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### Cover

Mašhad, Kitābhāna-i Āsitān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 300, f. 1v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 1853, f. 186v

Y. Beale-Rivaya – J. Busic (eds.), *A Companion to Medieval Toledo. Reconsidering the Canons*, Brill, Leiden - Boston 2018 (Brill's Companions to European History 16), 319 pp.

This volume collects heterogeneous essays on Medieval Toledo.<sup>1</sup> The geographical, cultural, and ideological importance of Toledo in Iberia during the Middle Ages is reflected in a rich scholarly literature, which “has largely (though by no means exclusively) focused on Toledo as a multi-cultural and multi-confessional city, a space of ‘convivencia’ varying between uneasy tolerance and open violence” (p. 4). This *Companion* aims to complement previous studies “by developing, re-reading, incorporating new data” (p. 5). Simultaneously, the authors show (within their specific fields) the limits of the traditional categories of *convivencia* and *coexistencia* to describe the complex interreligious context of Medieval Toledo (pp. 5-6). The book is subdivided into three main thematic sections: *The City and Shared Spaces* (pp. 15-94), *Theology/Genealogy/Kinship* (pp. 95-218), *Language and Translation* (pp. 219-80). Each essay is followed by a bibliography. The volume ends with a conclusive note (*Epilogue. Re-reading the Canons of Medieval Toledo: Echoes of Debates of Iberian Historiography*, pp. 281-7), the *General Bibliography* (pp. 289-302) and an Index of names, main concepts, work titles (pp. 303-6).

In the first part, *The City and Shared Spaces* (pp. 15-94), the authors show how the city with its boundaries, palaces, and organisation, shapes intercultural exchange and, consequently, cultural outputs. Moreover, city spaces and their modifications through the centuries reflect key political and social shifts. In Chapter 1, titled *Al-Ma'mūn of Toledo: A Warrior in the Palace Garden* (pp. 15-32), Michelle Hamilton explores the symbolic role of the palace gardens in chronicle sources about the last Taifa king of Toledo, Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn (r. 1040ca-1075). The author outlines al-Ma'mūn's profile through the use of Arabic sources, namely al-Maqqarī (d. 1632) (*History and Analecte*, pp. 16-18), and Ibn 'Arfa', in particular his *muwashshaha*, titled *The lute trills* (pp. 18-28). From these Arabic sources emerge the figure of a military leader, patron of scientists and scholars,<sup>2</sup> creator of palace gardens (pp. 22-4), and organiser of wine parties (pp. 22-23); but also the image of a fierce frontier warrior (pp. 24-8). The Castilian sources (Hamilton in particular mentions the *Primera crónica*) share with the Arabic sources the association between Taifa al-Ma'mūn and Toledan gardens and palaces, wine parties and warrior life on the front lines. Nevertheless, in Castilian narratives he appears as a second character, the noble and generous friend who gave refuge (in his magnificent palaces) to Alfonso VI, whose life was threatened by his own brother (pp. 28-31). “As to be expected, though, Arabic accounts [...] of al-Ma'mūn's Toledo differ in their focus and portrayal of al-Ma'mūn, not as a supporting character, but rather as the focus of attention and the king responsible for the kingdom's prosperity, evident in the city's gardens and palaces as well as in the king's fierce and effective troops” (p. 30). Despite the symbolic continuity between Arabic and Castilian sources enclosed in the image of the “warrior in the Palace Garden”, Hamilton concludes that al-Ma'mūn's Toledo was, according to Arab authors, something more than Alfonso's splendid refuge, and also more than a source of military support. It was the political, scientific, religious, and architectural centre of their world (pp. 30-1).

<sup>1</sup> The chronological boundaries of the studies are the Muslim conquest of Toledo (711) and the death of Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros (1517).

<sup>2</sup> Šā'id al-Andalusī (d. 1070), author of *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, was a member of his court (p. 17).

