EVIDENCE FOR LOST LITERATURE BY JEWS AND *CONVERSOS* IN MEDIEVAL CASTILE AND ARAGON

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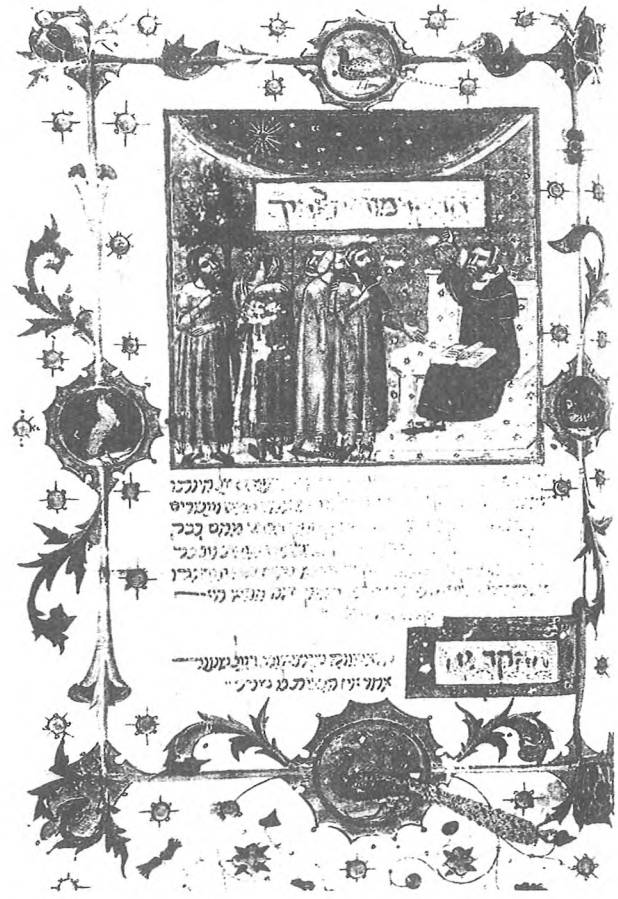
1. Causes of loss, types of evidence

The causes of loss of works by Jews and *conversos* are much the same as for other medieval literature: oral works never written down, fires in libraries, war and revolution, thefts from libraries, the discarding or breaking up of manuscripts and printed books thought to be no longer useful or valuable, religious or political censorship, and the need to conceal dangerous works. [1] Two examples will indicate the perils to which manuscripts and early printed books have been exposed over the centuries: more than 4000 manuscripts were destroyed in a fire in the royal library of El Escorial in 1671 (the inventory compiled at the end of the sixteenth century —Antolín 1923: 434-35— records most of the works that were later lost; thefts from the Biblioteca Colombina have been so extensive and persistent that only a minority of the works collected by Columbus's son Fernando Colón are now to be found in the library, and the whereabouts of most of those stolen are unknown (see Norton 1973; Rodríguez-Moñino 1976). The last two of the causes of loss just mentioned —censorship and the need to conceal dangerous works— were probably more active than usual in the case of Jewish and *converso* literature. One example will suffice to illustrate a point that hardly needs to be argued: on 25 September 1492, in Salamanca, twenty vernacular Bibles —biblical translation was to a large extent a Jewish and *converso* activity— were burned by the Inquisition (Lazar et al. 1994: ix).

This paper offers only a few examples chosen from one sector of a vast and complex area of study. Its limitations are due only in part to its being an expanded version of a twenty-minute paper. The fundamental limitation is linguistic. The Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages had seven major literary languages, and six of these (Arabic, Hebrew, Spanish —i.e. Castilian and cognate dialects—, Catalan, (Galician-)Portuguese, and Latin) were widely used by Jews and *conversos*. [2] For example, the greatest Jewish author of medieval Iberia, Maimonides (see Roth 1985b), wrote in Hebrew, but most of his works, including his masterpiece *Moreh nevukhim* (*The Guide of the Perplexed*), were written in Arabic and in most cases translated into Hebrew (some into Castilian also). Since I know neither Arabic nor Hebrew, I can make no attempt at an overall assessment of the lost literature of medieval Iberian Jewry.

In this paper I shall discuss two speculative and controversial issues: the possibility of intermediate vernacular drafts by Jews who participated in the work of the Toledo translators' school, and a lost tradition of love-songs by Jewish women that gave rise to extant Sephardic wedding-songs. I shall then comment on three works from the fourteenth century —the *Juego de axedrez* adapted from a poem by Mosé Azán de Zaragua, a commentary on Šem Ṭob's *Proverbios morales*, Ḥasday Abraham Crescas's attack on Christian doctrine— and on a fifteenth-century *Ritual hispano-hebreo*. After reference to a number of works by members of two of the leading *converso* families —Santa María/Cartagena and Díaz de Toledo—, I shall discuss the anonymous pamphlet by a group of *conversos* in Seville, attacking Hernando de Talavera's sermons of 1478, and the way in which Talavera's anxiety to suppress the pamphlet (which he calls 'el herético libello') led to the preservation of much of its content.



Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, Barcelona 1348
[Ms. hebr. XXXVII, Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen]

Evidence that lost works once existed varies from the very strong to the ambiguous and unreliable. Very strong

Maimonides, *Mostrador e enseñador de los turbados*, Sevilla 1432 (Spanish version by Pedro de Toledo, from the Hebrew version by Yehuda al-Harizí) [Ms. 10289, f. 1r, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid]

evidence may be provided by the survival of a fragment (e.g. the *Ritual hispano-hebreo*) or of a translation (e.g. of Ḥasday Abraham Crescas's challenge to Christian doctrines); summaries and quotations in extant works (the most striking case is the *Herético libello*); tables of contents of manuscripts that have lost some of their leaves; and detailed entries in library catalogues. On a lower level of probability are references by the author of an extant work to a work previously written by that author, or references by other authors. There are also, at varying levels of trustworthiness, references by bibliophiles from the sixteenth century onwards (doubts may arise not only because some bibliophiles are more reliable than others, but also because the references may not give enough detail for a precise identification), and references of other kinds (such as the statement on the tomb of Pablo de Santa María that he wrote 'multa alia pia opera'. Finally, the nature of extant works or categories of work may suggest that there had been an intermediate stage, now lost (the next two sections of this article deal with such cases).

