SCRUTINIZING HISTORY:
POLEMIC AND EXEGESIS IN
PABLO DE SANTA MARIA'S *SIETE EDADES DEL MUNDO**

RYAN SZPIECH

University of Michigan

ABSTRACT:

This essay considers the growth of historiographical writing in fifteenth-century Iberia within the context of mass conversions of Jews to Christianity. It takes the writing of the convert Pablo de Santa María (ca. 1351-1435) as a test case for considering the emergence of historiographical writing directly informed by the events of 1391, in which many thousands of Jews were forcibly converted to Christianity. By reading Pablo's poem *Siete edades del mundo* (*Seven Ages of the World*) in light of his biblical exegesis and anti-Jewish polemic, it is possible to show how issues relevant to Pablo's conversion, including his exegetical polemic with Judaism, directly affect his historiographical writing and shape his use of standard tropes of fifteenth-century Castilian historiography. This suggests that, while there may be no uniquely "*converso* voice" in history writing, some fifteenth-century historiography is clearly informed by issues of particular

relevance to *conversos*. At the same time, it implies that some fifteenth-century Christian historiography, like that of Sephardic Jews after the expulsion of 1492, grew from earlier historiographical and polemical traditions that transcend any single catalyzing event such as the trauma of 1391.

The dubious attempts to identify unique characteristics in the writing of Jews converted to Christianity in fifteenth-century Iberia are constantly at risk of overgeneralizations and superficial assumptions. As David Nirenberg has pointed out, the attempt to identify *converso* historiographers on the basis of their writing is ironically fraught with a dangerous scholarly tendency toward "a genealogical fetishism" not unlike that indulged in by "old" Christians in their discussions of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), in which a general set of characteristics is associated with writers by virtue of their perceived family history.[1] This danger of homogenizing minority belief and experience is particularly acute in reading historiographical texts written by converts because the representation of the past, both personal and national, is at the heart of the conflict produced by the "*converso* problem" when viewed from a genealogical and a modern historiographical perspective. In the face of that challenge, there has been a firm rejection by some scholars of the attempt to identify any uniquely *converso* aspect to historiographical writing. Two examples of such a rejection include the argument of John Edwards that there exists no specifically *converso* historiography of kingship distinguishable

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[1] See David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities," *Past and Present,* 174.1 (2002): 3-41 (37 n. 92).

from non-*converso* discussions of monarchy, and the specific rejection by Maurice Kriegel of a discernible *converso* style in the writing of fifteenth-century bishop and polemicist, Pablo de Santa María (Solomon Halevi, ca. 1351-1435, converted ca. 1390-91) and his son, Alonso de Cartagena (1384-1456).[2]

One strategy in approaching fifteenth- and sixteenth-century historiography among Jews and former Jews without reference to the genealogy of the author has been to link the emergence of historiographical trends directly to particular catalyzing events. In considering the sudden proliferation of historiographical writing among sixteenth-century Jews, for example, Yosef Yerushalmi has argued that the trauma of displacement after their expulsion from Iberia in 1492 was "the primary stimulus to the rise of Jewish historiography."[3] Nevertheless, by characterizing the events of 1492 as the primary impetus for the development of Jewish historiographical writing, Yerushalmi has attributed less importance to the preceding historiographical traditions shared by both Jews and non-Jews. In an effort to reconceive Yerushalmi's argument, Nirenberg has argued that although the expulsion may have spurred certain writers to formulate their arguments, their appeal to the continuity of Jewish identity across history depended on ingrained notions of genealogy that developed in the fifteenth century, and "in this sense the creation of a

[2] See John Edwards, "Conversos, Judaism, and the Language of Monarchy in Fifteenth-Century Castile," in *Circa 1492, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Colloquium: Litterae Judaeorum in Terra Hispanica*, ed. I. Benabu (Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Misgav Yerushalayim, 1992), 207-223 (221), reprinted in *Religion and Society in Spain, c. 1492* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996); and Maurice Kriegel, "Autour de Pablo de Santa María et d'Alfonso de Cartagena: alignement culturel et originalité 'converso,'" *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine,* 41.2 (1994): 197-205. Both writers are reacting to theories such as that by Américo Castro that attribute the birth of a unique "royalist ideology" in Iberia to Jewish and *converso* writers, and also to reformulations of Castro's ideas such as that by Helen Nader, who replaces the division between *conversos* and "old Christians" with a new division between "letrados" and "caballeros." For Castro's theory, see, for example, chapter ten, "Los judíos," in *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1983), especially 518, and 556-8. For Nader's theory, see *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 19-35.

[3] See Yosef Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 58-9.

'Sephardic historiographic mentality' predated the expulsion by several generations."[4] In fact, the emergence of that mentality, shared by Jews, Christians, and *conversos* alike and expressed in deliberate genealogical terminology, can be directly associated with the events of 1391, in which large numbers of Jews were forcibly converted to Christianity, rapidly altering long-held social and theological boundaries.

This essay seeks to test the association between changes in historiography and the events of 1391 by considering the writing of Pablo de Santa María in terms both of his historiographical arguments and his notion of *converso* genealogy. Pablo's writing serves as an ideal case for the examination of the language of genealogy and historiography in the fifteenth century because his experience as a convert is personally marked by the events of 1391, and because his writing, which contains repeated references to genealogy (both his own and that of others) appears in the first third of the fifteenth century, before the attacks on *conversos* in 1449 that permanently changed the ongoing debate over genealogy and *converso* identity. The arguments defended here are threefold: 1) There is a discernable continuity across all of Pablo's writing, including his Castilian historiographical poem *Siete edades del mundo* (*Seven Ages of the World*) and his Latin exegesis and anti-Jewish polemic, and many details in the poem can be explained by comparison to his Latin works, finished over a decade later. 2) As a result, the *Siete edades*, which has mainly been read in light of other, non-polemical and non-*converso* historiography and has been understood as political propaganda in favor of king Juan II of Castile (1405-1454), can also be seen, like his Latin works, as constructed in response to concrete issues arising from the debate

[4] See Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion," 38. On arguments against understanding 1492 as the primary cause for changes in historiographic trends, see also Eleazar Gutwirth, "Duran on Ahitophel: The Practice of Jewish History in Late Medieval Spain," *Jewish History,* 4.1 (1989): 59-74; *idem*, "History and Apologetics in XVth-Century Hispano-Jewish Thought," *Helmantica,* 35 (1984): 231-242; *idem*, "The Expulsion from Spain and Jewish Historiography," in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky,* eds. Ada Rapoport-Albert and Steven J. Zipperstein (London: Peter Halban, 1988), 141-161, among other sources.

between converted Jews and their former co-religionists. It is possible to explain the two key aspects of the text that have eluded scholarly consensus—the final description of king Juan as a messiah figure and the division of history into seven rather than the more customary six ages—not only as political propaganda, but also in the terms of the anti-Jewish polemical arguments found in Pablo's other texts. 3) Such a reading of Pablo's poem offers a way to begin to reconsider the argument against a uniquely *converso* historiography of monarchy by shifting the focus from genealogical characteristics to polemical strategies, thus suggesting that the tradition of historiography stimulated by the events of 1391, like that catalyzed among Jewish writers by those of 1492, also depended on an even older tradition of Jewish-Christian polemical writing.

I. Historiography as Polemical Exegesis

Solomon Halevi's voluntary conversion to Christianity in 1390-91, around age forty, marked the beginning of a very prosperous life within the Church and also put Halevi, subsequently called Pablo de Santa María, at odds with his wife and former Jewish friends, students, colleagues.[5] Pablo made reference to these successes and personal conflicts in his subsequent polemical writing. Much like earlier converts and polemicists who wrote anti-Jewish texts, he made explicit use of his first-hand knowledge of Judaism in his later anti-Jewish polemics, and frequently invoked Jewish authorities and cited talmudic and other early rabbinic

[5] It is not known for certain whether Pablo converted before or after the anti-Jewish attacks of 1391, despite critical arguments defending both views. On Pablo's conversion and its effects, see Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena* (Madrid: C. Bermejo, 1942), 21-22; F. Cantera Burgos, *La conversión del célebre talmudista Solomón Leví* (Santender, 1933); *idem*, *Álvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos. Historia de la judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios* (Madrid: C. Bermejo, 1952), 304-320; Nicolás López Martínez, "Nota sobre la conversión de Pablo de Santa María, el Burgense," *Burgense,* 13 (1972): 581-87; and Michael Glatzer, "Pablo de Santa María on the Events of 1391," in *Antisemitism Through the Ages,* ed. Shmuel Almog, trans Nathan H. Reisner (New York: Pergamon Press, 1988), 127-137.

texts to support his own arguments. His outspoken perspective helped him achieve public prominence in Castile in the fifteenth century, eventually enabling him to serve as bishop of Cartagena and finally of Burgos, the same city where he once lived and taught as a well-respected rabbi.[6] Over the course of his life, Pablo wrote texts in Hebrew, Latin, and Castilian, and although only a few examples of his Hebrew letters have survived, his Latin output, mostly exegetical in nature, is sizeable, and far overshadows his other writing.[7] For this reason, isolated discussion of his Castilian writing, which is only a fraction of his total corpus, leads to a decidedly limited understanding of his literary activity and leaves much essential information outside our critical purview.[8]

Throughout his life, Pablo devoted himself to textual exegesis, which is at the center of most of his writing, both polemical and historiographical. He was very familiar with Jewish exegetical and philosophical sources and began to study Christian writings in Latin even before

[6] After his conversion, during his studies in Paris, Pablo formed a friendship with Pedro de Luna, the future Avignon-based papal contender (or "antipope") Benedict XIII, and his support of Benedict led to his appointment as bishop of Burgos in late 1415. On Pablo's relationship with Benedict and his involvement in Castilian politics, see Serrano, *Los conversos,* 21-58; Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995), 168-91; Juan Torres Fontes, "Fechas murcianas de Pablo de Santa María," *Murgetana*, 51 (1978): 87-94; and Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 138-9.

[7] Pablo's extant Hebrew works include the so-called "Purim" letter written around 1389 to Rabbi Meir Alguadez (d. ca. 1410), physician to king Enrique III, and Pablo's answer to a letter by his protégé Joshua Halorki (d. 1419, known as Jerónimo de Santa Fe after his own conversion decades later). The Purim letter has been published by I. Abrahams, "Paul of Burgos in London," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, o.s. 12.2 (1900): 255-263, and reproduced and translated by Krieger in her dissertation, "Pablo de Santa María: His Epoch, Life, and Hebrew and Spanish Literary Production," (Diss. UCLA, 1988), 245-261. It was discussed by Cantera Burgos, *Álvar García de Santa María,* 292-304, who also includes a Castilian translation, and Krieger "Pablo de Santa María, the Purim Letter and *Siete edades del mundo*," *Mester,* 17.2 (1988): 95-103. Halorki's original letter and Pablo's response have been published in *Divrei ḥakhamim,* ed. E. Ashkenazi (Metz, 1849), 41-46; L. Landlau, *Das apologetische Schreiben des Joshua Lorki* (Antwerp, 1906); and Krieger in her dissertation, 262-311 and 311-320, respectively. On the exchange with Halorki, see Benjamen Gampel, "A Letter to a Wayward Teacher. The Transformations of Sephardic Culture in Christian Iberia," in *Cultures of the Jews. A New History*, ed. David Biale (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), 389-447; Michael Glatzer, "Between Joshua Halorki and Shelomo Halevi—Towards an Examination of the Causes of Conversion Among Jews in Spain in the Fourteenth Century" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim,* 54 (1993): 103-16; and Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain,* 2 vols. (Pennsylvania: Jewish Publication Society, 1961-6), 2:139-150.

his conversion. After becoming a Christian, he studied theology and exegesis at the University of Paris, where he came to know the most popular biblical commentary of the time, the *Postillae* of the fourteenth-century Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1340).[9] He later based his own commentary, the *Additiones* (composed 1429-31), on Lyra's *Postillae*, and together these texts achieved immense popularity. Lyra's glosses were widely copied and read for over three centuries along with Pablo's *Additiones* and responses to Pablo by the Franciscan Mathew Thoring (1390-ca. 1469).[10] Pablo then elaborated upon many of his most important exegetical views expressed in the *Additiones* in his polemical work, the *Scrutinium Scripturarum* (*Scrutiny of Scriptures,* completed 1432-34), which also enjoyed wide dissemination in both manuscript and print and centuries of readership.[11]

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[8] This sort of intertextual comparison has been undertaken along different lines for Pablo's Hebrew letters by Glatzer, "Between Joshua Halorki and Shelomo Halevi," 111-113, who demonstrates how Pablo's *Scrutinium Scripturarum* directly responds to the questions presented by Lorki to Pablo in his Hebrew letter.

[9] On Pablo's education before and after his conversion, see Serrano, *Los conversos,* 30. Halorki mentions Pablo's knowledge of Christian books and language before his conversion.

[10] On Lyra, see Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963); the overview by Jeremy Cohen in *The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), 174-195; the essays in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture,* ed. Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Klaus Reinhardt, "Das Werk des Nikolaus von Lyra im mittelalterlichen Spanien," *Traditio,* 43 (1987): 321-58; Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1959-64), Seconde Partie 2:344-52; and the recent work by Deeana C. Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers. Nichoas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), which provides an up-to-date bibliography on Lyra's work. For a partial listing of manuscripts and printed editions of the *Additiones*, see Klaus Reinhardt and Horacio Santiago-Otero, *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1986), 241-244. Santiago-Otero, *Manuscritos de autores medievales hispános* (Madrid: CSIC, 1987), 1:86-91, has considered the manuscripts in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich in more detail. For a full list of printings of Lyra's *Postillae*, to which Pablo's *Additiones* were frequently attached, see E. A. Gosselin, "A Listing of the Printed Editions of Nicolaus de Lyra," *Traditio,* 26 (1970): 399-426. For a somewhat defective index of some (but not all) citations from rabbinic sources in the *Postillae* and Pablo's *Additiones*, see, with caution, Wolfgang Bunte, *Rabbinische Traditionen bei Nikolaus von Lyra: ein Beitrag zur Schriftauslegung des Spätmittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1994). Pablo's and Lyra's prologues to their commentaries are available along with the *Glossa Ordinaria* in *Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-55), 113:35-60. References here to Lyra's *Postilla* and Pablo's *Additiones* are from *Biblia Latina, cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra...* 4 vols. (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1497). For references to Pablo's prologue, I have also provided the corresponding page numbers from the *Patrologia*.

[11] The *Scrutinium Scripturarum* is extant in over 50 manuscripts and was published in no less than five editions between 1469 and 1478, and was last published in 1591. For a listing, see Reinhardt and Santiago-Otero, *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval*, 245-248. It has recently been edited in two doctoral dissertations at the Pontifical University of the Holy Cross in Rome: N. Visiers Lecanda, "El *Scrutinium Scripturarum* de Pablo de Santa María.

These two works in Latin are essential for an understanding of Pablo's earlier writing, especially his Castilian poetry. Following a short prose prologue, the *Siete edades* recounts, in 338 octaves in *arte mayor* (dodecasyllabic lines rhymed ABBAACCA), the history of the world from creation up to the rule of king Juan II of Castile. It was probably composed around 1416-18—approximately fifteen years before his two Latin works—specifically for Juan, to whom Pablo had served as tutor throughout the decade leading up to the poem's composition. It is one of two Castilian texts by Pablo, the other consisting of a prose history known as the *Suma de las corónicas de España*.[12] The *Siete edades,* which seems to be dedicated to Juan, not to his mother Catalina, as previously maintained by many critics, was received by a moderately wide public readership, as attested by nine surviving manuscripts from the fifteenth century and five from the sixteenth.[13] It has been read as a poetic blending of Hebrew Bible narratives and

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Parte I: Diálogo imaginario entre el judío Saulo y el cristiano Pablo." (Diss. Pontificia Universitas Santae Crucis, Rome, 1998); and Javier Martínez de Bedoya, "La segunda parte del "Scrutinium Scripturarum" de Pablo de Santa María: "El diálogo catequético" (Diss. Pontificia Universitas Sanctae Crucis, Rome, 2002). Detailed consideration of eleven manuscripts in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich can be found in Santiago-Otero, *Manuscritos de autores*, 1:91-96; and discussion of Yale Beinecke MS 353 can be found in Ryan Szpiech, "*Converso* Polemic in Naples: The Transmission of Paulus de Sancta Maria's *Scrutinium Scripturarum*," in *New Studies on Yale Manuscripts from the Late Antique to the Early Modern Period,* ed. Robert G. Babcock (New Haven: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2005), 113-128. A critical edition taking full account of the complex manuscript tradition remains a scholarly desideratum. All references here are to the Burgos, 1591, edition.