In Chapter 2, *Prestige to Power: Toledo's Cathedral Chapter and Assimilated Identity* (pp. 33-58) Patrick Harris deals with the most important urban building: the Cathedral. The prestige of Toledo's Cathedral goes back to the Visigoth reign when Toledo is attested as *urbs regia* and seat of Iberia's primatial archbishop (7<sup>th</sup> century). The memory of Toledan political and ecclesiastical pre-eminence did not fade during Muslim domination (8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries), both in the city and in the Northern Christian Kingdoms, although its power over the Iberian ecclesiastical hierarchy waned during the Islamic rule (§1, *The Origins of Toledo's Prestige and Its Persistence in the Islamic Era*, pp. 34-38). When Alfonso VI reconquered the city in 1085, Toledo once again became an archiepiscopal see, altering balance of ecclesiastical power in Iberia. In the Papal and royal rhetoric this meant the return to an ancient order, the restoration of violated justice. But there were strong internal frictions between Toledo's Mozarab clergy and the new reforming archbishop: Bernard of Sédillac (d. 1125 ca). After a revolt of the local clergy, Bernard decided to introduce French clerics into the Chapter, in order to neutralise Mozarab's opposition. Even though the papacy firmly claimed the ecclesiastical primacy of Toledo in Iberia, the 12<sup>th</sup> century political fragmentation made it hard to exercise this primacy over León, Galicia, and Portugal. Nevertheless, Toledo remained the symbol of the unity of Christian Iberia (§2, *Papal Influence and the Reestablishment of Toledo's Prestige*, pp. 38-41). In the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Cathedral's power consolidated within the city and into its environs (despite the difficulties in asserting its authority throughout the peninsula). Alfonso VI had made generous donations to the Cathedral, thus providing crucial early support to the institution. This policy of royal sponsorship was retained by his successors. The growing wealth of the Cathedral changed the spiritual physiognomy of the Cathedral Chapter. While Bernard, consistent with his Cluniac background, had attempted to inspire the institution to the monastic rule, over time the canons demanded greater access to the increased financial resources. Once in control of these revenues, the members of the Chapter started an intense economic activity (§3, *Economic Growth*, pp. 41-8). They bought Mozarab's properties and invested in their activities, which had taken advantage of sophisticated Arabic knowledge in agriculture and handicraft. This economic bond and the attractiveness of the Chapter's power (both financial and social) "helped weave Toledan society together and assimilate Toledo's different communities into a new hybridized identity" (p. 55), as Harris demonstrates with two case studies included at the end of his essay (§4, *Two Case Studies: One Frank and One Mozarab*, pp. 48-55).

The third and last Chapter of the first part (*Evolución de las fortificaciones medievales en la Península Ibérica: el caso de Toledo*, pp. 59-94) concerns with Toledo's Medieval defensive enclosure. In particular, Fernando Valdés Fernández (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) analyses structural changes in the fortifications of Medieval Toledo down the centuries, which reflect political changes within the city – and, given its geographical and political centrality in Iberia, within the whole peninsula. The author distinguishes two chronological phases in which Toledan defensive works can be grouped in: the first, from the Arab-Berber conquest (711) to the Battle of Alarcos (1195) [§1, *Primera época (711–1195)*, pp. 60-9]; and the second, from 1195 to the construction of the so-called Puerta Nueva de Bisagra [§2, *Segundo período (1195–1576)*, pp. 69-77]. After the Arab conquest (711) the ancient Roman-Visigoth defensive enclosure did not undergo any major changes, although reinforcement to the city walls are attested. The physiognomy of the defensive enclosure was reformed at the time of Alfonso VI's conquest (1085). The 'Christian' Toledo adopted new means for defending itself since it was continually exposed to Islamic military pressure. At the same

time, the Crusades had an enormous impact on the field of military technology.<sup>3</sup> The history of Toledan Medieval fortifications did not end with the defeat of the Almohads at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). Until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Toledo's walls changed more than any other city in the Peninsula, but these modifications were more due to internal balance than external pressure.