2. The Toledo translators' school

The intensive period of translating activity, generally though not entirely accurately described as a translators' school, was initiated by Raymond, the Frenchman who was Archbishop of Toledo from 1126 to 1152. [3] Toledo, which had been reconquered only in 1085, still had a substantial Muslim population, as well as a large Jewish community (part of it long established, part composed of refugees from Almohad persecution in the South) and, of course, a much increased Christian population. Archbishop Raymond attracted to this multicultural city Spanish and foreign scholars who, backed by rich library resources, were able to sustain a major translating enterprise, designed to prepare Latin versions of the most important scientific works in Arabic. Since a great deal of Greek science had been lost in the Western tradition, but preserved in Arabic translation with commentaries by some of the greatest Islamic scientists and philosophers, these Arabic works, though potentially dangerous to Christian orthodoxy, were indispensable to the intellectual development of the West. The Toledo translators' school made Spain for a time the intellectual powerhouse of Europe, providing much of the fuel for the soaring achievements of the School of Chartres and the University of Paris (see, in addition to the studies already cited, Millás Vallicrosa 1942: 9-13; Menéndez Pidal 1956; Gil 1985; Márquez Villanueva 1994a: 73-81, 1994b).

Jewish scholars and translators, familiar with both the Arabic culture of Al-Andalus and the Spanish Christian culture of the North, played a central part in the teams assembled by Alfonso X, el Sabio, a century later for translation from Arabic to Castilian (see Hilty 1954: xxxvii-xlii; Roth 1985a), and their importance in the Toledo translators' school has been stressed by most of the scholars cited above (it forms part of the title of José S. Gil's book, 1965). The nature of their role in the Toledo school is, however, disputed. At one time the general assumption was that they often produced Castilian drafts of the Arabic texts, and that the Latin translations were made from those drafts. Thus, for instance, José María Millás Vallicrosa wrote: 'En muchas de estas traducciones intervinieron judíos o conversos, ya traduciendo ellos mismos o colaborando con otros traductores; en general, los primeros lo traducían a la lengua romance y los otros lo redactaban en latín' (1942: 11). Millás Vallicrosa's example is not well chosen, since it comes from a translation made in Montpellier in 1263. Nevertheless, it shows that the process outlined above did indeed take place on occasion: 'Profatio gentis hebreorum vulgarizante et Johanne Brixiensi in latinum reducenti amen'. Recently, however, some scholars have tended to suppose that when Jewish translators produced a Castilian draft, they did so orally, and that in most cases there was direct translation from Arabic to Latin. [4] Thus, while it would be rash to delete such drafts from a list of lost works by Jews, their place in such a list should be less

prominent and a good deal more tentative than it would have been a generation ago.

3. Women's love-songs

The evidence for draft Castilian scientific translations by Jews is, as we have just seen, inconclusive, but when we turn to love-songs by medieval Jewish women in Spain we can rely only on inference based on circumstantial evidence, inference that points to the likelihood of what Ramón Menéndez Pidal would have called an 'estado latente' in a three-thousand-year tradition first documented in the Song of Songs and surviving today in Sephardic wedding-songs. There is an obvious objection to any such inference: between the Song of Songs and the extant Sephardic songs —in other words, for almost all of the three thousand years— we have neither surviving texts nor references to lost ones. Nevertheless, I believe the inference to be well founded.

It is generally accepted that the intense eroticism of the Song of Songs:

> His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me.
> I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love, till he please.
> The voice of my beloved! Behold, he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills.
> My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice.
> My beloved spake, and said unto me, 'Rise up, my fair one, and come away [...]'
> My beloved is mine, and I am his: he feedeth among the lilies.
> Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether. (2.6-10 & 16-17)

though accepted into the Jewish and then into the Christian canon as an expression of the love between the soul and God, has its origin in secular love-songs, and that the whole text may well have been initially a collection of wedding-songs (Falk 1982; Landy 1983, 1987). It is the ambivalence of these poems as they have been handed down by biblical tradition that made them such a powerful influence on the learned love-lyric of medieval Europe (Dronke 1979). Research has shown interesting links to the love-songs of ancient Egypt (Fox 1985), and there is good reason to see the Song of Songs as part of the tradition of Near Eastern women's erotic song, which, Elvira Gangutia Elícegui has convincingly argued (1972, 1991), began in the temples of Sumeria and Akkadia, spread through the whole region, and was then carried by Phoenician traders throughout the Mediterranean, influencing the lyrics of Sappho and her contemporaries, and helping to form the woman's-voice traditional lyric of medieval Iberia.

We have astonishingly little evidence of Hebrew poetry by women in medieval Spain (in sharp contrast to the quantity and variety of Arabic women's lyric from the courts of Al-Andalus: see Garulo 1986). In court poetry, there is a short lyric of farewell from the tenth century, attributed to the wife of the poet Dunaš ben Labraṭ (Deyermond 1991: 83-85), but there are no other Hebrew texts (see also Rosen 1988). In the popular tradition, nothing at all survives —in Hebrew, Arabic, or Spanish— that can be attributed to Jewish women. There are, of course, Romance *kharjas* at the end of a number of Hebrew *muwaššaḥs* (not even those most sceptical about the existence of Romance *kharjas* in Arabic *muwaššaḥs* have argued against the ones in Hebrew script), and most of these are in a woman's voice. But we have no way of knowing whether any of these *kharjas* comes from a Jewish tradition (see Deyermond 1993: 78). What, then, is the basis for the hypothesis that the ancient tradition of woman's love-song embodied in the Song of Songs continued among the Jewish communities of Al-Andalus and then of Christian Spain?