[12] On the date of the *Siete edades*, see Juan Carlos Conde's edition, *La creación de un discurso historiográfco en el Cuatrocientos castellano: las "Siete edades del mundo" de Pablo de Santa María (estudio y edición crítica)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1999), 15-22. On the *Suma,* little critical work has been done, and there is ongoing speculation about the attribution of the text to Pablo, because some versions include historical information from after Pablo's death. See Conde, 11 n. 13; Krieger, "Pablo de Santa María: His Epoch...," 198-228; Krieger's transcription of the Escorial manuscript in *Archivo digital de textos y manuscritos españoles (ADMYTE)* (Madrid: Micronet, 1992); the transcription and introduction by José Luis Villacañas Berlanga online at <http://saavedrafajardo.um.es>; and Georgina Olivetto, "Suma de las crónicas de España," in *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española. Textos y transmisión*, ed. Carlos Álvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías, (Madrid: Castalia, 2002), 951-54.

[13] On the manuscripts, including four more from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, see Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 133-230; and "Pablo de Santa María. *Las siete edades del mundo*," in *Diccionario filológico de la literatura medieval española,* 858-864. Although Pablo wrote the poem for Juan II, other texts such as Busto de Villegas's sixteenth-century *Historia del mundo* (based on Pablo's text) and the later version of the poem itself from 1460, which included an anonymous commentary copied along with an "updated" text of the poem (edited in Conde's edition, 343-410), attest to the poem's reception within an ongoing tradition of historiography and commentary. The belief that Pablo dedicated the poem to Juan's mother, Catalina de Lancaster, which persists in modern scholarship, is based on only one manuscript in the tradition (Escorial, ms. h.II.22), dedicated to a "muy poderosa prinçesa e ylustrissima Reyna sseñora." However, as Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,*

historiographical sources such as the *Chronica Minora* of St. Isidore (d. 636), the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (d. ca 1264), the *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas of Tuy (d. ca. 1249), and the historical texts of Castilian king Alfonso X, the Wise (d. 1284).[14] This perspective has led some scholars to see the work as a mere copy and to criticize it for alleged dryness, metrical impurity, or epigonic lack of inspiration. Such criticism has drawn attention away from the rich context of the poem's language, imagery, and structure discernable by comparison with Pablo's later anti-Jewish writing and biblical exegesis.[15] Pablo's understanding of the polemical tradition of using exegesis of biblical and rabbinic texts in anti-Jewish writing, and his own active participation in that tradition in his *Additiones* and *Scrutinium*, help explain a number of important thematic and stylistic choices in the *Siete edades* and provide meaningful glosses to many key details in the poem. A comparative analysis, moreover, constitutes a fruitful alternative to reading the text only alongside other historiographical sources in the same genre and also to indefensible genealogical readings seeking proof of Pablo's "Jewish character."[16] Because there

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16-20, explains, all of the other six manuscripts that contain the prologue—four of which Conde judges from the fifteenth century and not necessarily later than the Escorial manuscript—read "poderoso Príncipe e ylustrissimo Rey sseñor" and, more importantly, even the Escorial manuscript shows signs of having been changed from this former reading. Because the explicit of the third work in the manuscript, Pablo's *Suma de las corónicas,* is dated 1454, Conde speculates that the dedication to the *Siete edades* there may have been updated when the manuscript became part of the library of queen Isabel the Catholic (20 n. 24). Pablo's relationship with Catalina, moreover, would make such a dedication to her unlikely. On Pablo's strained relationship with Catalina, see below, n. 85.

[14] For examples of the attribution to Alfonso X, see M. Jean Sconza's edition of the poem, *History and Literature in Fifteenth-Century Spain: an Edition and Study of Pablo de Santa Maria's Siete edades del mundo* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1991), 176; and Krieger, "Pablo de Santa María: His Epoch...," 158-165. On the use of Isidore, Beauvais, and Tuy, among other sources, see Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 34-80.

[15] Robert Brian Tate argues that Pablo was the first writer after Alfonso X to take up historiography of the dynasties of Castile. See "Mitología en al historiografía española de la edad media y del renacimiento," in *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*, trans. Jesús Díaz (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), 13-32 (21). A comparison with other Castilian poems in *arte mayor* has led critics to attack the poem's literary qualities. See, for example, Dorothy Clotelle Clarke, *Morphology of Fifteenth-Century Castilian Verse* (Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1964), 73-81 (80); and Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España* (Madrid, 1848), 342. On Pablo's use of *arte mayor*, see Juan Carlos Conde, "El Arte Mayor de Pablo de Santa María," in *Actas do IV Congresso da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval (Lisboa, 1-5 Outubro 1991),* vol. 3 (Lisbon: Ed. Cosmos, 1993), 215-219, and Conde's remarks in *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 28-9.

[16] Various scholars have proposed searching for "traces" of his Jewish past in his writing. Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos,* 353-4, n. 6, and Serrano, *Los conversos,* 115, copying this idea, states that Pablo's metrification

is evidence that Pablo's *Additiones* reflect his own glosses to the text that he began to record over three decades earlier, the intersection of the details there with Pablo's *Siete edades* implies a continuity within his exegetical thought after conversion.[17]

Earlier critics have already suggested the viability of using Pablo's Latin work to read his *Siete edades*, but more evidence is necessary to fully justify this approach.[18] One example of Pablo's incorporation of biblical exegesis into his poem can be found in the seemingly trivial details of the very first stanza, the beginning of the "first age":

Al tiempo que fue del Señor ordenado

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is "probably of Hebrew origin," a claim that Cantera Burgos, *Álvar García de Santa María,* 343, dismissed as "gratuitous." See also Baer, *A History*, 3:142; and Reinhardt, "Der Werk," 348. More fruitful is the consideration of Pablo's use of Hebrew sources. Pablo criticizes Nicholas of Lyra for following Rashi too much and not making enough use of Jewish thinkers such as Maimonides, Naḥmanides and Abraham Ibn ʿEzra (on whom see below), as well as for his specious knowledge of Hebrew: "...In littera Hebraica ad quam pluries recurrit, non videtur sufficienter eruditus, quasi illam in pueritia didicisset sed de illa videtur habuisse notitiam, quasi ab aliis in aetate adulta mendicato suffragio acquisitam," "He [Lyra] did not seem to be sufficiently learned in Hebrew letters, to which he frequently referred, as if he were taught them in his youth but he seemed to have knowledge of them as if they were acquired in his adult age with false approval from others." See *Biblia,* 1:18r / *Patrologia Latina,* 113: 46. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. On Pablo's use of Hebrew sources in the *Additiones*, see Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars,* 341 n. 584 and elsewhere; Ch. Merchavia, "The Talmud in the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos," *The Journal of Jewish Studies,* 16.3-4 (1965): 115-134; and the partial index of Bunte, *Rabbinische Traditionen bei Nikolaus von Lyra.*

[17] Although Pablo's personal manuscript copy of the *Postillae* of Lyra is now lost (See Reinhardt, "Das Werk des Nikolaus von Lyra," 326), there are indications that Pablo's *Additiones* were based on his own glosses to that very text made during his years in Paris, shortly after his conversion. First, in his prologue to the *Additiones* addressed to his son, Alonso, he states in reference to the *Postillae,* "Memor sum illam tibi ex bibliotheca mea electam, jam bis praelegisse [N.B. emended from "praeelegisse"]...Quare nec volumen proposui scribere...sed postillam ipsam cum paucis admodum additionibus in margine transcriptis tibi donare; ut et ipsi novitii studentes facere solent, qui cum librum aliquem affectuose perlegunt, aliquibus glossulis saepe manu propria conscriptis margines occupant, ut firmius memoriae, quod legerint, tradant," "I remember having chosen it [the *Postillae*] for you from my library, having read it [i.e. taught it] twice already...therefore I decided not to write a book...but to give to you that postilla with a few little additions recorded in the margins, like novice students often make, students who, when they read through some book with interest, often fill the margins with some glosses written in their own hand, so that they may commit more firmly to memory what they will have read." See *Biblia*, 1:16v / *Patrologia*, 113:37. Second, his will from 1431 indicates that he wished to pass on his copy of the *Postillae* to the cathedral in Burgos: "Postilla magistri Nicholai de Lira qui in sex voluminibus continetur, et est sufficienter correcta, et habet marginibus addiciones quas super eam edidi," "the *Postilla* of master Nicholas of Lyra which are contained in six volumes and are sufficiently corrected and it has the additions which I wrote to them in the margins." For his will, see Cantera Burgos, *Álvar García de Santa María,* 323, and the remarks of Serrano, *Los conversos,* 30.

[18] Cantera Burgos, *Álvar García de Santa María,* 343, remarks in passing that many stanzas of the poem reflect Pablo's perspective as a biblical exegete and as a *converso*. Likewise, Conde has suggested that it is possible to see the influence of Pablo's exegesis in points where he deviates from biblical narrative, and to that end he provides a few examples from the first stanzas of the *Siete edades* alongside germane parallels from the *Additiones*. See Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 47-50; *idem,* "Notas léxicas a las *Siete edades de* [sic] *mundo* de Pablo de Santa María," *Revista de lexicografía,* 2 (1995-6): 29-48.

por nós el su fijo embiar a nasçer,
sin otro ninguno consejo tener
los çielos e tierra crió por mandado;
lo qual como todo estoviesse ayuntado
antes que por partes[19] fuese repartido,
por çima de las aguas era traído
un viento por boca de Dios espirado.[20]

At the time that was ordained by the Lord
To send us his son to be born,
Having no other counsel
He created the heavens and the earth with a command.
Since all [of heaven and earth] was together
Before it was distributed out in parts,
On the face of the waters was drawn
A wind breathed out of the mouth of God.

This opening recounts from a Christian perspective the events of Genesis 1:1-2, "...God created the heavens and the earth, and the earth was without form and void...and a wind from God swept over the face of the waters." In lines 4-6, however, Pablo includes details not explicitly stated in Genesis, Alfonso's *General Estoria* or Tuy's *Chronicon*,[21] but which do reappear in Pablo's later exegesis. In the *Additiones*, Pablo contributed to an ongoing discussion among Christian and Jewish biblical commentators of Genesis concerning the nature of God's original act of creation in Genesis 1:1 in comparison with other, textually later, moments of creation and formation (e.g., Gen. 1:6, "And God said, 'Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters...'"). The great Jewish commentator Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, 1040-1106), to whom Pablo and Lyra frequently refer, argues that this later textual moment of "letting be" is not a real act of creation, but a reformation of already existing elements, "for although the heavens were created on the

[19] Other manuscripts include the variations "por pies" and "por puntos." See Conde, *La creación de un historiográfico,* 271.
[20] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 271.
[21] Tuy makes no mention of creation "por partes ... repartido" nor does he use the word "creavit" at all, but instead distinguishes between "formavit" and "condidit." See *Lucae Tudensis Chronicon mundi,* ed. Emma Falque Rey (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 12.

first day, they were [still] moist (laḥim hayu)."[22] Lyra followed Rashi's distinction between the Hebrew verbs "bara'," "to create," and "'asah," "to make," by elaborating on the difference between the Vulgate "creavit" (Genesis 1:1) and "(dixit)...fiat" (1:6) and arguing that God created the material of which everything is made once on the first day and then "formed" those things on later days (rather than creating "out of nothingness" or *ex nihilo* more than once).[23] In his *Additiones* to Lyra's commentary, however, Pablo argues that certain later moments of creation by God were equally *ex nihilo* rather than being moments of "formation" of material created together on the first day.[24] In the terms of his later writing, the argument in line 4 of *Siete edades* that "los çielos e tierra crió por mandado" refers to God's successive acts throughout the whole process of calling into being out of nothing by the order, "fiat..." In the same way, God's later formation and naming of this amorphous creation is the subject of Pablo's seemingly trivial and insignificant addition in lines 5-6 that creation, "...por partes fuese repartido."

This reading is confirmed by further alterations of the biblical text in the next few stanzas.

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[22] For Rashi's text, see *Mikra'ot Gedolot Ha-Keter,* ed. M. Cohen, 8 vols. in 11 to date (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1997), 5.1:12, and the translation in *Perush Rashi 'al ha-Torah: The Torah: With Rashi's Commentary. Translated, Annotated, and Elucidated,* trans. Rabbi Yisrael Isser Zvi Herczeg, 5 vols. (New York: Mesorah, 1994), 1:6. This argument was followed and expanded in the thirteenth century by Naḥmanides, who makes a similar distinction between "create" and "make" to argue that God created *ex nihilo* only on the first day. See Nina Caputo, *Nahmanides in Medieval Catalonia. History, Community, and Messianism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 53-89, and especially 78-80.

[23] Postilla on Genesis 1:6, *Biblia,* 1:22v. For a discussion of Lyra's commentary on creation, see Corrine Patton, "Creation, Fall, and Salvation: Lyra's Commentary on Genesis 1-3," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 19-43.

[24] Comparing the statements "The earth was formless and empty and darkness was over the surface of the deep" (Genesis 1:2) and the later "Let there be a firmament" (1:6), he argues that the creation of the firmament or "expanse" in Genesis 1:6 had to have been *ex nihilo*, not out of an already-existing abyss. "Hoc firmamentum fuit productum de nihilo in sua propria specie per creationem...si enim de abysso vel aliqua parte eius firmamentum fuisset formatum: ut quidam dicunt dixisset utique "fiat abyssus" vel "fiat de abysso firmamentum"...ex quo sequitur quod illa ubi non exprimitur materia sed solum dicitur "Fiat" non debent intelligi fieri ex materia praeiacente sed in sua propria specie totaliter ex nihilo per creationem produci...Nam in hoc quod dicit "Creavit deus celum et terram" intelliguntur omnia celestia et terrestria in processu sex dierum a deo immediate creari..." "This firmament was made out of nothing in his own way through creation...if the firmament were formed from the abyss or from any part of it, it would have said something like "he made the abyss" or "he made the firmament out of the abyss."...From which it follows that those [verses] where he did not produce material but it only says "He made" should not be understood to be made from preexisting material but to be produced by creation completely from nothing in their

Referring in the second stanza to the creation of the firmament on the second day, which in the biblical narrative (1:7) uses the word "ʿasah," "He *made* the expanse", Pablo insists that "los çielos *crió* en el día segundo," "He *created* the heavens on the second day." In stanza three, referring to Gen. 1:20 ("And God said, "Let the waters bring forth swarms of living creatures"), he states, "En el quinto día mandó que *criassen*/ las aguas en sí diversos pescados," "On the fifth day he ordered that the waters *create*/ diverse fish in themselves."[25] Even more significantly, in stanza five he again differs from the biblical narrative of Gen. 1:27 ("And God created man in his own image...male and female He created them."), which does not mention creation of humanity "out of nothingness." He states, "A su semejança le fizo *de nada*/ varón e muger en uno crió," "In his likeness he made him *out of nothing*/ man and women as one he created them."[26] Such details indicate that in the *Siete edades*, just as in his later *Additiones*, Pablo constructs his arguments in dialogue with Lyra, Rashi, and other exegetes, and his more elaborate glosses in his later exegetical texts explain many details hidden in the terse poetic rendering.