In the second part of the volume (*Theology/Genealogy/Kinship*, pp. 95-218), the authors show the interactions among different religious and ethnic communities living in Toledo, analysing cultural outputs of different kinds. In Chapter 4, Raquel Rojo Carrillo provides an answer to a question epitomised in the title: *Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo: Testimonies of a Local or of a Wider Tradition?* (pp. 97-139). The Old Hispanic Chant is the musical component of the Old Hispanic Rite, “the Christian liturgy produced and observed on the Iberian Peninsula before the adoption in this territory of the Roman rite” (p. 97). The musical tradition of the Old Hispanic rite musical tradition is preserved in about forty manuscripts. A quarter of these manuscripts “have been preserved in Toledo during most of their existence” (p. 97),<sup>4</sup> and part of them was used in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century to create the Neo-Mozarabic liturgy, in the context of Cisnerian Reform (1495-1517). The Cisnerian chant is considered equal or very close to the Old Hispanic chant in the dominant account (p. 101), although their irreducible differences have been extensively debated among scholars. To answer the question that inspires the essay, Carrillo revises previous arguments and enriches them with further evidence (§1, *The Old Hispanic and the Neo-Mozarabic Rites*, pp. 99-107). According to the author, it can be stated with some confidence that the Neo-Mozarabic rite was created in Toledo, as a result of a reform irradiating from its Cathedral (p. 107). But this rite bears witness to a wider Iberian tradition, as it was elaborated from material no longer in use and originally not only Toledan. Furthermore, during the creation of the new rite, these sources were contaminated with new elements and features of the Roman rite (pp. 101-3). In contrast, by questioning traditional classifications of these sources (in part., §2, *The Two “Toledan Manuscript Traditions”*, pp. 107-18; §5, *The Horizontal Notation: A Toledan Script?*, pp. 128-30), the author demonstrates that the Old Hispanic chant testifies a more local, Toledan tradition.

In Chapter 5, Jason Busic presents the Mozarab contribution to the Christian theological reflection in Arabic, painting a picture partially different. Toledo had a unique frontier position between Islam and Christianity, both geographical and cultural (p. 143). The most important Mozarab theological treatises were originally written in Arabic and include: *Maṣḥaf al-‘alām al-kā’in* (*Book of the Existing World*); *Risālat al-Qūṭī* (*The Letter of the Goth*) *Liber denudationis* (survived only in a 17<sup>th</sup> century copy of a Latin translation, p. 146); *Tatblīth al-waḥdānīya* (*The Trebling of the Oneness*). *Maṣḥaf*, *Risālat* and *Tatblīth* have been preserved only in Muslim apologies against Christians. Jason Busic explores the origins, dates, and significance of these sources to which he adds marginalia in Arabic from manuscripts containing mostly Latin texts, often overlooked by readers (§2, pp. 143-7). Islam deeply influenced the Mozarab theological production in language, themes, and method (§3, *Problems in Mozarab Theology: Kalām, Trinity, and Incarnation*, pp. 147-54). In

<sup>3</sup> Poliorcetic techniques changed radically between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> cent., and therefore the fortresses too.

<sup>4</sup> For the list of these Toledo-related manuscripts see Table 4.1, p. 98.

particular, *Kalām* (Islamic speculative theology) was adopted and creatively adapted by Christians (both in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean) providing answers and solutions within their doctrinal framework - a fact that aroused suspicions in the Toledan clergy of the Gregorian Reform. *Maṣḥaf al-‘alām al-kā’in*, *Liber denudationis* and *Tathlīth al-wahdānīya* are the clearest examples of this phenomenon (pp. 148-9). The Mozarab authors of these texts employ arguments from *Kalām* to defend the Christian doctrines being further from Islam: the Trinity and the Incarnation (pp. 149-54). In closing, Basic examines the method, the Trinitarian doctrine, and the arguments about the Incarnation in *Maṣḥaf* (§4, *Maṣḥaf al-‘alām al-kā’in: Kalām, Trinity, and the Incarnation*, pp. 154-9). Scholars had already paid attention to this work, but always in relation to the *Tathlīth*. Basic does not deny similarities, but shows how the differences between the texts unveil the complexity and richness of Toledo’s Mozarab intellectual culture (p. 155).