A hint is offered by the 241-line parodic epithalamium written, probably in the 1470s, by the *converso* poet Rodrigo Cota and aimed at another *converso* family (ed. Ciceri 1982; see Cantera Burgos 1970: 76-78 and Alvar 1971: 16). The study by Eleazar Gutwirth relates Cota's poem not only to verbal attacks on *conversos* suspected of judaizing, but also to a tradition of Hispano-Hebraic epithalamia (e.g. by Abraham ibn Ezra and Yehuda Ha-Levi) and parodies of the genre (he mentions two examples from the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century, one Hebrew and the other Catalan) (1985: 2-3). None of these is a woman's-voice Jewish wedding-song, so they can do no more than establish the existence of a culture in which wedding-songs of one kind and another were frequent.

In our own time, the wedding-songs collected from the oral tradition of the Moroccan Sephardic communities are not only, in many cases, splendid lyrics, but are important circumstantial evidence:

> Madre, mi madre,
> cuando me eché a dormir,
> soñaba mi sueño,
> tan dulce era de decir:
> que me adormía
> a la orilla del Sil.
> Viniera la ola
> y a mí quisiera llevar.
> Con amor, madre, con amor,
> yo me iré a dormir.
> Con amor, madre, con amor,
> yo me iré a dormir. (Alvar 1971: 220-21, no. VI B)

Desde hoy, la mi madre,
la del cuerpo lusido,
tomerís vós las yaves,
las del pan y del vino,
que yo irme quería
a servir buen marido,
a ponel.le la mesa,
la del pan y del vino,
para hacel.le la cama
y para echal.le conmigo. [...] (222, no. VII A)

Decidle a mi amor
si mi bien quiere,
que traiga la mula
y me lleve.
Que llueve lo menudito
y me mojaré.
Que romerita yo,
que romero bueno,
que ir a pie no puedo.
Que llueve lo menudito
y me mojaré.
Que endelicado soy. (264, no. XXVII B)

These lyrics do not, of course, derive textually from the Song of Songs; if they did, one would immediately suspect a direct literary influence. Yet neither do they, unlike most of the Sephardic lyrics studied by Adolfo Jiménez Benítez (1994: 101-38), obviously descend from the general Hispanic tradition of the late Middle Ages (Frenk 1987). Their tenor and their diction have just enough in common with the Song of Songs, and enough difference from the general Hispanic tradition, to support the hypothesis that they descend from wedding-songs sung by Jewish women in medieval Spain, and that those in turn descended from the ancient tradition of which the Song of Songs is one of the surviving texts. [5] A comparable case —though there is no space to discuss it here— may be that of the Sephardic *endechas* (see Alvar 1969).

4. The fourteenth century

4.1. *Juego de axedrez*

José Amador de los Ríos, as part of the research for his *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos*, published in 1848, studied MS L.II.6 of the Escorial, which contained Juan Manuel's *Libro del Conde Lucanor* and several other works. One of these was a poem entitled *Juego de axedrez*. When he returned to the library in 1855 to continue his study of this manuscript, it had disappeared, and it has not been seen since. [6] Fortunately, he had already transcribed some stanzas, including the first:

> En el nombre de Dios poderoso que es
> et fue en ante que cosa que fues
> et será postrimero otro que sin
> et non ovo empieço, nin nunca avrá fin:
> el que fiso el mundo todo de la nada
> et sobre los abismos tierra firme fundada;
> et non avié ý ninguna criatura
> et la tierra cubierta de agua et escura.
> Et el primero día crio lus et resplandor
> por tal que es de otro mejor;
> et apartó Dios, por su grant bondat,
> la grant escureça de la claridat,
> et plúgol quel mundo fuesse por tal vía
> que fuese apartada la noche del día. [7]

Amador de los Ríos transcribes four lines from the end of the poem's paraphrase of the Genesis account of the Creation:

El seteno día fue sanctificado,
por razón que todo era ya acabado;
et mandó que folgase toda criatura
de las que fueron fechas a su sancta figura. (473)

He also gives us the beginning of the last stanza:

Virgen María, santa, digna, gloriosa,
en los cielos e la tierra reyna coronada,
tú sey con tu Fijo de mi buena abogada,
pues eres su madre, su fija et su esposa etc. (472)

and Rodríguez de Castro transcribes its end:

de estar con el Padre, Fijo, Santo Esprito,
la qual es un Dios, una exsencia e una cosa.
Finito libro etc. (183)

The poem's content is summarized briefly by Rodríguez de Castro:

Habla de la creación del mundo, y trata de la obligación que tienen los hombres de servir a Dios, y exercitarse en la práctica de todas las virtudes; concluyendo con ponderar los daños que ocasiona al hombre el juego de naypes. (183)

It is strange that this summary makes no mention of chess. This is just one of the puzzles that confront us: on the poem's relationship to the extant thirteenth-century *Mahadanne melec* (*Delights of the King*), and on the authorship of the latter, we are given radically different accounts by Amador de los Ríos (1863: 471) and by Rodríguez de Castro, who attributes *Mahadanne melec* to the thirteenth-century rabbi Jedahiah Hapenini ben Abraham (1781: 176-81; his opinion is followed by Agustín Ladrón de Guevara & Salvador Barahona 1983: I, 283-88). This is not the place to pursue the question, and I am not competent to do so, but I hope that a specialist in Hispano-Hebraic literature of the thirteenth century will resolve the problems. Meanwhile, it is appropriate to consider the information we are given about the authorship of the lost Castilian poem. Here, at least, the evidence is fairly clear. Rodríguez de Castro, who does not mention the

title *Juego de axedrez*, says that the poem's incipit is: 'Este libro conpuso e fiso Mosé Açán de Çaragua en lenguaje catalán e después fue tornado en castellano.' Amador de los Ríos quotes the lines:

Et si quisieres saber el mi nombre abierto,
sepas que Mosé Azán me llaman por cierto,
vezino de Tárraga, un pequeño lugar,
et de muy nobles gentes et omes de prestar,
et es noble lugar, ordenado et apuesto,
et poblado de mucho ome limpio et honesto. (471)