This example shows Pablo's engagement in the *Siete edades* with the same exegetical questions that he elaborates in his later works, but not with questions that are explicitly polemical. In his Latin texts, however, Pablo regularly presents his exegesis as part of a wider attack on

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own kind...In that which reads "God created the heavens and earth," all celestial and terrestrial things that were created in a process of six days all at once by God are understood..." See First Addition to Genesis 1, *Biblia,* 1:27r.

[25] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 271, emphasis mine.

[26] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 272, emphasis mine. Cf. Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon Mundi*, 12, "...de limo terre formavit Adam, cui animam creatam de nichilo inspiravit," "...from the mud of the earth he formed Adam, to whom he breathed a soul created from nothing." Pablo's addition in the *Siete edades* stands out even more when one considers his addition to Lyra in which he distinguishes between the three biblical actions of "producing" humans: "formavit," "he formed," "genuit," "he begat," and "edificavit," "he built." See the fifth addition to Genesis 2, *Biblia,* 1:31v-32r. Conde notes this gloss in his discussion of the odd word "compago" in stanza nine, discussing the creation of Eve from Adam's rib, "E de la mi carne fecha tal compago,/ por ende su nombre será ya virago," "And such a conjunction was made from my flesh/ therefore she will be called a virago." He argues that "compago," which in Latin indicates a framework or joint, corresponds to the third form of creation, "aedificavit," and therefore clearly stands out "in opposition to creation *ex nihilo*." For the text, see Conde, *La creación de un*

Judaism, and many of his exegetical ideas expressed in the *Additiones* are also frequently reproduced or rewritten in slightly altered form in his anti-Jewish *Scrutinium*.[27] For these reasons, the consideration of the exegetical background of the *Siete edades* leads directly to the question of the potential polemical subtext of the poem.

One clear example of the coincidence of details in the *Siete edades* with polemical arguments developed in his later writing occurs near the middle of the poem, which begins the "third age" with a discussion of Abraham. After insisting that Abraham "...fue/ primero que ninguno çircunçidado...," "...was/ the first of any to be circumcised"—a detail not explicit in the biblical text, rejected by some exegetes, and overlooked by others[28]—Pablo also maintains that Abraham was Terah's firstborn son ("Después de Abraham dos hermanos nasçieron...," "After Abraham two brothers were born"), another detail on which Jewish and Christian exegetes could

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discurso historiográfico, 272, and for Conde's use of the *Additiones* to explicate "compago," see "Notas léxicas a las *Siete edades de* [sic] *mundo,"* 39.

[27] For example, Pablo reproduces his first addition to Lyra's lengthy gloss on Genesis 1:1 (see his mention of Naḥmanides, *Biblia,* 1:25r) again in the *Scrutinium* within the polemical context of Paul's argument against the Jew Saul, precisely within the discussion of the Trinity. One can compare, for example, his explanation of "In the beginning" as "In wisdom," in his citation of Naḥmanides in his first addition to Genesis 1, with his similar discussion and citation in the *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 332-5. This double sense of "in the beginning" can also be found in the *Zohar*, e.g. Bereshit 1:15b. See *Sefer ha-Zohar,* 5 vol. in 3 (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1999), 1:29-30, translated in *The Zohar*, trans. Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, 5 vols. (London: Soncino, 1931), 1: 63-4. On Pablo's use of exegesis as polemic in the *Scrutinium,* see Michelangelo Tábet, "El diálogo judeo-cristiano en el *Scrutinium Scripturarum* de Pablo de Santa María," *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi,* 16.2 (1999): 537-560. For a very general overview of some the historical context, see Gareth Lloyd Jones, "Paul of Burgos and the *Adversus Judaeos* Tradition," *Henoch*, 21 (1999): 313-329.

[28] Other manuscripts read "antes que ninguno..." and "primero que otro ninguno." See Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 283. Naḥmanides notes in his Torah commentary, "Had he performed his circumcision first...he would then not have been in a position to concern himself with their circumcision." See *Perush ha-Ramban ʿal ha-Torah,* ed. Ch. Chavel, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1959-60), 1:103, and the translation in *Ramban: Commentary on the Torah,* trans. Ch. Chavel, 5 vols. (New York: Shilo, 1971), 1:225. Maimonides' exclamation is vague: "Who first began to perform this act, if not *Abraham*...?" See *Dalālat al-Ḥāʾirīn*, text established by S. Munk, ed. Issachar Joel (Jerusalem: J. Junovitch, 5691/1930-1), 448, and *Guide of the Perplexed,* Trans. Schlomo Pines, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 609. Christian exegetes including Lyra say little, if anything, regarding the order of Abraham's actions. In the Alba Bible, produced by Moses Arragel between 1422-1433 and now held in the Library of the Palacio de Liria in Madrid, there is a striking miniature depicting Abraham's self-circumcision, very rare in illuminted Bibles and Haggadot. Significantly, Abraham is alone in his action, perhaps implying his primacy in performing the commandment. The image (illustration 18) appears on f. 37rb, and is reproduced as figure 205 by Sonia Fellous, *Histoire de la Bible de Moïse Arragel. Quand un rabbin interprète la Bible pour les chrétiens,* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), 327.

not agree.[29] In the *Siete edades*, these details seem like no more than innocuous alterations of standard notions, but consideration of his anti-Jewish *Scrutinium* shows that Pablo was to develop these points into a polemical argument in the years following his poem. The insistence on Abraham being "first" (in circumcision and in birth order) appears again in the dialogue of the *Scrutinium* within the argument of the Christian Paul against his Jewish interlocutor Saul.[30] In the discussion of Genesis 15:15, when God says to Abraham, "You shall go to your fathers in peace," Paul offers a Jewish source (possibly spurious) that interprets this verse as proof of Abraham's descent to visit hell, where his forefathers had been placed for their idolatry.[31] On this basis, Paul claims that Jewish sources support the Christian doctrine of *Limbus Patrum*, Limbo of the Fathers, derived from the traditional notion of the "Bosom of Abraham," a place in hell for the righteous dead to await final judgment. Paul explicates this verse by emphasizing, in a reading that differs markedly from Jewish authorities such as Rashi and the Catalan rabbi and exegete Naḥmanides (Moses ben Naḥman, 1194-ca. 1270), that Abraham went "in *peace*," meaning that he went to Limbo knowing he would be saved but that he and his ancestors must

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[29] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 285. Lyra claims Abraham was the last born but the first named and claims that Rashi implies he was first born, although this detail is not evident in Rashi's commentary (See Lyra's *Postilla* on Genesis 11:26-7 in *Biblia,* 1:45v; and Cf. Rashi in *Mikraʾot Gedolot,* 5.1:118, and *The Torah: with Rashi's Commentary,* 1:111-112). Alfonso X also affirms in the *General estoria* that Abraham was the last born. See Alfonso el Sabio, *General Estoria. Primera Parte*, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde (Madrid: CSIC, 1930), 85.

[30] *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 208-212.

[31] Paul refers to "Rabbi Rachmon," an unidentified figure cited by a host of other Christian polemicists, including Jerónimo de Santa Fe, Alfonso de Valladolid, and Raymond Martini (on these figures, see below). Yitzhak Baer, "The Forged Midrashim of Raymond Martini and Their Place in Religious Controversies of the Middle Ages" [Hebrew], in *Studies in Memory of Asher Gulak and Samuel Klein* (Jerusalem, 1942), 28-49 (28-31), has asserted that Rachmon was an acronymic pseudonym that Martini gave to himself to proffer his own ideas under the guise of an authoritative Jewish source. This argument has been countered by Saul Lieberman, *Sheqiʿin,* 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Shalem Books, 1992), 67-72, who believes that Rachmon refers to a Jewish collaborator of Martini. Recently, Ch. Merchavia, "*Pugio Fidei*—And Index of Citations" [Hebrew], in *Galut aḥar Golah. Studies in Jewish History Presented to Professor Haim Beinart in Honor of his Seventieth Year* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1988), 203-234 (206), has pointed out that not all the references to Rachmon in the earliest manuscript of the *Pugio* are found in the printed edition of the *Pugio Fidei* (Leipzig, 1687), and that not all of these references are Christological in nature. Jerónimo de Santa Fe reproduces this same reference concerning Abraham in hell in chapter 7 of his *Contra Iudaeorum perfidiam ex Talmuth*. See *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum,* ed. Marguerin de la Bigne et al., 27 vols. (Leiden (Lugduni): Anissonios, 1677), 26: 539.

await the Messiah.[32] In this, Pablo follows very closely the discussion of Thomas Aquinas on Limbo, emphasizing the importance of Abraham being "first" among the prophets, because he was the first to reject idolatry. Pablo states:

> Quamvis alii sancti praecesserunt Abraham in tempore, tamen inter omnes sanctos Abraham fuit primus, in separando se a cetu infidelium, ut habetur Genesis 12. Similiter in publicando nomen Domini, ut ibidem etiam fuit primus in recipiendo signaculum fidei in circuncisione. Genesis 17. Fuit etiam primus in recipiendo a Deo promissione de Messia venturo. Genesis 22.
>
> Although other saints preceded Abraham in time, nevertheless Abraham was first among all the saints, first in separating himself from the body of infidelity, as [it says] in Genesis 12. Likewise, [he was first] in proclaiming the name of God, and was also the first in receiving the sign of faith in circumcision, [as in] Genesis 17. He was first also in receiving from God the promise of the coming Messiah, [as in] Genesis 22.[33]

What appears in the *Siete edades* as a string of idiosyncratic details about Abraham becomes in his later polemical writing a way to counter Jewish doubts about Limbo and, by implication, to affirm the history of Christian abrogation of Judaism. Pablo's characterization of Abraham in the *Scrutinium* formed part of a deliberate argument against competing Jewish notions about the

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[32] "Fuerunt in inferno, non in loco poenali sicut damnati, sed in loco in quo quamvis divina visione carebant, nullam tamen gehennalem sentiebant poenam...quidem locus apud tuos doctores vocatur suburbium paradisi...apud nostros vero limbus," "They were in hell, not in a place of punishment like the damned, but in the place where, although they lacked the divine vision, they nevertheless felt none of the pains of hell...this place is called the outskirts of paradise by your doctors, Limbo by ours." See *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 210. This concept specifically goes against Rashi and Naḥmanides, who interpret this verse to mean that Terah was saved from hell by association with Abraham. See, for example, Naḥmanides' comment on Genesis 11:32, *Perush ha-Ramban*, 1:74-5, and *Commentary on the Torah,* 1:163. The concept of Abraham's Bosom, which later developed in Christian thought into a term synonymous with paradise, appears in the New Testament (Luke 16:22) and a few rabbinic writings (BT Qiddushin 72b, *Lamentations Rabbah* 1:16, ed. Buber (Wilna, 1899), 85), as well as in early patristic sources, such as the fragment "On the Universe," attributed to Hippolytus of Rome. For the use of the topic of Abraham as a source of the Christian attack on Judaism, see Jeffrey S. Siker, *Disinheriting the Jews: Abraham in early Christian Controversy* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox, 1991). Also of interest in the context of this essay is the study of Jérôme Baschet, "Medieval Abraham: Between Fleshly Patriarch and Divine Father," *MLN,* 108.4 French Issue (1993): 738-758 (741), which argues that the notion of the Bosom of Abraham must be understood in direct relation to medieval propaganda relating to the image of divine kingship.

[33] *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 211. Thomas discusses Limbo in his *Commentary on the Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and this discussion was then incorporated into the supplement to part three of the *Summa Theologica* after Thomas's death (supplement quaest. 69, art. 4). Cf. Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, *Opera omnia,* 25 vols. in 26 (Parma: Typis Petri Fiaccadori, 1852-1873), vol. 7.2, *Commentum in quatuor libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi* (1858), 872-1259, lib. 4, dist. 45, quast. 1, art. 2, "If the Limbo of Hell is the same as the Bosom of Abraham." In his response to quaestincula 1, he notes, "Primum autem exemplum credendi hominibus in Abraham datur, qui primus

patriarchs. Its coincidence with the image of Abraham presented in the *Siete edades* suggests that just as Pablo's later exegetical ideas inform certain details in the poem, so too his arguments against Jews are woven into many of those details, creating a polemical subtext beneath the poem's principle historiographic content.

These two examples from the *Siete edades*—his account of creation and his description of Abraham—show that his later writing can provide important insights into Pablo's own understanding of the details of his poem. When taken together, such insights can lead us to a fundamentally reoriented appreciation of the work as a whole.[34] This direct intersection of Pablo's discourse on history with his exegetical and polemical readings of biblical history justifies using the latter as an interpretive foil against which to read his poetic history more carefully. In most cases, including the two examples already provided, the exegetical and polemical subtext to the poem would probably not have been obvious to its medieval readers nor did Pablo seem to intend it to be so. It simply reflects Pablo's own understanding of the details of his work. Nevertheless, certain sections relating to the main theme of the poem—the culmination of history in the reign of king Juan II of Castile—do stand out, when read through the lens of his Latin writing, as more deliberate polemical statements that affected the poem's structure and meaning. The exposition of this polemical subtext, while helping to explain Pablo's ideological intention in the poem, also serves as an example of how the exegesis found in arguments between Christians and Jews could directly inform the historiography of converts like Pablo in the wake of 1391 just as it would later do for Jewish writers in the wake of 1492.

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se a coetu infidelium segregavit," "The first example of belief was given to men in Abraham, who first separated himself from the body of unbelievers."

[34] It also calls into question Alan Deyermond's statement that Pablo's Latin works focus on theology and biblical studies, while his Castilian texts deal [only] with history. See "Historia universal e ideología nacional en Pablo de Santa María," in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, 2 vols. (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo ; Madrid : Editorial Gredos, c1985), 2:313-324 (313).

II. Re-interpreting Royal Messianism

The direct intersection of Pablo's polemical exegesis with his historiography is most evident in the finale of the *Siete edades*, where the poem's provocative imagery acquires multiple dimensions of significance, both political and religious. In the final stanzas, which conclude the long historical ascent leading from creation to the early fourteenth century, Pablo explicitly compares Juan's reign to the messianic arrival of Jesus:

> Ilustre linaje de reyes pasados
> es este por todas las gentes del mundo,
> de donde desçiende don Juan el Segundo,
> delante quien somos todos inclinados;
> que como fuimos del tributo librados
> por Nuestro Señor en el su advenimiento,
> así somos deste por su naçimiento
> después en Castilla todos libertados.
>
> Aquí concluyendo finco la rodilla,
> besando la tierra como natural
> delante su grand poderío real
> de aqueste alto rey de León e Castilla.[35]
>
> An Illustrious lineage of past kings
> Is this one, among all the people of the world,
> From which descends Juan the Second
> Before whom we all bow.
> Just as we were liberated from the [temple] tribute
> By our Lord in His coming,
> So are we by the birth of this one [Juan II]
> All liberated afterward in Castile.
>
> Here concluding I bend a knee,
> Kissing the earth as a subject,
> Before the great royal power
> Of this high king of León and Castile.

[35] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 340-41. I understand "tributo" as a reference to the temple tax mandated in Ex. 30: 12-16, here symbolizing the Jewish Law, from which Jesus "freed" Christians, according to Christian tradition (Mat. 17:24-5).

Alan Deyermond has appropriately described this section in exegetical terms by attributing the messianic finale to the logic of Christian "figurative" history. He concludes that in Pablo's historiography, the empires of the Jews and Romans are *figurae,* "imperfect prefigurations of a future perfect fulfillment, the Castile of Juan II."[36] While useful in descriptive terms, Deyermond's reading does not sufficiently explain why Pablo may have chosen to represent history in this way or what this representation implied for Pablo and his readers. To conclude simply that Pablo used such figurativism only because it was "a structure extremely well-known in the Middle Ages"[37] without adding to the equation his knowledge of rabbinic tradition and his polemical engagement with that tradition in his other works, leaves the meaning of the poem's figurative imagery ultimately unexplained.

