his *Contra haereticos*, PL 210, col. 405 C–D, and *Quoniam homines*, p. 168, 248.

⁹³"Et ita amor parentis et prolis est connexio et complexus, et nulla istorum maior est alio, nec minor, quia licet trinitas, nusquam ibi imparitas inuenitur." *Dialogus* I 27va.

⁹⁴"Aliqui autem aequalitatem uoluerunt dicere notionem, quia aequalitas nisi in pluribus esse nequit, et communem trium aiunt personarum, et una cum aliis proprietatibus asserunt adorandam. Sed quia aequalitate una persona ab alia non dinoscuntur, licet non sui ad se sed in pluribus habeatur, non est causa quare notio appelletur." *Dialogus* I 29rb–va.

Rodrigo seems here to be rejecting a passage from Thierry of Chartres' *De sex dierum operibus*. Thierry had said that, although unity and its equality are one substance, since nothing can beget itself, to be a begetter is one property while to be begotten is another. The former is a property of unity while the latter is a property of equality. These two properties are called persons. Thierry continues below, "It is true that every notion of things is contained in that equality." Here, however, "notio" does not have the same significance as that given to it by Alan and Rodrigo.⁹⁵

Rodrigo's debt to Alan of Lille for the long passage quoted above on the philosophers' knowledge of the Holy Spirit is obvious. Nevertheless, the section where he states that the philosophers knew "tugaton" and "noym," as God and his Mind, does not seem to have a source in Alan's writings. Macrobius uses "τὰγαθόν" to denote the supreme God, and "νοῦν" to denote the Mind of this God, which contains the original forms of things, or "ιδέαι."⁹⁶ Rodrigo was not the first to mention "tugaton" and "noym" in connection with the failure of the Pharaoh's magi, however. His mention of them is curiously reminiscent of the following extract from an anonymous commentary on Boethius' *De trinitate*, called the *Commentarius Victorinus*:

Quam etiam philosophi ex creaturis cognouerunt ut Plato et alii. Intellexerunt enim togaton et noym. Sed in tercio signo defecerunt magi Pharaonis quia licet togaton et noym philosophica indagatione intellexerint tamen personam Spiritus Sancti nullatenus comprehendere potuerunt.⁹⁷

This passage is extremely sketchy and would be quite difficult to understand on its own, without the context provided by Rodrigo's passage on the same subject. The commentary is found in one manuscript, Paris, BN, lat. 14489, written probably in the

⁹⁵Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus* 41–42, pp. 572–573.

⁹⁶Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1970), I, 2, 14, p. 6.

⁹⁷*Commentarius Victorinus*, ed. Häring in *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, 61, p. 494.

1160s. By the fifteenth century it was part of the collection of the Abbey of St. Victor. Nikolaus Hāring argues that it was written either by Thierry of Chartres or a member of his “school,” and the commentary reads like a set of class notes. Hāring noted several passages which attack the teachings of Gilbert of Poitiers, but also commented that the author seems to have assimilated some of Gilbert’s phraseology, including the term “personalis proprietas” which was taken up by Alan and later Rodrigo.⁹⁸ Perhaps this text, with its mention of “togaton et noym,” represents teachings of Thierry, heard also by Alan, his student, and passed down orally to Rodrigo.

Cosmology

Book I of the *Dialogus* also contains several passages in which Rodrigo discusses questions of cosmology. He is not alone in connecting cosmology to the Trinity, and is following in the footsteps of twelfth-century thinkers who believed that God could be known better through an understanding of creation.⁹⁹ Rodrigo does not present a systematic account of the creation and composition of the world in his *Dialogus*, however, since this is not the main purpose of his work. A more coherent schema emerges in the archbishop’s account of the work of the first six days at the beginning of his *Breuiarium historie catholice*. Of special interest are the first two chapters, particularly those sections which are not taken from Peter Comestor’s *Historia scholastica*. Indeed, this segment of the *Breuiarium* seems to be one of the most original portions of the entire work. Comparing the cosmological passages of the *Dialogus* and the *Breuiarium* will elucidate Rodrigo’s thought as well as demonstrate

⁹⁸Hāring, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, pp. 41–42, 45. The reference to “personalis proprietas” is paragraph 167, p. 516 of the *Commentarius*.

⁹⁹Parent, p. 69. Cf. Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus* 1, p. 555: “Utilitas uero huius libri est cognitio dei ex facturis suis cui soli cultus religionis exhibendus est.”

his dependence on thinkers such as William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres, particularly the latter's *De sex dierum operibus*. Rodrigo's cosmology also includes aspects of Aristotelian physics, perhaps gleaned from the writings of Abu Ma'shar, which were known to the Latin West in twelfth-century translations by John of Seville and Herman of Carinthia.

The central problem for twelfth-century cosmologists was reconciling Sir 18, 1, *Qui uiuit in aeternum creauit omnia simul*, with Ex 20, 11, *Sex diebus operatus est dominus*, 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 solved the problem by arguing that the first authority refers to the creation of primordial matter ("primordialis materia") at the initial moment of creation, while the second speaks of the ordering of this matter into form ("distinctio formarum") over the subsequent six days.¹⁰⁰ William of Conches approaches the question in the same way in his Gloss on *Timaeus*:

Hec est mens id est summa mee sententie, hec tria scilicet existens id est archetipum mundum, locum id est primordiale materiam, generationem id est sensilem mundum, ante exornationem sensilis mundi fuisse. Non dicit 'ante creationem,' quia, etsi ante creationem fuit archetipus mundus, non tamen materia nec generatio potuit ante esse. Sed dicit 'ante exornationem:' ante enim facta fuerunt elementa, postea animalibus suis ornata, ut superius expositum est. Fuit ergo ille, fuit generatio ante mundi exornationem, non ante mundi creationem.¹⁰¹

Like Thierry, he divides the bringing into being of the world by God as occurring in two distinct stages, here, *creatio* and *exornatio*. Before *creatio* the World-archetype existed, identified with the Son as we have seen above, but not matter or generation. With *creatio*, generation and *hyle* or chaos appeared, the latter not chaos as the ancients

¹⁰⁰Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus* 4, p. 557, ll. 62–66.

¹⁰¹William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem* 52D, p. 287.

understood it but rather a “confusion of elements,”¹⁰² which both he and Thierry are careful to locate after God’s first act of creation.¹⁰³ “Elementa” — which are not the four elements earth, water, fire, and air, but rather the smaller, simpler particles which make them up — came into being in the first “creatio”; animals were created in the process of “exornatio.”

In his *Breuiarium*, Rodrigo explicitly adopts this two-fold act of creation. He clearly sets out what was created in the first moment of creation: the heavenly empyrean, angelic nature, and the matter of the four elements were created first. By using the term “materia quattuor elementorum,” he implies that the four elements themselves were not created at this time, but merely the matter from which they would be later formed. The firmament, planets, stars, and sub-lunary bodies came into being later. Sub-lunary bodies would be created from the four elements; heavenly bodies are thought, however, by Catholics to be made out of elements (“elementata”) and by philosophers to be made from a fifth essence.¹⁰⁴ He elucidates this last point further, describing the work of the second day. Discussing the question of what comprises the firmament, he states that some say it is made of frozen water. If it is made of water, then it is composed from elements (“elementata”) and so is corruptible. A similar question can be asked about what comprises the stars. Philosophers say that the stars, like the firmament and planets, are made from some fifth essence and that the planets are rational. If this is the case, then God must have created *ex nihilo* on the second day as well as on the first; since the firmament, stars, and planets only came into being after the first day, so too a fifth essence would have had to be created then.

¹⁰²“Χαος id est confusionem elementorum,” William of Conches, *Philosophia*, pp. 35–36.

¹⁰³Cf. Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 24, p. 565.

¹⁰⁴*Breuiarium* I, i, ll. 17–24, p. 9.

Theologians argue, according to Rodrigo, that, like the sub-lunary bodies, these heavenly bodies were made from the four elements, but fashioned in a more noble manner ("set nobiliori modo facta") so they would not be corruptible. In this view, the planets are not rational. There are three heavens around the world. The firmament, or aether, surrounds the world in a sphere. It is enfolded by a watery heaven which in turn is surrounded by the empyrean. Outside of the empyrean, there is only the divine essence.¹⁰⁵

Many of the ideas expressed here in the *Breuiarium* can be found scattered throughout the *Dialogus*. In the latter work, Rodrigo does not explicitly posit a two-fold creation of the world, but he implies it in his choice of vocabulary, for example in the sentence, "Ergo necesse fuit ut esset principium immortale quod potentia, sapientia, uoluntate omnia corruptabilia conderet et ornaret."¹⁰⁶ In the beginning, the "corruptabilia," the elements, are created which are then composed and embellished to form the created world as we know it. Elsewhere he quotes the opinion of philosophers that the planets are rational,¹⁰⁷ and he discusses the motion of the empyrean and firmament.¹⁰⁸ He does not, however, refer to a belief in the fifth essence. He does, however, use verbal forms derived from the noun "elementum." He refers in Book V to the purely human Messiah expected to work miracles by the Jews as a "corpus elementatum," a body composed of elements and asks his Jewish interlocutor why he attributes powers to an element which are only possessed by the

¹⁰⁵*Breuiarium* I, ii, ll. 12—55, p. 11–12.

¹⁰⁶*Dialogus* I 26vb.

¹⁰⁷"Si etiam philosophicis opinionibus uolueris adhibere, ut dicas planetas rationales et ita sapientiae susceptibles, nosti Moyse te docente solem et lunam et stellas et planetas quarto die a Domino esse facta." *Dialogus* I 29vb.

¹⁰⁸*Dialogus* I 29vb.

"elementantem," the one who creates and composes the elements, who is obviously God.¹⁰⁹

Rodrigo takes his cosmology from a variety of sources. Some of it comes from Thierry of Chartres. Thierry believed that the firmament, which he also calls aether, is surrounded by water, not frozen as in Rodrigo's case, but "uaporaliter suspensa."¹¹⁰ He also argues that the stars must be made of water since air and fire are not visible to the human eye.¹¹¹ The "Philosopher" who believed that the heavenly bodies and the firmament were formed of a fifth essence is Aristotle,¹¹² who also upheld the rationality of celestial bodies.¹¹³ Rodrigo probably learned these views through some intermediary, however. Abu Ma'shar, in his *Introductorium in Astronomiam*, argues that if the firmament and heavenly bodies were made of the four elements, they would be subject to corruption and change; therefore, there must be some fifth essence, called *quinta natura* by both his translators, which makes up the celestial realm.¹¹⁴ This is the same argument that Rodrigo cites in favour of the fifth

¹⁰⁹"Cum ergo, Iudaei (iudeos *cod.*) nec a corpore, nec ab anima, nec ab utroque composito talia posse fieri ut tu fingis, cur attribuis elemento (*clemento cod.*) quod ad solum pertinet elementantem?" *Dialogus* V 62 va.

¹¹⁰Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 8, ll. 96–2, p. 558.

¹¹¹Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 11, ll. 39–42, pp. 559–560. For Thierry's cosmology see, Édouard Jeuneau, "Simples notes sur la cosmogonie de Thierry de Chartres," *Sophia* 23 (1955): 172–183.

¹¹²Richard Lemay, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century* (Beirut: American University, 1962), p. 58.

¹¹³For example, "Caelum autem animatum est et habet motus principium." Aristotle, *De caelo*, II, 2, 285a28, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Franz Ehrle, 4 vols. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1885–86), 3: p. 316 and "Oportet autem ipsa uiuentia esse existimare atque actionem habere." *De caelo*, II, 12. 292a20 ff, 3: p. 338. Lemay, p. 110.

¹¹⁴Lemay, p. 58.

essence. Abu Ma'shar also quotes Aristotle's assertion that the planets are animate.¹¹⁵ William of Conches himself reproduces Aristotle's belief in a fifth essence in his *Dragmaticon*.¹¹⁶

No definite source can be given for Rodrigo's use of the curious term, "elementata." Peter Dronke has argued successfully that William of Conches' *Philosophia* marks the first appearance of the term.¹¹⁷ William quotes Constantinus Africanus to define elements ("elementa") as particles which are simple with respect to quality and which are the smallest part of any body. Thus, according to William, earth, water, fire, and air are not elements since none of them is simple in quality and minuscule in quantity. For example, earth can be sometimes hot, sometimes dry, sometimes cold, and sometimes damp. Hence these four bodies are really "elementata," composed of the smaller "elementa" which are the individual particles of heat, cold, damp, and dryness themselves.¹¹⁸ The expression soon became current with two groups of twelfth-century writers — the thinkers traditionally associated with the School of Chartres and the Toledan translators of Arabic texts.¹¹⁹ For example, John of Seville uses this expression in his translation of Abu Ma'shar with the same meaning as that given by William. John argues that there must be some cause which composes

¹¹⁵"Et iam dixit Philosophus quod planete sunt animati et sint eis anime racionales," in the words of John of Seville's translation quoted by Lemay, p. 110.

¹¹⁶"Aristoteles praeter quatuor elementa unam quintam voluit esse essentiam; quatuor vere elementa a Luna esse deorsum, quintam essentiam ab eadem sursum." *Dragmaticon*, p. 80, quoted by Tullio Gregory, *Anima mundi* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1955), p. 233.

¹¹⁷Peter Dronke, "New Approaches to the School of Chartres," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1969): 128-132.

¹¹⁸William of Conches, *Philosophia*, pp. 26-28.

¹¹⁹Theodore Silverstein, "Elementatum: Its Appearance among the Twelfth-Century Cosmogonists," *Mediaeval Studies* 16 (1954): 156-162.

("elementans") the "elementa" into "elementata" because composition cannot occur without an agent.¹²⁰

Another Aristotelian aspect of Rodrigo's cosmology is the importance of motion in it. The pagan philosophers, Rodrigo argues in the *Dialogus*, searching for the immutable principle of creation, arrived at God who, "remaining stable causes all things to move,"¹²¹ and who is not moved by any mutability.¹²² This is reminiscent of Aristotle's unmoved mover. Alan of Lille quotes the belief that, because all things move, there must be some immobile cause of their motion in his *Quoniam homines* and he attributes it to Abu Ma'shar.¹²³ Likewise, Rodrigo writes that all mortal things must have some immortal origin and continues:

Since all things are vivified by soul and physical spirit, and bodies are heated by the motion of the vital spirit, it appears that they subsist by motion for all animated bodies are subject to changes of growth or decay and three elements (fire, air, and water) are in some continual motion. Earth, however, remains fixed and immobile because it is the centre of the round, spherical, spinning firmament. The centre of every sphere is immobile, except insofar as many things are generated from the Earth. Change from one substance to another occurs by generation, and thus motion on earth is local, not total, nevertheless the other elements take part in the generation of bodies, for every composite thing is made from the four elements.¹²⁴

¹²⁰"Et quia impossibile est ut sit compositum id quod composuit semetipsum, et sit elementatum id quod elementavit suam essenciam; et si ita est, necesse est ut sit causa elementans elementatum ex elementis, et componens compositum ..." Quoted in Lemay, p. 75, n. 3. Lemay argues that John of Seville was the first to use the words "elementans" and "elementatum," p. 25, n. 1.

¹²¹Boethius, *De consolacione philosophiae* 3, car. 9.

¹²²"Deinde pervenerunt ad Deum, qui 'manens stabili's dat cuncta moueri,' et mutabilitate aliqua non mouetur." *Dialogus* I 26va.

¹²³"Item Abulmasar, in ysagoge astronomie: cum omnia moveantur, liquet unam esse rerum causam immobilem." *Quoniam homines*, p. 124.

¹²⁴"Et cum omnia anima et spiritu physico uegetentur, et motu uitalis spiritus corpora calefiant, apparet quod motu subsistunt. Omnia enim corpora uegetata aut crementi aut decrementi uicissitudini sunt subiecta et tria elementa (ignis, aer, aqua) aliquo continuo motu fuerunt. Terra autem fixa permanet et immota eo quod sit centrum rotunditatis, sphaericae, uolubilis firmamenti. Omnium autem sphaerarum centrum immobile inuenitur, nissi quatenus ex terra plurima generantur. Generatione (generationem *cod.*) autem transubstantiatio commutatur, et ita motus in terra localis

Rodrigo continues his discussion of celestial motion in his section on divine Wisdom.

He quotes Isidore's statement that the sky revolves and is spherical,¹²⁵ and continues:

Since it is a sphere no rest is given to it, but it is always moved in a circular motion, and its motion is higher and more perfect than any other motion. The movement of earth is inferior and imperfect since it is moved, not by itself, but by force or nature. Thus God began creation with what is more worthy and finished with what is imperfect, just as Moses says, *In the beginning God created heaven and earth* (Gn 1, 1). This heaven is understood to be the empyrean, which is also called *the throne of God* (Sir 24, 7) because among all the heavens, it is more perfect and voluble.¹²⁶

These two passages have much in common with the Aristotelian physics passed on by Abu Ma'shar. Beginning with commonalities between the second and more readily comprehensible passage, and the *Introductorium*, both agree that the circular motion found in the heavens is the most perfect motion and that terrestrial motion is imperfect.¹²⁷ The first passage quoted above is harder to decipher, but recognizing its Aristotelean context renders it more intelligible. In his *De caelo* Aristotle writes that the eternally circling heaven must have some immobile point at its centre, and this immobile point is the earth.¹²⁸ In John of Seville's translation of the *Introductorium*, Abu Ma'shar relates the connection between motion and generation:

est, non totalis, et tamen alia elementa in generationibus corporum operantur. Omne quippe compositum constat ex quattuor elementis." *Dialogus* I 26vb.

¹²⁵Isidore of Seville *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 1: III, 31, ll. 3–4. Also quoted in *Breuiarium* I, 4, ll. 13–15, p. 14.

¹²⁶"Et quia sphericum nulla quies ei est concessa, sed semper motu circulari mouetur, et motus eius superior est et perfectior omni motu. Motus terre est inferior et imperfectus quia non ex se, sed ex uolentia uel natura. Vnde dominus creationem incepit a digniori et terminauit in imperfecto sicut dicit Moyses, *In principio creauit Deus caelum et terram* (Gn 1, 1). Hic tamen caelum 'empyreum' intelligitur, quod et *thronus Dei* (Sir 24, 7) dicitur eo quod inter omnes caelos perfectius et uolubilius." *Dialogus* I 29vb.

¹²⁷Lemay, pp. 62–63, 367.

¹²⁸Aristotle, *De caelo* II, 3, 286a 10ff.

The highest sphere, which is in constant motion, transmits this motion to the planets. Their motion produces heat, and this heat is transmitted to the earth, causing generation and corruption.¹²⁹ The notion that heavenly motion produces heat which causes generation on earth seems to be what Rodrigo is getting at when he says that bodies are heated by the movement of the vital spirit and that they thus exist because of motion. He seems to ascribe the effects of generation and corruption ("aut crementi aut decrementi") to the motion of fire, air, and water. His views here are also reminiscent of Thierry's "calor vitalis" which Thierry says is produced by the motion of heavenly bodies in the firmament and acts on water and earth to produce fish, birds, animals and Man.¹³⁰ In the *Breuiarium* Rodrigo repeats more clearly the belief, expressed in the *Dialogus*, that generation, which is the change from one element to another, i.e. transubstantiation, and corruption go hand in hand, so that when water is changed into air, air is generated while water is corrupted.¹³¹ Belief in the transmutability of elements is likewise Aristotelean in origin, and can be found in Abu Ma'shar.¹³²

Another aspect of Rodrigo's cosmology is the role the Holy Spirit has in creation. Twelfth-century cosmologists, using as their proof the text, *Et spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas* (Gn 1, 2), left the Spirit a central role in creation, that of acting

¹²⁹"Ex motu corporum superiorem erga corpora terrestria fiunt corpora terrestria mutabilia ad invicem et convertabilia, et per conversionem eorum invicem accedit effectus et corruptio in hoc mundo iussu dei ... Et cum calefactus fuerit hic mundus, fit subtilis et moventur per motum eius in hiis corporibus conversiones ad invicem et fit in eo effectus et destructio, iussu dei ..." Both passages are quoted by Lemay, pp. 60, 61 and n. 1, 368, who identifies this doctrine as Aristotelian.

¹³⁰Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 14–15, p. 561. See also Jeaneau, "Simples notes," p. 182.

¹³¹*Breuiarium* I, ii, ll. 26–30, pp. 11–12.

¹³²As quoted by Lemay, John of Seville writes, "Quia destructio alicuius rei est effectus alterius rei," and Herman of Carinthia writes, "Quod enim alterius corruptio, idem alterius est generacio." Lemay, pp. 67 n.1, 78–79.

on the primordial matter to order and form it.¹³³ Rodrigo ascribes a similar role to the Spirit. In the *Breuiarium*, Rodrigo undertands the *abyssus* of, *Et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi* (Gn 1,2), to be the earth which he said comprised the matter which will make up the four elements. He interprets the rest of the verse to mean that the Spirit acts upon this matter and states that in the Bible text, "This matter is now called earth, now water, up to the time when the arranged and embellished elements obtain their own names." The four elements are fashioned by the action of the Spirit on the primordial matter.¹³⁴ Rodrigo says much the same thing in the *Dialogus*, writing, "*Spiritus etiam domini super aquas, id est primordiale materiam in mundi exordio, ferebatur, ut creans materiam incubans atque fovens.*"¹³⁵

*Natura naturans and Natura naturata*¹³⁶

Rodrigo states in Book I of the *Dialogus* that we know there is an immoveable mover because the existence of motion in all things requires some stationary source, and he then answers the objection that these moveable things may move by some natural motion, not through an immoveable 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 He who acts by Himself, through Himself, and in Himself, not by means of another or for another. This nature, by whose zeal like things are generated from like, is not nature naturing, but nature

¹³³Thierry of Chartres, *De sex dierum operibus*, 25–27, pp. 566–567. See Dronke, "New Approaches," p. 135.