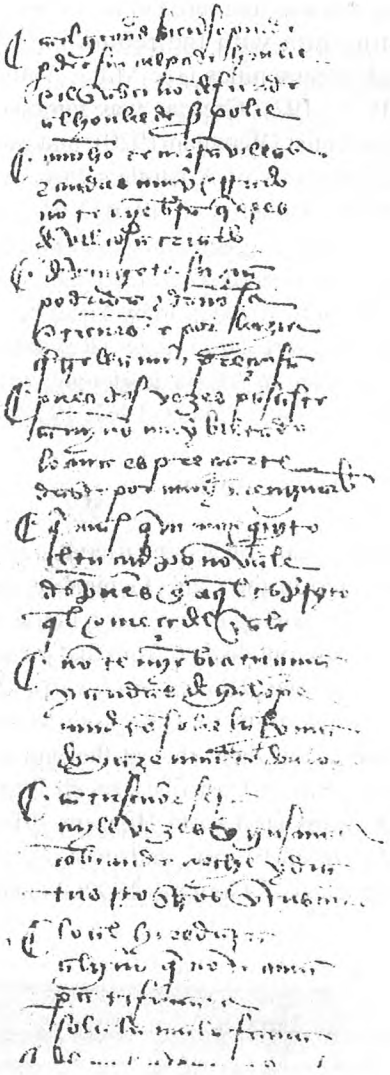
It seems, then, that the Castilian poem, composed c. 1350 (Rodríguez de Castro 183; Amador de los Ríos 470), adapted a Catalan poem by Mošé Azán de Zaragua (or de Tárraga); the relationship of the latter to *Mahadanne melec* remains to be clarified. Moreover, while the paraphrase of the Genesis Creation story could come as well from a Jewish as from a Christian poet, the last stanza of the poem is explicitly Christian. The lost poem was, therefore, a Castilian Christian version of a Catalan Jewish original.

4.2. Commentary on Šem Ṭob, *Proverbios morales*

Manuscript *M* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9216) of the *Proverbios morales* of the rabbi Šem Ṭob ibn Arduṭiel ben Isaac, better known to specialists in medieval Castilian literature as Santob de Carrión, has a prologue by an anonymous author, absent from all the other manuscripts. MS *M* was probably copied about the middle of the fifteenth century, a hundred years after the composition of the poem, but we have no way of knowing how long an interval elapsed between the poem and the composition of the prologue. The prologue's absence from the other three principal manuscripts suggests that it was probably absent also from the archetype, and was therefore a later addition; this hypothesis is strengthened by the last two sentences quoted below, which do not read like the words of a contemporary of Šem Ṭob (Zemke, in press, places the prologue firmly in the fifteenth century). The prologue ends by explaining why its author plans to write a commentary to the poem:

Pues así es, plazyendo a Dios, declararé algo en las trobas de Rabí Santob, el judío, de Carrión, en algunas partes que parescen escuras. Aunque non son escuras, salvo por quanto son trobas. [...] E esto quiero yo trabajar en declarar, con el ayuda de Dios, para algunos que pueden ser que leerán e non entenderán syn que otri ge las declare, commo algunas vezes lo he ya visto esto. Por quanto, syn dubda, las dichas trobas son muy notable escritura, que todo omne la deviera decorar.[8] Ca ésta fue la entención del sabio rrabý que las fizo: porque escritura rrimada es mejor decorada que non la que va por testo llano.[9]

The words 'plazyendo a Dios, declararé algo' leave open the question of whether the prologue was written.



Šem Ṭob, *Proverbios morales*
[Ms. Archivo Diocesano, Cuenca]

Ignacio González Llubera believes that it was written, and that 'Probably it was included in the parent copy of *M*, whilst the latter transcribed the prologue in prose and left out the commentary, owing perhaps to the comparatively small size of the page.'[10] The intention to write a commentary is clear, but its actual composition cannot be more than an attractive hypothesis, though Perry is in no doubt that it once existed (1987:167). What seems clear from the nature of the prologue is that if the commentary was indeed written, its ideological basis was that of orthodox Judaism (Perry 1987: 167-81).

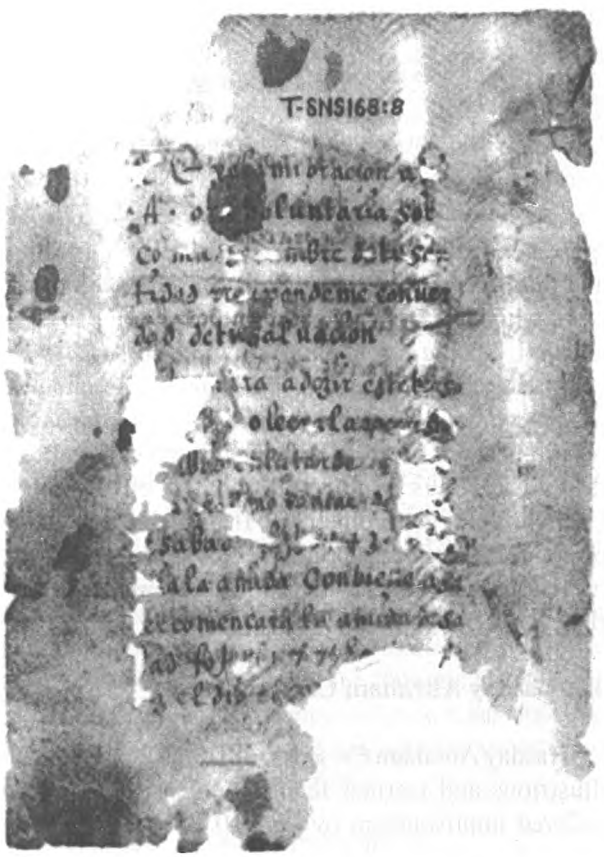
4.3. Ḥasday Abraham Crescas

Ḥasday Abraham Crescas (1340-1410), born into an illustrious and learned Jewish family of Barcelona, suffered imprisonment by Pere III of Aragon; on his release he moved to Saragossa. Juan I of Aragon made reparation by appointing him Chief Rabbi of the kingdom, protecting him in the 1391 pogrom (in which,