In Chapter 6 Linde M. Brocato deals with an event in Toledo’s history that is considered a milestone in the emergence of racial anti-Jewish bigotry in Europe: the city rebellion in 1449. That year, the inhabitants of Toledo turned against the Crown and promulgated discriminatory legislation directed at judeoconversos (Jewish converts to Christianity) (p. 164), opening an unprecedented space of violence in the city that, since its origins, had been considered “always already Jewish” (§2.1, p. 167). However, in writings produced by the participants to the rebellion, anti-racial themes are deeply linked to economic aspects, in particular to financial relations and taxes. Therefore, the essay aims to relate some of these writings “to specific aspects of their context, particularly the struggle over *poderío real absoluto* through fiscal interventions in Castilian politics” (p. 165), looking at the rebellion, from a different perspective than traditional ones. Brocato examines mainly two documents: *Suplicación y requerimiento* (early May 1449, §3.1, pp. 173-7) and *Sentencia-Estatuto de Pedro Sarmiento* (June 5, 1449, §3.2, pp. 177-84), along with *Carta de privilegio del Rey Juan II a un hijodalgo* (likely summer-fall 1449). In the complex political context of the rebellion two opposing factions may be discerned: King Juan II of Castille (r. 1404-1454), the King’s favourite Álvaro de Luna (d. 1453), the royal administration and royalist nobles; in the other “party” were the Infantes of Aragon (who wanted to control the Crown of Castille), the *común* and the nobility. At the moment of rebellion, only Jewish and conversos remained loyal to King Juan II (p. 186). To undermine his power, this part of the Toledan community was attacked. Brocato shares the view that there is a shift “from a local and political accusation – conversos are colluding with Luna – to a global moral and religious accusation” (p. 172), through which Nobles and Infantes involved the *común* in a war originally among elites (p. 189). This shaped a new “pure” and “orthodox” polity, which cost the exclusion of a significant part of its historical community (p. 188). Brocato efficiently demonstrates how financial decisions were both significant reasons and powerful weapons of the political struggle.

In Chapter 7, titled *Toledo as a Geographical and Literary Reference in the Blood-Libel Legend* (pp. 195-218), David Navarro explores Toledo, not insofar as it represents a multicultural space of peaceful convivencia between different religious communities, but as “a narrative epicenter of blood-libel legend through several literary and legal samples composed during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries” (p. 196; sources’ analysis: pp. 201-12). Jewish presence in Iberian Peninsula is attested since the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. Toledo Jewish community prospered during Muslim domination. After the Christian conquest (1085), Toledo became a frontier city, in which its various populations continued to share the cultural, social, and political

space. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the city was “the spiritual core of the Iberian Jewry” (p. 195). However, from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the situation changed. Insurrections linked to economic reasons and a wave of religious fervour destabilised Western Europe, as well as Toledo. The perception of the Jew as a heretic and dissident intensified and new allegations spread. Among these, the “blood-libel” ritual: Jews – who were already deemed guilty of killing Jesus Christ – were accused of murdering Christian children to use their blood in religious, magical rituals (pp. 199-200).<sup>5</sup> These allegations were soon turned against the new socio-economic group that had emerged after the forced conversion of Jews to Christianity of 1391: the conversos (pp. 209-11). The conversos took part in public and economic activities previously inaccessible to them and this generated hatred and jealousy. Moreover, the economic downturn during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century fuelled the hostilities against the “new” Christians, whose faith was strongly questioned by Christian authority. At that moment, the traditional anti-Judaism turned to anti-Semitism: the ethnic component distinguished Christian and conversos, not their faith (p. 211). To contrast the threatening conversos the Inquisition was established in Toledo in 1485. Of course, the danger of conversos justified the expropriation of their assets (p. 211).

In the third part of the book, *Language and Translation*, the authors follow linguistic traces to explore Toledo’s complex society and culture (pp. 221-80). In Chapter 8, Yasmine Beale-Rivaya provides a new reading, transcription, and translation of the formulas (invariable portions of notarial documents) contained in the first document of the collection usually known as “Mozarabic Documents of Toledo”. These documents were originally produced and transcribed by Toledan Mozarabs between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century and are kept in Archivo Histórico Nacional (p. 222). Ángel González Palencia has transcribed this collection in his *Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*. Scholars have considered these notarial acts essential to understanding dynamics and features of Toledo’s Mozarab community and its relationship with other ones. They were often conceived as concrete evidence of the attempt by the Church to assimilate the Mozarabs to the Christian culture of the North, through the purchase of their properties. According to Beale-Rivaya, some transcription and translation errors have (partially) caused this idea (p. 223). However, a re-examination of the first legal document dated 1083 leads to a different conclusion (§2, *The Legal Framework: Analysis of the “Formulas”*, pp. 223-32). Indeed, in the document, the Church is not the purchaser. This fact denies that the Church plays a purchaser role in all transactions attested in the collection. The Archdeacon, rather, plays a mediation role between a Jewish man who buys property from a woman with an etymologically Arabic name. Moreover, the document does not specify whether the woman is Christian or Muslim, therefore it is impossible to determine whether this document is a “Mozarab document”. The proceedings seem to be finally recorded by a Muslim scribe. “This case study demonstrates a need to review the original documentation and read it within a more nuanced framework. It also demonstrates that Toledo was a place of shared space, shared culture, shared negotiation, and shared trust, where these common values were reflected in the legal documents that bound its residents” (p. 235). The existence of shared spaces and inter-religious dialogue does not appear here only as a mere conventional, “academic” claim.