¹³⁴*Breuiarium* I, i, ll. 34–43, p. 10.

¹³⁵*Dialogus* I 31rb.

¹³⁶I would like to thank Deborah Black, Édouard Jeuneau, Claude Lafleur, and Rega Wood for assisting me with the bibliography for this section.

natured by the first principle.¹³⁷

Rodrigo is positing two types of nature here: One, "natura naturans," is God. The second, "natura naturata" was created, or "natured" by God, but Rodrigo does not simply understand it to be a synonym for the created world; rather, it is a power placed within a thing by means of which that thing can reproduce itself. Rodrigo refers again in Book VIII to God as "natura naturans," which, since it had no beginning, is able to work perpetually.¹³⁸

In Chapter 3 we saw that the *Dialogus* appears to be dated internally in three places, to 1197, 1214, and 1218. This would mean that Rodrigo probably penned these two terms some time between the end of the twelfth century and the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Fortunately there is another, more securely datable witness at least to Rodrigo's use of the first term, "natura naturans." In his epilogue to Diego García's *Planeta*, a work fulsomely dedicated to the archbishop himself, Rodrigo begins, "Etsi natura naturans investigate agnitionis epistilium sibi reliquerit consumandum: id tamen inferioribus contulit."¹³⁹ Again, "natura naturans" is used as a synonym for God. García states within the text that he is writing in 1218, and since

¹³⁷"Si autem dices quod mouetur aliquid motu naturae, dico tibi: Non habet a se natura quod ab ea aliquid moueatur nec a se aliquid operetur, cum ab alio sit existens et ab alio operatur. Perueniendum erit ad illum qui a se ipso, per se ipsum, et in se ipso, non ab alio nec <ad> aliquid operatur. Haec enim natura cuius studio similia a similibus generantur, non est natura naturans, sed est a primo principio naturata." *Dialogus* I 26va.

¹³⁸"Natura naturans, quae non incepit quod sibi placuit perpetuum potuit operari." *Dialogus* VIII 76vb.

¹³⁹Diego García, *Planeta*, ed. P. Manuel Alonso, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943), p. 463. The presence of the, at this time unusual "natura naturans" in both this epilogue and in the *Dialogus* argues against Peter Linehan's suggestion that the epilogue was ghost written by García himself. Linehan, *History and Historians*, p. 351 n. 7.

he died during that year, Rodrigo's epilogue is probably of the same date.¹⁴⁰ The terms "natura naturans" and "natura naturata," carrying a variety of meanings, become very common over the rest of the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period. Although Rodrigo's writings were probably not the source which introduced them into the rest of Europe, his use of these terms probably marks the first written use of "natura naturans" anywhere, as well as the earliest occurrence of both expressions together.

The origin of these terms has attracted considerable attention because of their later use by Spinoza.¹⁴¹ H. Siebeck argues that they originated in vocabulary used in the earliest Latin translations of Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle's scientific works.¹⁴² Passive form of the verb "naturare" can be found in Averroes' commentaries *De caelo* and *De physicis*. For example, in *De physicis* is found the following passage: "Necesse enim est vt initium medicinandi sit ex medicina, et non inducit ad medicinam. Et non est talis dispositio naturae apud naturam: sed naturatum ab aliquo ad aliquid venit, et naturatur aliquid. Ipsum igitur naturati aliquid non est illud, ex quo incipit, sed illud ad quod venit,"¹⁴³ and in *De caelo*: "Dico quod numeramus duos numeros

¹⁴⁰"Scribo itaque anno incarnati verbi Mo CCo XVIIIo." *Planeta*, pp. 77, 182.

¹⁴¹H. Siebeck, "Über die Entstehung der Termini natura naturans und natura naturata," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 3 (1890): 370–378, was the first to search for the origin of these terms. Henry A. Lucks, "Natura Naturans — Natura Naturata," *The New Scholasticism* 9 (1935): 1–25, cites additional medieval uses of these expressions. Brian Tierney, "Natura id est Deus: A Case of Juristic Pantheism?" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (1963): 307–323, traces the use by jurists of "natura naturans" in particular. Olga Weijers, "Contribution à l'histoire des termes 'natura naturans' et 'natura naturata' jusqu'à Spinoza," *Vivarium* 16 (1978): 70–80, presents the most complete account of the use of these terms up to Spinoza to date. See also her edition of Pseudo Boethius, *De disciplina scholarium* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), Appendix 2, pp. 169–170.

¹⁴²Siebeck, pp. 373–375.

¹⁴³Averroes, *De physicis*, in *Commentariis*, 12 vols. (Venice: apud Iuntas, 1562–1574), 4: II, f. 53b.

duo, et duos uiros duos uiros, et non dicimus omnes: sed hoc omne non dicitur, nisi de tribus, et per ipsum nominamus tria primo. Et hoc fuit dictum quoniam natura naturata ita fecit.”¹⁴⁴ Olga Weijers adds several additional early witnesses of these terms in her 1978 article. First she notes that, in his translation of Abu Ma’shar’s *Introductorium*, Herman of Carinthia uses “natura” and “naturata” where John of Seville had used “elementans” and “elementata.”¹⁴⁵ Herman produced his translation in 1140, and this, therefore, marks the earliest known use of a form of the verb, “naturare” (he does not, however, use “naturans”).¹⁴⁶ Second, she notes the appearance of “natura naturata” in the Latin translation of Averroes’ commentary on *De anima*, which is attributed to Michael Scot in several manuscripts.¹⁴⁷ Finally she suggests that Michael Scot invented the phrase, “natura naturans,” based on the evidence of the following passage from his *Liber introductorius*: “... cum Deus sit natura naturans et ideo superet naturam naturatam ...”¹⁴⁸

Weijers’ connection of “natura naturans” and “natura naturata” with Michael Scot is extremely suggestive. Averroes’ commentary on *De caelo* was translated by Michael Scot, whose dedication of the text to Stephan of Provins is found in thirteen of its thirty-one manuscripts. The translation could not have been finished before 1217, because the dedication contains a reference to Michael Scot’s translation of al-Bīṭrījī’s

¹⁴⁴Averroes, in *De caelo*, in *Commentariis*, 5: I, 2, f. 2e.

¹⁴⁵Weijers, “Contribution,” p. 70. Cf. Lemay 72, 99, 266 n. 3, 372.

¹⁴⁶Lemay, p. 17.

¹⁴⁷“Deinde declaravit quod istud propter quod Natura agit naturata videtur esse anima in animalibus, et non solum in animalibus, sed in omnibus rebus naturalibus.” Averroes, *Comm magnum in Arist De anima lib*, ed. F. Stuart Crawford (Cambridge Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1953), p. 187.

¹⁴⁸Weijers, “Contribution,” p. 71. She quotes from a manuscript of the *Introductorius*; Munich, C.L.M. 10268 f. 141ra. The text has not been edited.

De motibus celorum, completed on 18 August 1217 in Toledo. Michael Scot was in Bologna in 1220, and between 1224 and 1227 he is featured in several papal attempts to secure benefices for him. It was probably not until 1227 then that he joined the service of the Emperor Frederick II in which he remained until his death, no later than 1236, when his demise was reported in a poem by Henry of Avranches. R. De Vaux assigns the production of the *De caelo* translation to this period between 1227 and 1236 when, de Vaux argues, Michael Scot could have had access to manuscripts of Averroes' commentaries as well as Arabists who could assist him with his translations in the kingdom of Sicily. If Michael Scot made the translation of Averroes' commentary on *De anima*, which is attributed to him in several manuscripts, it is not certain when it was completed but it was likely during the same period since it accompanies the text of the *De caelo* commentary in several manuscripts. The commentary on *De physicis* may 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.¹⁴⁹

Nevertheless, Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius* is a more likely conduit of these expressions to the rest of the world than the translations of Averroes' commentaries, which do not contain the term "natura naturans." In the phrase quoted

¹⁴⁹For Michael Scot's life and translating activity see, Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), pp. 272–279 and R. de Vaux, "La première entrée d'Averroès chez les latins," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 23 (1933): 196–203, 219–221. R. A. Gauthier has argued that Michael Scot's first contact with the emperor may have come in 1220, and that his translations of Averroes belong to the period 1220–1230. His suggestions are based on the evidence that Averroes was known in Paris by around 1225. In any case, Gauthier's conclusions do not alter the fact that Michael Scot's translations were produced after he had left Toledo, and after Rodrigo had used "natura naturans" in the epilogue to the *Planeta* and probably after he had used it and "natura naturata" in the *Dialogus*. R. A. Gauthier, "Notes sur les débuts (1225–1240) du premier 'Averroïsme,'" *Revue des sciences philosophique et théologique* 66 (1982): 333–34.

from his *Liber introductorius* above, “cum Deus sit natura naturans et ideo superet naturam naturatam,” Michael Scot uses these terms in the same way they would be used by most subsequent thirteenth-century authors. “Natura naturans” is equivalent to God, as it was in Rodrigo’s usage. But, unlike Rodrigo, Michael seems to understand “natura naturata” simply as a synonym for everything created, all of which is beneath God. This is similar, for example, to Bonaventure’s explanation in his sentence commentary of why we say that the Son is generated from the Father outside of nature:

Dicendum quod natura non accipitur ita communiter, sed pro natura creata. Unde non vult dicere quod generatio Filii sit supra naturam aeternam, quae est natura naturans, sed super naturam creatam, quae consuevit dici natura naturata.¹⁵⁰

Eternal nature, God, is “natura naturans,” while created nature is “natura naturata.”

The meaning of these terms is equally explicit in Arnoul of Provence’s *Divisio Scientiarum*, probably written in the 1250s:

Sciendum tamen quod naturalis scientia hic valde large accipitur ad omnem scientiam rerum quarum principium est tam natura naturans, que est prima causa, quam natura naturata, que sunt substantie spirituales et corporales, superiores et inferiores, et etiam quantitates de quibus sunt mathematicae.¹⁵¹

Michael Scot’s *Liber Introductorius* is an introductory astronomical text forming the first part of a three volume work which also comprises his *Liber particularis* and *Physionomia*. Numerous cross-references exist between the first two texts. The three are preceded by a general preface which was written after the completion of the work. The preface contains a reference to Francis of Assisi as a saint, and so, as Charles Homer Haskins writes, “in their final form” the three treatises must date after 16 July 1228.¹⁵² Since all three are either dedicated to the Emperor

¹⁵⁰Bonaventure, *In sententiis Petri Lombardi*, III, 8, 2, in *Opera theologica selecta*, 5 vols. (Florence: Quaracchi, 1934–1964), 3: p. 189.

¹⁵¹Claude Lafleur, ed., *Quatre introductions à la philosophie au xiii^e siècle* (Montreal: Institut d’Études Médiévales, 1988), p. 322.

¹⁵²Haskins, p. 280, 285.

Frederick II, or said to be written at his behest, and contain references to him within the text, this would agree with a date of composition between 1228 and 1236.¹⁵³ This means that neither the *Liber introductorius*, nor the translations of Averroes were completed before Rodrigo wrote his *Dialogus* and the epilogue to the *Planeta*. Thus, it seems that Rodrigo was the first to use “natura naturans” at all and the earliest to use it and “natura naturata” together.

Michael Scot’s use of these expressions is, however, extremely interesting because he and Rodrigo knew each other, probably quite well. We have seen above that he completed his translation of al-Biṭrūjī in Toledo in August 1217. Archival research in the Cathedral of Toledo has uncovered the information that Michael Scot was at one time a canon of the cathedral of Toledo.¹⁵⁴ He is attested to as one of the twenty-six clergy and laity who formed Archbishop Rodrigo’s entourage at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.¹⁵⁵ The implication is that he had been living in Toledo; left Toledo to go to Rome with the archbishop; returned and finished the translation of al-Biṭrūjī in 1217 and left Toledo again some time between then and 1220, when he is documented in Bologna.¹⁵⁶ It is not possible to determine how long he was in Toledo before 1215; nothing at all is known about him before that date. He may have been

¹⁵³Haskins, pp. 286–298, and Thorndike, pp. 316–332 discuss the three works. See also Glenn M. Edwards, who accepts unquestioningly that the *Liber introductorius* was produced while Michael was in Frederick’s service, “The Two Redactions of Michael Scot’s ‘Liber introductorius’,” *Traditio* 41 (1985): 339.

¹⁵⁴A letter from the papal legate John of Abbeville to the dean and canons of Toledo, dated 3 June 1229, orders them to chose a suitable person to preach and hear confessions and to give that person the vacant canonry of Michael Scot: “Attendentes quoque quod in ecclesia uestra decet esse uiros idoneos qui possint esse cooperatores et coadiutores archiepiscopi uestri in uerbo predicationis et penitentiis iniungendis, precipimus ut uacans canoniam magistri Michaelis Scoti cum uestiario tali persone infra kalendis Iulii conferatur que predicta uelit et ualeat adimplere.” ACT Z.1.G.1.4a.

¹⁵⁵Rivera, “Personajes hispanos,” pp. 337, 354–55.

¹⁵⁶For the evidence that he was in Bologna, see Haskins, p. 274.

there long enough to learn the Hebrew and Arabic for which he is praised by Gregory IX in a letter of 1227 to Stephen Langton, then archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵⁷ Although the *Liber introductorius* was only completed at a later date, he may have begun it in Toledo, and may have passed on the expressions “*natura naturans*” and “*natura naturata*” to Rodrigo who then used them in his own writings.

This scenario is plausible, but not necessary. Rodrigo could himself equally well have given these two terms to Michael Scot. The two definitions of *natura* Rodrigo gives, as God and as a generative power, would have been familiar to him from Alan of Lille. In his *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum*, Alan provides eleven different definitions for nature, two of which are of interest here. Quoting from Boethius’ *Contra Eutychen*, “Nature is whatever can act or experience,” Alan says that God can be called nature, since he is the efficient cause of everything. Also, he says that nature is a power taken on by natural things which procreates like things from like.¹⁵⁸ God is in charge of creation; nature takes care of procreation.¹⁵⁹ These are exactly the definitions Rodrigo gives to “*natura naturans*” and “*natura naturata*.” The definitions, and the important role ascribed to nature, are not original to Alan, but can be found also in other writers of the School of Chartres. William of Conches, for example, separated God’s own creative activity from the activity of nature which 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

¹⁵⁷Haskins, p. 275.

¹⁵⁸“Dicitur potentia rebus naturalibus indita, ex similibus procreans similia.” Alan’s definitions of nature are in *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum*, PL 210, col. 871A–D.

¹⁵⁹G. Raynaud de Lage, *Alain de Lille* (Montreal: Institut d’Études Médiévales, 1951), p. 64.

contingere. Opus nature est quod similia nascentur ex similibus, homines ex hominibus, asini ex asinis.¹⁶⁰

In his *Glosae super Platonem*, William repeats the definition of nature used by Alan and Rodrigo: "Est et natura vis rebus insita similia de similibus operans."¹⁶¹

Rodrigo's writings seem to be the earliest written evidence of "natura naturans — natura naturata" but he may not have coined the terms himself. Vincent of Beauvais uses the terms in his *Speculum doctrinale*, written probably in the mid-thirteenth century. He writes, "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, vt ex grano granum eiusdem speciei."¹⁶² Vincent did not get these terms and their usage from Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius*, because Michael did not use "natura naturata" in this way. He did not get them from Rodrigo, because the works by the archbishop in which they are found were of too restricted circulation to have affected Vincent. The origin of the meanings given to the terms by Rodrigo and later Vincent seems clear; the origins of the terms themselves is still obscure but probably lie in the late twelfth-century Parisian milieu in which Rodrigo was educated.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰Quoted from his gloss on Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, ed. Parent, pp. 129–130. See also Parent, pp. 91–92 and Raynaud de Lage, pp. 71–72.

¹⁶¹William of Conches, *Glosae super Platonem*, 28A, p. 104.

¹⁶²Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale*, XIV, 4, (1624; reprint ed., Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965), coll. 1372–1373.

¹⁶³Another suggestion is that the terms are arabic in origin, deriving from "ṭabʿ" and "maṭbūʿ." Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1964), p. 9 and n. 17.

Conclusion: The Sources for Book I of the Dialogus

Rodrigo's sources for Book I can be divided into two groups: those he cites by name and those he does not. Of the two, the latter group is far more interesting. Rodrigo follows most of his medieval contemporaries in naming patristic and pagan authorities, but not those authors closer to his own era. Just because an author is named, however, is no guarantee that Rodrigo is taking his quotation directly from the authority named. For example, he ostensibly quotes from Plato's *Timaeus*: "Dii deorum, quorum opifex paterque ego, natura quidem dissolubiles me autem sic faciente indissolubiles."¹⁶⁴ Rodrigo's wording here, however, is much closer to the way the same passage appears in Alan of Lille's *Quoniam homines* than to the original Latin Plato.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, in a chapter debating, "Whether the Holy Spirit is sent personally, or whether its gifts infuse the hearts of the elect," Rodrigo cites Augustine, Ambrose, and Bede and quotes from their writings, but the question, including the exact citations used by the archbishop is found in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, I, XIV, 1-2.¹⁶⁶

The author named most frequently in Book I is Augustine, who is mentioned by name nine times.¹⁶⁷ Rodrigo does not give his name every time he quotes from one of Augustine's works, nor can every quotation he ascribes to Augustine be found in that author's opus. In fact, the passages Rodrigo attaches to Augustine's name tend to

¹⁶⁴*Dialogus* I 29ra.

¹⁶⁵The original *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 as follows: "Dii deorum quorum pater opifexque ego, natura quidem dissolubiles, me autem sic volente indissolubiles." *Quoniam homines* p. 192.

¹⁶⁶Peter Lombard, *Sententiae* I, XIV, 1-2, pp. 126-29.

¹⁶⁷*Dialogus* I 27rb, 27va, 27vb, 28ra.

resemble less Augustine's authentic words than those he quotes unattributed, as if Rodrigo is trying to bolster controversial statements with Augustine's authority. The *De trinitate* and *De civitate dei* are the works of Augustine most used by Rodrigo. Rodrigo also mentions Hilary of Poitiers three times, Ambrose twice, and Isidore and Gregory the Great once each.¹⁶⁸ He also cites the authority of a Council of Toledo once.¹⁶⁹

The name most conspicuous by its absence is that of Alan of Lille whose thought had an enormous influence on Book I of the *Dialogus*. Commonalities between Rodrigo's text and Alan's *Contra haereticos*, his *Regulae caelestis iuris*, his *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum*, several of his sermons, and especially his *Summa 'Quoniam homines'* have been discussed in detail over the preceding pages. Although Rodrigo never mentions Alan of Lille by name nor quotes him directly, the archbishop's dependence on him is unmistakable. 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. The use of "subsistence" to translate "hypostasis" likewise appears to have its origin in the *Quoniam homines*. 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.¹⁷⁰ Could

¹⁶⁸*Dialogus* I 27vb, 29ra (Hilary); 27vb, 28ra (Ambrose); 29va (Isidore); 31ra (Gregory).

¹⁶⁹*Dialogus* I 27vb.

¹⁷⁰P. Glorieux, "La somme «Quoniam homines» d'Alain de Lille," *AHDLMA*, 28 (1953): 117-118.

Rodrigo have possessed such a rare text? There is no mention of it in the catalogue of the monastery of Santa María de Huerta, the monastery to which Rodrigo bequeathed his library upon his death, although one of the manuscripts listed in the catalogue, copied in the twelfth century, contains a different text by Alan, his commentary on the Song of Songs. Its absence from this list is in no way decisive because much of the monastery's original library has been lost.¹⁷¹ Likewise, neither the *Regulae* nor the *Quoniam homines* can be found in the Biblioteca Capitular of Toledo today.

Rodrigo did not have to possess copies of these two texts, or of Alan's other works, to be familiar with Alan's thought. He might have learned Alan's views directly, as his student in Paris. His will is dated at Paris, 24 April 1201.¹⁷² If Rodrigo were born around 1170, he could reasonably have spent much of the last decade of the twelfth century in Paris as a student. The great influence of masters based in northern France on Rodrigo's thought also argues for a longer, rather than a shorter, stay in Paris. Significantly, an inventory of the books owned by the Toledo cathedral in 1255 does include a manuscript of the *Historia Scholastica*. The mark of Alan of Lille and of various other people associated with the School of Chartres is manifest throughout Book I of the *Dialogus*, and, as was discussed in Chapter 2, Rodrigo's *Breuiarium* is heavily indebted to Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.¹⁷³ The catalogue of extant books once owned by Santa María de Huerta lists in addition to the two biblical commentaries by Stephen Langton discussed in Chapter 2, a biblical commentary by Peter Comestor and one attributed by the author of the catalogue to

¹⁷¹The catalogue contains all the manuscripts that belonged to the monastery. There is no secure way of determining which originally belonged to Rodrigo. Rojo Orcajo, "La Biblioteca del Arzobispo," p. 197. The manuscript containing Alan's commentary is ms. 23-H; see p. 212.