however, his only son was murdered in Barcelona), and in 1393 entrusting him with the rebuilding of the Aragonese Jewish communities (see Millás Vallicrosa 1949: 431-33; 1967: 192). Crescas was famous as a philosopher and scientist (Waxman 1920), and most of all for his critical analysis of Aristotle's *Physics* (see Wolfson 1929; Millás Vallicrosa 1949: 427-41). About 1398 he wrote in Castilian a polemical work of theology, challenging some of the central doctrines of Christianity. This is lost, but a Hebrew translation by Yosef ben Šem Ṭob survives: *Bittul 'Iqeré ha-nozerim* (Refutation of Christian Dogma), made in Alcalá de Henares in 1451 (see Millás Vallicrosa 1949: 433-43; 1967: 193-95).

5. The fifteenth century: liturgy

Among the fragments of a late-fifteenth-century manuscript discovered in the Cairo Genizah is a Castilian prayer whose beginning is lost. It is a literal translation from the Hebrew, but distinct from that preserved in the *Orden de oraciones del mes con los ayunos del solo* printed in Amsterdam in 1638 (see Morreale 1961-62). It seems clear, then, that at the end of the Middle Ages there was at least one Jewish liturgical text in Castilian, translated from Hebrew, different from the extant printed liturgy, and now surviving only in small fragments (cf. Gutwirth 1992: 24 and 30).



Spanish translation of Hebrew liturgy, 16th century
[Cambridge University Library, T-S NS 168.8]

6. The fifteenth century: the Santa María/ Cartagena family

6.1. Pablo de Santa María (Šelomo Halevi)

Pablo de Santa María (1350-1435) was the most famous and controversial convert of his time: he was Rabbi of Burgos and eventually, long after his conversion, became Bishop of the same city (as far as I know, this is the only case of a person who was the spiritual leader first of the Jews and then, albeit after a long interval, of the Christians of a single city). He wrote copiously: mostly after his conversion, and in Latin, but with one major and some minor works in Castilian from the same period, and some pre-conversion writings in Hebrew. [11] It is likely, given his reputation for rabbinic scholarship, that he wrote other Hebrew works that he understandably would not have wished to preserve, but if he did we have no indication of their titles or contents. The epitaph on his tomb says, in part,

> *Aditiones ad 'Postillam' Magistri Nicolai de Lira*, et liber qui dicitur *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, ad fidelium eruditionem, et infidelium impugnationem composuit. Et post haec, et multa alia pia opera, liberatus de corpore mortis [...] (Rodríguez de Castro 1781: 237)

What were the 'multa alia pia opera'? Some information is given by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in his volume of biographical sketches, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, composed less than twenty years after Pablo de Santa María's death:

> Fue muy grande pedricador. Fizo algunas escrituras muy provechosas de nuestra fe, de las cuales fue una las *Adiciones sobre Niculao de Lira* e un tratado *De cena Domini*, e otro *De la generación de Jhesu Christo*, e un grant velumen que se llama *Escrutinio de las escrituras*, en el qual por fuertes e bivas razones prueva ser venido el Mexía e Aquel ser Dios e omne. (Tate 1965: 29)

The two works mentioned both by the epitaph and by Pérez de Guzmán (whose information is repeated by later writers) —the *Additiones* and the *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, both completed in the last years of the author's life— were already in print by the early 1470s. However, despite the fame of Pablo de Santa María's sermons ('Convirtió con su predicación [como lo afirman] más de quarenta mil judíos y moros'), none has survived, either in his own manuscripts or, as is more frequent with sermons of the period, in *reportationes* based on notes taken while the preacher was speaking. [12] Francisco Cantera Burgos believes that the 'multa alia pia opera' were short treatises like *De cena Domini* and *De genealogia Jesu Christi*, all of which were subsequently incorporated into the *Additiones* (1952: 341). [13] If he is right, the only works that can confidently be described as lost are the sermons.

6.2. Alfonso de Cartagena

Pablo de Santa María's relatives and descendants were the most prominent and influential *converso* family of the fifteenth century, and played a major part in Castilian intellectual life. His brother Álvar García de Santa María was appointed royal chronicler, and his granddaughter Teresa de Cartagena wrote the first feminist work in Castilian. The most influential member of the family, however, and the most prolific author, was Alfonso de Cartagena (c. 1384-1456), Pablo de Santa María's son, who succeeded his father as Bishop of Burgos. [14] The indispensable bibliographical study by María Morrás lists thirteen extant works in Castilian, twelve in Latin, and one written by Cartagena in Latin and then translated by him into Castilian (1992: 219-33 & 236-37; see also Serrano 1942: 119-260 and Cantera Burgos 1952: 416-64). Five other works, listed in the inventory of books bequeathed to the Capilla de la Visitación in 1487 and 1488 (published by Cantera Burgos 1952: 448-49), are now lost. Two are religious works, the *Devocional* (*Debocional en que están compuestas muchas oraciones por el dicho señor Obispo*, no. 13 in the inventory; Morrás 1992: 235) and a collection of Latin sermons (*Libro de muchos sermones en latýn del dicho señor Obispo*, inventory no. 7; Morrás: 238). The others are administrative: *De concordia pacis*, a collection of documents connected with Cartagena's embassies to the Portuguese court in 1421-25 and the treaty of peace with Portugal (inventory no. 12; Morrás: 237-38); the *Libro mauriciano* (documents concerned with the church in Burgos (no. 14; 238); and the *Conflatorium* (no. 13; 238), which comprised documents from litigation against the Archbishop of Toledo over his assertion of privileges as Primate of Spain. These lost works, like a number of the extant ones, reflect two aspects of Cartagena's life, as a devout priest and as a skilled and experienced administrator. None of them is related to a third aspect of Cartagena, that of translator and early vernacular humanist, an aspect plentifully represented in the extant works. [15]