We cannot understand Pablo's use of figurativism without careful consideration of his theory of biblical exegesis. In his Latin texts, Pablo elaborated a complex exegetical theory of the levels of meaning in Scripture based on traditional Christian exegesis. While he accepts the traditional four-level explanation of scriptural meaning, i.e. the literal/historical, the allegorical, the tropological/moral, and the anagogical/spiritual, he does not simply follow established notions, but makes innovative alterations and combinations of earlier ideas. He explains his theory in detail in the prologue to his *Additiones*. First, he notes that while all four levels of the text represent possible readings, not all meanings are present in every verse, and sometimes a passage reflects only three semantic levels, sometimes only two or one.[38] Secondly, he claims that there is not only one literal sense, but up to three: the literal/historical, the literal/grammatical or etymological, and the literal/anagogical, in which the literal meaning of one verse does not contradict the anagogical meaning of another. Of these "multiple literal

[36] Deyermond, "Historia universal," 322.

senses" alongside other figurative meanings, there is no single rule dictating which is to be preferred, but generally the meaning that follows the grammatical sense of the text, the consensus of Church doctors, and the dictates of reason is best.[39] While he makes clear that in polemical writing the literal sense is "the most effective" in arguing against unbelievers—a point we will address in more detail below—he does not definitively endorse either the literal or figurative senses as universally superior, as previous critics have maintained.[40] Rather, he argues that the literal and figurative levels of meaning can be understood and compared in the text in either a "universal" or a "particular" way, yielding different results in each case. Universally

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[37] Deyermond, "Historia universal," 322.

[38] Prologue to the *Additiones*, *Biblia,* 1:17r / *Patrologia Latina,* 113: 40.

[39] "Cum plures sensus de una auctoritate sacrae scripturae literales traduntur, quis illorum aliis sit praeferendus? Dicendum quod in hoc *non videtur quod possit dari unica regula generalis*. Sed sunt quaedam circa hoc consideranda...ille sensus videtur praeferendus, cuius sententia magis innititur rationi...Item sensus ille videtur aliis praeferendus esse, qui magis consonat literae...Constat autem quod planiora loca sunt illa quae planius litterae consonant. Item praeferendus est caeteris paribus sensus literalis, qui a sanctis doctoribus traditur, caeteris sensibus ab aliis expositoribus traditis...Item ubi duo sensus literae habentur, quorum neuter repugnat Ecclesiae auctoritati, nec rectae rationi, unus tamen traditur a Catholicis, et alius ab infidelibus; tunc praeferendus est sensus Catholicorum...ubi pluralitus sensuum literalium occurrit, raro contingit, quod unus praedictorum sensuum caeteris praecellat secundum omnia dicta, sed potius unus illorum sensuum praecellit uno modo, et alius alio." "When multiple literal senses are brought from one authority of sacred scripture, which of them is to be preferred? It must be said that, in this [case], *it does not seem that a single, general rule can be given*. But there are certain things that should be taken into account regarding this...That sense whose argument most depends on reason seems preferable...Also, the sense that best accords with the [literal meaning of the words] also seems preferable...It is the case that the clear passages are those in which the [multiple] literal senses accord. Also, in some passages the literal sense explained by holy doctors is to be preferred, in other passages that brought by other commentators...Also, where two senses of the letter are found, neither of which disagrees with Church authority or clear reason, but one is brought by Catholics and the other by infidels, then the sense of the Catholics is to be preferred...where a plurality of literal sense occurs, it rarely happens that one of the aforementioned senses is superior to the other in all cases, but rather [it happens that] one of those senses is superior in one way, and the other in another." See *Biblia,* 1:17v / *Patrologia Latina,* 113:43, emphasis mine.

[40] Nicolás López Martínez, "Pablo de Santa María y el sentido literal bíblico en las controversias con los judíos," in *Biblia, exégesis y cultura. Estudios en honor del profesor D. José María Casciaro*, ed. G. Aranda et al. (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1994), 475-483 (479), has argued that Pablo "has an obsession with the literal sense," valuing it above the figurative. His remarks are based mainly on the *Scrutinium*, and can be emended through consideration of Pablo's more measured explanation in the *Additiones.* Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 48, on the other hand, insists that Pablo "fled from literality" and is, in fact, quite often "clearly hostile to the emphasis on the *sensus litteralis* in the *Postillae* of Nicholas of Lyra," and this observation can also be emended by consideration of Pablo's frequent use of the literal sense in his polemical text. As Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale,* Second Partie, 2:281, and Ceslas Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1944), 277 n. 1, both observe, Pablo's understanding of the literal is complex because he was among the first to develop the notion of multiple literal senses in Christian exegesis. On Pablo's biblical hermeneutic, see also Gerhard Ebeling, *Evangelische Evangelienauslegung. Eine Untersuchung zu Luthers Hermeneutik,* (Munich, 1942), 130-36; and, de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale,* Seconde Partie 2: 352-9.

speaking, he explains, the figurative rests on the literal, and when it is not obscure, the literal meaning is superior (dignior) to any figurative sense derived from it. Nevertheless, he insists, in many particular cases, the figurative, moral, or spiritual meaning of the text is actually "superior" to the literal.[41] The choice of whether to follow a literal or the figurative reading must depend on context, and even when the literal level is deemed superior, it is not necessarily singular in meaning.

These exegetical principles presented in the prologue to the *Additiones*—the multiplicity of the literal senses, the relative equality and symbiosis of the literal and the figurative, and the "effectiveness" of the literal in polemical disputations—provide the framework within which we can explain his use of figurativism in the *Siete edades* and explore the intersection of that figurativism with his later polemical exegesis in the *Scrutinium*. Because his strong support for the literal level of meaning in certain cases does not come at the expense of metaphorical or figurative interpretations in others, he does not proffer his figurative interpretations as mere adornment to a more solid literal core meaning. Instead, he intends them, in many cases, as equally valuable interpretations of the text. His belief in the multiplicity of the literal sense, moreover, creates an interpretive space in Scripture—and, by extension, in his exegetical, polemical, and historiographical rendition of it as well—in which more than one meaning can be literally true. As we will see, this semantic multiplicity, in the context of the *Siete edades*, allows a polemical subtext in the poem to exist alongside its literal, political message without forcing the reader to choose only one of the two. At the same time, the endorsement of the literal sense as the most "effective" in polemical confrontation illuminates his choice to present king Juan as a worldly messiah figure, a divinely anointed king that unifies his people.

[41] *Biblia,* 1:18r / *Patrologia Latina,* 113:45.

The description of royalty in religious and even messianic terms was certainly not uncommon in the Middle Ages, and has been considered in a number of famous studies such as those by Marc Bloch (*The Royal Touch*) and Ernst Kantorowicz (*The King's Two Bodies*), among others.[42] The popularity of such images in later-medieval Spain has also been repeatedly considered,[43] and past studies have paid particular attention to the appearance of royal propaganda in fifteenth-century *cancionero* poetry.[44] Critics have understandably situated Pablo's poem in the context of these earlier studies.[45] With this background in mind, Conde's literal, political explanation of the poem's description of Juan II is very compelling: Juan's birth in 1405 averted the lingering possibility that the royal line of the ruling house of Trastámara,

[42] See Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch. Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1973); and Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), especially chapter 3. See also Manual García Pelayo, "El reino feliz de los últimos tiempos," in *Los mitos políticos* (Madrid: Alianza, 1981), 64-110, especially 71-83; and Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body. Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. R. Burr Litchfield (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, c2001), 20-25, who has explored similar themes through the concept of *Christomimesis*.

[43] The theme of royal messianism in Iberia has been amply studied by José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)* (Madrid: Eudema, 1988), 71-77, and in his *Iglesia y génesis del estado moderno en Castilla (1369-1480)* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1993), 190-198. See also Alain Milhou, "La chauve-souris, le nouveau David et le roi caché (trois images de l'empereur des derniers temps dans le monde ibérique: XIIIe-XVIIe siecle," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez,* 18 (1982): 61-78; *idem*, "Propagánda mesiánica y opinión pública: Las reacciones de las ciudades del reino de Castilla frente al proyecto fernandino de cruzada (1510-11)," in *Homenaje a José Antonio Maravall*, ed. María del Carmen Iglesias et al., 3 vols. (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1985), 3:51-62; and Martin Aurell, "Eschatologie, spiritualité et politique dans la confédération catalano-aragonaise (1282-1412)," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux,* 27 (Fanjeaux: Éditions Privat, 1992): 191-235 (226-31). Also germane is Margarida Garcez Ventura, *O Messias de Lisboa. Um Etudo de Mitologia Política (1383-1415)* (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1992).

[44] Poems celebrating the birth of Juan II can also be found, for example, in the *Cancionero de Baena*, # 226. See *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, eds. Brian Dutton and Joaquín González Cuenca (Madrid: Visor, 1993), 255-279. Heinrich Graetz, *Hitory of the Jews*, 6 vols. (1891-98; reprint, Philadelphia, 1967), 4:190, has argued that the poem #230 by Moses ben Abraham Ibn Zarzal, the physician of king Enrique III, ("Una estrella es naçida/ en Castilla reluçiente...," "A shining star is born in Castile"), also may imply a comparison between the king and the Messiah. On the *cancionero* as royal propaganda, see José Manuel Nieto Soria, "Apología y propaganda de la realeza en los cancioneros castellanos del siglo XV. Diseño literario de un modelo político," *En la España Medieval*, 11 (1988): 185-221 (200-207); and Charles Fraker, *Studies on the Cancionero de Baena*, in *Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures*, 61 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1966), 65-6. Also relevant is the poetic comparison of queen Isabel with the Virgin Mary, on which see Gregory B. Kaplan, *The Evolution of Converso Literature* (Gainsville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002), 74-89.

[45] Luis Fernández Gallardo, "La obra historiográfica de dos conversos ilustres, don Pablo de Santa María y don Alonso de Cartagena," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III. Historia Medieval,* 6 (1993): 249-285 (268), endorses a political explanation by viewing messianism as a "typical" feature of medieval political history. José Manuel Nieto

according to the terms set out in the Treaty of Bayonne in 1388, could cede control of the throne of Castile to the Lancasters of England through Juan's mother, queen regent Catalina of Lancaster.[46]

Although this is a plausible explanation for the description of Juan in messianic terms, careful consideration of Pablo's own epistemological framework broadens the implications of such imagery without gainsaying the political reading defended by other critics. Because Pablo's historiography is exegetical in its foundation, and because he believed that the literal sense of Scripture is seldom singular, the meaning and ideological implications of his poem can likewise be multiple.[47] Just as Pablo's exegetical ideology guides his presentation of the history of past civilizations as *figurae* foreshadowing the ascendance of Castilian hegemony, so it also explains his comparison of the salvific power of Christ with the literal kingship of the real historical figure of Juan II. Juan's literal significance as king is not superseded by his spiritual description as a soterial figure, nor is the spiritual power of Jesus eclipsed by presenting Juan as a worldly messiah. Rather, Pablo's conclusion conflates of the spiritual messianism of Christ with the temporal reign of Juan II, speaking of the "two messiahs," worldly and mystical, as equally important and compelling. In this sense, Juan II, as a Christian king who fulfills Christ's messianic mission, is both figuratively and literally the political savior of Castile.

Soria, *Iglesia y génesis del estado moderno,* 216, presents Pablo's poem as an example of propagandistic legitimation of the Trastamaran crown in Castile.

[46] As Conde explains, only a legitimate heir produced by Enrique III and Catalina of Lancaster could forestall the claims on the Castilian throne by the Lancaster line, which had begun with the actions of Catalina's father John of Gaunt decades before. The birth of Juan II, therefore, signaled the stability of the crown against foreign interests and preserved Trastamaran control of Castile. See *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 115. On the treaty of Bayonne, see J. J. N. Palmer and Brian Powell, *The Treaty of Bayonne (1388) with Preliminary Treaty of Trancoso (1387)* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1988).

[47] The observation of Frederic Jameson concerning exegetical allegory is appropriate here to describe Pablo's multiple literal senses: "Allegory is here the opening up of the text to multiple meanings, to successive rewritings and overwritings which are generated as so many levels and as so many supplementary interpretations. So the interpretation of a particular Old Testament passage in terms of the life of Christ...comes less as a technique for closing the text off and for repressing aleatory or aberrant readings and senses, than as a mechanism for preparing

Messianism as a polemical, rather than political, theme is a major part of Pablo's Latin writing, through which he participated in the ongoing Jewish-Christian polemics on the subject. Not surprisingly, Pablo mentions in his *Scrutinium* the important conflicts and debates between Christians and Jews that had taken place from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, including the trial and burning of the Talmud in Paris (1240-1244), as well as the disputations of Barcelona (1263) and Tortosa (1413-14).[48] Pablo was deeply implicated in the tradition of these debates, and he cites the arguments of previous polemicists such as Petrus Alfonsi (converted 1106), Raymond Martini (d. ca 1287), Abner de Burgos/Alfonso de Valladolid (ca 1270-ca. 1347), and his own protégé, Joshua Halorki/Jerónimo de Santa Fe,[49] concerning the arrival of the Messiah within the chronology of history and prophecy. Given the centrality of messianism in Pablo's Latin writing, we can understand the messianic imagery at the end of the *Siete edades* as more

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such a text for further ideological investment." See *The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 29-30.

[48] Pablo mentions Naḥmanides in both parts of the *Scrutinium Scripturarum* (for example, 133 and 522), and Ch. Merchavia, "The Talmud in the *Additiones,*" 122-3, also notes Pablo's use of Halorki / Santa Fe's arguments as well as reference to the charges of the convert Nicholas Donin against the Talmud at the Talmud Trial of 1239-40. On the trial of the Talmud, see Yitzhak Baer, "The Disputations of R. Yeḥiel of Paris and R. Moses ben Naḥman" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz,* 2 (1930-31): 172-87; Ch. Merchavia, *The Church Versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature (500-1248)* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1970), 240ff; and the extensive bibliography referenced by Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 60-76. On the disputation of Barcelona, see Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); and Caputo, *Nahmanides in Medieval Catalonia*, 91-127. On the dispute of Tortosa, see the summary by Baer, *A History,* 2:170-243; and his "Die Disputation von Tortosa (1413-1414)," in *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Erste Reihe: Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens,* 3 (1931): 307-336. Primary accounts are available in *La disputa de Tortosa*, ed. A. Palacios López, 2 vols. (Madrid: CSIC, 1957), which contains the Latin protocol; "Vikuaḥ Tortosa," *Yeshurun* (Bamberg), 6 (1868): 45-55, which contains a very fragmentary Hebrew account of unknown authorship; and Solomon Ibn Verga, *Sheveṭ Yehudah,* ed. M. Wiener (Hannover: C. Rümpler, 1855), 67-78, and the translation in *La vara de Yehudah (Šebeṭ Yehudah),* trans. María José Cano (Barcelona: Riopiedras, 1991), 168-189, which is based on the contemporary account of Bonastruc Desmaestre of Girona. For discussion of these Hebrew accounts, see Jaume Riera i Sans, *La crònica en hebreu de la Disputa de Tortosa* (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1974), which provides a Catalan translation of both Hebrew accounts and has argued that both texts can be attributed to Bonastruc; and also Hanne Trautner-Kromann, *Shield and Sword: Jewish Polemics Against Christianity and the Christians in France and Spain from 1100-1500,* trans. James Manley (Tübingen: Mohr, 1993), 162-168. A guide to some archival sources relating to the dispute can be found in *Sources for the History of the Jews in Spain,* ed. Yom Tov Assis et al., 6 vols. (Jerusalem: Ginzei Am Olam, the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People - Jerusalem: Hispania Judaica, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988-1998), vol. 6 (1998, ed. with Gemma Escribà), *The Tortosa Disputation. Regesta of Documents from the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Fernando I, 1412-1416.*

[49] See, for example, *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 533; and Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 80.

than just political propaganda. It also functioned as a deliberate polemical argument.