¹⁷²García Luján, *Cartulario*, p. 113.

¹⁷³Fernández Valverde, Introduction to *Breuiarium*, p. xx-xxi.

Peter the Chanter, all of which manuscripts are dated to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.¹⁷⁴

The chronology of Alan's career, like Rodrigo's, is difficult to trace with precision. Marie Thérèse d'Alverny has provided the fullest reliable account based on the meagre evidence.¹⁷⁵ Alan may have been a student of Gilbert of Poitiers, most likely during the latter's episcopacy at Poitiers (1142–54). More likely, he may have studied under Thierry of Chartres, perhaps in Chartres itself. Alan certainly spent some time in Montpellier, as can be gleaned from the dedications of his *Contra haereticos* to William VIII (1152–1202) and his *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum* to Ermengaud, abbot of St. Gilles (1179–1195). Alan also taught in Paris. Both the *Regulae* and the *Quoniam homines* refer to the Seine River, and both contain a few words in langue d'oïl, suggesting that they were written north of the Loire.¹⁷⁶ D'Alverny, following Glorieux, notes that the *Quoniam homines* does not conform to a coherent plan, and treats certain matters in more than one place. She suggests that the work that survives is in fact a collection of hastily compiled course notes.¹⁷⁷ 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. Fixing the exact period during which Alan was teaching in Paris is tricky, however. Otto of St. Blaise, writing around 1210 as a continuator of Otto of Freising, states opposite the year 1194 that about this time Peter the Chanter of Paris, Alan of Lille and Praepositinus of Cremona

¹⁷⁴Mss. 9-H, 10-H, 11-H, 32-H; Rojo Orcajo, pp. 206–208, 218.

¹⁷⁵The information on Alan's life in this paragraph is from her *Alain de Lille*, pp. 11–29.

¹⁷⁶*Regulae* R. 50, p. 156; R. 100, p. 205. *Quoniam homines*, pp. 148, 204, 205, 214. d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁷d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille*, p. 61.

were teaching. Otto then provides a list of some of each author's writings. In his chronicle, 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.¹⁷⁸ 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. Alan died at Cîteaux in 1203, but it is not known how long he was at the monastery before his death.

The above evidence supports the hypothesis that Rodrigo could have studied under Alan in Paris during the 1190s. If the *Quoniam homines* is a "reportatio" of Alan's lectures, this may explain why the *Dialogus* never quotes it directly, even though both the *Quoniam homines* and the *Dialogus* share much material. This scenario accounts for how the *Dialogus* can list five notions which describe the Trinity when the *Quoniam homines* mentions five, but does not list them: both texts were written by students of Alan, based on their individual understanding of the master's teachings.

It is not always easy to determine whether Rodrigo knew the thought of other authors directly or through Alan's work. Boethius is one case in point. Rodrigo uses material from Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae*, his *De trinitate*, his commentary on the Isagoge of Porphyry, and his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, but never mentions him by name. Most, but not all of the extracts used by Rodrigo can be found in various of Alan's writings. The same is true with passages from John Scotus

¹⁷⁸The relevant passages from Emo and Menko's chronicles can be found edited by Ludwig Weiland in MGH, *Scriptores*, vol. 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1974), pp. 467, 484, 490, 492-3, 521, 524.

Eriugena's *Periphyseon*. In his theology, Alan of Lille used many ideas originally expressed by Gilbert of Poitiers and several of these were adopted by Rodrigo in his own writing, notably the use of personal properties to discuss the Trinity. Did Rodrigo have any knowledge of Gilbert of Poitiers' doctrine independently of his master? There is no evidence of Gilbert's thought in Rodrigo's writings which cannot be shown to come by way of Alan of Lille. Nevertheless, Rodrigo may have personally been familiar with Gilbert's Commentary on Boethius's *De trinitate*. This text is preserved in ms. 13-4 in the Biblioteca Capitulare of Toledo, a thirteenth-century manuscript dated by Nikolaus Häring to about 1210.¹⁷⁹ The manuscript is listed in the inventory of the library of the chapter, made in 1455,¹⁸⁰ and the decoration and script of the manuscript suggest that it may have been produced in Toledo. It contains no marginal notations or anything else which might indicate who owned or read it. Alan of Lille was also heavily influenced by the work of William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres,¹⁸¹ and the thought of all three men is reflected in Rodrigo's Trinitarianism and cosmology. Abu Ma'shar's *Introductorium* is quoted by Alan, but the work would have been available to Rodrigo in one or both of its translations in either Toledo or Paris.

A consideration of the sources Rodrigo drew on to write Book I of his *Dialogus* provides a revealing glimpse of his intellectual formation. He is shown to have been a second- or third-generation *porretanus* and to have been influenced by both

¹⁷⁹Häring, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, p. 28. I have examined a microfilm of the manuscript.

¹⁸⁰José Ma. Octavio de Toledo, *Catálogo de la librería del Cabildo Toledano*, Biblioteca de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, vol. 3 (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1903), p. 59.

¹⁸¹"Alain de Lille par exemple, qui résume la renaissance du XIIe siècle par son labeur théologique non moins que par sa culture érudite et raffinée, s'il s'inspire de Gilbert de la Porrée dans sa méthode théologique, hérite en grande partie pour le contenu idéologique, de Guillaume de Conches et de Thierry de Chartres." Parent, p. 110.

the neo-Platonism and theology of the School of Chartres. Most important is the connection of his thought with the writings of Alan of Lille. Rodrigo was not a philosopher or a theologian; Book I of his *Dialogus* contains very little that is innovative. What was unusual was his use of grammatical, logical, and mathematical techniques to understand Trinitarian theology and monotheism in the context of an anti-Jewish treatise. Arguments based on the theory of divine attributes were common in polemical works; these other types of arguments were not. Rodrigo continues a line of argumentation begun in Book 3 of Alan of Lille's *Contra haereticos* where that author used arithmetical reasoning to discuss the Trinity in a work intended for non-Christians.¹⁸² We shall see, in Chapter 4, that Rodrigo continues another trend fostered by Alan in his *Contra haereticos*; the use of the rabbinic literature in anti-Jewish polemic.

¹⁸²Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos*, III, PL 210, col. 403C-D.

CHAPTER 5
JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN BIBLICAL EXEGESIS IN
RODRIGO'S *DIALOGVS LIBRI VITAE*

As Gilbert Dahan has stated, “La controverse judéo-chrétienne a été d’abord et avant tout une controverse scripturaire, une querelle d’exégètes.”¹ Biblical exegesis played the central role in the earliest Christian anti-Jewish polemic, and continued to do so throughout the medieval period and beyond. The traditional Christian approach was to argue that Jews understood the Old Testament only carnally, while Christians appreciated its full spiritual meaning. 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 argumentation. Indeed, the very title of his work, *The Dialogue on the Book of Life*, demonstrates that he too perceives the Christian-Jewish debate as focusing around the Bible. But Rodrigo does not take the traditional approach of opposing Jewish literal readings of the Bible with Christian allegorical and spiritual readings. Rather, as he explains in his Prologue, he makes the unusual step of using the Christian understanding of the literal sense to combat the Jewish letter. In doing so he betrays an awareness of Jewish traditional interpretations of Scripture. Exploring this awareness and elucidating Rodrigo’s method is the purpose of this chapter.

¹Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 386.

Rodrigo's Bible

What Rodrigo understood by the Bible must be explained before beginning an investigation of his technique, however. 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 version. Only once does he cite the Hebrew text of the passage he is interpreting,² and he constantly uses books of the Bible considered uncanonical by Jews. Indeed, it would seem that he was ignorant of any difference between the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Old Testament except for one fact: in Book One 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 these texts by arguing that their author is honoured in the Jews' own books for his virtue and wisdom, "apud tuos libros uirtute et sapientia honoratum."³

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 which may be expounded.⁴ Rodrigo's statement that Jesus ben Sirach was popular

²This instance will be discussed further below.

³*Dialogus* I 29va.

⁴Also, Midrash R *Genesis* XC, 1.3; Midrash R *Leviticus* XXXIII, 1; Midrash R *Ecclesiastes* VII, 12.1 all quote ben Sirach by name but Midrash R *Ecclesiastes* XII, 12.1 forbids reading his work. For a discussion of the continued popularity of ben Sirach among Jews, see *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, eds. Isidore Singer, Cyrus Alder, 12 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1905–1906), 11: 390–391.

among Jews does not necessarily reflect a personal familiarity with this literature. 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."⁵ What Rodrigo's description adds to Alan's, however, is the notion that Jews possess post-biblical books which can be examined and taken as indicative of current Jewish beliefs. Rodrigo cites textual evidence; Alan merely refers to Jewish popular opinion. Rodrigo's special pleading in the case of Jesus ben Sirach shows, I believe, 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? Possibly he would argue that the Jews deliberately suppressed these books because of their Christological import.

The Literal Sense of Scripture

Rodrigo explains his own approach to the Bible in his Prologue. He states that he will concentrate on the literal meaning of the Old Testament, leaving aside the other three senses of Scripture:

In the elaboration of this work I have held back from the anagogical, allegorical, and tropological senses (of Scripture) so that a Jewish adversary may not have anything to complain about.⁶

This is not because Rodrigo believes that the non-literal senses are not present or are unimportant. He continues:

When true counsel has made a truth, commonly what it does not presume from a statement, the skill of the allegory of the letter makes clear. Thus, we are frequently compelled to extend this brief summary into those places where the letter does not propose to go. Therefore, the tropological, anagogical, and allegorical senses which lay hidden for a time in the letter, as though inside a safe,

⁵"Jesus etiam filius Sirac, qui inter Judaeos magnus reputatus est ..." *Contra haereticos*, col. 405C.

⁶"In persecutione autem huius operis, ab anagogico et allegorico et tropologico abstinui intellectu, ut non habeat Iudaeus aduersarius quid causetur." *Dialogus* Prol. 25vb.

remedied at the time of revelation the foreignness of the letter and made good its insufficiency in many ways such that the mystic explanation supplies that which the literal exposition does not furnish.⁷

Rodrigo does not, in fact, "frequently" make recourse to the non-literal senses of Scripture. In only a handful of places in the *Dialogus* does Rodrigo go beyond what could be called the literal explanation, and these places are always signalled by him. For example, rejecting the possibility that the Jerusalem built of sapphires and emeralds in Tb 13, 21-22 can be understood literally, Rodrigo writes:

Therefore, you must seek another truth which understands the pearls and precious stones to be the virtues and good works of the elect out of which the building of the heavenly city of good works is accomplished. And I say this where the letter does not admit a literal explanation according to the judgement of truth, since where the letter extinguishes itself, one must necessarily hasten to another understanding.⁸

Rodrigo's emphasis on the literal sense of Scripture is also evident in his *Breuiarium* where he likewise expresses his intent to exclude the other three senses in favour of the letter.⁹ Rodrigo confines himself to the literal sense in the *Dialogus* probably because he believes that 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

⁷"Cum consilium uerum fecit uerum, frequenter quod non praesumit de dicto litteralis allegoriae sollertia manifestat. Vnde frequenter cogimur paruistica compendia euagari quo non promittit littera peragere. Tropologicus ergo, et analogicus, et allegoricus intellectus, qui apud litteram, ut apud depositarium, aliquandiu latuerunt, reuelationis tempore hospiti litterae occurrerunt, et defectum eius in pluribus suppleuerunt, ut quod litteralis expositio non sufficeret, declaratio mystica id suppleret." *Dialogus* Prol. 25vb.

⁸"Vnde necesse habes aliam quaerere ueritatem, quae margaritas et lapides pretiosos intelligit uirtutes et bona opera electorum ex quibus perficitur aedificium ciuitatis uranicae bonorum operum. Et hoc dico ubi littera secundum ueritatis iudicium expositio non recipit litteralem, quia ubi littera se exstinguit, necessario curritur ad alium intellectum." *Dialogus* V 65ra-65rb.

⁹*Breuiarium* Prol., ll. 138-43, p. 6.

for the purposes of his polemic he confines himself mostly to the prophetic books and other passages of the Old Testament which can be interpreted as prophetic, and which 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 is writing in the context of a renewed Christian interest in the literal sense of the Bible which emerged in the twelfth century and which was paralleled by a renewed Jewish interest in the literal sense also. This 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 first-hand knowledge directly from the Jews.¹⁰ Rodrigo was in Paris around the turn of the thirteenth century, and was probably familiar with the work of these men, as we have seen. 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 non-messianic interpretations of passages traditionally viewed by Christians as containing a literal, messianic meaning.¹¹ What Rodrigo does, as I shall discuss in more detail using Book

¹⁰Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, esp. chs. 3-5, still provides the fullest account of this phenomenon. See also Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963). 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*, vol. 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981).

¹¹Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 162-68.

V of the *Dialogus*, is to dispute the Jewish literal understanding of the prophecies and to attempt to replace it with the Christian interpretation. Before commenting on Book V, however, I should like to discuss three separate explications of biblical passages, Gn 1, 1; 1, 26; and 49, 10, to examine some of the ways in which Rodrigo approached his text and to see if he betrays any direct awareness of the Hebrew Bible or of Jewish traditions. All three passages are commonly cited in anti-Jewish polemic of this period.

The first example is taken from Book I, "De trinitate." Christians sought to answer the Jewish objection that if God were a Trinity, He surely would have told them about it, by interpreting excerpts from the Old Testament as holding a trinitarian meaning, which, the Christians argued, the Jews had been too blind to understand properly. Under the chapter heading, "Probatio trinitatis ex auctoribus ueteris testamenti," Rodrigo examines the grammar of Gn 1, 1 in an attempt to show that the verse demonstrates the existence of the Trinity. He quotes the opening words of Genesis: *In principio creauit Deus caelum et terram*, and notes that in Hebrew, although the verb is in the singular, the word for God, which he gives as "eloym," is in the masculine plural form, in contrast to "eloa" which is masculine singular. The singular verb denotes the unity of God's essence, while the plural noun denotes the plurality of persons.¹² This argument is not original; similar reasoning can be found in many other Christian polemical and theological works, for example in the writings of Petrus Alfonsi, Peter Abelard, Peter of Blois, and Alan of Lille.¹³ What Rodrigo adds

¹²"Ecce quod dicit, 'creauit dii.' Cum dixit 'creauit,' unitatem ostendit; cum dixit 'dii,' pluralitatem docuit personarum. 'Eloa' enim masculini generis et numeri singularis; 'eloym' pluralis numeri et generis masculini." *Dialogus* I 28va.

¹³Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, PL 157, coll. 608C-609A; Peter Abelard, *Expositio in Hexameron*, PL 178, col. 739C; Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos*, PL 210, col. 403B-C; Peter of Blois *Contra perfidiam Iudaeorum*, PL 207, coll. 832C-833A. On Peter of Blois's use of this argumentation, see Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 449.

that cannot be found in any of his predecessors is the Hebrew text of the opening phrase of Genesis. Rodrigo writes, "You say in Hebrew: Beresit bara eloym. 'Beresit' means 'In the beginning,' 'bara' means 'created,' 'eloym' means 'Gods.'" ¹⁴ The archbishop's version is a relatively good transliteration from the original Hebrew, "בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים." The presence of these words within the *Dialogus* does not indicate that Rodrigo himself must have known Hebrew. It does, however, suggest that he had contact with people who did: Christians who had learned the language, Jews who were willing or, more likely, were obliged to speak about their religion with Christians, or Jewish converts to Christianity.

Rodrigo also examines Gn 1, 26 in Book I, again attempting to adduce proofs for the Trinity in the Old Testament. Rodrigo's explication of this verse is interesting because his discussion of it refers to a Jewish interpretation of the verse. He lists a number of Old Testament verses which refer to God in the plural while using verbs in the singular, and he explains that the plural nouns cannot refer to the voice of God speaking to the angels. ¹⁵ Then he says to his Jewish adversary that Gn 1, 26: *Let us make Man in our image and likeness*, also cannot be understood as God speaking to the angels because the image or likeness of God is different from the image or likeness of the created angels. ¹⁶ Rodrigo is alluding here to a Hebrew tradition which stated that God took counsel with the angels when He created Man. ¹⁷ The same tradition is

¹⁴"Dicis in hebraeo: Beresit bara eloym. Beresit, in principio; bara, creavit; eloym, dii." *Dialogus* I 28va.

¹⁵"Si autem uis dicere quod ad angelos uox Dei, stare non potest." *Dialogus* I 28vb.

¹⁶"Eodem modo tibi obicio, O Iudae, quod in Genesi inuenitur: *Faciamus hominem ad similitudinem nostram* (Gn 1, 26). Sed alia est similitudo Dei et angeli uel imago quia aliter de creatore, aliter de creatura uocabula praedicant, copulant, referuntur, uel supponunt." *Dialogus* I 29ra.

¹⁷Midrash R *Genesis* VIII, 8, pp. 59–60; Midrash R *Numbers* XIX, 3, pp. 749–50.

cited in his discussion of Gn 1, 26 found in the *Breuiarium*. Rodrigo explains that, while Christians understand that this is the Trinity speaking, "according to the Hebrews it is the voice of God to the angels."¹⁸ His immediate source for this tradition may have been a Christian one however. In his *Contra haereticos*, Alan of Lille rejects the possibility that *Faciamus* in Gn 1, 26 refers to God speaking to the angels using a very similar argument to the one given by Rodrigo in the *Dialogus*, without citing this as a Jewish belief.¹⁹ Both Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton attribute this understanding of the verse to the Jews in their commentaries on Genesis.²⁰ Before these two, Hugh of St. Victor admitted the possibility that Gn 1, 26 could indicate that God was speaking to the angels, but he did not attribute this belief to the Jews.²¹ Guillaume de Bourges, a Jewish convert to Christianity, also referred to this tradition in his polemical treatise, the *Liber bellorum domini* which was probably written around 1235.²²

¹⁸"Secundum Hebreos uox Dei ad angelos." *Breuiarium* I, vii, l. 17, p. 22. This phrase cannot be found in Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.

¹⁹"Cum ergo Deus hic introducatur loquens, quaeritur, ad quem, vel ad quos loquatur, cum dicit, *faciamus*. Ad angelos videtur nullo modo loqui; non enim una est imago vel similitudo Dei et angelorum juxta quam factus sit homo." Alan of Lille, *Contra haereticos*, PL 210, col. 403D.

²⁰The Chanter has, "Secundum iudeum loquitur ad angelos," quoted in Dahan, "Interprétations juives chez Pierre le Chantre," p. 144. Langton's commentary reads "Iudei dicunt quod sunt uerba patris ad angelos, set hoc non placet," quoted in Dahan, "Exégèse et polémique," p. 140.

²¹"Nec propterea consilium inducit, quin aequè possit facere et magna et parva; sed ut dignitatem creati hominis ostenderet, et ut nos cauto reddat, ne dedignemur consilium accipere et ab aequalibus et a minoribus; cum ipse ad angelos ita loquatur, quorum misterio forsitan formatum est corpus hominis." Hugh of St. Victor *Adnotationes elucidatoriae in Pentateuchon*, PL 175, col. 37B.

²²Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 410. Guillaume de Bourges, *Livre des guerres du Seigneur et deux homélies*, ed. and trans. Gilbert Dahan (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1981), pp. 80. Dahan discusses the tradition on p. 81, n. 3.

Rodrigo's interpretation of Gn 49, 10, *Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda et dux de femoribus eius donec veniat qui mittendus est et ipse erit expectatio gentium*, refers to the Hebrew text of the verse, as his discussion of Gn 1, 1 had done. Rodrigo discusses this passage in Book III, "De principatu apostolorum." Christian polemicists traditionally used this verse to argue that the Messiah had already come, reasoning that Jesus was *he who is to be sent* because he was born after *the sceptre was removed from Judah*, that is, when Herod became king.²³ Rodrigo explains, "An apostate from the Law changes the Law, and you say that where it says *he who is to be sent*, in Hebrew it says 'silo,' because 'silo' means 'the one sent.'"²⁴ The *Targum Onkelos* had understood the term *shiloh* to refer to the Messiah, and Rashi also concurred with this explanation. Probably during the twelfth century, however, Jewish exegetes reinterpreted *shiloh* to refer to the village where Saul was anointed to avoid an understanding of the verse which would admit a Christological interpretation. Christian exegetes such as Hugh and Andrew of St. Victor, Peter Comestor, and Peter the Chanter remarked on this reinterpretation in their writings.²⁵ Rodrigo's *Breuiarium* also relates this meaning of *shiloh* in a passage which the archbishop takes from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*.²⁶ Rodrigo adds in his own words, "Literally, (this

²³Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 496.

²⁴"Praeuaricator legis legem immutat, et dicis quod ubi in ipso res posuit *qui mittendus est*, in Hebraeo habetur 'silo' eo quod 'silo' interpretatur 'missus.'" *Dialogus* III 49vb. This interpretation of 'silo' was well known and can be found, for example, in Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. Paul de Lagarde, CCL 72, l. 25, p. 122.