6.3. Gonzalo García de Santa María

Pablo de Santa María's first cousin, who belonged to a branch of the family established in Saragossa, was the father of the jurist, translator, and historian from that city, Gonzalo García de Santa María (1447-1521; see Cantera Burgos 1952: 409-15 and Tate 1963-64 for his life and works). Gonzalo García de Santa María wrote, in the first years of the sixteenth century, a humanistic biography of Juan II of Aragon, *Serenissimi principis Joannis Secundi Aragonum regis vita* (see Tate 1962), and two other historical works now lost. He had already composed a genealogical work on the Aragonese monarchy, mentioned in a letter that he wrote to Fernando el Católico in 1499: 'el primer letrado que scrivió algo e embió el *Árbol de la succesión de los reyes de Aragón* e mostró que mujer podía succeder en estos reynos fue yo.' The motive for the composition of this work was the sudden death in October 1497 of Prince Juan, heir to both the Aragonese and the Castilian thrones, and its content is known thanks to a lengthy summary in Jerónimo Zurita's *Anales* (Tate 1963-64: 369-70 = 1970: 223; Deyermond 1986a: 189). We cannot be certain of the language in which the *Árbol* was written, but since Gonzalo García de Santa María's other two historical works were written in Latin, it seems likely that this was also.

Zurita's summary shows that the *Árbol* covered much of the same period as the author's chronicle of Aragon (see Tate 1963-64: 370-72 = 1970: 224-27; Deyermond 1986a: 187-89): Zurita refers to a 'Crónica del Reyno de Aragón desde sus principios hasta la muerte del rey don Alonso de Nápoles'. Two long sentences in Latin were transcribed in 1639 by Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz, and the opening and closing words, also in Latin, are preserved by the nineteenth-century bibliographer Bartolomé José Gallardo. There is conflicting evidence on the relation of this lost work to the extant *Corónica de Aragón* by Fray Gauberte Fabricio de Vagad, but the most likely solution is (as Tate argues, 1963-64: 371-72 = 1970: 225-26) that García de Santa María's chronicle was the source both for Vagad's work and for the lost *Anales del reino de Aragón* of Martín García, Bishop of Barcelona. García de Santa María's work must, however, have differed sharply from Vagad's in its outlook, since he was a strong supporter of the union of Aragon and Castile, whereas Vagad's Aragonese nationalism was hostile both to Castile and to Catalonia.

7. The fifteenth century: the Díaz de Toledo family

7.1. Pero Díaz de Toledo

The *converso* Díaz de Toledo family could not rival the Santa María/Cartagena family in power, influence, and intellectual eminence, but it played a major part in the political, ecclesiastical, and intellectual life of fifteenth-century Castile (Round 1993: 97). Pero Díaz de Toledo (c. 1415-1466) was a scholar and translator, whose most notable achievement was the *Libro llamado 'Fedrón'*, a translation of Plato's *Phaedo* made for the Marqués de Santillana from Leonardo Bruni's Latin version (for his life and writings, see Round 1966, 1993: 97-110). This was the first complete vernacular translation of any of Plato's dialogues to be made anywhere in Europe.

A manuscript last seen in 1917 in the Biblioteca del Noviciado of the Universidad Central de Madrid (now the Complutense) gives the titles of several short works composed between the mid 1440s and mid 1450s and now lost. Nicholas G. Round describes these works:

He advised the clergy of Talavera on the problematic case of a Muslim woman converted to Judaism; he took issue with El Tostado [Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal] —at some date between 1446 and 1454— over another problem of religious demarcation. In 1449 he wrote a polemical riposte to the anti-*converso* rebels of Toledo and a letter to Juan II on their insurrection. In a more academic vein he produced a partial comentary on Justinian's *Digest*, still available to law students in Alcalá in the early sixteenth century. (1993: 99)

The first translations that he was commissioned to undertake were for Juan II, in the early to mid 1440s. Two of the translations, of the Pseudo-Senecan *De moribus* and *Proverbia*, survive. The third does not: it was of the *Summa Alexandrinorum*, a selection of extracts from Aristotle's *Ethics* translated from Arabic into Latin by Hermann the German in the thirteenth century: 'ciertas actoridades notables de la philosophía moral de Aristótiles, que fueron sacadas de la traslación arábica en latín' (Round 1993: 99-100). By the late 1440s, Pero Díaz de Toledo was under the patronage of the Marqués de Santillana, and Round (1993: 103-04) thinks it likely that in the few years that followed, before he began work on the *Phaedo* version, he made for Santillana a number of translations of which no trace has survived. After Santillana's death in 1458, Pero Díaz continued to translate. At Alcalá de Henares in the mid 1460s he made for Alonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, a version of Josephus's history and a work that he elsewhere calls the *Enchiridion* (Round 1993: 105). He refers to the time and effort that this cost him: 'Pensando de reposar del trabajo del libro *Enchiridion*, que por muchos años me tovo ocupado, estando quasy en la conclusión e acabamiento de aquél [...]' (Foulché-Delbosc 1915: 130). That, unfortunately, is all the information we have. Round suggests as 'one possibility among several' (105) that this may have been a translation of Niccolò Perotti's Latin version of Epictetus, though he doubts whether Pero Díaz would have known that recently produced work (Perotti wrote it in Rome in 1450). Another possibility is that Pero Díaz translated St Augustine's *Enchiridion ad Laurentiam*. [16] It is surprising that Pero Díaz's translations, of a less ephemeral nature than most of his other works, should have suffered the highest rate of loss.