In terms of anti-Jewish polemic, Pablo's representation of Juan II as a messiah figure signifies a direct riposte to perceived Jewish arguments against Christian polemicists insisting on the nature of the Messiah as a worldly king. Largely ignoring Jewish discussions of figurative and spiritual levels of Scripture,[50] Christians regularly characterized Jewish exegesis, for internal, theological reasons, as excessively literal and "carnal," and distinguished (as Pablo himself does in his *Additiones*) between "sensus iudaicus," "the Jewish sense," and "sensus mysticus," "the mystical sense."[51] In response, Jewish intellectuals—despite their regular use of allegory in non-polemical texts—sought to defend themselves in polemical debates by turning the tables on this accusation: Instead of denying an adherence to the literal sense, they affirmed it even more vehemently in order to accuse Christian exegetes of relying excessively on allegorical readings not supported by the historical meaning of the text. Writers such as Rashi, Abraham Ibn ʿEzra (ca. 1089/93-ca. 1164/7), Joseph Qimḥi (1105-1170) and others repeatedly emphasized the importance of *peshaṭ,* the literal sense, and in some cases presented it as a direct rejection of Christological figurativism and a key tool in debates with Christians.[52]

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[50] Examples of such exegetical approaches abound and are too numerous to summarize here, but one can consider, for example, Maimonides' esteem of allegorical interpretation, on which see Isadore Twersky, *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 366-7 n. 31. Similarly, Elliot Wolfson, "Beautiful Maiden Without Eyes: Peshat and Sod in Zoharic Hermeneutics," in *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), 155-203, challenges an oversimplified vision of *peshaṭ* in the analysis of Jewish kabbalah and mystical exegesis (*sod*). See also below, n. 52.

[51] Among the fullest treatments of the subject recently are Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law. Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 219-312; and Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuals chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 517-529. For the twelfth century origins of Christian responses to *peshaṭ,* see Michael A. Singer, "Peshaṭ, Sensus Litteralis, and Sequential Narrative: Jewish Exegesis and the School of St. Victor in the Twelfth Century," in *The Frank Talmage Memorial,* ed. Barry Walfish, 2 vols. (Haifa: University of Haifa / Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England in association with Brandeis University Press, 1993), 1:203-216.

[52] On the relationship between *peshaṭ* and *derash* in medieval Jewish exegesis, see David W. Halivni, *Peshat and Derash: Plain and Applied Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and on Jewish allegory and its relationship to *peshaṭ*, see Frank Talmage, "Apples of Gold: The Inner Meaning of Sacred Texts in Medieval Judaism," in *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible to the Middle Ages,* ed. Arthur Green (New York:

One of the ways that Jewish polemicists sought to use *peshaṭ* as a defense against Christian attacks was by emphasizing a literal understanding of the Messiah. If Jesus was to be accepted as the Messiah predicted by the Jewish prophets and awaited throughout Jewish history, his coming would have to coincide with Jewish messianic calculations and his life would have to match the traditional rabbinic notion of the Jewish Messiah as, in Moshe Idel's words, "a national figure...a flesh-and-blood person, mainly a warrior and a king, though in some cases

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Crossroad, 1986), 313-355, reprinted in *Apples of Gold in Settings of Silver: Studies in Medieval Jewish Exegesis* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999), 108-150. On Rashi's view on *peshaṭ*, see, among many sources, Benjamin J. Gelles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi* (Leiden: Brill, 1981); Ángel Sáenz-Badillos, *Los judíos de Sefarad ante la Biblia. La interpretaci6n de la Biblia en el Medievo* (Cordoba: El Almendro, 1996), 160-172; and Judah Rosenthal, "Anti-Christian Polemic in Rashi on the Tanakh" [Hebrew], in *Rashi: His Teachings and Personality,* ed. S. Federbush (New York: World Jewish Congress, 1958), 45-59, reprinted in *Mehqarim u-Meqorot,* 2 vols. (Jerusalem: R. Mass, 1967), 1:101-116; but cf. Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Does Rashi's Torah Commentary Respond to Christianity? A Comparison of Rashi with Rashbam and Bekhor Shor," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel,* ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 449-472, which argues that Rashi's use of *peshaṭ* should not be seen as a response to Christian figurativism in the way advocated by his grandson, the Rashbam (Samuel Ben Meir, ca. 1085-ca. 1158). The Rashbam, whose exegesis both Nicholas of Lyra and Pablo knew and referred to, stated openly in his commentary on Genesis 49:10 that "peshaṭ zeh teshuvah la-minim," "this literal sense is a refutation of heretics," probably referring to Christians. See *Mikraʾot Gedolot* 5.2:178, and the translation in *Rabbi Samuel ben Meir's Commentary on Genesis: An Annotated Translation*, trans. Martin I. Lockshin (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 362. On this notion of "teshuvah la-minim," which appears repeatedly in Rashi's commentary as well, see Elazar Touitou, "On the Meaning of the Concept *Teshuvat ha-Minim* in the Writings of Our French Rabbis" [Hebrew], *Sinai,* 99.3-4 (5746/1986): 144-148; and his book *Exegesis in Perpetual Motion. Studies in the Pentateuchal Commentary of Rabbi Samuel Ben Meir* [Hebrew] (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2003), 122 and 177-188.

This strategy was undoubtedly known to Christian polemicists. One of Jerónimo's Jewish interlocutors at the Disputation of Tortosa (unspecified in the text) argued that "verba Dei debent exponi secundum sensum literalem, quantum possibilitas assentit...sensus allegoricus seu figurativus est variabilis et incertus; et qui faceret contra eum potest se excusare, alium modum figure allegando cum eius intencione consonantem." "The words of God should be explained according to the literal sense, as much as is possible...the allegorical or figurative sense is variable and uncertain, and he who goes against it can excuse himself by alleging another kind of figure in agreement with its [literal] meaning." See Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2:282, and similar remarks on 2:65. Moisé Orfali, "L'utilisation polémique de Rashi lors de la controverse de Tortosa (1413-1414)," *Archives Juives*, 26.1-2 (1990): 16-22 (20), argues that Jerónimo de Santa Fe sometimes attributes in his *De Judaicis erroribus ex Talmut* citations from the Rashbam to "Rabbi Salomon," i.e. Rashi. See, for example, *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum,* 26:548B and Orfali, *El tratado "De Iudaicis erroribus ex Talmut"* (Madrid: CSIC, 1987), 67. On the Jewish strategy at Tortosa, see Baer, *A History*, 2:174-210, especially 178, and idem, "Die Disputation von Tortosa," 325-7. For more discussion of the use of *peshaṭ* as a strategy in debates with the Christians, see David Berger, *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages. A Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), 355-61; *idem*, "On the Uses of History in Medieval Jewish Polemic against Christianity: The Quest for the Historical Jesus," in *Jewish History and Jewish Memory: Essays in Honor of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi,* ed. Elisheva Carlebach et al. (Hanover, NH: Brandeis U. Press, 1998), 25-39; Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, "Anti-Christian polemic in Medieval Bible commentaries," *Journal of Jewish Studies,* 11 (1960): 115-135, reprinted in *Studia Semitica,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 1:165-185; Abraham Grossman, "Jewish-Christian Polemic and Jewish Biblical Exegesis in Twelfth-Century France" [Hebrew], *Zion,* 51 (1986):

also a scholar."[53] Messianic redemption was represented by polemicists as a public event that took place, as Gershom Scholem states, "on the stage of history." The Jewish criticism of Christian messianism in the later Middle Ages rejected the attempt to reinterpret the public and external nature of the messianic event, as represented in Jewish prophecy, in terms of individual piety and outside the scope of the history of the people of Israel.[54]

There are abundant examples in Jewish writing of this insistence on the exterior, historical nature of the Messiah, in some cases as a direct response to Christian arguments. Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon, 1135-1204), for example—for whom belief in the Messiah constitutes one of the essential thirteen articles of the Jewish faith in his influential legal code, the *Mishneh Torah*—is careful to distance his discussion there from Christian messianic ideas,

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29-60; and Elliot R. Wolfson, "By Way of Truth: Aspects of Naḥmanides' Kabbalistic Hermeneutic," *AJS Review,* 14.2 (1989): 103-178 (123-4, n. 60).

[53] See *Messianic Mystics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 44.

[54] *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays in Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken, 1971), 1. Scholem explains: "The reinterpretation of the prophetic promises of the Bible to refer to a realm of inwardness, which seem as remote as possible from any contents of these prophecies, always seemed to the religious thinkers of Judaism to be an illegitimate anticipation of something which could at best be seen as the interior side of an event basically taking place in the external world, but could never be cut off from the event itself." See *The Messianic Idea,* 2. For an overview of some Jewish attitudes to the Messiah in the Middle Ages, see the dated but still useful study by Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1932), although he ignores Kabbalah; Dov Schwartz, *Messianism in Medieval Jewish Thought* [Hebrew], (Ramat-Gan: Bar Illan University, 1997); and the literature reviewed in Idel, *Messianic Mystics*, 1-37. Eleazar Gutwirth, "Jewish and Christian Messianism in XVth Century Spain," in *The Expulsion of the Jews and their Emigration to the Southern Low Countries (15th-16th C.),* ed. Luc Dequeker and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 1-22 (7), argues against this notion of exteriority, arguing that messianism was, for many Jewish intellectuals of the fifteenth century, an interior or inward process. See also Yitzhak Baer, "The Messianic Movement in Spain during the period of the Expulsion" [Hebrew], *Zion*, 5 (1933): 61-78; and his *A History,* 2: 292-99; David B. Ruderman, "Hope against Hope: Jewish and Christian Messianic Expectations in the Late Middle Ages," in *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Haim Beinart* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, with CSIC, 1991), 185-202, reprinted in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy,* ed. David D. Ruderman (New York: NYU Press, 1992), 299-323; A. Meyuhas Ginio, "Aspiraciones mesiánicas de los conversos en la Castilla de mediados del Siglo XV," *El Olivo*, 13 (1989), 217-233; and especially Moshe Idel, *Messianic Mystics,* 30-37, 110-115 and 127-153 (37), which presents, *contra* Scholem, "decisive moments of inner experiences that may precede the emergence of these collective manifestations." One of his prime examples of this inner experience of redemption is in the writing of Abraham Abulafia (ca. 1240-after 1291), on whom see below, n. 65. For discussion of messianic concepts after the expulsion, see Matt D. Goldish, "Patterns in Converso Messianism," in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture,* 4 vols., vol 1: *Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World,* ed. Matt D. Goldish and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001), 41-64.

insisting upon the quotidian nature of redemption and specifically dismissing Jesus as a false Messiah.[55] Likewise Naḥmanides, who spoke for the Jews at the Disputation of Barcelona, and Joseph Albo (1380-ca. 1444), one of the Jewish defendants at Tortosa, coincided in their use of attack on Christian allegory as a strategy for responding to polemical arguments concerning the Messiah. Both also strategically attempted to downplay the significance of messianic doctrine in Jewish belief in opposition to Christian assertions. Naḥmanides' words to king James I of Aragón are well known: "The essence of our judgment, truth, and statute does not depend upon the Messiah. You are more beneficial to me than the Messiah. You are king, and he is king. You are a gentile king, and he is a Jewish king, for the Messiah is but a king of flesh and blood like you." This sort of argument, which differs from statements by Naḥmanides in other writings, is a clear example of the strategic insistence on literalism in defensive responses to Christian attacks.[56] In Pablo's own time, Jewish disputants at Tortosa, including Albo, made similar

[55] For his criticism of Jesus in 5.11 in the *Book of Judges*, which was deleted in some printed editions, see *Sefer Mishneh Torah,* ed. Yosef Kafah, 23 vols. (Qiryat Ono: Mekhon Mishnat ha-Rambam, 5744/1983-4), 23: 353, and the translation in *The Book of Judges* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), xxiii-xxiv. For his discussion of the quotidian nature of the messianic era in 5.12, see *Sefer Mishneh Torah,* 254-6, and *The Book of Judges,* 238-9. Lyra cites this passage in his Postilla on Isaiah 40:1. See *Biblia,* 3:47v. On Maimonides' conception of messianism, see, among various available studies, David Hartman, "Maimonides' approach to messianism and its contemporary implications," *Daᶜat,* 2-3 (1978-9): 5-33; and Amos Funkenstein, "Maimonides: political theory and realistic messianism," *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 11 (1977): 81-103, reprinted in *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 131-154.

[56] See *Kitvei Rabbeinu Moshe ben Naḥman*, ed. Ch. Chavel, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1963-4), 1:310, and the translation in *Writings and Discourses,* ed. and trans, Ch. Chavel, 2 vols. (New York: Shilo Publishing, 1978), 2:672-3. Critics have debated whether Naḥmanides actually believed in this argument or if he presented it as a strategic response to the Christians. On this question, see Marc D. Angel and Herman P. Salomon, "Nahmanides' Approach to Midrash in the Disputation of Barcelona," *The American Sephardi*, 6.1-2 (1973): 41-51; Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond,* 142-57; Marvin Fox, "Nahmanides on the Status of the Aggadot: Perspectives on the Disputation at Barcelona, 1263," *Journal of Jewish Studies,* 40 (1989): 95-109; and especially Bernard Septimus, "'Open Rebuke and Concealed Love:' Naḥmanides and the Andalusian Tradition," in *Rabbi Moses Naḥmanides (Ramban): Explorations in his Religious and Literary Virtuosity,* Ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1-34 (15); and the response by Elliot R. Wolfson, "By Way of Truth," 125-129 and 169-73. Given his comments in other works, especially his discussion in *Sefer ha-geʾulah* (*Book of Redemption*) (See, for example, the fourth and final section), it seems clear that his remarks at Barcelona, insofar as they were even his and not distorted through the transmission of the text, were strategic and did not reflect his actual views. On his concept of redemption, see Caputo, *Nahmanides in Medieval Catalonia,* 129-57.

remarks.[57] Before his conversion, even Halorki/Santa Fe himself adduced the same argument to Pablo, insisting that Jesus was not literally a worldly king as was expected by Jewish tradition, only to then, after his conversion, defend the opposite against Albo at the disputation of Tortosa.[58] It is in the context of this strategy by Jewish exegetes of opposing Christian allegory with a calculated literalism that we can understand Pablo's argument in both the *Additiones* and the *Scrutinium* that figurative readings should be avoided in disputations with Jews because literalism constitutes the most effective tool in arguing against them.[59] For Pablo, nothing could

[57] Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa,* 1:258, argues that the concept of an "exclusively materialist and political" messiah is a prominent part of Jewish argumentation, and offers the example by Matityahu Hayiṣari ("R. Matatías") that "Iudei solum ad dandum prosperitatem corporalem, non autem ad salvandas eorum animas, Messiam expectabant venturum," "The Jews awaited the coming of the Messiah only for the giving of material prosperity, not for the salvation of their souls" (2:58), a statement that repeats an earlier statement by Astruc Halevi in the fourth session (2:40). Similarly, Joseph Albo allegedly affirmed in the third session, "Posito Messiam michi probari iam venisse, non putarem deterior esse iudeus," "Even if it were proved to me that the Messiah had already come, I would not consider myself a worse Jew [as a result]". See Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa,* 2:35. Baer, *A History,* 2:179, attributing this statement to Astruc Halevi, interprets these remarks as indicating a Jewish hope for "political restoration." The argument in session 24 is even more direct: "Ipsa eadem vocabula, que dicta sunt in sacra Scriptura...debeant materialiter intelligi...et sicut sanctuarium, claustrum, Archa, altare, holocaustum, candelabrum, Israel, David, sacerdos, rex, et hiis similia vocabula, intelliguntur in primo et secundo templo materialiter, et de facto, sic debent intelligi que de templo tertio dicuntur." "These same words that are said in sacred Scripture...should be understood materially...just as sanctuary, cloister, Ark, alter, burnt offering, menorah, Israel, David, priest, king, and words like these, are understood materially about the first and second temple, and in fact, thus should what is said about the third temple be understood." See Pacios López, *Disputa de Tortosa,* 2:179. Cf. also the discussion of "heavenly Jerusalem," 2:289: "et ideo expectant Judei regem messiam ut edificet Jerusalem inferiorem, ut illa mediante melius possint gloriam divinam attingere que vocatur Jerusalem superior," "And likewise the Jews expect that the king Messiah will build Jerusalem below ["inferior," i.e., on earth], so that thereby they will better attain the divine glory that is called the "superior Jerusalem." On Albo and his arguments at Tortosa, see Sina Rauschenbach, *Josef Albo (um 1380-1444). Jüdische Philosophie und christliche Kontroverstheologie in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), especially 41-61.