²⁵Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 482.

²⁶"Hebrei referunt ad hoc quod dictum est cum Iudas precedebat in bellis; et ubi nos habemus 'mittendus est,' ipsi habent Silo, id est, Saul, qui fuit unctus in Silo." *Breuiarium* II, lvi, ll. 34–36.

"Hebraeus dicit, *donec veniat Silo*, id est usque ad Saulem unctum in Silo." Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* PL 198, col. 1137D.

prophecy) is set forth about Christ."²⁷

Rodrigo continues his discussion of Gn 49, 10 in the *Dialogus* by answering the unspoken Jewish objection that, in fact, Sedechias had been the last king from the tribe of Judah and that the kings of Israel after him were not descended from the line of Judah because they were priests.²⁸ Rodrigo argues that even during their captivity, Scripture relates that 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.²⁹ A similar, but more detailed version of this argument is also found in the *Breuiarium*. This part of the *Breuiarium* was not taken from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, however, and the editor of the *Breuiarium* was not able to find another source for it.³⁰ Rodrigo's argument may be his own, but his knowledge of the Jewish manner of interpreting this verse probably comes via other Christians.

²⁷"Ad litteram ergo de Christo exponitur." *Breuiarium* II, lvi, l. 36, p. 95.

²⁸This objection remains unspoken in the *Dialogus*, however Joseph Qimhi, for example, makes the exact argument to which Rodrigo responds here in his anti-Christian polemic, *The Book of the Covenant*, trans. Frank Talmage (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972), p. 45: "Do you not see the prophecies? For more than four hundred years before the coming of Jesus, the kingship had passed from the house of David. The last king from the house of David was Zedekiah whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon blinded and led into exile." See Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 496, n. 95.

²⁹"Dauid etiam usque ad ultimum Sedechiam sceptrum regni ad eius genere non cessauit, et post regni destructionem, ut liber Regum et Verba dierum et Esdras testantur, duces de tribu Iuda populo prae fuerunt, prout captiuitatis angustia tollerabat. Donec Machabeorum tempore populo gentibus subiugato, sacerdotes in regimine succederunt, sed et iste tribus regalis et sacerdotalis a principio sunt permixtae. Nam et Aaron primus sacerdos uxorem duxit Elisabe sororem Aminadab principis tribus Iudae, ex qua suscepit Eleazar et Ithimar (cf. Ex 6, 23) a quibus processit tota successio sacerdotum, et ita licet ducatus translatus fuerit ad sacerdotes, inde tribui (contribui *cod.*) non est ablatus." *Dialogus* III 50 ra-vb.

³⁰*Breuiarium* II, lvi, ll. 40-56, pp. 96.

References to Rabbinic Literature in the Dialogus

From the three example discussed above and from the discussion of Rodrigo's *Breuiarium* in Chapter 2, it is clear that Rodrigo was aware of both: the Hebrew Bible and Jewish exegesis as a source for his work. Indeed, it would have been strange if he were not since like most of his contemporaries, he owed a huge debt to the biblical exegesis of Jerome, exegesis which paid close attention to Jewish interpretations and the *hebraica ueritas*. So, the question then is not whether or not Rodrigo was aware of Jewish traditions, for he obviously was, but from where he learned these traditions. We have seen that both in the *Breuiarium* and in the *Dialogus* he was influenced by Jerome, and by his own contemporaries and immediate predecessors who learned about Jewish exegesis directly from Jews and from each other. Did Rodrigo have any first hand contact with Jewish interpretations himself? Was he aware of the existence of a body of post-biblical Jewish writings? Was he personally familiar with their contents?

The first Christian author to make extensive use of the Talmud in an anti-Jewish polemic was Petrus Alfonsi. He used ridicule against certain *aggadot*, especially those which seemed to anthropomorphize God, to attack Judaism.³¹ Petrus Alfonsi did not refer to the Talmud by name, however, in his text. Probably the first Christian to do so was Peter the Venerable in his *Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem*. In this work, Peter attacked the Talmud and derided the Jews for believing in it, as in the following sentence: "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, (supposed to be) placed ahead of the books of the prophets and all

³¹See Tolan, pp. 22-25.

authentic teachings."³² The next important development in the Christian use of rabbinic literature in polemic was made by Alan of Lille in Book III of his *Contra haereticos*. Instead of mocking Jewish adherence to this literature, he tries to argue that the Talmud itself contains passages which support the Christian belief that Jesus was the promised Messiah. This line of argumentation would be highly developed in the thirteenth century owing to its use by Paulus Christiani at the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263 and its consequent elaboration by Ramon Martí in his *Pugio fidei*. Alan of Lille, writing at the end of the twelfth century, confines himself to one passage from the Talmud. In a chapter on the abolition of the old Law, Alan writes:

In a gloss of Elias it is read that the world is to last for six thousand [years]; two thousand were [the age] of vanity, which refers to the time before the Mosaic law; two thousand are [the age] of the Mosaic law; and the following two thousand [are the age] of the Messiah. But it is clear that more than four thousand years have passed, therefore it is clear that the Law has passed away and the Messiah has come.³³

³²"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, *Aduersus Iudeorum inueteratam duritiem*, V, ll. 32–33, ed. Yvonne Friedman, CCCM 58 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), pp. 125–26. See also Friedman's introduction, p. xv.

³³"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 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 Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator*, 2 (1971): 381 and n. 16. Marie-Humbert Vicaire, "'Contra Iudaeos' meridionaux au début du XIIe siècle. Alain de Lille, Évrard de Béthune, Guillaume de Bourges," *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, vol. 12 (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1977): 272–73, 285, n. 13a, gives the correct version of the passage and hypothesizes that Alan might have found this argument in the same anti-Jewish compilation based on Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio Iudaei et Christiani* that Jacob ben Reuven (twelfth-century) used to write his *Milhamot 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.

The source for Alan's statement is a passage from the Tanna debe Eliyahhu which is quoted in the Talmud tractate *Sanhedrin*:

The Tanna debe Eliyahhu teaches: The world is to exist six thousand years. In the first two thousand there was desolation; two thousand years the Torah flourished; and the next two thousand years is the Messianic era, but through our many iniquities all these years have been lost³⁴

The conclusion of this passage implies that the Messiah would have come at the end of four thousand years, but he did not come because of man's sinfulness.

Rodrigo may have been a student of Alan's and may have acquired his initial knowledge of the existence of post-biblical Jewish literature through Alan. From the reference discussed earlier in this chapter to Jesus ben Sirach being honoured and respected for his wisdom "apud tuos libros,"³⁵ it is clear that Rodrigo was aware of Jewish writings and that this awareness may have come via Alan. Although Rodrigo nowhere mentions the Talmud by name, throughout the *Dialogus* he makes reference to the existence of rabbinic literature, in addition to the reference to Jesus ben Sirach. Clues can be found in the Prologue as to how Rodrigo regards the writers of this literature. "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,"³⁶ he accuses his Jewish adversary. Further below he compares the rabbinic literature to the spider's webs of Is 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. Is 59, 5) ... Spider's webs are woven which dissolve at the least touch, if their surface is broken, and these your story tellers have woven from their hearts. And the Weaned one who comes overturned all these things by the spirit of his lips (cf. Is 11, 4), but when you labour to cover over these things with spiders' webs, you are found covered round

³⁴BT *Sanhedrin* 97a-97b, p. 657.

³⁵*Dialogus* I 29va.

³⁶"Coaptas fabulis prophetias, et iniectis aggeribus accusationis mysteria fidei cum Galaad resina niteris obturare." *Dialogus* Prol. 25ra.

with a mantle of confusion, bereft of the clothing of glory, and wallowing in the blood of goats, bulls, and calves.³⁷

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 “which your storytellers have woven from their hearts,” but it would literally be “which your storytellers covered over from their hearts.” 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.

More evidence that Rodrigo knew of the existence of post-biblical Jewish writings comes from Book I. In his discussion of how the Bible often refers to God using a plural form with a verb in the singular, discussed above with reference to Gn 1, 1, Rodrigo adds:

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).³⁸

It seems reasonable to suppose that by “your wise men” (“*doctorum tuorum*”) Rodrigo is referring to the authors of the rabbinic literature. Petrus Alfonsi also referred to the

³⁷“*Dominus Iesus Christus et eduxit inde ... oua aspidum ... ex quibus Iudaei tellas araneae texuerunt (cf. Is 59, 5). ... Tellae araneae contexuntur, quae superficiem praecedentes impulsu quolibet (quodlibet cod.) dilabuntur, quae fabulatores tui de suis cordibus texerunt. Et haec omnia ueniens ablactatus euertit spiritu labiorum (cf. Is 11, 4) (laborum cod.) sed aranearum tellis superindui cum laboras, inueneris confusionis diploide circumtectus, et a ueste gloriae destitutus, et in hircorum et taurorum et uitulorum sanguine uolutatus.*” *Dialogus* Prol. 25vb.

³⁸“*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 28va.

authors of the Talmud, "doctores uestri."³⁹ Rodrigo usually calls the authors of the historical books of the Old Testament the *hagiographi*, so it is not likely that it is they who are meant here.

Rodrigo refers to Jewish exegesis throughout the *Dialogus*, but he focuses exclusively on it in Book V whose full title is "On the Fables of the Jews and on their Diversity of Opinions regarding the Messiah."⁴⁰ His reference to a diversity of opinion ("opinione uaria") among the Jews regarding the Messiah sets the tone for his arguments throughout Book V. He opened the Prologue to the treatise with a meditation on how human inconstancy ("uarietas") had led Man away from God into the worship of idols. Later in the Prologue he mentioned the "uarietas" of the prophecies and explains that proper attention paid to the grammar of different prophecies will cause them to harmonize easily.⁴¹ Throughout Book V, Rodrigo argues that Jewish exegesis relating to the Messiah and the World to Come is inconsistent and that many Jewish interpretations contradict one another. The Jews have 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 I have made it known that among your ancestors and your contemporaries inconstancy still comes 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.⁴²

³⁹Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*, PL 157, col. 540C. Tolan, p. 23.

⁴⁰"De fabula Iudaeorum et eorum opinione uaria de Messiah." *Dialogus* V 53ra gives the title in full.

⁴¹"Lector autem diligenter attendat quod metaplasmus saepe fit in prophetis et hac in materia, numero, et personis, quod si attenditur, prophetiarum uarietas facilius concordatur." *Dialogus* Prol. 26ra.

⁴²"Verum quia uarietas conspersione mendacii paliatur, qui mentitur uariat, et produxi (produci *cod.*) ut apud tuos ueteres et modernos uarietas adhuc mittat. Tuorum ueteres docuerunt quod non in ueritate litterae reppererunt, et ut possunt scripturas deuiant a proprio intellectu." *Dialogus* V 53ra.

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 "ueteres" of misrepresenting even the letter of the Bible, twisting it into another sense. 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 will be the focus of Book V.

Jewish and Christian Exegesis in Book V of the Dialogus

Rodrigo's Book V, "De fabula Iudaeorum," is entirely devoted to the exposition and refutation of Jewish ideas about the Messiah, the Messianic Age, the general resurrection, and the time to come. Perhaps the greatest challenge of this book is discerning Rodrigo's sources for his understanding of Jewish exegesis. Many of his readings unambiguously come from Jerome's biblical commentaries. Jerome was familiar with the broad outlines of Jewish eschatology and frequently attacked it, and the Christian chiliasts who were inspired by it, in his commentaries.⁴³ Other interpretations, however, for which I have been able to find no Christian intermediary, appear to come from the Talmud or Midrash. In addition, occasionally Rodrigo errs, applying a Messianic signification to a verse which Jews did not regard as Messianic. In this book, 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 which Rodrigo is at pains to expose.

⁴³John P. O'Connell, *The Eschatology of Saint Jerome* (Mundelein, Ill.: Seminarium Sanctae Mariae ad Lacum, 1948), pp. 68-71, discusses and provides references for Jerome's condemnation of Jewish and Christian millenarianism.

Rodrigo opens his evaluation of Jewish beliefs in a chapter entitled, "De ortu Messiae et prophetiarum intelligentia deprauata," by listing a number of verses which he says the Jews take as foretelling the coming of the Messiah: Is 11, 1-4; Nm 24, 17-19; Mi 5, 2; Ps 86, 5; and Is 53, 1-2. Rodrigo states that Jews are wrong to understand Is 11, 1, *A staff shall come forth from the root of Jesse and a flower from its root*, to mean that David was the root and the Messiah will be the flower because verse four, which they also take to refer to the Messiah, calls the Messiah a staff which strikes the earth.⁴⁴ How can the Messiah be both a staff and a flower, Rodrigo asks? Rodrigo contrasts what he understands as a Jewish belief that the Messiah will bring peace, with exegesis that states the Messiah will wage war and argues that these views cannot coexist. The opening verses of Is 11 were generally regarded as Messianic among the Jews, for example:

Another comment on *Give the king Thy judgements O God, and thy righteousness* (Ps 71, 1): here *king* means the King Messiah of whom it is said *And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse ... And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him ... And he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither decide after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the land* (Is 11, 1, 3, 4).⁴⁵

Jerome understood the Jews to believe that the Messiah was both staff and flower in his Isaiah commentary.⁴⁶ Andrew of St. Victor likewise recognized that for the Jews these

⁴⁴"Si igitur asseris ipsam uirgam de Iesse germine egressuram, quis flos erit quod de radice eius dicitur ascensurus? Si uellis dicere Daudid uirgam et tuum Messiam florem, contrarium praedocuit Isaias quia tuus Messias, ut peruertis litteram: *Terram percutiet uirga oris, et interficiat impium* (imperium cod.) *spiritu labiorum* (Is 11, 4)." *Dialogus* V 53rb.

⁴⁵Midrash Ps, Ps 72, 1: 560. See also, Midrash R *Genesis* II, 4, p. 17; Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 11, p. 523; Midrash R *Lamentations* I, 16, p. 137; Midrash R *Ruth* VII, 2, p. 83; BT *Sanhedrin* 93b, p. 626. See also Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (New York: Hermon Press, 1968), p. 147 on Maimonides.

⁴⁶"Virgam et florem de radice Iesse ipsum Dominum Iudaei interpretantur quod scilicet in uirga regnantis potentia, in flore pulchritudo monstretur." Jerome, *In Esaiam*, CCSL 73, IV, xi, 1/3, ll. 9-12, p. 147.

verses had Messianic import.⁴⁷

Rodrigo then argues that the Jews' understanding of Nm 24, 17–19, which describe a leader waging battle against the enemies of Israel, to refer to their Messiah contradicts the image of the Messiah as a peace-bringer found in Is 61, 2, which the Jews also regard as a Messianic prophecy.⁴⁸ Jewish exegesis did understand Nm 24, 17, the star which comes out of Jacob, to refer to the Messiah.⁴⁹ Andrew of St. Victor recognizes this explanation in his commentary on Numbers.⁵⁰ Rodrigo says that the Jews base their belief that the Messiah will be born and will die in time on Mi 5, 2, *You, Bethlehem Ephrata, are not the least*⁵¹ In the Midrash on Psalms, Ps 86 is understood generally to refer to the Messiah and the time to come.⁵² Nevertheless, the

⁴⁷"Secundum Hebreos uero qui ista de eo quem adhuc expectant, Messia exponunt" Pembroke ms. 45, fol. 10vb.

⁴⁸"Quod autem de libro Numeri fabularis stella ex Iacob orituram (cf. Nm 24, 17) et de eo hominem surrecturum, et hoc, si peruertis ad tuum Messiam sequentia littere, tuae fabulae contradicunt. Sequitur enim, *Percutiet duces* (Nm 24, 17) alienigenarum et *perdet reliquias ciuitatum* (Nm. 24, 19). Si duces percutiet, ergo clamabit (clamauit *cod.*). Si perdet reliquias ciuitatum, ergo incendia non exstinguet et non praedicabit *annum placabilem domino* (Is 61, 2), sed offensum." *Dialogus V* 53rb.

⁴⁹Midrash R *Deuteronomy* I, 20, p. 22; Midrash R *Lamentations* II, 2, p. 157. Sarachek, p. 57 on Rashi, and p. 169 on Nahmanides. Abraham ibn Ezra, p. 114, refers this verse to David, and Maimonides refers it alternately to David and the Messiah.

⁵⁰"*Orietur stella ex Iacob* In hebraeo: 'Distenditur.' Hebraei exponunt hoc de Messia suo, qui facturus est (ut arbitrantur) magnalia, quae sequuntur." Andrew of St. Victor, *In Numeros*, CCCM 53, ll. 467–69, p. 191. See Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. 160.

⁵¹"Quod autem ad confirmationem retorsisti, scilicet illud Micheae: *Tu, Bethleem ephrata, non es minima* (Mi 5, 2), et cetera, cum tuum Messiam praedices in tempore nasciturum et in tempore moriturum, quae praesumptione sibi Micheae attribuis prophetiam." *Dialogus V* 54ra. On Jewish interpretation of this verse, see "Messiah," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1971–1972), 11: 1411.

⁵²Midrash Ps, Ps 87, 2:74–79.

Septuagint version of the Psalms from which Rodrigo quotes Ps 86, 5 gives a markedly different reading of the section of the verse which Rodrigo quotes (*Homo natus est in ea, et ipse fundauit eam Altissimus*) than the Hebrew version (*This man and that man were born in her; for the Most High himself will establish her*). The argument that Rodrigo makes, therefore, that the Jews cannot call their Messiah the Most High since Moses is supposed to be greater than the Messiah, has no force because in the Hebrew version, Most High refers to God.⁵³ Finally, Rodrigo states that the Jews quote Is 53, 1–2 to support their belief that when he comes, the Messiah will not be immediately acknowledged by everyone.⁵⁴

Having dealt with prophecies referring to the advent of the Messiah, Rodrigo turns to defining what the Jews believe he will be like and what he will do. The Jews say, according to the archbishop, that no negative qualities will be found in the Messiah, 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.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ Rodrigo says the Jews support this with several

⁵³"Illud autem Daudidis: *Homo natus est in ea*, et cetera, nec tuus Messias *Altissimus*, quia Moises legitur maior eo, nec ipse eius, in qua nascitur, est fundator." *Dialogus* V 54ra.

⁵⁴"Item ad eius natiuitatem referes praeconium Isaiae ubi conquaeritur quod uerbis eius et prophetarum populus insipiens non credebatur, sed e contrario resistebat." *Dialogus* V 54ra.

⁵⁵"Et erit propheta perfectus, magnificus et excelsus et ualde dilectus Deo, sed non tantum dilectus Deo sicut Moises seruus eius, quamuis temperacior in natura." *Dialogus* V 54rb.

⁵⁶"Dicis etiam quod Messias erit ditior et sapientior et fortunatior Salomone, et tanta erit eius iustitia et sapientia et eloquentia quod propter eas omnes gentes ad eius obedientiam se conuertent, et eius dominio se subicient." *Dialogus* V 54rb.

biblical verses, including So 3, 9, a verse which Jerome also ties to Jewish Messianic expectations.⁵⁷ God will work many miracles through the Messiah which, Rodrigo says, are not described. Nothing will be changed from the use of nature which it now has. 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.⁵⁸ This is reminiscent of the following passage from the Talmud:

*'And the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them (Ecl 12, 1)' — this refers to the Messianic era, wherein there is neither merit nor guilt. Now he (R. Simeon b. Eleazar) disagrees with Samuel, who said: The only difference between this world and the Messianic era is in respect of servitude to [foreign] powers, for it is said, For the poor shalt never cease out of the land (Dt 15, 11).*⁵⁹

Rodrigo next states that the Jews adduce the testimony of Aristotle in a letter to Alexander to support their understanding of the Messiah.⁶⁰ Rodrigo recounts the text of the letter 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 all the people will be united for the same, and if domination and wars 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 zeal 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*

⁵⁷"Haec Iudaei interpretantur in aduentu Christi, quem sperant uenturum esse, et dicunt uniuersis gentibus congregatis." Jerome, *In Sophonias*, in *Commentarii in prophetas minores*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 76A, III, 8.9, ll. 253–55, p. 700.

⁵⁸"Asserunt etiam quod Deus per ipsum multa miracula sit factururus quae non erunt secundum naturam, sed non exprimitur quae et qualia sint futura ... et quod eius tempore nihil ab usu naturae mutabitur quem nunc habet. In paucis tantum mutatio uidebitur et non erit. Dicunt etiam quod eius tempore pauperes et diuites ut nunc erunt, sed non adeo pauperes, ut eis de necessariis quisquam desit, sed secundum magis et minus pauperes et diuites habebuntur." *Dialogus* V 54rb.

⁵⁹BT *Shabbath* 63a, p. 295 and n. 5; 151b, p. 773.

⁶⁰"Dicunt etiam quidam Aristolilem multa in naturali et spirituali scientia percepisse et rationibus probauisse ... et indicunt quandam epistolam Aristotilis ad Alexandrum." *Dialogus* V 54rb.