7.2. Pedro de Toledo y Ovalle

Pedro de Toledo (c. 1430-1499) was the illegitimate son of Pero Díaz's uncle, the Relator Fernán Díaz de Toledo, and became Bishop of Málaga (Round 1966: 398-431). Pedro Sainz de Baranda saw, in the 1840s in the library of the University of Alcalá de Henares, a late-fifteenth-century manuscript containing short works by Pedro de Toledo and by Pero Díaz de Toledo (Sainz de Baranda 1848: 32 n). Nicholas G. Round searched unsuccessfully for the manuscript in the libraries to which it might have been sent (1966: 362, 405, and n. 723). Apart from the Prologue to the Statutes of Málaga Cathedral (after 1487), and the account of the Christian entry into the city contained in the Statutes, no works by Pedro de Toledo have survived. The Alcalá manuscript seems to have been earlier than 1487, so the lost works —of whose genre we have no hint— would have been written before their author became Bishop of Málaga.

8. Hernando de Talavera and the *Herético libello*

Hernando de Talavera (c. 1428-1507), of partly *converso* descent, was Bishop of Ávila and then the first Archbishop of reconquered Granada. He wrote a considerable number of religious works —chiefly pastoral and administrative—, of which the great majority are extant. [17] In the late 1470s the *conversos* of Seville came under suspicion of judaizing. The Cardinal Archbishop of Seville promulgated strict Ordinances, and Hernando de Talavera, then Prior of the Monastery of Santa María de Prado in Valladolid, preached sermons in 1478, defending the sincere *conversos* and attacking Judaism and *conversos* who secretly practised it, whereupon a group of *conversos* of the city protested strongly. One of this group, as their spokesman, wrote a pamphlet in 1480, criticizing both the Ordinances and the sermons. [18] The pamphlet came to the notice of Isabel la Católica, who asked Hernando de Talavera to reply to it. Convinced that the author was a judaizer, he wrote a furious, long, and detailed reply, probably in 1481: the *Cathólica impugnación del herético libello maldito y descomulgado que en el año passado de [1480] fue divulgado en la cibdad de Sevilla* (ed. Márquez Villanueva & Martín Hernández 1961).

The offending pamphlet was rapidly suppressed, and as far as we know no copy survives. We do not even know whether it had a title, and it is always referred to by Hernando de Talavera's generic description of it as the 'herético libello' (*libello* is 'booklet', not 'libel'). Talavera's reply is so detailed that, paradoxically, it has preserved for us the structure, the arguments, and many of the words, so that Francisco J. Lobera Serrano (1989: 33-49), in a model of how to handle the evidence of lost literature, has been able to reconstruct much of the text, turning Hernando de Talavera's report of the author's words back into a close approximation to the words themselves. [19] A few extracts will give an impression both of Lobera Serrano's method and of the nature of the *Herético libello*:

Yo, fulano, eclesiástico y cristiano de todos cuatro costados, quise sanamente entender y especular la raíz de la ley dicha cristiana.

Estando yo contemplando, me adormecí, y oí una voz que me dijo: 'Toma la voz del pleito que yo porné en tu boca qué digas.' Me dijo aquella voz que harían gran fruto mis palabras. Desperté despavorecido. Temí de publicar este mi proceso por la rusticidad [...]

Os quiero enseñar qué cosa es verdaderamente ley de Cristo y doctrina evangélica: Es cierta cosa que Jesucristo fue judío; Jesucristo fue el primero convertido. Leyendo los evangelistas sin afección, hallo que Jesucristo nuestro Redentor no innovó ley, ni la soltó, mas que, antes, nos puso en obligación a la ley de Moisén [...]

Me maravillo y me quejo de que digáis que la ley de Moisén ya pasó y que después de la venida de Jesucristo y de la publicación de su santo evangelio no tuvo ni tiene obligación alguna. Destruís y amenguáis la ley diciendo que es vieja podrida casa y rota. Decís y afirmáis y predicáis contra la ley de Moisén todo lo susodicho, sabiendo bien que es mentira lo que decís [...] (Lobera Serrano 1989: 33-36)

There is further irony in this story: not only did Hernando de Talavera preserve the substance of the pamphlet that he had hoped to suppress, but he himself became suspect some twenty years later, as the Inquisition expanded and became ever more intrusive. Some of his relatives were arrested and interrogated, and he was in serious danger of ending his life in the dungeons of the Inquisition (Márquez Villanueva & Martín Hernández 1961: 13-16). In 1559, half a century after his death, came the final irony: the *Cathólica impugnación*, which he had seen as a decisive affirmation of the Christian faith against its covert Jewish critics, was placed on the Index.

9. Conclusion

Despite its length, this has been a compressed and highly selective survey of lost works by Jews and *conversos* in medieval Castile and Aragon; and not merely selective, but undoubtedly incomplete in its treatment of works in Hebrew and Arabic because I know neither language. Yet I hope that this survey, even with its evident defects, may have given some impression of the extent and variety of the works that have been lost, and of the ways in which we can learn something of them.

The evidence in sections 2 and 3 is so tenuous that any general statement would be unsafe, but there is a marked difference, and one that was to be expected, between the works by authors who were Jewish by religion as well as by ancestry, discussed in sections 4 and 5, and the *converso* works discussed in sections 6 and 7. It hardly needs to be said that as the years and the generations after conversion passed, the works of members of a *converso* family were increasingly likely to become indistinguishable from those of their *cristiano viejo* contemporaries, and decreasingly likely to have been lost because of censorship or the fear of persecution. Finally, the complex and fascinating case of the *Herético libello* and the *Cathólica impugnación*, discussed in section 8, illustrates, both in the circumstances of the works' composition and in the way that the former was lost and the latter barely survived, the terrifying predicament faced in the first generations under the Inquisition's surveillance by *conversos* who were secretly drawn to their ancestral religion and by those who, while devoutly Christian, tried to confront in a serious way the issues that divided the two religions and those that united them.

NOTES

I am grateful for the suggestions made in the discussion that followed my paper, and I have taken them into account in this revised version.

1. The effect of these factors on medieval Spanish literature is surveyed in DEYERMOND 1995: 17-43. For further information on the loss of classical and medieval literature in Europe, see GOLDSCHMIDT 1943; BARDON 1952-56; WILSON 1970; DOMÍNGUEZ DEL VAL 1971; SWEENEY 1971; HUGHES 1980; LÓPEZ-BARALT 1980; JESCH 1984; SMITH 1984; DEYERMOND 1986a, 1986b, and 1995; TATE 1988; and LYALL 1989.