[58] In his pre-conversionary letter to Pablo, Halorki states, "This man, whom they [the Christians] call God, and who they say is the Messiah, did not achieve being a ruler (sar), and he certainly was not a king. But our adversaries say that he called himself king of Israel. How could this description be made when Israel did not recognize him or receive him as king?" For both the original and translation, see Krieger, "Pablo de Santa María: His Epoch..," 273-5 (I have altered her translation here). At the Disputation of Tortosa, he argues that Jesus can be seen as the fulfillment of the prophecies. See also the discussion by Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 1:253-290. For an introduction to Halorki/Santa Fe's arguments, see the recent discussion by Sina Rauschenbach, *Josef Albo,* 12-23, and the bibliography provided there.

[59] In his words, "Per scrutinium scripturarum contra iudaeos non est quaerendus sensus mysticus, sed solum literalis, a quo enim solo...efficax sumitur argumentum." "In the scrutiny of scriptures against the Jews, one ought not seek the mystical sense, but rather only the literal, by which alone is an effective argument marshaled." See *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 102, but cf. the prologue to the *Additiones,* "Licet a solo sensu litterali sacrae Scripturae possit sumi efficax argumentum...non tamen ex quolibet sensu litterali sacrae Scripturae sumitur efficax argumentum," "Although an effective argument can be marshaled only from the literal sense of sacred scripture...nevertheless an

be more literal than the use of history itself as a polemical tool.

Through comparison with his other writings, Pablo's choice to include an explicit reference to messianism in his *Siete edades* stands out as more than the invocation of a well-known medieval trope. Seen within the polemical context of Jewish-Christian exegetical debates about the nature of salvation, the presentation of Juan II both as a political savior as well as "Juan el Segundo/ delante quien somos *todos* inclinados," "Juan the Second/ Before whom we *all* incline" (italics mine), reflects Pablo's own response to the Jewish arguments against the spiritual messianism of Jesus. By providing a political figure, common to both Christians and Jews, as the culmination of history, Pablo attempts to obviate Jewish attacks on Christian historiography with a conflation of Jewish messianism and Christian monarchic history. Pablo's insistence on the universality of Juan's power acquires a wider significance in his last lines "así somos deste por su nasçimiento/ después en Castilla *todos* libertados," "So are we by this one [Juan II]/ *All* liberated afterward in Castile" (italics mine), making the Christian king before whom "we all incline" the same Christian Messiah by whom "we are all liberated." Pablo's motivation behind his explicit political messianism emerges in this context as a commentary on the polemical debates that surrounded him and that provided the framework for his as well as the contemporary Jewish population's understanding of history and redemption. As we will now see, the representation of the chronology of that redemption centered not only on asserting the identity of the Messiah, but even more importantly, the time of his arrival.

III. The Seven Ages of the World

The deliberate integration of anti-Jewish arguments into the *Siete edades* appears not only in the description of Juan II, but in the very structure of the text, and identifying these arguments

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effective argument cannot be brought forth from [just] any literal sense of sacred Scripture." See *Biblia,* 1:18r /

explains an aspect of the poem's basic structure that has so far eluded a satisfactory critical explanation: the division of history into seven ages rather than the traditional six ages established by Augustine.[60] The seven-age division makes sense as further support for Pablo's argument that the time leading up to Juan's reign represents the final age, the age of the Messiah. To communicate this idea, Pablo invokes the standard Jewish chronological vision of the history of creation as consisting of six worldly ages followed by a seventh age after the coming of the Messiah, which will be "pure Sabbath" beyond regular worldly history. This vision is represented in many places in rabbinic literature, and can be summed up in the statement of the aggadic midrash *Pirke deRabbi Eliezer*, "The Holy One, blessed be He, created seven eons (ʿolamot), and of them all He chose only the seventh eon; the six eons are for the going in and coming out (laṣeʾat ve-lavoʾ) (of God's creatures) for war and peace. The seventh eon is entirely Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting."[61]

Although this vision of six worldly ages followed by a seventh age after history is found in some Christian sources as well,[62] it was more frequently adopted by various medieval Jewish

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Patrologia Latina, 113:44. See also below, n. 81.

[60] This question remained unsettled for Deyermond and all subsequent critics, despite numerous possible explanations. Conde's doctoral dissertation, *"Las siete edades del mundo" de Pablo de Santa María* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1995), discusses the subject in chapter 2.2.1.1, and promises a forthcoming discussion of the question.

[61] "For war and peace" is in Friedlander's translation but is missing from the original. See *Sefer Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* (Jerusalem: Zikhron Aharon, 5765/2004-5), 159, and the translation in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer,* ed. and trans. Gerald Friedlander (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1981), 141. Compare also the statement from the *Zohar,* Vayera 119a, "Happy are those who will be left alive at the end of the sixth millennium to enter on the Shabbat. For that is the day set apart by the Holy One on which to effect the union of souls and to cull new souls to join those that are still on earth." See *Sefer ha-Zohar,* 1:237, and the translation in *The Zohar,* 1:371. Cf. Shmot 20b, *Sefer ha-Zohar,* 2:40 and *The Zohar,* 3:67.

[62] Augustine also designated six ages, following the allegorical structure of the seven days of creation, leaving the seventh age as that of final Judgment and the return of the Messiah. See Roth, "Seis edades durará el mundo: Temas de la polémica judía española," *La ciudad de Dios,* 199.1 (1986): 45-65 (48). On the concept of the "seventh age" among Christians, see Robert Lerner, "The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages,* ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 51-71. Pablo was not the first to employ this argument. Julian of Toledo (d. 690) in his *De comprobatione aetatis sextae*, ed. J. Hillgarth (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 145f. and book 3, specifically noted that Jews believe the Messiah will come in the sixth millennium, and therefore constructed an argument to prove that Jesus was born in the sixth millennium.

writers such as Abraham bar Ḥiyya of Barcelona (d. ca 1136) in his *Megilat ha-Megaleh / Scroll of the Redeemer,*[63] and even more importantly, Naḥmanides in his commentary on Genesis, a text cited by Pablo multiple times in both the *Scrutinium* and the *Additiones.*[64] On the basis of such chronologies of the world, these and other Jewish writers produced calculations of the messianic redemption of the Jews, and polemicists on both sides frequently focused on such calculations when debating if the Messiah has already come or if he is to come in the future. Messianic calculation in the context of contemporary exegesis was, as Nina Caputo has put it, "an interfaith discourse."[65]

From Pablo's perspective, the polemical use of historiography was certainly nothing new, being already represented within Jewish tradition by writers such as Abraham Ibn Daud (ca.

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[63] Abraham bar Ḥiyya, *Megillat ha-Megalleh,* ed. A. Poznanski (Berlin, 1924; reprinted Jerusalem, 1968), 18-20; also cited in Roth, "Seis edades," 49. See also *Llibre revelador, Meguil·lat hamegal·lè,* trans. José María Millás Vallicrosa, (Barcelona: Alpha, 1929), 33-35 and 48-49. For an overview of concepts of the "ages of the world," see Roderich Schmidt, "*Aetates mundi.* Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 67 (1955-56): 288-317.

[64] Naḥmanides states repeatedly the seven days represent "seven ages". See, for example, his discussion in the discourse *Torat ha-Shem Temima / The Law of the Eternal is Perfect,* in *Kitvei Rabbeinu*, 1:165-170, and the translation in *Writings and Discourses,* 1:114-120. Most importantly for our purposes, he states in his Commentary on Genesis 2:3 that while "the days of creation represent all the days of the world, i.e., that its existence will be six thousand years," "The seventh day which is the Sabbath alludes to the World to Come, 'which will be wholly a Sabbath and will bring rest for life everlasting,'[BT *Tamid* 7:4]." See *Perush ha-Ramban,* 1:31-3 and *Commentary on the Torah,* 1:61-4. Pablo cites various parts of this same commentary in the *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, 522, where he specifically mentions the calculations of the age of the world given in the beginning of Naḥmanides' Pentateuch commentary. See also his commentary on Exodus 21:2 and Leviticus 25:2. He alludes to the kabbalistic notion that there are seven cycles of seven thousand years each. On his theory of history, see Amos Funkenstein, "Naḥmanides' Typological Reading of History" [Hebrew], *Zion,* 45 (1980): 35-59 and Caputo, *Nahmanides in Medieval Catalonia*, 53-89, and especially 81-2.

[65] Caputo, *Nahmanides in Medieval Catalonia,* 147-57. In this context, two figures whose writing reflects the interfaith context of late-medieval conceptions of eschatology, whose work is beyond the parameters of this study, are Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1135-1202) and Abraham Abulafia. While the ideas of both share much in common with Pablo's eschatology, neither seem to have directly impacted Pablo or his writings, despite the similarities of their arguments. On Joachim's conception of the end of days and the unification of Judaism and Christianity, see Robert E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham. Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). On the intersection of Joachimism with Abulafia, see Harvey J. Hames, *Like Angels on Jacob's Ladder: Abraham Abulafia, the Franciscans, and Joachimism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007). Also of interest in the context of the spread of Joachimism in Catalonia is Aurell, "Eschatologie, spiritualité e politique dans la confédération catalano-aragonaise (1282-1412)." Nevertheless, Gutwirth, "Jewish and Christian Messianism," 16, has resisted linking fifteenth-century eschatological prophecy in Iberia either to overly general causes (such as a general belief in Jewish messianic "tendencies") or to foreign sources (such as Joachimism). He has stressed the

1110-ca.1180) and Naḥmanides, and by Christian polemicists such as Alfonso de Valladolid.[66] During Pablo's lifetime, it also formed part of arguments by Profiat Duran (ca. 1350-ca. 1415), an author who criticizes Pablo harshly in his writings.[67] After Pablo's lifetime, such usage would continue with Jewish writers such as Ḥayyim ibn Musa (ca. 1380- ca. 1460), Isaac Abravanel (1437-1508), and Abraham Zacuto (ca. 1450-ca. 1510), who were all directly critical of Pablo in their writings.[68] This context is reflected in the *Siete edades*, in which Pablo's historiography

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importance of the local context in Iberia in which political events were frequently interpreted by both Jews and *converso* Christians as signs of the Messianic age.

[66] The centrality of historiography within the Jewish-Christian debate is evident in polemical writing by both groups, as well as within each in intra-religious polemics. Abraham Ibn Daud used historical periodization in his *Book of Tradition* (*Sefer ha-Qaballah*) as a deliberate polemical tool against Karaite Judaism. See the extended discussion by Cohen in his edition of the *Book of Tradition*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1967), 189-262. Roth, "Seis edades," 49-50, cites a passage from the twelfth-century Judah ben Barzillai of Barcelona alleging that the Christians have miscalculated the coming of the Messiah. Alfonso de Valladolid considers in great detail the Jewish calculations concerning the Messiah and rejects them in favor of his own calculations based on exegesis of key biblical and talmudic passages. See chapter seven of *Mostrador de justicia,* ed. Walter Mettmann, 2 vols. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994-6), folio 185r-235v / vol. 2, p. 100-208. For a brief consideration of historical polemics within the *Mostrador de justicia* of Alfonso de Valladolid, see Robert Chazan, "Undermining the Jewish Sense of Future: Alfonso of Valladolid and the New Christian Missionizing," in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain. Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 179-194.

[67] See the Ramban's arguments at the Dispute of Barcelona, *Kitvei Rabbeinu,* 1:306-311 / *Writings,* 665-9. Duran directly refers to Pablo in his famous satirical letter, "Al Tehi ke-Avoteikha" ("Be not like your Fathers"), known in Christian tradition as the "Alteca Boteca", written to David Bonet Bonjorn after the latter converted to Christianity, allegedly under Pablo's strong influence. On Profiat Duran's use of history, see Eleazar Gutwirth, "History and Apologetics," 232-40; Frank Talmage, "The Polemical Writing of Profiat Duran," in *Apples of Gold in Settings of Silver,* 281-297; and David Berger, "On the Uses of History in Medieval Jewish Polemic Against Christianity," 30-35. On history as a response to previous polemicists, see Jeremy Cohen, "Profiat Duran's *The Reproach of the Gentiles* and the Development of Jewish Anti-Christian Polemic," in *Shlomo Simonsohn Jubilee Volume. Studies on the History of the Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance Period*, ed. Daniel Carpi et al. (Tel Aviv: Graph-Chen Press, 1993), English section 71-84 (80-84).

[68] Jacqueline Genot-Bismuth, "L'argument de l'histoire dans la tradition espagnole de polémique judéo-chrétienne d'Isidore de Seville à Isaac Abravanel et Abraham Zacuto," in *From Iberia to Diaspora. Studies in Sephardic History and Culture,* ed. Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 197-213 (201), specifically points to Pablo's *Siete edades* as one example of the use of historical argument in the Jewish-Christian debate. Other later examples include Abraham Zacuto statement that the history of the nations "is very useful to Israel...to combat Christians more effectively in religious controversy." See *Sefer Yuḥasin ha-Shalem,* ed. Herschell Filipowski (London, 1857; reprinted Frankfurt am Main, 1924)), 231a, cited in Genot-Bismuth, 207. Another example is the claim of Ḥayyim ibn Musa in his *Magen va-Romaḥ* (*Shield and Spear,* ca. 1456), (Jerusalem, 1970), 3, a work directed in part against Nicholas of Lyra, that Jews should use "ha-peshaṭ *historico*," "the literal-historical sense," as a defense against Christian arguments and only argue "ki-ʿim be-derekh ha-peshaṭ," "only according to the literal sense." See also p. 1, where he mentions Pablo by name. Also, Genot-Bismuth, 212-3, argues that the *Yeshuʿot meshiḥo / Salvations of His Annointed* of Isaac Abravanel was "essentially directed against the apostate Paul of Burgos" and that his *Maʿyanei ha-Yeshuʿa / Wellsprings of Salvation* directly confronts the exegesis of Nicholas of Lyra (and, of course, the *Additiones* of Pablo with them). In this light, it is interesting to note that Abravanel was deeply concerned with the issue of the divine right of kings, and constructed a theory blending

supports an explicit anti-Jewish argument just as his exegesis would later do in his *Additiones* and *Scrutinium*. Pablo's choice to add a seventh age to history by dividing the third Augustinian age (from Abraham to David) into two ages separated by Moses pushes each subsequent age ahead by one. This turns the final "messianic" age, which occupies over three times more space in the poem than any of the previous six ages, into the period of Castilian ascendance and hegemony. In the six-age chronology, the Messiah is to come at the end of the fifth, leaving the sixth as the time from the Messiah's coming to the end of the world. By adding the seventh age, Pablo makes two polemical assertions: first, not only does the ascendance of Juan II as a royal, worldly savior at the end of the seventh age parallel the coming of Jesus as a spiritual Messiah at the end of the sixth. Second, Jews are now faced with Juan as a worldly messiah figure, implying that they must accept that the Messiah has come either in spiritual, Christian terms or in political, Jewish ones. The implication is not only that the Messiah has already come and that the messianic age is underway, in effect obviating Jewish arguments claiming that the final messianic era is yet to come and that the Christian Messiah is not a "worldly" king as he was prophesied to be. It is also that the messianic age is coming to a close and that the end of the world is near.