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.⁶¹

This extract comes originally from a relatively obscure letter called, "On the governance of cities." The work, whose editors agree was at least attributed to Aristotle at a very early date, exists in six Arabic manuscripts.⁶² The relevant portion of the letter, in its editors' French translation reads:

Bienheureux seront ceux qui, de leurs propres yeux, verront la joie de ce jour où les hommes se réuniront autour d'un seul État (commandement) et d'un seul roi, renonceront aux guerres et aux luttes et parviendront à ce qui sera leur prospérité et celle de leurs cités et de leur pays. La sécurité et la stabilisation régneront alors chez eux. Ils partageront alors leur journées dont ils destineront une partie au repos et à l'avantage du corps, une autre à l'éducation et à la pratique de la chose noble et élevée qu'est la philosophie. Et ils réfléchiront sur ce qu'ils auront compris d'elle et demanderont ce qu'ils n'auront pas compris. Je voudrais bien rester en vie pour voir de mes yeux ce jour, sinon le tout alors au moins une partie de cela. Et s'il n'y a pas le moyen pour moi, à cause de mon grand âge et de ce qui s'est déjà écoulé de ma vie, que ce soit pour mes proches amis et frères.⁶³

How did this text come to Rodrigo's attention? Fragments of the larger letter from which this extract was taken were included in a work called *Bocados de oro*, a thirteenth-century Castilian translation of an eleventh-century Arabic work by al-

⁶¹ "Noueris felicitatem nouam futuris temporibus affuturam. Et erit unio eadem annorum, et una intentio, et rex unus, et ad idem omnes populi concordabunt. Et si diciones et proelia conquiescent, curabunt homines communibus utilitatibus prouidere, et consentient (consicient *cod.*) uni fidei et uni legi.' Et dicit, 'Diuident naturalem medietatem utilitati et studio dedicabunt medietatem in oblectamentis corporaliibus. Pertransibunt ut qui scientiam est adeptus uigilet, ut conseruet, et qui ignorat, interroget sapientes. Et optarem, O Alexander, si possem attingere tempus illud, et si non possem felicitatem totius temporis intueri, partem saltem temporis intuerem (intueret *cod.*). Et si ad id non possum defectu temporum peruenire, optarem filiis uel nepotibus seu caris ad praerogatiuam eius temporis peruenire.'" *Dialogus V* 54rb-54va.

⁶² Józef Bielawski and Marian Plezia, *Lettre d'Aristote à Alexandre sur la politique envers les cités*, *Archiwum Filologiczne*, vol. 25 (Wrocław: Polish Academy of Sciences, 1970), p. 14 on its authorship and p. 18 on its manuscripts.

⁶³ Bielawski and Plezia, p. 66.

Mubaššir on the sayings of the philosophers.⁶⁴ While the particular section quoted by Rodrigo cannot be found in the *Bocados de oro*,⁶⁵ the citation of the letter in that work shows that the letter was known in Spain. Whether Rodrigo really learned about this passage from Jews who used it to support their understanding of the Messiah, as he implies, or from someone else, such as a Christian who knew Arabic, is unknowable.

The chapter including the quotation from Aristotle is entitled "De opinione philosophorum quam inducunt et sanitate ciborum," and Rodrigo continues by discussing the second topic of his title. He states that the Jews interpret Za 8, 12 to mean that when the Messiah comes, the earth will regain the fertility it lost because of the sin of Adam and that, since the elements will be working the way they were intended to, the humours of the body will not be out of balance:

The vine will give its fruit, and the land will give its increase, and the heavens will give their dew (Za 8, 12), as if all of nature will give whatever may have been placed under its power, but had been reduced because of sin ... They also say that, since the individual elements would work otherwise [than now] and according to their species, nothing superfluous will mar the bodily humours.⁶⁶

Jerome alludes to the general millenarian belief in the fecundity of the earth in the time of the Messiah, but he does not refer this specifically to the Jews, he does not connect it to a diminishment of fertility as a result of Adam's sin, nor does he link it to Za 8,

⁶⁴Bielawski and Plezia, p. 9.

⁶⁵Chapter 13 of the *Bocados de oro* (Toledo: P. Hagembach, 1502) concerns Aristotle and contains portions of this letter to Alexander.

⁶⁶"*Vinea dabit fructum suum, et terra dabit germen (germine cod.) suum, et caeli dabunt rorem suum* (Za 8, 12), quasi quaelibet natura dabit quidquid suo possibili sit subiectum sed diminutum fuerat pro peccato ... Dicunt etiam quod, cum elementa proposito aliter indiuidua et in species operentur, nihil superfluum humores corporeos uitiat." *Dialogus* V 54va. Rodrigo refers again several folios 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 Gn 3, 17. *Dialogus* V 56ra-56rb. This same verse is adduced in Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 12, p. 523 to show the land had been cursed.

12.⁶⁷ 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 Za 8, 12:

The numerical value of *waw* is six, corresponding to the six things which were taken from Adam and which are to be restored through the son of Nahshon, that is the Messiah. The following are the things that were taken from Adam: His lustre, his life [immortality], his stature, the fruit of the earth, the fruit of the tree, and the lights ... How do we know it of the fruit of the earth and the fruit of the tree? Because it is written, *For as the seed of peace, the vine shall give her fruit and the ground shall give her increase*, (Za 8, 12) etc.⁶⁸

The Midrash on Exodus refers to the healing properties of these renewed fruits.⁶⁹

Rodrigo states that the Jews adduce Ps 71, 7, Is 2, 4, and Mi 4, 3 to show that people will be immortal in the Messianic era: "Neither will they be broken up by corruption, nor by illness, nor will they be killed by the sword. No death will cut off happiness of this kind."⁷⁰ Belief in Man's immortality in the Messianic era likewise has a Midrashic origin.⁷¹

The next aspect of the Messiah, according to the Jews, which Rodrigo discusses is his longevity. Rodrigo says that the Messiah, his sons, and their sons will

⁶⁷For example, commenting on Hbr 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*, CCSL 73A, XVI, lviii, 14, ll. 49–51, p. 677.

⁶⁸Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 12, pp. 523–24. See also Midrash R *Genesis* XII, 6, pp. 92–93.

⁶⁹"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.

⁷⁰"Nec corruptione nec distemperantia dissoluentur, nec gladio occidentur. Mors aliqua felicitatem huiusmodi non secabit." *Dialogus* V 54va.

⁷¹Midrash R *Genesis* XII, 6, p. 93; Midrash R. *Exodus* XV, 21, p. 186–87; Midrash R *Numbers* XIII, 12, p. 524.

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.⁷² 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* (Ps 20, 5).⁷³

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]* (Ps 20, 5).⁷⁴

Likewise, in the Midrash on Psalms, all of this psalm is regarded as Messianic.⁷⁵

Rodrigo will later distinguish the Messiah, son of David from the Messiah, son of Joseph. Rodrigo says about the Jews who believe in the veracity of this interpretation of Ps 20, 5:

What they say here about the length of the Messiah's life, they rightly concede that they have this neither from what is a natural possibility nor from the Law,

⁷²"Addunt etiam suae fabulae quod Messias et filii eius et filii filiorum qui in temporibus illis erunt, sibi et suis paradisum spiritualem et ueram uitam et durabilem integre obtinebunt, quam mors aliqua non sequatur, et ideo optauerunt prophetae et sancti ad Messiae tempora peruenire, ut possent paradisum et uitam perpetuam adipisci." *Dialogus* V 54va.

⁷³"Dicunt insuper quod Messias dauiticus uitam perpetuam petet sibi, et talem responsum a Deo reportabit, 'Dauid de cuius genere processisti, pro te petiuit quod tu petis, et obtinuit quod petiuit.' Et in persona Dauid psalmi uersiculum sic inducunt quasi diceret, 'Gratias ago quia me orante pro meo filio exaudisti qui petiuit ad te uitam,' et ponit praeteritum pro futuro ac si exauditio praecessisset: *Et tu uitam dedisti ei et insuper longitudinem dierum in saeculum saeculi* (Ps 20, 5)." *Dialogus* V 54va-54vb.

⁷⁴BT *Sukkah* 52a, p. 247.

⁷⁵Midrash Ps, Ps 21, 1: 293-96.

rather they have it from their wise men who taught as certain what they thought they could infer from the letter.⁷⁶

It is not possible according to nature because the Jews believe their Messiah will be purely human and so cannot live longer 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."

According to Rodrigo, the Jews believe that God will perform many miracles through their Messiah. Miracles which Christians understand to be fulfilled some literally, some spiritually, the Jews believe will all 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; and He will gather all the Jews who have been dispersed to it; 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 they support it with Is 2, 3; Is 49, 23; Is 60, 13, 16; Is 61, 5; Ps 71; and Ps 20.⁷⁷ 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, and to the end of

⁷⁶"Et quod hic de uitae longitudine eius dicunt, bene concedunt quod ne a naturae possibili, nec a lege quod hic asserunt habuerunt sed a suis sapientibus qui quod ex littera conicere putauerunt pro certitudine docuerunt." *Dialogus* V 54vb.

⁷⁷*Dialogus* V 54vb-55ra.

mourning and the beginning of rejoicing.⁷⁸ The tractate *Pesahim* quotes Is 61, 5 to show that the heathen will come to serve Israel in the Messianic era.⁷⁹ However, Jerome also refers in a general way to the Jewish understanding of these prophecies.⁸⁰

Rodrigo's way of dealing with these predictions is to expose what he believes is Jewish "uarietas"; contradiction between different elements of Jewish exegesis. He takes the Jewish interpretations of psalms 20 and 71 and tries to show that they do not make sense for a Messiah who will be purely human.⁸¹ For example, he asks how, if the Messiah will be completely human, can the Jews argue from Ps 71, 5, that the Messiah will live as long as the sun? How can he have been created before the moon (Ps 71, 5) 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* (Ps 71, 7) since Daniel says that the stars will last forever (Dn 12, 3)?⁸² According to the Midrash on this psalm, the moon will pass away in the world to come because the righteous will give off light.⁸³ Rodrigo

⁷⁸Midrash R *Exodus* XV 21, pp. 186–87.

⁷⁹BT *Pesahim* 68a, p. 346.

⁸⁰For example, "Iudaei et nostri semiiudaei, qui auream atque gemmatam de caelo exspectant Hierusalem, haec in mille annorum regno futura contendunt quando omnes gentes seruiturae sunt Israel ... Et aedificari muros Hierusalem ab alienigenis, quibus praesint reges, semperque apertas fore portas ciuitatis, ut diebus ac noctibus diuitiae Hierusalem et uictimae deferantur." Jerome, *In Esaiam*, CCSL 73A, XVII, lx, 1/3, ll. 17–20, 25–28, pp. 692–93.

⁸¹"Hii psalmi expositione[m] de puro homine non admittant." *Dialogus* V 55ra.

⁸²"Quod sequitur: *Orietur in diebus eius iustitia et habundancia pacis donec auferatur luna* (Ps 71, 7); lunam nullus asserit auferendam, cum Daniel dicat: *Stellas in aeternitates perpetuas* (Dn 12, 3) duraturas." *Dialogus* V 55rb.

⁸³"The verse concludes *And abundance of peace, till there be no moon* (Ps 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* (Is 60, 3)." *Midrash Ps*, Ps 72, 1: 562.

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 (Ps 71, 17) — that is, the king Messiah will never know the taste of death. *Before the sun was, his name existed* (Ps 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.⁸⁴

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.⁸⁵ 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 attempts to expose 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 opens by saying that the following prophecy will silence the Jews, and quotes in full Isaiah 53, 2–12, part of the "suffering servant" passage which begins at Is 52, 13.⁸⁶ Rodrigo then counters the passage's bleak images of a suffering, dying, despised Messiah with the triumphalist conception of the Messiah which he had described up to that point based on Is 11, 1; Ps 20; Ps 84 and other verses, and he asks how the Jews can reconcile the two images of

⁸⁴*Midrash Ps*, Ps 72, 1: 563. On the pre-existence of the Messiah's name see also BT *Pesahim* 54a, p. 265, and BT *Nedarim* 39b, p. 125.

⁸⁵"Si enim hoc, ad praescientiam referas creatoris; antequam fierent, omnia sunt praeuisa. Alioquin Messiae nomen non exstitit ante solem, cum rerum uocabula non exstarent; quae Adae prolatio post formauit cum imposuit nomina animantibus et ceteris creaturis." *Dialogus* V 55va.

⁸⁶"Sed si pertinacia consueta de Messias intelligis fabuloso, imponit (imponunt *cod.*) tibi silentium sequentia prophetia." *Dialogus* V 57rb.

the Messiah.⁸⁷ Christians refer these verses of Isaiah 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.⁸⁸ By the time Rodrigo wrote, however, Jewish exegetes usually refer Is 53 to the sufferings of the Jewish people in exile, or to the sufferings of the prophet himself.⁸⁹ Rashi, for example, connected the passage with Israel.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ Rodrigo may have genuinely been familiar with the earlier Jewish traditions

⁸⁷"Tu enim pertinaci studio fabularis Messiam ex uiro et femina generandum, et ad summum humanae perfectionis gradum a domino exaltandum, et natura rerum et elementorum corporum eius tempore innouandum, et quod ipse ciuitatem auream et templum restituet gloriosum, et quod ad eum uenient omnes gentes, et ei seruiant [ei] omnes reges, et liberabit pauperem a potestate, et animas pauperum saluas faciet et redimet ab usuris ... Si ergo tanta prosperitas, tanta felicitas, tanta charisma [ta glōrū] eius tempore inundabunt, quomodo de eo exponis: *Non est ei species nec dolor ... et reputauimus eum quasi leprosum ... uirum dolorum et nouissimum uirorum* (Is 53, 2, 4, 3)." *Dialogus* V 57va.

⁸⁸For these, see Samuel R. Driver and Adolf Neubauer, *The "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (1877; reprint ed., New York: Hermon Press, 1969), pp. 5-9.

⁸⁹On the medieval tradition, see Joel E. Rembaum, "The Development of a Jewish Exegetical Tradition Regarding Isaiah 53," *Harvard Theological Review*, 75 (1982): 289-312.

⁹⁰Sarachek, p. 61. Ramon Martí however quotes Rashi as saying that the servant is the Messiah, see Hailperin, p. 36.

⁹¹"The passage which follows offers great difficulties. The Christians refer it to Jesus, and explain "my servant" to indicate the body. This is wrong; the body cannot be wise, even during the life of man. Again, what is the meaning of "he shall see his seed" (53, 10), "he shall prolong his days" (ib.)? This was not in fact the case. Again, "and he shall divide the spoil with the strong" (53, 12). The best proof, however, is the circumstance that this passage is preceded by "the Lord will go before you," etc., which undoubtedly refers to the Israelites, and is followed by "Sing, O barren," etc., which is likewise addressed to the Israelites. *My servant* (52, 13). The Israelites, who are servants of the Lord, and are now in exile. Many believe that Messiah is meant by this expression, because our ancient teachers said that Messiah was born on the day on which the temple was destroyed, that he was, as it were, bound in chains, etc.; but many verses in this passage cannot be explained on this supposition. Comp. "He is despised and rejected of men," "he was taken from prison and

which associated this passage with the Messiah, or he may simply have assumed that the Jews, like the Christians must give it a Messianic interpretation.

Rodrigo berates his Jewish opponent and explains the Christian solution to the paradox of the two contrary images of the Messiah:

The truth of the prophets clears without a cloud, and the boldness — or, better the fickleness — of your fables, which change appearances according the manner of Proteus, is put to flight by the shining sun of justice. Nevertheless, would that [your] inborn inconstancy might change [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 which is maintained by the testimonies of the prophets might be demonstrated.⁹²

This harsh statement in which Rodrigo again condemns the Jews for their "uarietas" 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 the beginning, the end, and the middle. Understand the prophets and you will find the destruction of these fables since just one verse renders void the inconstancy of these figments and 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 stubbornness.⁹³

judgement," "and he made his grave with the wicked," "he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days." Abraham ibn Ezra, *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah*, ed. and trans. M. Friedländer (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1873), pp. 239-40. The entire discussion of the passage is on pp. 239-47.

⁹²"Clarit itaque sine nube ueritas prophetarum, et sole iustitiae radiante fugatur tuarum proteruitas — alias Proteitas et melius — fabularum quae more Protei 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 protulisse, ut ueritas probaretur quae testimoniis prophetarum perhibetur." *Dialogus V 57vb*.

⁹³"Cessa ergo a ueritate abstrahere intellectum, ne in peregrinis fabulis doleat se neglectum, et principium, finem, et medium confer. Intellige prophetas (prophetarum *cod.*) et inuenies interitum fabularum quia fere una clausula uarietatem euacuat figmentorum, et paucae clausulae scripturarum imponunt fabularum (fabulas *cod.*) silencium reliquarum, praesertim cum multa iactites de Messia quae nulla continet prophetia, sed intellectus uarius te abducit quo tua pertinacia non reducis." *Dialogus V 57vb*.

Again, the theme is that the Jews have hidden the true meaning of the prophecies with their fables.

Rodrigo next explains how the Jews reconcile the suffering with the victorious Messiah:

Some of your people, who, like artificers, do not seem to satisfy the truth of prophecy to which otherwise they know not how to respond, 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*.⁹⁴

Rodrigo continues by distinguishing the beliefs 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 'Redam' 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.⁹⁵

Rodrigo discusses Jewish beliefs about the functions of the two Messiahs in the following chapter, entitled "On the Ephraimitic Messiah," still addressing his Jewish adversary:

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 Isaiah which 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 'Rendam,' and forty days later he will be resuscitated by the Davidic Messiah.⁹⁶

⁹⁴"Quidam tamen de tuis, ut fingentes non ueritati (ueritate *cod.*) uideantur satisfacere prophetiae cui aliter nesciunt respondere, duos Messias nouiter inuenerunt — unum dauidicum et alterum ephraitum. Sed de ephraita non in lege, nec in prophetis, nec in hagiographis aliquid inuenitur." *Dialogus* V 57vb.

⁹⁵"Et licet multi de tuo populo soleant confiteri (confitere *cod.*) ab Redam in impio occidendum, ut possit ei impingere prophetias Dauid, Daniel, et Isaiae, iam nunc uarias et ipsum dicis non occidendum, sed morte propria finiendum." *Dialogus* V 57vb.

⁹⁶"Sed si tuus Messias, ut dicis, non occidetur, sed morte propria finiatur, de quo intelligis prophetias Danielis et Isaiae qui Christum pro salute hominum asserunt occidendum? Ceterum, quia prophetis non sufficit suffragari, fingis quempiam de Ephraim genere praeuenturum, qui (*q̄ cod.*) lege a Moise (*moysi cod.*) est docturus, et hunc dicis a Rendam impio occidendam, et post XL dies a Messia Dauidico

The story of the two Messiahs is a relatively late, but still fairly common feature of Jewish eschatology.⁹⁷ 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 Ephraim is explained as the cause of the mourning described in Za 12, 10 in the Talmud tractate *Sukkah*.⁹⁸ There are also references to the pair in the Midrash.⁹⁹ The Messiah ben David is described as performing seven wonders at his advent, one of which is to revive the Ephraimitic Messiah who was slain.¹⁰⁰ 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 years¹⁰¹.

The name of the Messiah's killer is usually given as Armilus, no doubt a perversion of Romulus, signifying the Roman Empire. Rodrigo names the slayer six

suscitandum." *Dialogus* V 58ra.

⁹⁷See S. Mowinckel, *He that Cometh*, trans. G. W. Anderson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 290-91.

⁹⁸"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* (Za 12, 10)." BT *Sukkah* 52a, p. 246.

⁹⁹Midrash R *Genesis* LXXV, 6, p. 698; XCV, p. 917; XCIX, 2, p. 975.

¹⁰⁰Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, trans Henrietta Szold, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968), 4: 234.

¹⁰¹BT *Sanhedrin* 99a, p. 669; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 6: p. 141, n. 836. Nahmanides 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, p. 175.

separate times in the *Dialogus*, but uses four different forms for his name: Redam,¹⁰² Rendam,¹⁰³ Beridam,¹⁰⁴ and Bendam.¹⁰⁵ Evidently the scribe had difficulty understanding just what was meant here. It is difficult to discern Rodrigo's original intention, but it is probable that the word is supposed to be Edom which in Jewish typology stood for Rome. 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 as well as the Davidic Messiah. Amulo, archbishop of Lyons (841–52) attacked the Jews for their belief in two Messiahs in his ninth-century polemical text, the *Liber contra Iudaeos*. 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.¹⁰⁶ Amulo even recognizes that the Jews connect his death to Za 12, 10. Amulo's treatise was probably the source of references to two Messiahs attacked in the anonymous English *Altercatio ecclesie contra synagogam*.¹⁰⁷ Guillaume of Bourges,

¹⁰²"Et licet multi de tuo populo soleant confiteri ab Redam in impio occidendum" *Dialogus* V 57vb.

¹⁰³"Et hunc dicis a Rendam impio occidendam" *Dialogus* V 58ra.

¹⁰⁴"Tuorum est opinio, quae aliquos adhuc tenet, quod cum Messias ueniret siue dauidicus siue sit ephraita et a Beridam (abeeridam *a.c.*) fuerit interfectus, post mortem Beridam et Messiae omnes qui residui fuerint, moriuntur." *Dialogus* V 65rb.