2. An impression of the richness and diversity of the literary traditions of medieval Iberian Jewry was given by the exhibition in the Cambridge University Library in 1992 (GUTWIRTH 1992).

3. For reservations and qualifications, see THORNDIKE 1923: 66-93; LEMAY 1963; RACINE 1991.

4. Francisco Márquez Villanueva accepts the idea of an oral translation, but believes that this would have needed to be reduced to writing before the next stage was undertaken. He writes of the task of:

> fundir dos tradiciones culturales y lingüísticas por completo extrañas, a base de un trabajo de equipo. En su forma pura el traductor judío dictaba una versión del árabe al castellano, mientras otro traductor, que por lo común era un clérigo español o extranjero, ponía en latín dicho texto vernáculo. (1994b: 129)

He goes on to describe the team of assistants and copyists who would have supported the central pair of translators. He regards Gerard of Cremona's ability to translate directly from Arabic to Latin (DÍEZ BRASA 1979: 594-95) as exceptional (1994b: 130). There is, however, a reference to Gerard's having been assisted by a Mozarab: 'qui Galippo mixtarabe interpretante *Almagesti* interpretavit' (quoted by THORNDIKE 1923: 88 n. 2).

5. The Sephardic songs are also discussed by Manuel ALVAR (1971: 27-39) and by Oro ANAHORY-LIBROWICZ & Judith R. COHEN (1986). Alvar presents the literary and historical references for medieval Hispanic wedding-songs (1971: 11-17) and discusses their context in wedding celebrations (19-26; see also LEIBOVICI 1986). A few references to Jewish weddings (collected by ALVAR 1971: 15-17) give glimpses of a possible context for wedding-songs, whether in Hebrew or in Spanish, of the Jewish communities of medieval Spain.

6. The manuscript is not mentioned in FAULHABER et al. 1984.

7. AMADOR DE LOS RÍOS 1863: 470-73; the quotation is from pp. 472-73. In all quotations from Medieval Spanish I regularize the use of i/j, u/v, and c/ç, and supply accents according to modern scholarly usage, emending punctuation and capitalization where necessary. This stanza had earlier been transcribed from the same manuscript by Joseph RODRÍGUEZ DE CASTRO (1781: 183), and his text offers significant variants in four lines:

l. 5 el qual fiso el mundo todo de nada
l. 8 era cubierta
l. 10 de todo mejor
l. 14 a que fuese

Rodríguez de Castro implies that the manuscript is factitious ('escrito en papel por distintos Copiantes y en diversos tiempos'), and he says that it bears the title *Los trabajos de Hércules, y el Conde de Lucanor*, the Castilian poem that concerns us being the last work in it.

8. 'Decorar' means 'learn by heart'. There is striking confirmation that this was done: the archives of the Inquisition at Cuenca include documents of the proceedings against the *converso* merchant Ferrán Verde, who in 1493, after nearly a year in prison, wrote out from memory 219 stanzas of the *Proverbios morales* (López Grigera 1976).

9. González Llubera 1947: 63; also Perry 1986: 6. Perry analyses and translates the prologue (1987: 167-81). See also Zemke (in press).

10. He suggests that:

> The transcription of the stanzas in short lines may have been due to the need to leave space and would imply the existence of the prose commentary around the text in the margins of the parent copies of *M* as well as *NE*. In one of the Florence MSS of the *Divina Commedia* a similar need led to the same result, the hendecasyllables having been transcribed in two lines: such is the *codice Poggioli* [...] The small number of stanzas per leaf in the exemplar of *M* seems to imply that the commentary was included in the margins. (20 n. 6)

W.J. Entwistle disagrees: '*M* is in two columns and *N* in three, so that the extant manuscripts (other than *E*, the latest of all) do not in fact leave room for an exegete. [...] Nor does *C* help to determine the point' (1947: 47).

11. See Rodríguez de Castro 1781: 235-65; Serrano 1942: 1-117; Cantera Burgos 1952: 274-351; Agustín Ladrón de Guevara & Salvador Barahona 1983: II, 547-54; Krieger 1988a and 1988b.

12. On *reportationes* of sermons of this period, see Cátedra García 1994. The quotation is from a seventeenth-century *Memorial del linaje y descendencia de Don Pablo de Santa María, obispo de Burgos* (Cantera Burgos 1952: 279).

13. The references in the epitaph and in the *Generaciones y semblanzas* illustrate one of the difficulties in assessing the evidence for lost literature: the epitaph gives the titles of two works in Latin, whereas Pérez de Guzmán names these two and one other in Castilian, but a fourth one in Latin (*De cena Domini*), thus giving the impression that he is referring to one Latin work and three vernacular ones. In this case we know, because of the extant texts, that the works are in Latin, but if we had not had texts available we could easily have been misled.

14. Since Pablo de Santa María had married, and his children had been born, before his conversion, there is, despite first appearances, no scandal here.

15. On the concept of vernacular humanism, see Lawrance 1985 and 1986.

16. This hypothesis was suggested by Professor Round in a note about a number of lost works that he sent me years ago.

17. For concise accounts of his life and works, see Domínguez Bordona 1959; Márquez Villanueva & Martín Hernández 1961: 8-16; Avalle-Arce 1974.

18. We have no clue to his identity, but it may well be that, as Francisco J. Lobera Serrano suggests (1989: 21-23), he was one of the prominent Seville *conversos* condemned by the Inquisition and burned at the stake soon after 1480.

19. For a discussion of the *Cathólica impugnación* and the lost pamphlet, see Márquez Villanueva & Martín Hernández 1961: 17-53; Avalle-Arce 1974: 264-68; and Lobera Serrano 1989: 9-31 and 50-53. To a lesser extent the pamphlet preserved arguments and even phrases from Talavera's sermons.

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