Within the traditional scheme of Christian polemic, the end of the messianic age and the conclusion of the world were heralded by, among other things, the final conversion of the Jews to Christianity. By implying that the messianic, seventh age was coming to a close with the messiah-king Juan II, there is also a veiled implication that the conversion of the Jews was an

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doctrines of kingship and messianism that strictly distinguished between the secular-human realm of government and the spiritual realm. On Abravanel's political arguments and messianism see B. Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel, Statesman and Philosopher* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1968), 173-194 and 195-257; and Eric Lawee, "The Messianism of Isaac Abarbanel, 'Father of the [Jewish] Messianic Movements of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,'" in *Millenarianism and Messianism,* 1:1-40; *idem, Isaac Abarbanel's Stance Toward Tradition: Defense, Dissent and Dialogue* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 127-168 and 187-190.

imminent event. This argument did not present an unorthodox deviation from the Christian understanding of the Messiah, but rather blended the terms of Christian eschatology with Jewish messianism. In Pablo's scheme, Juan was not only a messiah-king of the sort expected by Jews. His reign also heralded the second coming of the Christian Messiah, Jesus, an event that would be marked by the final mass conversion of the Jews. Given that Pablo's own conversion occurred around the very time of the mass forced conversions resulting from the persecutions of 1391, this implication acquired a concrete reference point in history. In the years immediately preceding the composition of the *Siete edades*, moreover, the fervent preaching of Dominican Vicente Ferrer (d. 1419) and the protracted arguments of the Disputation of Tortosa had similarly caused further waves of conversion. Also, Juan's mother, Catalina of Lancaster, as co-regent during Juan's childhood along with Juan's uncle Fernando of Antequera after the death of king Enrique III, promulgated anti-Jewish legislation in 1411-12 under Ferrer's influence.[69] Pablo's association of

[69] See Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica del serenísimo principe don Juan, segundo Rey deste nombre,* in volume 2 of *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla,* ed. Cayetano Rosell y López, 3 vols. (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1875-1878), 2:340. The differences between this text and the chronicle of Pablo's brother, Álvar García de Santa María, on which it was based, are of no relevance here. For the original text covering the years 1406-1411, see *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla,* ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1982). For the whole period up to the beginning of 1417, see Donatella Ferro, *La parti inedite della "Crónica de Juan II" di Álvar García de Santa María,* (Venice: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche, 1972). The text of Álvar's account covering 1420-1434 has been edited by Paz y Meliá in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1891), volume 99, pp. 79-465, and volume 100, pp. 3-409. The 1412 ordinances decreed many limitations on Jewish and Muslim activity in Castile, including confinement to their own neighborhoods, rules of dress and conduct, the obligation to wear a more prominent distinguishing badge, exclusion from various professional activities, and limitations on contact with Christians. Although they were not fully implemented and later temporarily repealed, they represented, as Ana Echevarría has maintained, "a milestone in legislation," serving as a model for later rulings in Castile, Aragón, and Portugal. See "Catalina of Lancaster, the Castilian Monarchy and Coexistence," in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence: Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay,* ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 79-122 (99). For the text of the laws of 1412, which were later copied by Alonso de Espina in his polemical *Fortalitium Fidei*, see Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla* (Madrid: Joaquín Muñoz, 1866), 400-405. For analysis, see Juan Torres Fontes, "Moros, judíos y conversos en al regencia de Fernando de Antequera," *Cuadernos de Historia de España,* 31-32 (1960): 60-97; Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition,* 191-196; and Ana Echevarría, *Catalina de Lancaster*, 148-156. On Jewish appeals to Fernando for protection from Catalina's intentions, see Torres Fontes 77-8; and Cantera Burgos, *Álvar García de Santa María,* 238-9. Netanyahu, 196-201, strongly defends the suggestion, unsubstantiated by evidence but not an unrealistic possibility, that Pablo was responsible for the promulgation of the laws of 1412. On this question, see Torres Fontes, 77 n. 19, who points out that the ordinances of Valladolid were

the reign of Juan II with the final conversion of the Jews is evident in the *Scrutinium*, in which Pablo claims that Juan's reign and the anti-Jewish legislation passed by his mother coincide with Jewish calculations of their own redemption:

> Post praedictum vero Regem Henricus tertium sanctae recordationis, succesit serenissimus Rex Ioannes filius eius...in cuius tempore tam durante tutela, quam post... multa fuerunt instituta contra Iudaicam impietatem, quae in suis curiis et regnis pro maiori parte observabantur: sub quo, divino auxilio opitulante fideliter spectatur, quod infidelitas tam Iudaica quam Sarracenica supprimetur [*sic*, read "supprimatur"]. Ex quibus satis patet, quod *in termino finaliter a peritis Iudeorum pro sua redemptione assignato*, incoepit vastatio perfidorum infidelium et salus, vita et resurrectio fidelium ad Christum conversorum est exorta, quod est intentum.
>
> After the previously mentioned king Enrique III of holy memory, the most serene King Juan, his son, succeeded [him]...in whose time both during his guardianship and after...there were many ordinances against Jewish impiety, which were largely observed in his courts and kingdoms. Under him, there was a good faith attempt, with divine help, to suppress the infidelity of both Jews and Saracens. From [these ordinances] it was very evident that, *at the end appointed finally by the learned among the Jews for their own redemption*, there began a destruction of the perfidious unfaithful and the salvation, life, and resurrection of the faithful converts to Christ came about, which [was] intended.[70]

Only three chapters later in the *Scrutinium*, Pablo concludes with the argument that "in fine mundi tota gens Israelitica converti debet ad fidem Christi," "at the end of the world, all the Israelite people must be converted to the faith of Christ."[71] Just as in the *Siete edades,* he aims to blend Jewish and Christian concepts of redemption and the culmination of history.

Pablo, moreover, actually states his reasons for choosing seven ages rather than six in the prologue to the *Siete edades*, specifically linking the seven-age structure to the seven-day week that culminates with the Sabbath.[72] After invoking St. Paul's words that he and his contemporaries are "those on whom the ends of the world are come" (1 Cor. 10:11), he specifically mentions Jewish arguments about the seven ages of the world:

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based on similar rulings passed in Murcia a few years earlier under Ferrer's pressure. On Jewish reactions to the legislation, see below, n. 84.

[70] See *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 524, emphasis mine.

[71] See *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 531.

> Aunque si traer quisiéremos aquello apócrifo de Elías de cómo el mundo avía de durar seys mill años, de los quales fasta aquí ya tenemos çinco mill e quatroçientos e treynta pasados, paresçería quedarnos alguna limitaçión de tiempo; pero avido esto por inçierto, alegarnos devemos a un dicho del santo Daniel profecta que dize: "Quando fuere çesado el sacrificio que de cada día se frequenta, estonçe verná la disoluçión en el universo mundo.
>
> Although if we wanted to adduce that apocryphal statement of Elijah about how the world was to last six thousand years, of which five thousand, four hundred and thirty have so far passed, it would seem that we were left with some limitation on time. But since this is uncertain, we should turn to a saying of the holy prophet Daniel, who said, "When the daily sacrifice is left off, then will be seen the dissolution of the world."[73]

Although the general notion that the world will last six thousand years could be attributed to a

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[72] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 268-9.

[73] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 269. This statement as such does not appear in the book of Daniel, but the text does discuss the "daily sacrifice" in 8:11-13, 11:31, and 12:11. The ceasing of the "daily sacrifice" (of two lambs in the temple) coincides with the appearance of the "abomination that makes desolate" (Daniel 9:27 and 12:11, usually understood as the sacrifice of a pig to Zeus on the alter of the Second Temple by Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes, d. 164 BCE). The "end" is then said in Daniel to be 1290 "days" after this. See below, n. 81. Eugenio de Ochoa, the first modern editor of the poem (who incorrectly attributed the poem to Marqués de Santillana), argued in *Rimas inéditas de Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana* (Paris: Fain y Thunot, 1844), 106, that this number, 5430, subtracted from the alleged year of Jesus' birth, 4004, dates the composition of the poem to 1426 or after. Later critics have mostly followed Ochoa's reckoning, and Conde has proposed emending 5430 to 5420 to support a dating of the poem to 1416. Neither of these proposals correctly follows the Hebrew calendar, in which AM 5430 equates to CE 1669-70 and AM 5420 equates to CE 1659-60. We know from the *Scrutinium* that Pablo understood and correctly used the Hebrew calendar. For example, he correctly identifies the year of his writing as both CE 1432 and AM 5192 (147), and then confirms this two pages later when he states that the year AM 5118 was seventy-four years in the past (149). These calculations in the *Scrutinium* indicate that the Temple was destroyed either in AM 3828 or 3830, reflecting a correct understanding of the standard Jewish calendar. If we were to follow Conde's hypothesis that the date in the *Siete edades* somehow represents a scribal error, we could propose that "5430" (sometimes written V̄CDXXX) could be confused with V̄CLXXX, "5180," which would correspond to CE 1420. Such a solution, however, assumes that Pablo's calculations in the *Siete edades* match those in the *Scrutinium,* which is not the case. At the end of each age in the *Siete edades*, Pablo gives a sum total of the years passed, as follows: first age=1056 (or 2056 in one manuscript); second age=890; third age=701; fourth age=440; fifth age=471; sixth age=420. (See Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 279, 284, 293, 298, 304, 311, respectively.) The sixth age concludes with the destruction of the Second Temple, and the text specifies this occurred forty years after the death of Jesus, putting the destruction of the Temple in 3978 and the death of Jesus in 3938 which, if these dates are understood as being years in the Hebrew calendar, would correspond to CE 218 and CE 178, respectively. In the *Scrutinium*, moreover, he specifically states that the destruction of the temple occurred *forty-two* years after the death of Jesus, reflecting a discrepancy of two years compared to the *Siete edades* (138). To make matters more complicated, there are a number of printing errors in the 1591 *Scrutinium* that need to be corrected by comparison with the manuscript tradition. In one passage, for example, Pablo states that Maimonides argued the Messiah would come in AM 4474 (CE 714), "218 years ago" (148). This is a mistake that is meant to read AM 4974 (CE 1214), 218 years before CE 1432. Later, he describes the false messianic movements of Ávila and Allyón that took place, as he rightly states, in CE 1295. Instead of giving the correct corresponding date of AM 5055, the text incorrectly equates CE 1295 with AM 5045, which corresponds to CE 1285 (524). Based on the evidence indicating both Pablo's correct use of the Jewish calendar in the *Scrutinium* and also the discrepancies between the *Scrutinium* and the *Siete edades*, the figure of 5430 given in the *Siete edades* may simply be taken as a miscalculation that Pablo corrected in his later work.

variety of possible sources,[74] details in the text identify Pablo's statement in the prologue as a direct reference to the talmudic passage that gives this chronology, BT *Sanhedrin* 97a. The text mentioned by Pablo, which begins with a reference to another rabbinic midrash (the *Tanna debe Eliyyahu*, or *Teaching of Elijah*) reads: "The *Tanna debe Eliyyahu* teaches: The world is to exist for six thousand years. Two thousand of desolation (tohu); two thousand years of Torah; and two thousand years of the Messianic era."[75] Pablo cites and discusses this same passage in the *Scrutinium* in connection with the early rabbinic chronology, *Order of the World* (*Seder ᶜOlam Rabbah*), which also presents a six-thousand-year structure of world history.[76] By attributing this "apócrifo" to Elijah, he specifically indicates his talmudic source, and this passage in the *Scrutinium* confirms this.[77]

Pablo already stated in the prologue to the *Siete edades* that he plans to keep out of his history "algunos fechos que por escripturas apócrifas son conosçidos," "some facts that are known through apocryphal sources," and instead only use "aquellos non solamente abténticos, mas aún que por ley divina nos son demostrados," "those that are not only authentic, but even

[74] The idea can also be found in the Talmud in BT ᶜAvodah Zarah 9a and Rosh ha-Shanah 31a, and was repeated by many later writers, including Maimonides. See *Dalālat al-Ḥāʾirīn,* 241, and *Guide of the Perplexed,* 344. On Christian knowledge of this tradition, see Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages,* trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 260 n. 9, and 294 n. 107.

[75] See *Seder Eliyahu Rabba ve-Seder Eliyahu Zuṭa (Tanna deve Eliyahu),* ed. Meir Friedmann (Vienna, 1902-4), 6, and the translation in *Tanna Debe Eliyyahu: Lore of the School of Elijah*, trans. William Braude and Israel J. Kapstein (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1981), 52.

[76] "Fuit alius...qui dicitur fuisse de domo Heliae Prophetae...scillicet, in libro de ordine mundi, quod per sex millia annorum debeat mundus durare. Qui quidem anni per tres partes erant dividendi isto modo. Quia per duo millia annorum prima, mundus erat quasi sub vacuo...Duo millia vero annorum sequentia vocat tempus legis...duo millia tertia, seu ultima asserit esse sub Messia, quia secundum eum ab adventu Messiam usque ad finem mundi debebant fluere duo millia annorum." "There was another [book] in which it was said about the house of Elijah the Prophet, namely in the book of the *Order of the World* [*Seder ᶜOlam*], that the world should last for six thousand years, which were to be divided in three parts in this way: for two thousand years first, the world was as if under emptiness...two thousand years following is called the time of the law...the third, or last, two thousand years he asserts to have been under the Messiah, because according to it from the coming of the Messiah to the end of the world there should pass two thousand years." See *Scrutinium Scripturarum,* 147.

[77] In the *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, on the same page where he cites *Sanhedrin* 97a, Pablo refers to another statement from *Sanhedrin* 97b (about the early rabbi Abba Arikha, better known as Rab, d. 247) that "all the predestined dates

more that are shown to us by Divine Law."[78] His distinction between those authorities that are "authentic" and those that are also proved by divine law is a clear distinction between Jewish sources considered authentic by Jews and those accepted by Christian tradition as well, a distinction that was standard in Christian writing after the thirteenth century when polemicists began to use non-Christian sources (such as this very passage from BT Sanhedrin 97a) in their arguments.[79] In drawing this distinction, he explicitly presents his seven-age structure in the *Siete edades* as an alternative to Jewish historical chronologies. There is even an echo in the *Siete edades* of the more elaborate polemical discussion to come in the *Scrutinium* when Pablo affirms in his prologue that he has written this history of the seven ages "Porque...de lo que por venir las divinas escripturas *escondriñando* algun conosçimiento alcançemos," "So that...we might obtain some knowledge of what is to come by *scrutinizing* divine scriptures."[80]

The polemical subtext of the *Siete edades* is also confirmed by the fact that Pablo follows his rejection of Jewish talmudic chronology with a reference to the calculations about the end of the world based on exegesis of the biblical book of Daniel, calculations which had long been at the center of the arguments over the coming of the Messiah. Previous polemicists such as Alfonso de Valladolid also extensively discussed the specific verses paraphrased by Pablo, Daniel 9:27 and 12:11, and Pablo's exegetical explanation of the calculation of days leading to

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for redemption have passed." This statement is not mentioned in BT *ʿAvodah Zarah* and *Rosh ha-Shanah*, indicating that Pablo took his statement from *Sanhedrin*.

[78] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 268.

[79] Jerónimo de Santa Fe discussed it repeatedly at the Disputation of Tortosa, for which see Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa,* 2: 31, 36, 54, 58, 61, 65, 70, 76, 81, 85, 347, 391, and 410 (this list is not exhaustive); *Vikuaḥ Tortosa*, 48 and the translation in Riera i Sans, *La crònica en hebreu,* 17; and section 40 of Ibn Verga, *Shevet̠ Yehudah,* 70, and *La vara de Yehudah,* 172. The passage had also been previously cited by Raymond Martini, *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos,* (Leipzig, 1687; reprinted Farnborough, 1967), 394, and *Capistrum Iudaeorum*, ed. Adolfo Robles Sierra, 2 vols. (Würzburg: Echter Verlag / Altenberge: Oros Verlag, 1990-93), 1:274f; and Alfonso de Valladolid, *Mostrador de justicia,* 175v / 2:80. Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 127, briefly considers Martini's use of this notion in the *Pugio Fidei.* Decades after Pablo, Isaac Abravanel would likewise cite it repeatedly in his

"la disoluçión en el universo mundo," "the dissolution of the whole world," directly follows the model set by previous polemicists of calculating the coming of the Messiah and the end of the world based on Daniel's calculations.[81] As he says in the prologue to the *Siete edades,* "por siete hedades del mundo, que acabadas fazen límite e fin de todos los siglos, en este tractado me seguiré," "I will follow in this treatise through seven ages of the world, which, when finished, provides a limit and end to all ages."[82] Following this reference it is evident that, in Pablo's scheme, the "apocryphal" statement of Elijah must be rejected, and with it the Jewish chronology of the world suggesting the Messiah is yet to come. In its place, Pablo offers his own seven-age chronology culminating in the reign of Juan II.