¹⁰⁵"Sed quia quae prophetae de passione Domini praedixerunt in tuis non inuenis cui aptes, coactus eloquiis prophetarum tuis fabulis addisti duos futuros: Messiam tuum, de quo saepius fecimus mentionem, et Bendam, de quo aliquid diximus, plura dicturi ... Bendam autem dicimus Antichristum qui sanctos altissimi persequitur." *Dialogus* VII 71ra.

¹⁰⁶"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 Iudaeorum graviter plangendum." Amulo of Lyons, *Liber contra Iudaeos*, PL 116, col. 148B. Discussion of the two Messiahs is found in coll. 148A–149A.

¹⁰⁷Bernhard Blumenkranz, ed., "Altercatio ecclesie contra synagogam," *Revue du Moyen Âge latin*, 10 (1954): 112–13, 139–40.

who, not surprisingly given his Jewish background, made frequent use of Jewish traditions, also refers to two Messiahs in his *Libri bellorum domini*:

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* (Dn 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* (Ps 20, 5).¹⁰⁸

None of these three accounts includes the details found in Rodrigo's *Dialogus* about the name of the killer of the Ephraimitic Messiah or 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 in 1235, too late to have influenced Rodrigo,¹⁰⁹ although he, like Rodrigo, does connect Ps 20, 5 to Jewish beliefs about their Messiah. Rodrigo therefore does not seem to have had a known Christian source for his knowledge of 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* (Ps 71, 5), since the sun is to last forever and the Messiahs will eventually die?

¹⁰⁸ "Iudei vero non valentes contra prophetarum auctoritates repugnare, necessitate compulsi, duos Christos expectant: unum filium David et alium filium Ioseph affirmant; filius quoque Ioseph occidetur, sicut predixit Daniel: *Occidetur Christus* (Dn 9, 26); filius vero David manet in eternum, sicut scriptum est: *Vitam petiit a te, tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in seculum seculi* (Ps 20, 5). Guillaume of Bourges, *Livre des guerres du Seigneur*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁹ Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 410.

How can either one exist before the moon, because 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.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹

Rodrigo next glosses the passages on the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the dimensions of the city in Jr 31, 38–40 and Za 14, 10–11.¹¹² He uses elements from Jerome's commentaries on these passages, and Jerome states that both passages are regarded by the Jews as foretelling the rebuilding of Jerusalem in the Messianic era.¹¹³ Rodrigo's use of these passages differs from that of Jerome, however, and it demonstrates Rodrigo's commitment to the literal understanding of Scripture in the *Dialogus*. Jerome interpreted both passages to be an allegory of the Church, for example, on Za 14, 10–11: "We understand the heavenly Jerusalem to be the Church which, walking in flesh, does not live according to flesh, and whose citizenship is in heaven."¹¹⁴ Rodrigo, however, ignores the allegorical reading of Jerome and gives

¹¹⁰*Dialogus* V 58vb.

¹¹¹*Dialogus* V 59ra.

¹¹²*Dialogus* V 59ra–59rb.

¹¹³Cf. Jerome, *In Hieremiam*, ed. Siegfried Reiter, CCSL 74, VI, 29, 31, 38–40, pp. 323–25. Cf. Jerome, *In Zachariam*, in *Commentarii in prophetas minores*, CCSL 76A, III, xiv, 10.11, pp. 885, 887. I have not found any evidence that Jews do interpret these verses as predictions of the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

¹¹⁴"Nos autem caelestem Hierusalem interpretemur Ecclesiam, quae in carne ambulans, non uiuit secundum carnem, cuius municipatus in caelo est." Jerome, *In Zachariam* III, xiv, 10.11, ll. 366–68, p. 886. Also, "Istiusmodi aedificatio, quae super fundamentum Christi posita est, de qua loquitur et apostolus: ut sapiens architectus fundamentum posui, numquam destruitur, sed manebit in perpetuum." Jerome, *In Hieremiam* VI, 29, 31, 38–40, p. 326, ll. 15–18.

instead the literal explanation that the passages refer to the rebuilding of Jerusalem by the Jews after the return from the Babylonian Captivity, not during the future reign of the Messiah.¹¹⁵

Rodrigo begins a close reading of Is 60–62 in which he exposes and rebuts the Messianic interpretations he believes are given by the Jews. Jews did understand these chapters generally to refer to the time to come — for example, Abraham Ibn Ezra interprets them this way in his commentary.¹¹⁶ Rodrigo says about Is 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.”¹¹⁷ The Midrash does understand this verse as referring to the Messianic era, but speaks of this light as light created at the beginning of the world and renewed in the time to come.¹¹⁸ Rodrigo’s source for this interpretation is probably Jerome on Is 60, 1: “And what is better than these, The Lord himself is to shine for the sun and moon with eternal light.”¹¹⁹ Rodrigo’s understanding of the Jewish interpretation of the next verse does not have an evident 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*

¹¹⁵On Za 14, 10–11: “Hoc de reditu a captiuitate babylonica exponendum ... Quod dicit: *Anathema non erit amplius in ea* (Za 14, 10), post reditum a Caldea numquam idola coluerunt.” On Jr 31, 38–40: “Ieremiae autem prophetia quae urbem latioribus terminis dilatauit uidetur ad eundem reditum pertinere.” *Dialogus* V 59rb.

¹¹⁶Abraham Ibn Ezra, *On Isaiah*, pp. 276–85. Sarachek, p. 116.

¹¹⁷“Lumen Ierusalem dicis Deum qui, ut iactas, in lucem perpetuam erit tibi, cessante lumine soli et lunae.” *Dialogus* V 59vb.

¹¹⁸Midrash R *Genesis* II, 5, p. 19; Midrash R *Numbers* XV, 2, 643; XXI, 22, p. 849.

¹¹⁹“Et quod his maius est, pro sole et luna ipsum Dominum aeterna luce fulsurum.” Jerome, *In Esaiam* XVII, lx, 1/3, ll. 36–37, p. 693.

days; and they saw not one another but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings, says about Is 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* (Ps 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* (Is 60, 2).¹²⁰

Rodrigo's own interpretation of Is 60, 2 is as follows:

You compare what Isaiah interposes, *Shadows shall cover the earth and darkness the peoples* (Is 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.¹²¹

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, will they *walk in splendour and light* (Is 60, 3)?¹²² The Midrash on Exodus says that this splendour and light refers to the shine of the gems which the new Jerusalem will be built of.¹²³

Rodrigo continues to examine Is 60–62, rejecting the Jewish 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

¹²⁰Midrash R *Exodus* XIV, 3, pp. 158–59.

¹²¹"Quod autem interserit Isaias, *Tenebrae operient terram, et caligo populos* (Is 60, 2), comparas exitui de Aegypto (exipto *cod.*): sicut tunc Aegyptos tenebrae inuoluebant (inuollieuat *cod.*) et lux Iudaeos illuminabat, sic et tempora gemmatae urbis, gentes tenebrae obscurabunt; Hebraeos lux a Domino illustrabit." *Dialogus* V 59vb.

¹²²"Sed si tenebrae et caligo gentium multitudinem obfuscabit (obsuscabit *cod.*), quomodo *gens et earum reges in splendore et lumine ambulabunt* (Is 60, 3)." *Dialogus* V 59vb.

¹²³Midrash R *Exodus* XV, 21, p. 187.

associated with the Messiah will occur before the resurrection,¹²⁴ but that some Jews believe they will occur afterwards,¹²⁵ again exposing Jewish “uarietas.” Rodrigo explains that both alternatives are impossible using the arguments discussed briefly above: The miracles cannot occur before the resurrection because the Jews believe their Messiah will be fully human, and the miracles cannot be performed by human agency alone. The events the Jews expect cannot take place after the general resurrection because they involve birth, death, fertility, and construction, all of which incorporate generation and corruption, which things are impossible after the general resurrection. Rodrigo concludes the book by rejecting a third Jewish scenario:

It is the opinion of your people, which some people still hold, that when the Messiah has come, whether Davidic or Ephraimitic, and has 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.¹²⁶

Rodrigo argues that this is impossible because there will be no room in the Holy Land to fit all the resurrected bodies.

Rodrigo's Sources

Rodrigo recounts a wide range of Jewish interpretations of Scripture concerning the Messiah and the time to come in his Book V. His discussion of Psalm

¹²⁴“Asseris sed incaute tuum Messiam ante resurrectionem omnium euenturum, et urbem et templum ex lignis et auro et pretiosis lapidibus fundaturum, et in melius tempora mutaturum et prophetarum praeconia completurum.” *Dialogus* V 62ra.

¹²⁵“Quidam de tuis post resurrectionem complenda asserunt supradicta.” *Dialogus* V 63va.

¹²⁶“Tuorum est opinio, quae aliquos adhuc tenet, quod cum Messias ueniret siue Davidicus, siue sit Ephraita, et a Beridam fuerit interfectus, post mortem Beridam et Messiae omnes qui residui fuerint morientur, et postea erit resurrectio generalis, et tunc aedificabitur Ierusalem sicut dictum asseris a prophetis, et erit potentia et gloria Iudaeorum et gentium famulatus, ut tibi opinione diuina persuades.” *Dialogus* V 65rb.

86, of the existence of rich and poor in the days of the Messiah, of the letter from Aristotle to Alexander, of the fertility of the land in the Messianic era, of the Messiah's longevity based on Psalm 20, of Psalm 71 and the pre-existence of the Messiah's name, of the Davidic and the Ephraimitic Messiahs, and his comparison of the shadows of Is 60, 2 to the darkness which shrouded the Egyptians, seem to have Jewish rather than Christian sources. The only polemicists to use rabbinic traditions extensively before Rodrigo, Petrus Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable, do not refer to these traditions. So, where did Rodrigo obtain his apparent acquaintance with rabbinic materials? It is impossible to know for certain based on the available evidence, but certain alternatives seem more likely than others.

Did Rodrigo know Hebrew? His biographer, Javier Gorosterratzu, assumes that he did on the basis of writings with Hebrew expressions which the archbishop has signed. 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.¹²⁷ 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. Rodrigo's facility with languages is well attested by contemporary testimony.¹²⁸ Even accounting

¹²⁷Gorosterratzu, p. 31.

¹²⁸"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 distinguenter, estimabis quod si velit valeat septuaginta hydiomata ad primordiam 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 Fidel 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."

for the fact that his contemporaries are probably flattering him, it is evident that he did have an ease with languages, probably on account of the time he spent studying in Paris and possibly in Bologna. Still, it is difficult to credit him with a knowledge of Hebrew sufficient for him to be able to wade into the Talmud and Midrash and pick out passages suitable for his polemic. Indeed, if he had known Hebrew and was familiar with the rabbinic literature at first hand, it is likely that he would have included far more traditions from there than he did.

Rodrigo probably acquired his knowledge either from a Jew or from a Jewish convert to Christianity. At this point I am inclined to favour the former source. Jewish converts, like Petrus Alfonsi, tended to prefer those passages which appeared to make the Jews look credulous, foolish, or illogical. The Jewish beliefs Rodrigo records, however, seem more like the legitimate explanations a Jew, particularly a Jew more skilled in business than in theology, 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. This raises the possibility that Rodrigo's Jewish interlocutor, to whom he refers throughout the treatise, was a real person. This possibility is supported by the way that Rodrigo contrasts the beliefs of his interlocutor with the beliefs of other Jews in Book V, as well as certain personal details such Rodrigo's characterization of his interlocutor as "knowledgeable and prudent" in Book III,¹²⁹ unlikely if the archbishop simply had anonymous Jewry in mind. So, if the *Dialogus* is the fruit of conversations about religion with a Jew, did these discussions take place in Spain, or in France, when Rodrigo was a student? Book VII, which contains the date 1197, when Rodrigo might have been studying in France, contains few references to Rodrigo's Jewish adversary. Book V, however is dated

¹²⁹*Dialogus* III 52rb.

1218.¹³⁰ One possible scenario is that Rodrigo began writing what would have been a fairly conventional anti-Jewish treatise while a student, and then substantially modified it as a result of discussions he had with Jews in Toledo after he was archbishop. In the absence of other manuscripts of the *Dialogus*, it is impossible to know for certain if this was the case.

What is the significance of Rodrigo's use of biblical exegesis? Andrew of St. Victor's focus on the literal sense of the Bible had been condemned by many, such as Richard of St. Victor who accused him of "judaizing." 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 the Jews. His innovative use of the literal sense, together with his remarkable awareness of Jewish traditions for someone of his day, born a Christian, are what set his treatise apart from other contemporary polemics.

¹³⁰See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the different dates found in the manuscript of the *Dialogus*.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The sources examined in this dissertation — the documents of Rodrigo's activity as archbishop, the *De rebus hispanie*, the *Historia arabum*, the *Breuiarium historie catholice*, and the *Dialogus libri uitae* — tell us that considerations about the place of the Jew in medieval society occupied a prominent place in Rodrigo's thought. At the end of Chapter 1, I concluded that the documentary evidence shows that Rodrigo's position vis à vis the Jews of Toledo was governed by practical considerations founded in his many responsibilities as archbishop. The literary sources reveal a different aspect of Rodrigo's thinking about the Jews; an understanding of the Jew as an enemy of the Christian faith. In addition, Rodrigo's writings reveal a great deal about his own educational background and influences. In this conclusion I should like to situate his most important work on the Jews, his *Dialogus libri uitae*, within the broader background of anti-Jewish polemics of the period, at the same time putting it into the context of Rodrigo's own preoccupations and goals as archbishop of Toledo.

The Dialogus libri uitae as Anti-Jewish Polemic

Rodrigo states, in his Prologue, that he directs his treatise both to the Jew and to the spiritually lazy Catholic. Is Rodrigo's *Dialogus libri uitae*, a work of anti-Jewish polemic? Norman Roth says it is not, and describes it as a compilation of Christian belief. Given the work's structure, which bears some relation to a theological *Summa*, there is some support for Roth's view, although there is none for his assertion

that in Book V, “No se dice nada nuevo o de interés,” nor for his statement that the treatise lacks arguments against Jewish beliefs and interpretations of the Bible.¹

Gilbert Dahan characterized anti-Jewish polemic as having an aggressive component, as involving a direct attack against Jews or Judaism. He thus defined polemic loosely, going beyond the traditional genre of *Contra Iudaeos* texts to encompass, for example, some biblical exegesis, miracle stories, and sermon literature.² Even under a more narrow definition, Rodrigo’s *Dialogus* fits comfortably into the genre of anti-Jewish polemic. Throughout the work, Rodrigo challenges Jewish beliefs and responds to perceived Jewish objections to Christian doctrine as he attacks Judaism and defends Christianity. He refers frequently to the “perfidia” and “caecitas” of his opponent. Although his language is not especially vituperative compared with some of his predecessors and successors, his tone can nevertheless be harsh and accusatory at times, especially in Book V where he challenges Jewish beliefs directly. Robert Chazan has suggested that Ramon Martí may have used anti-Jewish rhetoric in his *Pugio fidei* in part to prevent his Christian readers from being attracted to some of the Jewish teachings described in the work.³ Similar reasoning may have caused Rodrigo to write more harshly in Book V, the section in which he discussed Jewish traditions most directly.

Amos Funkenstein proposed a four-fold classification system for polemical treatises, dividing them into traditional treatises founded on proof texts from the Old Testament; works using rational and philosophical arguments, influenced directly or indirectly by Anselm of Canterbury’s *Cur Deus homo*; polemics such as that of Peter

¹Roth, “Jiménez de Rada y los judíos,” p. 480. Also, “Bishops and Jews,” p. 13.

²Dahan, “Les intellectuels chrétiens,” pp. 361–62.

³Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, p. 179.

the Venerable which attack the Talmud and post-biblical Jewish literature as heretical; and finally tracts arguing that the Talmud and Midrash themselves disclose the truth of Christianity. He cites Alan of Lille's *Contra haereticos* as the first treatise to use the latter form of argumentation.⁴ Under this schema, Rodrigo's *Dialogus* shows elements of all four categories. Proof texts are present in abundance although, unlike his predecessors, Rodrigo ignores those texts which he feels have only an allegorical Christian meaning and sticks to those he believes can be interpreted literally to suit his purposes. Rational and philosophical arguments abound in Book I where he uses grammar, logic, analogy, and mathematical speculation to explain Trinitarian theology. In Book V, Rodrigo uses reason to attack the predictions of the Jews about their Messiah. Rodrigo does not explicitly say that the rabbinic literature is heretical, but he does speak harshly in several places about the Jewish "ueteres" who twisted Scripture into fables which the Jews now believe in preference to the Bible. Likewise, he does not explicitly argue that the Talmud proves the truth of Christianity, but some of the arguments he makes in Book V tend in that direction. For example, he counters the rabbinic testimony that the Messiah is to be purely human with Jewish exegesis which describes the Messiah in terms which to him can only be true of a divine being. The argument here is not over whether the Messiah has come or not; it is over whether the Messiah is what the Jews expect him to be or the Person whom Christians believe has already come. Rodrigo does not state explicitly that even the Jews' own books foretell a Messiah like Jesus Christ, but the inference is there.

Although Funkenstein's schema is helpful for discussing Rodrigo's methodology, it is not very useful for classifying Rodrigo's polemic. This is because the *Dialogus libri uitae* stands at a crossroads between the huge boom in quantity of

⁴Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Polemics," pp. 373-82.

anti-Jewish texts in the twelfth-century which exploited rational arguments and began the process of attacking rabbinic literature, and the new missionizing activity which was characteristic of Barcelona in the second half of the thirteenth century. Robert Chazan has identified three essential components of serious missionary activity: the allocation of sufficient ecclesiastical resources to the task of conversion, the devising of regularized occasions on which Jews could be confronted with Christian spokesmen, and the development of lines of argumentation which take into consideration Jewish beliefs and ways of thought. These three factors, he argues, did not come together before the thirteenth-century.⁵

Beginning with the third factor, the use of new lines of argumentation, we can see that Rodrigo did make some important steps in this direction. In the first place, he made an effort to prove the truth of Christianity using only the literal sense of Scripture, the sense he believed was most acceptable to Jews. An attack on Jewish exegesis became the central core of his treatise, and he went far beyond the evidence for Jewish exegesis found in Jerome. He challenged rabbinic literature in general as being made up of fables, and he betrayed an awareness of specific passages in the Talmud and Midrash which he attempted to undermine by showing either how they were illogical, or even mutually contradictory. As would be the case at the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, in Rodrigo's Book V the truth of the Christian faith was not at issue; Rodrigo was wholly on the offensive, challenging Jewish beliefs by using their own teachings.⁶ Also as at Barcelona in 1263, Rodrigo's attack focuses on Jewish beliefs about the Messiah. Unlike the most developed form of this new argumentation, however, Rodrigo does not argue that the Talmud itself says that the Messiah has

⁵Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, p. 14.

⁶Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, p. 68, and Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 52-53.

already come, nor does he explicitly state that rabbinic literature proves the truth of Christianity.

Chazan dated the early knowledge and use of rabbinic literature by Christians to the middle of the thirteenth century.⁷ Gilbert Dahan stated that before the Disputation of Paris in 1240 which put the Talmud on trial, rabbinic literature was not well known to most Christians, other than a few such as Petrus Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable whose work has already been discussed.⁸ This general ignorance renders Rodrigo's awareness of Talmudic and Midrashic passages all the more significant. Book V of the *Dialogus* seems to be dated to 1218, long before the Paris Disputation. Intriguingly, there is a Castilian connection to this disputation. Presiding over the trial was Blanche of Castile, King Louis IX's mother. Her sister was Berenguela of León, mother of Fernando III, and Rodrigo's great supporter and ally. While she was still married to Alfonso IX of León, Berenguela had been a patron of San Martín of León and encouraged him in the writing of his books, including one work of anti-Jewish polemic.⁹ Gregory IX wrote letters to the archbishop of Compostela and to Berenguela ("In eundem fere modum scriptum est super hoc eidem regi monitorie") on 18 May 1233, asking them to urge Fernando III to enforce the canons of Lateran IV against the Jews.¹⁰ The two sisters were in at least occasional communication with one another.¹¹

⁷Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, pp. 67–68.

⁸Dahan *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 437.

⁹A. Viñayo González, *San Martín de León y su apologética antijudía* (Madrid: Consejo Superior des Investigaciones Científicas, 1948), pp. 35–36.

¹⁰Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (New York: Hermon Press, 1966), no.71, pp. 204–207. Lucien Auvray, *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, 4 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1896–1955), 1, nos. 1426–27, coll. 798–99.

¹¹In July 1212, Berenguela wrote to Blanche to tell her of the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa. González, 3: no. 898, pp. 572–74.

Blanche is described in Jewish accounts of the Paris disputation as being fair and decent to the Jews, in much the same manner as King Jaime I is described by Nahmanides as behaving in Barcelona in 1263.¹²

As far as Chazan's other two prerequisites for successful missionizing go, the allocation of resources and the confrontation of Jews with Christian arguments, it does not seem that Rodrigo was interested in either one. There is no proof that Rodrigo allocated any resources or time to converting the Jews of Toledo, except for the time it took him to write his treatise. There is no evidence, for example, that he preached sermons to the Jews, or encouraged others to do so. Even if his *Dialogus* reflects in part real conversations he had with a Jew, there is no reason to believe that these discussions were either public or formal. Given the fact that the *Dialogus* only exists in one, late manuscript, it does not seem that Rodrigo made any effort to publish its contents, nor does the *Dialogus* seem to have had a direct influence over later polemic.

Rodrigo as Author and as Archbishop

If Rodrigo did not publicize his treatise, and if he did not make any special effort to convert the Jews, this raises the question of why he wrote the *Dialogus libri uitae*. A similar question could be asked of the many polemical treatises composed in the twelfth century, since none of them seems to have been written as part of a major missionizing effort. David Berger has suggested that they were a defensive reaction provoked by increasing Jewish aggressiveness against the Christian faith.¹³ Although some authors did state that they were writing at the behest of individuals beset by

¹²Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial* (London: Associated University Presses, 1982), p. 22. Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond*, pp. 119–20.

¹³David Berger, "Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 579.

heretics and Jews, Berger's hypothesis is difficult to credit. Christian authors certainly perceived that the Jews were becoming a greater and greater threat, but this perception did not necessarily reflect reality.

Although I disagree with Jeremy Cohen's contention that the Christians felt they needed to contrive a new ideology to deal with the Jews and their newly-discovered books, Cohen's underlying premise that increasing awareness by Christian scholars of Jewish exegesis and teachings had an effect on how and what they wrote about the Jews, does have merit, at least in Rodrigo's case.¹⁴ While a student in Paris, Rodrigo had the opportunity to learn about Jewish literal readings of the Bible from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, and from the *Glossa ordinaria*, both standard school texts. Even where the interpretations these works quote are not new, their systematized manner of presenting information renders the knowledge they convey more vivid. His master appears to have been Alan of Lille, a man who was likewise engaged in the upholding of Christian orthodoxy against heretics, Jews, and Muslims. Rodrigo may also have been exposed to the exegesis of people like Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton, exegesis which relied in part on the interpretations Andrew of St. Victor derived from the Jews. The *Dialogus* in some respects resembles an intellectual exercise in which the archbishop was able to show off some of the learning he had acquired in Paris — the grammar and logic, the cosmology, the mathematical speculations, and most importantly, the biblical exegesis.

Rodrigo brought this northern learning down to Toledo with him. He incorporated his knowledge into his *Dialogus*, his *Breuiarium*, and to a lesser extent, into his historical works. He may also have patronized learning and scholarship in his

¹⁴Jeremy Cohen, "Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 592-93.

role as archbishop. The translating activities of Michael Scot in Toledo have already been discussed. One would dearly like to know whether it was Rodrigo who encouraged this scholar to come to Toledo in the first place. Michael Scot was eventually succeeded as a translator of Arabic texts by Herman the German in the 1240s. Many of the individuals whom John of Abbeville and two prebendaries of Toledo complained received more than their fair share of the cathedral's revenue bore the title *magister*, and this fact suggests that Rodrigo was attempting to use the cathedral's resources to support scholarship.

Hovering in the background of Rodrigo's writings and actions as archbishop is the ever-looming presence of the Muslim enemy. As we have seen, to get Honorius to give way on the issue of Jewish dress, Rodrigo appealed to the existence of the Muslim threat beyond the border, and in his *De rebus hispanie* and *Historia arabum* he depicts the Jews as servants and helpers of their Muslim masters. Although Rodrigo did not himself write an apologetical treatise against Islam, one of his patronage activities for which we have direct evidence has a bearing on this question. Mark, a canon of Toledo, wrote a translation of the Koran at the behest of Rodrigo and with the encouragement of the archdeacon of Toledo, Mauricio, whom we have encountered before. The translation was completed on 25 June 1210.¹⁵ Three years later, Mark translated a text on Islamic monotheism by Ibn Tūmart, in which he refers to the victory over the Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa. He also translated an eleventh-

¹⁵Mark says about the archbishop's distress at the Muslim presence in Spain, "Cumque uenerabilis R[odericus], Domino inspirante, sedem archipresulatus Toletane metropoleos et insulam suscepisset, eamque ab inimicis crucis infestari cognouisset, prouinciamque suam ab infelicibus detentam doluisset, calamitates suas et persecutiones lugendas esse merito prouidit, iuxta illud Ambrosii 'arma mea, lacrimae mee sunt,' quoniam quidem in locis ubi suffragenei pontifices (*sic*) sacrificia sancta Ihesu Christo quondam offerebant, nunc pseudo-prophete nomine extollitur et in turribus ecclesiarum in quibus olim tintinabula releuabant, nunc quedam prophana preconia fidelium aures insurdant." Quoted in d'Alverny, "Deux traductions du Coran," pp. 121–22.

century anti-Islamic treatise.¹⁶ D'Alverny is aware of two documents witnessed by Mark of Toledo dated 1198 and 1212;¹⁷ Hernández's *Los cartularios* lists fifteen documents between 1193 and 1216 signed by a canon of Toledo named Mark, described first as a deacon and from 1212 as a priest.¹⁸ In the final document, dated 17 March 1216, Mark provided for anniversary masses to be said after his death.

In her article on the medieval translations of the Koran, d'Alverny hypothesizes that Mauricio, first archdeacon of Toledo and later bishop of Burgos, may have been the mysterious "Mauricius hispanus" whose works were forbidden to be taught at the University of Paris by Robert Courson in 1215. She points to Eriugenian influences in his prologue to the statutes of the chapter of Burgos in 1230, and connects him to the anonymous *Liber de causis primis et secundis*, a work which blends the thought of both Avicenna and Gilbert of Poitiers, who was inspired by Eriugena.¹⁹ Although nothing in this dissertation can prove d'Alverny's suggestion, Rodrigo's own familiarity with Porretan thought combined with the fact that he and Mauricio may have met each other as students in Paris seems to provide some support for this possibility.

Rodrigo's treatment of the Jews in his theological and historical writings and in his activities as archbishop formed but one part of an overarching program which is still only imperfectly understood. It has only recently been possible, thanks in a great measure to the work of people like Hilda Grassotti and Peter Linehan, to move away

¹⁶d'Alverny, "Deux traductions du Coran," pp. 123–25.

¹⁷d'Alverny, "Deux traductions du Coran," p. 113.

¹⁸Hernández, *Los cartularios*, p. 708.

¹⁹d'Alverny, "Deux traductions du Coran," pp. 128–30. On the *Liber de causis* see Marie-Humbert Vicaire, "Les Porrétans et l'Avicennisme avant 1215," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 26 (1937): 449–82.

from hagiographical accounts of Rodrigo's life, such as those propounded by Javier Gorosterratzu and Eduardo Estella Zalaya, to a more nuanced understanding of Rodrigo's doings. It is to be hoped that the conclusions drawn in this dissertation about one aspect of Rodrigo's undertakings will shed some light on the goals and motivations of this important figure.

APPENDIX 1

THE PROLOGUE TO THE *DIALOGVS LIBRI VITAE*

cod. Salamanca, Bibioteca Universitaria ms. 2089, fols. 25^{ra}-26^{rb}

|25^a| INCIPIT DIALOGVS LIBRI VITAE EDITVS PER DOMINVM RODERICVM
ARCHIEPISCOPVM TOLETANVM

Quia multorum uarietas ex incolatu misericordiae circa intellectum theoricum uariavit a ueritate patrum doctrinis uariis turbata scindere, si peregrinans in errorum incidit labyrinthum a Deo, quod postposito creatore et idola fabricaret et eis diuersa numina adaptaret et damnabili sacerdotio immolaret, et post idolatriam errores uanos adinuenit, quibus damnatas animas in fasciculos colligauit quas aeterno incendio obligauit,ⁱ et ab intellectu practico deuiauit quia caritas plana in uitiorum aspera commutauit. Sed Dei clementia sui noticiam in Thare progenie conseruauit; deinde secundum promissionis¹ uerbum, Abrahae semine propagato, Israel filiis igneam legemⁱⁱ dedit in qua tamquam in lagena² testea latuit completio promissorum.

Tu autem, Iudaeae, qui a ueritatis itinere aberrasti et in terrae faecibus oculos defixisti, impingens³ in meridie quasi caecus,ⁱⁱⁱ coaptas fabulis prophetias, et iniectis aggeribus accusationis⁴ mysteria fidei cum Galaad resina^{iv} niteris obturare. Moyses autem, hagiographi, et prophetae sub cespite litterae usque ad tempus gratiae legis mysteria absconderunt quae tu despicias inuenire, et tamen sepulcra regum et prophetarum et thesauros absconditos^v domus Dei Babyloniis reuelasti^{vi} et a tuo populo occultasti.

i cf. Mt 13, 30.

ii cf. Dt. 33, 2.

iii cf. Dt 28, 29.

iv cf. Jr 8, 22; Jr 46, 11.

v cf. Is 45, 3.

vi cf. Is 39, 6.

1 promissionis] promissioonis *a.c.*

2 lagena] *emendaui*, lagenea *cod.*

3 impingens] impinguens *a.c.*

4 accusationis] *scripsi*, ac^onis *cod.*

5 reuelasti] + *ysa. XXXIX c. s.l.a.m.*

Verum quia nostrorum aliqui a summae naturae theoricæ⁶ euagantes⁷ et ueritatis eloquia postponentes, statuam⁸ mortalium lucratiuo intuitu praeferunt utriusque paginae testamentis, ego Rodericus, sacerdos indignus cathedrae Toletanae, hebes ingenio, deses studio, pauper eloquio, flagrans zelo — quia in ueteri serie arcana annotaui per quae euangelii ueritas lucidatur — cuperem si auderem, praesumerem si liceret, in materiis et ruinis ueteris testamenti thesauros absconditos inscrutari; ut fides catholica, quae in ueteri testamento quasi in lagena fictili continetur, fractis lagunculis in lucem prodeat Gedeonis,^{vii} et discat Catholicus et articulos et fidei sacramenta non nouiter adinuenta, sed in lege et prophetis et hagiographis euangelium ueritatis tamquam depositum contineri, quod apud eos deposuit Incarnandus. Sed cum prospexit iustitia de excelso,^{viii} uenit cui fructum uineae negauerunt,^{ix} qui cruci affrigens chirographum factionis protulit chirographum pactionis et depositum euangelicae ueritatis requisiiuit in armario uetustatis [25th] cui antiqui patres crediderant in tempus gratiae proferendum. Venit autem in uirga paternae auctoritatis, et percussit silicem^x caecitatis ex cuius duritia primo laticem, postea oleum, postea euangelii mel^{xi} produxit, dicens: *Audistis quia dictum est antiquis, diliges amicum tuum, et odio habebis inimicum tuum; ego autem dico uobis, diligite inimicos uestros, benefacite his qui oderunt uos.*^{xii} Ecce iustitia nouae legis abundantiori gratia iam excellit,^{xiii} sic et caetera quae sequuntur. Ecce autem aquae ueteris testamenti, quae depositum continent Incarnati, non restituunt

vii cf. Jdc 7, 20.

viii cf. Ps LXX 84, 12.

ix cf. Lc 20, 10.

x cf. Nm 20, 11.

xi cf. Dt 32, 13.

xii Mt 5, 43–44; cf. Lv 18, 19.

xiii cf. Mt 5, 20.

6 theoricæ] *emendauit*, theprica *cod.*

7 euagantes] *emendauit*, euaganstes *cod.*

8 statuam] *scripsi*, statua *ut uid. cod.*

nisi scripti chirographum; manus eius, quod crucis signaculo est signatum. Thesauros autem spiritus sanctus tuae duriciae occultauit.

Quia obstinate⁹ non legis testimoniis aduersaris,¹⁰ ignorantiam in te fouens quam fiscella scripta figurauit; hanc fiscellam metu rerum crudeli artificio texuisti, et bitumine liniuisti, et in ea elegantis formae infantulum inclusisti, et sine ubere dimisisti, cui nec spiraculum reliquisti;^{xiv} non uitae sed periculo fluminis credidisti, ut rerum periculo prouideres. Sed pharaonis filia, tui populli inimica, fiscellam uidit, a fluctibus liberauit, eductam aperuit, infantulo qui¹¹ descendit Aegyptiae ubera propinauit.^{xv} Et licet infantulus, quem prognostica gratia iam ducebat, alienis manibus foueretur, aliena uerba non admisit, sed aduocatae matris uerba recognoscens cireo lacte sustinuit allactari^{xvi} — significans eum qui factus ex muliere, factus sub lege, licet ab aedificantibus reprobatus.^{xvii} Legem quam dederat uoluit¹² adimplere. Fiscella autem obscuritatis propheticae etiam post fuit, in qua incarnatio Dei filii et gratia euangelii claudebatur, sed a gentili femina aperitur et in ea sponsus forma prae filiis hominum inuenitur, qui^a reginae Aethiopum copulatur. Et saluatus ex aquis quando a mortuis resurrexit, nunc¹³ sponsus, prodiens filii de sepulcro, ecclesiam gentium, que a baptismi Libano uenerat coronari,^{xviii} ad thalamum introduxit, pro quo legis propinquitatis obiurgauit. Conuersio enim gentium fuit in tuorum scandalum Iudaeorum, non ecclesiae ipsum. In tua littera intelligere noluisti, nec uolentibus consensisti, quin

xiv cf. Ex 2, 2-3.

xv cf. Ex 2, 5.

xvi cf. Ex 2, 9.

xvii cf. PsLXX 117, 22; Mt 21, 42; Lc 20, 17; Act 4, 11; 1 Pt 7, 2.

xviii cf. Ct 4, 8.

a qui – copulatur] cf. Iosephus, *Antiquitates* II, 251-53, (ed. H. St. J. Thackeray, p. 275).

9 obstinate] *emendaui*, obstinato *cod.*

10 aduersaris] + is (*exp.*) *cod.*

11 qui] *emendaui*, quod *cod.*

12 uoluit] *emendaui*, noluit *cod.*

13 nunc] *emendaui*, nō *cod.* (*perperam pro nē*)

potius in frunito animo restitisti. Et tamen qui cum a principio non nouerunt, in fiscella repertum uelocius cognouerunt. Ex gente autem tua ortus fuit dominus Iesus Christus quem litterali |25^{va}| fiscella et bitumine sic clausisti: quod nullum ei prout sciui¹⁴ et potuisti, respiraculum dimisisti, ut extritum cuius nec ipsi nec alii in tua littera reperirent. Et timens eum a Romanis uel gentibus inueniri, ne locum perderes, ipsum perdere decreuisti. Sed e contrario res euenit, nam his amissis ipse in exterminium abiisti. Ei autem flectitur omne genu,^{xix} quia in eo benedicatur gentium plenitudo,^{xx} et gentilis femina filia Pharaonis, ut audiuit a mortuis surrexisse, non eum despexit sed credidit et attinet genti et loco,¹⁵ praeferans resurgentem, et ut eum acquireret, regna dedit.

Erubescere ergo, et Sion specula constitutus, qui uino¹⁶ domestico debriatus promissum tibi gentibus requisisti et thesauros effodere neglexisti, sed iracundiae¹⁷ obice excaetatus, non attendis regnum, sacerdotium, uasa templi, et pontificum ornamenta — de quorum gloria te iactabas — uigiles, qui Christi custodiunt sanctitatem cum thesauris,¹⁸ absconditis a tuis materiis obduxisse, et uetustae litterae rubigine expurgata in regnum Christi et sacerdotium apostolicum transtulisse. Sed nec prophetarum tuorum studium attendisti, qui in effodiendis thesauris tamdiu studuerunt, donec etiam sepulcrum in quo Christus latuit reperierunt, de quo Isaias: *Erit sepulcrum eius gloriosum*,^{xxi} et Iob: *Gaudet uehementer quasi effodientes thesaurum cum sepulcrum reperierint*.^{xxii} Qui thesauros effodiunt, quanto amplius diuitiarum tumulo appropinquare se existimant, tanto amplius in fodiendo laborant. Sunt et sancti, cum

xix cf. Is 45, 23; Rm 14, 11; Phil 2, 10.

xx cf. Gn 22, 18; Gal 3, 8.

xxi Is 11, 10.

xxii Jb 3, 21-2.

14 sciui¹⁴] *scripsi*, ciuisti *cod.*

15 loco] *emendaui*, loce *ut uid. cod.*

16 uino] *scripsi*, uiru *e corr. cod.*

17 iracundiae] *emendaui*, irūdīs *cod.*

18 thesauris] *emendaui*, -ros *cod.*

legem et hagiographa inuestigant, latenti dulcedine recreati; circa legis studia plus insudant. Vnde Daniel, cum circa huiusmodi laboraret, *uir desideriorum*^{xxiii} meruit appellari. Hieronymus, Gregorius, Ambrosius, Augustinus, et caeteri sancti sacrae paginae uinitores exinterare¹⁹ piscem, reuelante angelo, didicerunt ut ex felle eius, quod in mortis amaritudine degustauit, caecitas quae in Israel contingat sanaretur.^{xxiv} Sed et fel istud, quod in patibulo domino attulisti, ut amarissimum, licet utile, horruisti. Et thesaurum felis, quem damnabiliter respuisti, plenitudo gentium, cum intrauit, plaudens manibus pro dulcedine acceptauit, quia mortis amaritudo, quam pomibus degustauit mater mortis, amaritudinem effugauit. Et in thesauro, quem gentilitas |25^{vb}| inquisiuit, inuenit misericordiam, et redemptionem humani generis copiosam, et testamentum quod constituit in aeternum.

Sed qui mortem uoluit praegustare, ut thesauros effodiens a latente mortifero laederetur, a lacte perfidiae ablactatus in cauernam reguli manum²⁰ misit^{xxv} dominus Iesus Christus et eduxit inde Leuiatan, serpentem uectem et tortuosum,^{xxvi} et oua aspidum, quae sensibile aurum ob tumentia in regulum eruperant, ex quibus Iudaei tellas araneae texuerunt.^{xxvii} Regulus intuitu interficit assistentes. Leuiatan, diabolus, additamentum eorum interpretatur:^b hic est serpens qui extremis operibus ut calcaneo insidiatur; hic est uectis qui postquam deceperit, uinculat et captiuat; et tortuosus, quia incertis ambagibus decepit insensatos. Aspis autem stultis auribus se inponit ne legis audiant ueritatem. Tellae araneae contexuntur, quae superficiem praecedentes impulsu

xxiii Dn 9, 23.

xxiv cf Tb 6, 1-8.

xxv cf. Is 11, 8.

xxvi cf. Is 27, 1.

xxvii cf. Is 59, 5.

b Leuiatan - interpretatur] *Glossa ord. ad Is 27, III, p. 64b.*

19 exinterare] *scripsi, exantere cod.*

20 manum] *emendaui, mane cod.*

quolibet²¹ dilabuntur, quae fabulatores tui de suis cordibus texerunt. Et haec omnia ueniens ablactatus euertit spiritu labiorum,^{xxviii22} sed araneorum tellis superindui cum laboras, inueneris confusionis diploide circumtectus, et a ueste gloriae destitutus, et in hircorum et taurorum et uitulorum sanguine uolutatus, cum non immolaticios requirat dominus, sed contribulatum spiritum et uitulos labiorum. Horum itaque thesaurorum, dominus Iesus Christus fuit in apostolis reuelator, qui in patribus et prophetis fuerat occultatus.

Quae sequuntur, Catholico proponuntur: In persecutione autem huius operis, ab anagogico et allegorico et tropologico abstinui intellectu, ut non habeat Iudaeus aduersarius quid causetur. Tamen et litterae institi cui haeretici, quam magni consilii angelus declarauit. Cum consilium uerum fecit uerum, frequenter quod non praesumit de dicto litteralis allegoriae sollertia manifestat. Vnde frequenter cogimur paruistica compendia euagari quo non promittit littera peragere. Tropologicus ergo, et ana·gogicus,²³ et alle·goricus intellectus, qui apud litteram, ut apud depositarium, aliquandiu latuerunt, reuelationis tempore hospiti²⁴ litterae occurrerunt, et defectum eius in pluribus suppleuerunt,²⁵ ut quod litteralis expositio non sufficeret, declaratio mystica id suppleret.

Sed quia noui et ueteris testamenti aeterna trinitas fuit auctrix, de fide catholica tractaturus in ipsa posui huius opusculi fundamentum, per quam sumus, uiuimus, et mouemur, ut ipsa ad loquendum aperiat os dicentis et in |26^{ra}| cantum repleat spiritu eloquii et intellectus per quem Catholici et increduli ex nouo et ueteri testamento ad probationem fidei noua et uetera recipiant documenta. De re autem tam excellentissima

xxviii cf. Is 11, 4.

21 quolibet] *emendauit*, quodlibet *cod.*

22 labiorum] *emendauit* laborum *cod.*

23 ana·gogicus et alle·goricus] *emendauit*, anagoricus *cod.*

24 hospiti] *scripsi*, hospite *cod.*

25 suppleuerunt] *superuerunt a. c.*

tamque summa, cum timore et modestia est agendum, et attentissimis auribus et deuotis cordibus audiendum. Vbi essentiae unitas quaeritur? Vbi patris et filii et spiritus sancti trinitas inuestigatur? Vbi trium personarum in maiestate aequalitas adoratur? Nihil enim periculosius quaeritur. Nihil laboriosius apprehenditur. Nihil fructuosius inuenitur. Et nouit altissimus quod nec humani diei ambitio nec priuatae causae intentio me induxit, sed ut ueritas euangelii quae in prophetarum nubibus, in reuelationem gentium effulgeat.²⁶ Vt autem libri materia melius declaretur, in octo uolumina est distinctus:

Primus liber de trinitate et indiuidua unitate;

Secundus de incarnatione et operibus saluatoris et spiritus sancti missione;

Tertius de principatu apostolorum et reprobatione legalium et gentium uocatione;

Quartus de regno ecclesiae et statuta desolatione;

Quintus de fabula Iudaeorum;

Sextus de ecclesiasticis sacramentis;

Septimus de antechristo;

Octauus de generali resurrectione, et iudicio separationis, et mundi consummatione.