This evidence makes clear that, as Luis Fernández Gallardo has suggested in passing, Pablo's seven ages are a deliberate polemical tool.[83] By placing Juan, a worldly messiah-king, in the seventh rather than the sixth age, Pablo adapted the common trope of describing royalty in divine and even messianic terms and reformulated it in the familiar terms of anti-Jewish polemic. Such a reading, while not obviating earlier observations by Conde and Deyermond about the

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anti-Christian writing on the Messiah, for which see Abravanel, *Mifᶜalot Elohim / Deeds of the Lord* (Venice, 1592), 49a-d; and *Perush Abravenel ʿal ha-Torah*, 3 vols. (New York: Saphrograph, 1959), 1:33c-34a.

[80] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 269, emphasis mine.

[81] See, for example, Alfonso de Valladolid, *Mostrador de justicia,* 186r-201v / 2:102-137. In the prologue to the *Additiones*, Pablo cites this very issue and verse as an example of the polemical use of the literal senses of the text: "Bene tamen si hujusmodi sensus diversi in aliquo concordant, potest sumi inde efficax argumentum...sicut Dan. IX, in computatione septuaginta hebdomadarum; ubi licet expositores, tam Hebraei quam Latini diversimode se habeant, non solum in termino a quo hebdomadae habent initium, sed etiam in progressu computationis: quia tamen secundum omnes terminus ultimus earum jam longe transivit in praeteritum, ideo ex ipsa auctoritate argumentum efficax sumitur ad concludendum Christum jam venisse." "Yet if different meanings of this sort are in good agreement in some respect, an effective argument can be adduced from that fact...for example, Daniel 9, in the calculation of seventy weeks. Although both Hebrew and Latin glossators differ, not only about the point from which the weeks have a beginning, but also about the course of their computation, nevertheless, since according to all, their last end already passed long ago, an effective argument is for this reason provided for concluding that Christ already came." See *Biblia,* 1:18r / *Patrologia Latina,* 113: 44. See also his longer remarks in the *Additiones* on Daniel 9, *Biblia,* 3:212r-213v. On the tradition of using Daniel 9 in polemics, see Robert Chazan, "Daniel 9:24-27: Exegesis and Polemics," in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews,* ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 143-160.

[82] Conde, *La creación de un discurso historiográfico,* 269.

[83] He likewise notes the engagement with Daniel's notion of 70 weeks, and "the need to present the coming of the Messiah as something already accomplished." See his "La obra historiográfica," 259-260.

principle political arguments of the poem, adds another level of meaning that is sympathetic with Pablo's background and to the tenor of his main body of writing. In fact, a polemical reading of the poem directly supports the political interpretation suggested by other critics: in a political reading, Juan represented a safeguard against the loss of the Castilian crown to the Lancasters of England. In polemical terms, he also represented a change for Jews from the policies of Juan's mother, Catalina of Lancaster, whom many Jews associated with the strict legislation of 1412. The death of Fernando of Antequera in 1416, when Juan was still a minor, gave more control of the crown to Catalina and left Castilian Jews increasingly powerless and isolated. It is possible that Pablo aimed to capitalize on Jewish fear of Catalina by presenting Juan—who had yet to develop a reputation among his Jewish subjects—as a "savior of all." Such a reading seems all the more plausible given that he also presented Juan simultaneously within the terms of a Jewish polemical conception of the Messiah, a Christian eschatological vision of the end of the world, and a political image of Castilian royal propaganda.[84] Such a reading is, moreover, in line with the strained nature of Pablo's personal relationship with the queen, whose rearrangement of her

[84] On the politics of Catalina's co-regency of the crown, in which she frequently struggled with Fernando, see Ana Echevarría, *Catalina de Lancaster: reina regente de Castilla, (1372-1418)* (Hondarribia: Nerea, 2002), chapters 6-7, and eadem, "The Queen and Master: Catalina of Lancaster and the Military Orders," in *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain,* ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 91-105 (97-102). On Jewish reactions to the legislation, see, for example, Solomon Alᶜami's lament in his *Igeret Musar* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1945-6), 39, in which he explicitly connects the legislation with 1391 and then describes the statutes: "They clothed us in different clothes in order to be recognizable in disgrace and mockery" (nikarim be-ḥerfah u-buz)...it was decreed unto us to let the hair on our heads and beards grow long like mourners...we were driven out and cast (gorashnu ve-hushlakhnu) onto the field and the dung gate" (40, translation mine. Cf. Baer, *A History,* 2:240-41). Decades after, Abraham Zacuto, *Sefer Yuḥasin ha-Shalem,* 225b, would call it "a great persecution unlike any before" (shemad gadol she-loᵓ haya kemohu). For general Jewish sentiment toward Catalina, see also chronicler Joseph Ibn Ṣadiq's *Qiṣur zekher la-ṣadiq,* in *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles,* ed. Adolf Neubauer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1887), 1:98, who claims (around 1487) that in the year 5172 (1412) Ferrer, "by means of" ("ᶜal yedei") Catalina and Alfonso, converted more than two hundred thousand Jews. This association of Catalina with the trials of 1412 and its aftermath became was strong enough to last into the sixteenth century, when Solomon Ibn Verga, *Shevet Yehudah,* 87, and the translation in *La vara de Yehudah,* 210 (in section 46), described how in 1412 Catalina passed "harsh decrees" (gezerot kashot) and caused sixteen-thousand people to convert.

court after Fernando's death also largely excluded Pablo from Castilian politics.[85] Like the multiple literal senses of Pablo's biblical exegesis, the image of Juan as a messiah figure at the conclusion of the seven ages of the world can potentially be read at once as a metaphor of political propaganda, a polemical riposte to Jewish arguments against Christian figurativism, and a strategic manipulation of Jewish distrust of Catalina.

Pablo's discussion of issues at the heart of the Jewish-Christian conflict in the *converso* context of the first decades of the fifteenth century provides a context in which we can understand his explicit discussion of his own *converso* status and his repeated use of genealogical language in his writing. It is significant that in the prologue to the *Additiones*, Pablo dedicated the work to his son, Alonso de Cartagena, who was converted with him as a child, and in that dedication he specifically justifies his polemical and exegetical authority by stressing the importance of the fact that both he and his son "descended from Levitic blood."[86] Pablo

[85] On the tradition arguing that Pablo dedicated the *Siete edades* to Catalina, see above, n. 13. Pablo had long supported Fernando, and upon the latter's death, Catalina excluded Pablo from the council of regents at her court, and Pablo's rival, Sancho de Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo, came to wield much more political power. On Pablo's exclusion and loss of political power, see Serrano, *Los conversos,* 67-70; and Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition*, 206. Pablo's total absence from the royal chronicle between 1416-1418, when Catalina ruled Castile without Fernando's intervention and made numerous alterations of personnel, is notable, especially given that he is mentioned in the years 1412, 1415 and 1416 (before Fernando's death) and again, after Catalina's death, in 1419, 1420, 1421, and five different years thereafter. See Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Crónica del serenísimo principe don Juan,* 2:371-374 and throughout. On Sancho de Rojas in the *Crónica,* see 2:372 and 376. Conde's argument (p. 117), which follows Deyermond, that Pablo's extended discussion of the Gothic queens—"amazonas"—in stanzas 272-276 of the *Siete edades*, constitutes a veiled praise for Catalina downplays the negative implications of this passage. The *amazonas* are described as taking over the crown and excluding men from their midst "porque non tenían a quien acatassen," "because they did not have someone to obey." Pablo concludes, moreover, "De sus maridos tornemos a contar,/ porque del linaje dellos desçendieron/ los nobles reyes que en Castilla vinieron...," "Let us return back to tell of their husbands,/ because from their lineage descended,/ the noble kings that came in Castile..." (see Conde, 327-8). If Catalina is to be associated with these women, it implies that she is only queen "because she has no one to obey" and that the crown is descended through her husband's blood, not her own. While the *amazonas* are presented as strong women, they are made to appear as obsolete before their husbands, whose male lineage, rather than their own, leads to the glory of Castile. Like the ending of the poem, this passage emphasizes that Catalina's son Juan is the true ruler and she is nothing more than a placeholder from a foreign lineage.

[86] "Unum est quod silentio committere non possum, nobis ex Levitico sanguine descendentibus aliquantulum demonstratum fuisse, quod ante tot saecula scriptum est: Tribui Levi non fuisse datam possessionem, quia Dominus est possessio ejus; Deus enim est possessio nostra, Christus haereditas nostra, qui purgaturus filios Levi, ut sacrificia Domino in justitia offerrent...," "There is one thing which I cannot commit to silence: that, to us descended from

articulated his genealogical claim to authority through the evocation of his *converso* status within the short period in Iberian history when, following the mass conversions of 1391 but still before the outbreak of explicit attacks on *converso* belief in 1449, converted status had not yet universally become a cause of derision. His dedication is a clear example of the appeal to legitimacy, common in *converso* writing, based on the claim of being closer to Jesus in blood, an appeal that would, a few decades following Pablo's death, soon come to be associated with "judaizing."[87] The appearance of genealogical language in the very opening of the prologue to the *Additiones*, at the most visible part of Pablo's exegesis, as well as throughout the seventh age of the *Siete edades* where Pablo describes Castile's "Illustrious lineage of past kings...," further links these two works. It also underscores, more importantly, how this appeal to genealogy—which, in the wake of 1391,became an essential part of the "*converso* problem"—is a critical component not only of Pablo's exegetical and polemical writing, but of his historiographical writing as well.

These conclusions might be used to support the argument of David Nirenberg that a "Sephardic historiographic mentality"—albeit in a different form—predated the expulsion by a few generations, even among converted Jews like Pablo, and also that the distinct appeal to genealogy, which became more pronounced in the wake of 1391 among both Jews and Christians, in some cases directly determined the terms in which history was written. In Pablo's case, these facts call into question the conclusions of Edwards that there exists no unique *converso* form of historiographical representation of kingship in fifteenth-century Iberia, and of Kriegel that the texts of Pablo and his son Alosno de Cartagena cannot be read as *converso*

Levitic blood what was written so many ages ago has been amply proven: that no possession has been given to the tribe of Levi, because the Lord is their possession (Deut. 18: 1-2). God in fact is our possession, Christ our inheritance, who will cleanse the sons of Levi that they should offer sacrifices to the Lord in justice..." See *Biblia,* 1:16v / *Patrologia Latina,* 113: 35-36.

writing in any sense.[88] This reading could, in fact, be further deepened by comparison with later historiographical writing by Alonso who, after Pablo's death in 1435, replaced him as bishop of Burgos and then held the post during the anti-*converso* controversy of 1449. The neogothic royal genealogy in Alonso's own *Anacephaleosis*, one of the central texts of fifteenth-century historiography, has itself been shown to be a deliberate polemic against English pressure on Juan II in the wake of the Council of Basel of 1434, at which Alonso served as the king Juan's emissary.[89] Likewise, comparison of the historiographical *Anacephaleosis* with Alonso's apologetic defense of *converso* Christians after 1449, the *Defensorium unitatis Christianiae (Defense of Christian Unity*), has shown the direct intersection of the apologetic language of genealogy with the defense of the monarchy in sacralizing terminology.[90] Pablo's writing suggests that although his historical representation of kingship in fifteenth-century Iberia does not depend on a "unique" *converso* voice, if such a thing could even be said to exist, it does respond directly to issues relevant to converted Jews living after 1391. This point seems to be further supported by Alonso's writing as well.

This conclusion, however, requires one further clarification. Although Pablo does resemble later historiographical writers in his focus on genealogy and his use of history for deliberately polemical purposes, these very characteristics can still be linked to anti-Jewish arguments of previous "theological" converts whose conversions themselves predate 1391. For

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[87] Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities," 31.
[88] See above, n. 2
[89] It is significant in this light that Alonso brought copies of his father's *Scrutinium Scripturarum* with him to Basel, and it was principally through this channel that the text was disseminated to a wider readership beyond Castile. On the dissemination of the text, see Szpiech, "*Converso* Polemic in Naples," 113-124.
[90] On the *Anacephaleosis*, see Yolanda Espinosa Fernández, *La "Anacephaleosis" de Alonso de Cartagena: edición, traducción, estudio,* 3 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1989); and Fernández Gallardo, *Alonso de Cartagena (1385-1456). Una biografía política en la Castilla del siglo XV* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002), 277-319. On the *Defensorium*, see the edition by Manuel Alonso (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Hebraicos, 1943); and Guillermo Verdín-Díaz, *Alonso de Cartagena y el Defensorium unitatis christianae* (Oviedo: University of Oviedo,

example, as we have seen, Pablo's invocation of the issues of Jewish historical argument based on the book of Daniel in the prologue of his *Siete edades* employed imagery no different from that of Alfonso de Valladolid a century before.[91] Likewise, Pablo's opening of his exegetical *Additiones* with both his conversion narrative and his genealogical appeal to his own *converso* lineage follows directly in the tradition of Alfonso de Valladolid, as well as the even earlier model of the twelfth-century convert Petrus Alfonsi.[92] For a short period following 1391, when the *converso* appeal to Jewish ancestry had yet to prove too dangerous, the traditional literary language of conversion narratives such as those by Petrus Alfonsi, Alfonso de Valladolid, and other pre-1391 converts, reappeared in the apologetic language of *converso* genealogy. While this traditional element in Pablo's exegesis and historiography makes manifest the long tradition out of which historiographical and exegetical texts like Pablo's emerged, it also suggests that just as the emergence of later traditions depended on more than the traumatic events of 1492, so too did the development of the fifteenth-century historiographical tradition focused on genealogy and polemical attack depend in some cases on more than the events of 1391.[93] The destabilizing events of both 1391 and 1492 certainly did catalyze new traditions in historiographical writing based on a genealogical mentality, but they did so from within already existing traditions in which such ideas already had currency. The central example of the writing of Pablo de Santa

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1992). For a consideration of Alonoso's political thought in the *Defensorium* and other texts, see Fernández Gallardo, "La obra historiográfica de dos conversos ilustres," 273-81, and *Alonso de Cartagena*, 345-65.

[91] See also above, n. 81.

[92] As Alfonso begins his polemical *Mostrador de jusiticia,* 12r / 1:13*,* "Caté la premia de los judios, el mi pueblo donde yo era, que sson en esta luenga captividad...[pero] ffincaré en la mi fe en que nasçí, como fincó mi padre e mi abuelo e todas mis generaçiones...ca non so yo mejor que mis parientes," "I saw the poverty of the Jews, my people, from whom I am [descended], who are in this long captivity...[but] I will remain in the faith in which I was born, as my father and grandfather and all my generations remained...since I am no better than my ancestors." Likewise, Petrus Alfonsi begins his *Dialogue Against the Jews* by emphasizing his former converted status. See *Diálogo contra los Judíos,* ed. Klaus-Peter Mieth, Trans. Esperanza Ducay (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1996), 7.

María provides evidence that the question of the polemical use of historiography, both within and beyond the writing of *conversos* in fifteenth-century Spain, can be meaningfully explored as a creative engagement with the common tropes of late-medieval royal historiography and polemics, where the issues of *converso* identity, situated within a wider historical context, can take on new and rich valences of meaning apart from the overworn and flawed questions of genealogy and race.

[93] See Eleazar Gutwirth, "Conversions to Christianity Amongst Fifteenth-Century Spanish Jews: An Alternative Explanation," in *Shlomo Simonsohn Jubilee volume,* English section 97-121, for a discussion of possible motives for the rise of conversion in the fifteenth century apart from the singular event of 1391.