In hoc libro plerumque prophetarum capitula iterantur, non ad idem, sed quia in diuersis capitulis diuersae clausulae diuersis articulis attestantur. Lectori autem supplico inspiciat diligenter, perlegat, et emendet, et ignorantiae condescendat. Si enim in aliquo²⁷ minus caute, minus composite, minus diserte, non in propositum, sed in peritia id effecit. Nec pigebit, ubi haesitauero, me edoceri; ubi errauero, corrigi et redire; et quae desunt, addici et suppleri. Lector autem diligenter attendat quod metaplamus saepe fit in prophetis et hac in materia, numero, et personis, quod si attenditur, prophetiarum uarietas facilius concordatur.

²⁶ effulgeat] *emendaui*, *efulgent cod.*

²⁷ aliquo] *scripsi*, *a¹co ut uid. cod.*

Materia autem huius uoluminis sunt ea quae patriarchae, et prophetae, et hagiographi de domino praedixerunt, et quae coepit dominus facere et docere, et quae apostoli gentibus praedixerunt, quam ecclesia gratiam consecuta, et quae in nouissimo tempore bonis et reprobis reseruetur. Et haec omnia prophetarum et hagiographorum testimoniis, ut sciui et potui, confirmaui, per quae destructis aduersitatibus et erroribus uniuersis populus gratiae frumenti adipe satietur,^{xxix} |26th| et unanimi spiritu in domo domini ambulantes in confessione uerae fidei perseuerent.

Ego autem non possum *inctis Indiae*²⁸ *coloribus*^{xxx} comparari²⁹ nec columnarum epistyliis^{xxxi} adaptari,³⁰ nec cum clauis aureis,^{xxxii} in cedrinis tabulis^{xxxiii} gloriari, nec cum angelis³¹ in templi parietibus^{xxxiv} eleuari, sed *uellicans sycomoros*^{xxxv} et ruborum distinguens aspera condensorum, stilo simplici, prosa rudi, intellectu tenui, magna tetigi et praesumpsi. Verum quod in me a sapientia et eloquentia extitit alienum, ut non possum ueri agni magnalia edicere singillatim, illi relinquo qui residuum huius agni praecepit igni spiritus reseruari. Et quia Christianus quilibet fide uiuit, et interdum ad Catholicum, frequentius ad Iudaeum et hoc opere uerto stilum, intitulaui Dialogum libri uitae.

xxix cf. PsLXX 147, 14.

xxx Jb 28, 16.

xxxi cf. 3 Rg 7, 6; 2 Par 4, 12.

xxxii cf. 3 Rg 6, 21.

xxxiii cf. 3 Rg 7, 3.

xxxiv cf. 3 Rg 6, 27.

xxxv cf. Am 7, 14.

28 *indiae*] *emendauit*, *inctie cod.*

29 *comparari*] *emendauit*, *comparati cod.*

30 *adaptari*] *emendauit*, *apdactari cod.*

31 *angelis*] *emendauit*, *angliphis cod.*

APPENDIX 2

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE PROLOGUE TO THE *DIALOGVS LIBRI VITAE*

**| 25^{ra} | HERE BEGINS THE DIALOGUE ON THE BOOK OF LIFE WRITTEN BY
LORD RODRIGO, ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO**

Since the inconstancy of many has wavered from the dwelling place of mercy according to the [tendency of the] theoretical intellect, disturbed by various teachings, to break from the truth of the fathers, if this inconstancy, wandering from God, fell into a labyrinth of errors so that, having put the Creator in second place, it would make idols, would adapt various deities to them, and would sacrifice to a damnable priesthood, after the idolatry this inconstancy devised vain errors and by these errors has gathered together the damned souls into bundles which it bound over unto eternal fire,ⁱ and it deviated from the practical intellect since level charity changed into the roughness of vice. But the mercy of God preserved knowledge of Him in the progeny of Thare. Then, according to the word of promise, when Abraham's seed had been propagated, He gave the fiery lawⁱⁱ to the sons of Israel in which the fulfillment of the promises hid, as in an earthen vessel.

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,ⁱⁱⁱ 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.^{iv} Moses, the hagiographers, and the prophets hid the mysteries of the Law which you disdain to discover under the sod of the letter until the time of grace. Nevertheless, you revealed the tombs of the kings and prophets and the hidden treasures^v of the house of God to the Babylonians,^{vi} and you hid them from your people.

i cf. Mt 13, 30.

ii cf. Dt. 33, 2.

iii cf. Dt 28, 29.

iv cf. Jr 8, 22; Jr 46, 11.

v cf. Is 45, 3.

vi cf. Is 39, 6.

Still, since some of our own, wandering from a theoretical understanding of the highest nature and postponing the eloquence of truth, have preferred the image of mortal things with an eye for gain to the two testaments, I Rodrigo, unworthy priest of the see of Toledo, weak in talent, lacking in application, poor in eloquence, but burning with zeal — for I have commented on the mysteries in the old series through which the truth of the Gospel is illuminated — I would desire if I may dare, I would presume if I am permitted, to examine the hidden treasures in the materials and ruins of the Old Testament, so that the Catholic faith, which is contained in the Old Testament as in an earthen vessel, may come forth into the light of Gideon when the jars have been broken,^{vii} and so that the Catholic may learn that the articles and sacraments of faith were not recently devised, but the Gospel of truth was contained in the Law, the prophets, and the hagiographers like a deposit which He who would become flesh deposited among them. But when justice looked forth from the heights,^{viii} He came, to whom they denied the fruits of the vine,^{ix} who, dashing the charter of division on the cross, brought forth the charter of covenant, and (He) sought the deposit of the truth of the Gospel in the treasure chest of antiquity [25th] to which the fathers of old had entrusted it to be brought forth in the time of grace. He came with the rod of paternal authority and struck the stone of blindness^x from whose hardness he brought forth first liquid, then oil, then the honey of the Gospel^{xi} saying: *You have heard that it was said to the ancients, you shall love your friend and hate your enemy; but I say to you, love your enemies, do good to those who hate you.*^{xii} Behold, the justice of the new law already excels with more abundant grace,^{xiii} and so the other things which follow.

vii cf. Jdc 7, 20.

viii cf. PsLXX 84, 12.

ix cf. Lc 20, 10.

x cf. Nm 20, 11

xi cf. Dt 32, 13

xii Mt 5, 43–44; cf. Lv 18, 19.

xiii cf. Mt 5, 20.

Behold, the waters of the Old Testament which contain the deposit of the One made flesh only restore the charter of what was written; his hand restores what was sealed by the sign of the cross. The Holy Spirit hid the treasures of your hardness.

Since you do not oppose the testimonies of the Law obstinately, cherishing ignorance in yourself which a written basket fashioned, you wove this basket with cruel skill from a fear of things, and you lined it with pitch, and you enclosed a baby of beauteous appearance in it, and you sent it away without a breast, and (the one to whom you left) not even a breathing hole,^{xiv} you did not entrust it to life, but to the danger of the river, so that you might provide for the danger of the times. But the Pharaoh's daughter, an enemy of your people saw the basket, liberated it from the waters, opened what was brought out, and offered the breasts of an Egyptian woman to the baby which came out of it.^{xv} And, although the baby, which foreknowing grace had already brought, was cherished by foreign hands, it did not accept alien words, but, recognizing the words of its mother who had been called, it suffered to be nursed with thick milk^{xvi} — signifying that He who was made from woman was made under the Law although He was rejected by the builders.^{xvii} The Law which he gave, He wished to fulfill. The basket of hidden prophecy, in which the Incarnation of the Son of God and the grace of the Gospel was enclosed, continued to exist, but it was opened by a gentile woman and she found in it a groom with a form more excellent than that of the sons of men, who^a married the queen of the Ethiopians. And having been saved from the waters when He rose from the dead, now the groom, coming forth from the tomb of the Son, introduced the Church of the gentiles, which came to be crowned by

xiv cf. Ex 2, 2-3.

xv cf. Ex 2, 5.

xvi cf. Ex 2, 9.

xvii cf. PsLXX 117, 22; Mt 21, 42; Lc 20, 17; Act 4, 11; 1 Pt 7, 2.

a who – Ethiopians] cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates* II, 251-53, (ed. H. St. J. Thackery, p. 275).

the Lebanon of baptism,^{xviii} to the marriage bed, for which the familiarity of the Law objected. For the conversion of the gentiles occurred to the scandal of your Jews, but not to that of the Church. You did not wish to understand according to your own letter, nor did you consent to those who did wish to, but rather you resisted with a happy heart. Nevertheless, those who did not know it from the beginning recognized more quickly what had been found in the basket. The Lord Jesus Christ arose from your own people, and Him [25^{va}] you had so wrapped with the basket and pitch of the letter that you left Him no breathing hole, as far as you knew and were able, so that what was rubbed out neither they nor others could find in your letter. And fearing that He should be found by Romans or gentiles, lest you should lose your place, you decided to destroy Him. But things happened otherwise, for having missed this chance, you yourself were expelled. Every knee bends to Him,^{xix} since the fullness of the gentiles is blessed in Him,^{xx} and the gentile woman, daughter of Pharaoh, when she heard that He rose from the dead, did not despise Him, but rather she believed and came near to the people and place, heralding He who had risen, and so that she would attain Him, she gave Him the kingdoms.

Blush therefore, you, Sion, set up as a lookout place, who, drunk with domestic wine, looked for what was promised to you from the nations, and you neglected to dig up the treasures, and blinded by a barrier of anger, you did not notice that the watchmen who guard the sanctum of Christ with its treasures have brought out the kingdom, priesthood, temple vessels, and ornaments of the priests — of whose glory you boasted — although these materials remained hidden to your own, and transferred them to the kingdom of Christ and the apostolic priesthood, when the rust of the old letter had been cleansed.

xviii cf. Ct 4, 8.

xix cf. Is 45, 23; Rm 14, 11; Phil 2, 10.

xx cf. Gn 22, 18; Gal 3, 8.

But neither did you notice the exertions of your prophets who strove for so long to dig up the treasures until they too discovered the tomb in which Christ hid, about which Isaiah: *His tomb will be glorious*,^{xxi} and Job: *Rejoice greatly like those digging up the treasure when they found the tomb*.^{xxii} The more those who dig up the treasure think that they approach the tomb of riches, the harder they work at digging. There are also saints who are refreshed with hidden sweetness when they investigate the Law and the prophets; they apply themselves more to the study of the Law. Thus, Daniel, since he worked on things of this nature, merited to be called *a man of desires*.^{xxiii} Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, and the other holy vine-dressers of the sacred page learned by angelic revelation, to eviscerate the fish so that from its bile, which it tasted in the bitterness of death, the blindness which exists in Israel might be healed.^{xxiv} But that bile, which you brought to the Lord on the cross, you shrank from as most bitter, although beneficial. And the treasury of bile which you spat out damnably, the fullness of the gentiles accepted when it entered, clapping its hands at its sweetness, since the bitterness of death, which the mother of death tasted in the apples, put the bitterness to flight. |25^{vb}| And (the fullness of) the gentiles found mercy and plentiful redemption of the human race and a testament which it established for eternity in the treasury which they examined.

But the Lord Jesus Christ, who wished a foretaste of death, so that digging up the treasures He might be injured by a hidden bearer of death, weaned from the milk of perfidy (He) put his hand into the cave of the basilisk^{xxv} and brought out from there the Leviathan, the rod, the twisted serpent,^{xxvi} and the eggs of the asps, which burst what seemed to be gold into a snake on account of their ripeness, and from these things the

xxi Is 11, 10.

xxii Jb 3, 21-2.

xxiii Dn 9, 23.

xxiv cf Tb 6, 1-8.

xxv cf. Is 11, 8.

xxvi cf. Is 27, 1.

Jews weave spider's webs.^{xxvii} The basilisk kills those present with its stare.

"Leuiatan" means a devil, an increase of the same:^b it is a serpent which, to finish things off, lies in wait so as to sting the heel; it is a rod which, after it has deceived, binds and captures; and it is twisting since it deceives the unwise with uncertain circumlocutions. An asp places itself in foolish ears so that they do not hear the truth of the Law. Spider's webs are woven which dissolve at the least touch, if their surface is broken, and these your story tellers have woven from their hearts. And the Weaned one who comes overturned all these things by the spirit of his lips,^{xxviii} 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, even though the Lord does not require sacrifices but a contrite spirit and calves of the lips. And so, the Lord Jesus Christ was the revealer of these treasures in the apostles, who was hidden in the fathers and the prophets.

The things that follow are proposed for the Catholic: In the elaboration of this work I have held back from the anagogical, allegorical, and tropological senses (of Scripture) so that a Jewish adversary may not have anything to complain about. On the other hand, I have approached that letter of the heretic which the angel of great counsel made clear. When true counsel has made a truth, commonly what it does not presume from a statement, the skill of the allegory of the letter makes clear. Thus, we are frequently compelled to extend this brief summary into those places where the letter does not propose to go. Therefore, the tropological, anagogical, and allegorical senses which lay hidden for a time in the letter, as though inside a safe, remedied at the time of revelation the foreignness of the letter and made good its insufficiency in many ways

xxvii cf. Is 59, 5.

xxviii cf. Is 11, 4.

b Leuiatan - same] *Glossa ord. ad Is 27, III, p. 64b.*

such that the mystic explanation supplies that which the literal exposition does not furnish.

But since the eternal Trinity was the authoress of the New and Old Testaments, I, about to treat of the Catholic faith, have placed the foundation of this work in that through which we are, we live, and we are moved, so that it might open the mouth of the speaker for speaking | 26^{ra} | and might fill it with song by the spirit of eloquence and understanding, and through (this speaker) Catholics and unbelievers might receive new and old proofs from the New and Old Testament in order to prove the faith. One must treat of this most excellent and most high subject with fear and modesty and one must listen to it with the most attentive ears and with devoted hearts. Where is the unity of the essence to be sought? Where is the Trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be looked for? Where is the equality of the three persons adored in majesty? Nothing is inquired about with greater peril; nothing is apprehended with greater labour; nothing is found with greater profit.

The Almighty knows that neither worldly ambition, nor the purpose of some private dispute induced me to write, but rather I wrote so that the truth of the Gospel, which is in the clouds of the prophets, might shine forth for the revelation of the gentiles. So that the content of the work might be better set forth, it is divided into eight sections:

First book, on the Trinity and undivided unity.

Second, on the Incarnation, and works of the Saviour, and the sending of the Holy Spirit

Third, on the pre-eminence of the apostles, the rejection of the Laws, and the calling of the gentiles

Fourth, on the Kingdom of the Church and the ordained desolation

Fifth, on the fables of the Jews

Sixth, on the sacraments of the Church

Seventh, on the Antichrist

Eighth, on the general resurrection, the judgment of separation, and the consummation of the World

In this work, verses of the prophets are often repeated, not for the same reason, but because in different sections, different verses prove different points. I beseech the reader that he should inspect diligently, read thoroughly, and emend and condescend to my ignorance. If in any matter I have written less carefully, less skillfully, less eloquently, I have done so, not out of intention but because of (my lack of) skill. Nor will it displease me that, where I have hesitated I be taught; where I have erred, I be corrected and I emend; and what things are lacking be added and supplied. Let the reader consider diligently that grammatical error often occurs in the prophets in matter, number, and persons, and when this is noted, the divergences of the prophecies are more easily harmonized.

The subject matter of this work are those things which the patriarchs, prophets, and hagiographers predicted about the Lord; and what the Lord began to do and teach; what the apostles preached to the gentiles; what grace the Church attained; and what things are reserved in the end times for the good and the reprobate. I have confirmed all these things as I have known and been able, with the testimonies of the prophets and hagiographers through which, when the errors and opposition of everyone has been destroyed, the people may be sated with the fat of the grain of grace,^{xxix} |26^{rb}| and, walking with harmonious spirit in the house of the Lord, they might persevere in the profession of the true faith.

xxix cf. PsLXX 147, 14.

I cannot be compared to the *coloured dyes of India*,^{xxx} nor can I be fitted to the epistyles of columns,^{xxxi} nor can I glory in the cedar tables^{xxxii} with golden nails,^{xxxiii} nor can I be raised on the walls of the temple with the angels,^{xxxiv} but *nipping at sycamore trees*^{xxxv} and dividing the thorns of thick brambles, with a simple pen, rustic prose, and weak understanding I have touched and presumed great things. But because there is in me something foreign from wisdom and understanding, such that I am not able to make known the great deeds of the True Lamb one by one, I leave it to Him who ordered that the remainder of this Lamb be reserved to the fire of the spirit. And both because every Christian lives by faith and because I have directed my pen in this work sometimes to the Catholic and more often to the Jew, I have entitled it the *Dialogue on the Book of Life*.

xxx Jb 28, 16.

xxxi cf. 3 Rg 7, 6; 2 Par 4, 12.

xxxii cf. 3 Rg 7, 3.

xxxiii cf. 3 Rg 6, 21.

xxxiv cf. 3 Rg 6, 27.

xxxv cf. Am 7, 14.

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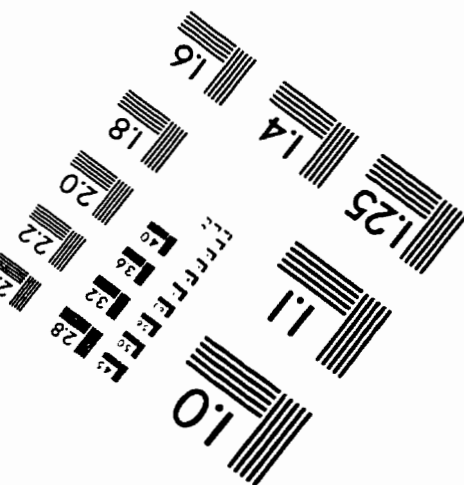
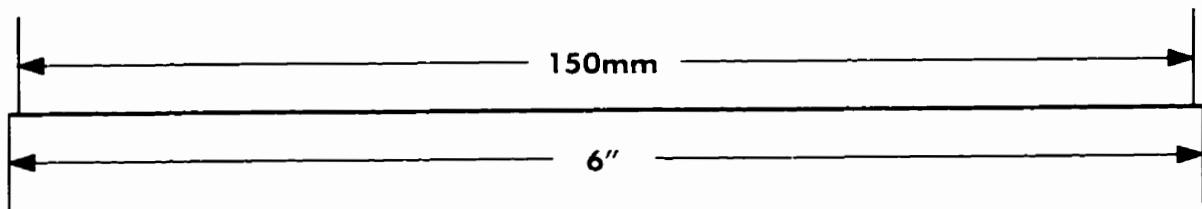
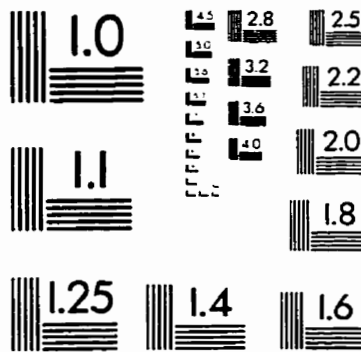
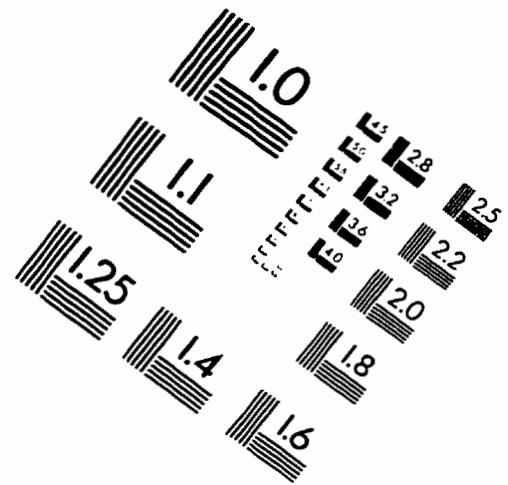
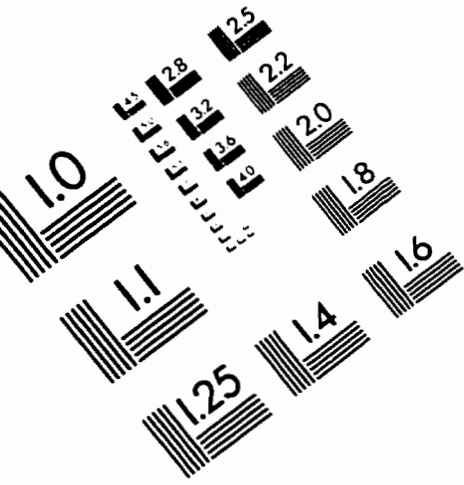
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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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