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<sup>5</sup> Two elements seem to lie behind these accusations: the common idea that Jews practised and spread magic knowledge and the importance of blood in both Judaism and Christianity (pp. 199-200).

Clint Hackenburg in Chapter 9 presents the English translation of *Tathlīth al-wahdāniyya* (*The Trebling of the Oneness*), an apology written in Arabic during the 12<sup>th</sup> century by an anonymous Jew converted to Christianity (pp. 238-62). The *Tathlīth* has reached us through a work by the Maliki scholar al-Qurṭubī (*al-I‘lām bi-mā fī dīn al-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-l-awhām wa-izhār maḥāsīn dīn al-Islām wa-ithbāt nubuwwat nabiyyinā Muḥammad: Information about the Corruptions and Delusions of the Religion of the Christians and the Presentation of the Merits of the Religion of Islam and the Affirmation of the Prophethood of Our Prophet Muḥammad*). In its available form, the *Tathlīth* can be subdivided into three main distinct sections. In the first, the author defends the Trinity doctrine using conceptual tools provided by logic (translation: §3-6, pp. 242-5). The arguments show both similarities with those of Latin Theologians and continuity with Christian apologies composed in Arabic in the Eastern Mediterranean (pp. 239-40). The second section (translation: §7-10, pp. 245-50) contains a defence of the Incarnation based on Biblical and Quranic passages (p. 240). The last section is the real polemic part of the writing (§11-14, pp. 250-7): the author rejects Judaism and Islam and claims that Christianity is the only true religion (pp. 240-1). From the reading of the *Tathlīth* emerges the author's deep knowledge of the Scriptures and the sources of the three Abrahamic faiths, together with his familiarity with Jewish, Christian, and Muslim arguments about divine nature and attributes (p. 238). Between the lines of this work, the reader can find a reflex of the Toledan cultural and religious milieu of the time.

In Chapter 10, *The Toledan Translation Movement and Dominicus Gundissalinus: Some Remarks on His Activity and Presence in Castile* (pp. 263-80), Nicola Polloni deals with an exceptional phenomenon that took place in Toledo during the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century: the translation from Arabic into Latin of a huge number of philosophical and scientific works. To explore how the Toledan institutional and cultural context enabled this translation activity, Polloni employs a fecund analogy: he examines the Toledan translation movement as if it were a natural phenomenon, through the lens of the four Aristotelian causes: material, formal, efficient and final (pp. 267-8). The material cause of the Toledan translation movement is clear enough. Toledo was an important cultural and scientific centre during the Muslim domination. Moreover, Banu Hud's rich library was transferred from Zaragoza to the city around 1140. Even Latin texts were potentially available, given the presence of French clergy and the establishment of the Cathedral School. The formal cause is noticeable, too. The strict Almohad policy in al-Andalus caused a migratory flow to Toledo: educated people were also part of the flow, and their language skills and scientific knowledge migrated with them. Simultaneously, Latinists from Europe, with scientific (as Gerardo of Cremona), religious or other purposes travelled to the city, where an important Mozarab community lived. The efficient cause is difficult to establish. On the one hand, it is likely that the members of the Toledan Chapter engaged in translation activity were remunerated by the Cathedral. On the other hand, this does not explain who paid the no-Christian translators.<sup>6</sup> The final cause

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<sup>6</sup> From Polloni's description, the reader deduces that the distinctive traits of the translation process from Arabic into Latin that took place in Toledo were collaboration and vernacular mediation: "Indeed, the translations were collaborative and bi-phasic: the first collaborator translated verbatim the Arabic text into Iberian vernacular, while the second collaborator wrote down the vernacular in Latin. In some cases, as Gerard's collaborator, Gallipus, the first translator was a mozárab, and it could be supposed that these people were integrated in some way into the chapter patronage - even though there is no documental trace of it. In other cases, and exemplarily with Gundissalinus's collaborator, Abraham Ibn Daud, the team was formed by Cristian and Jewish people, and the "patronage

of the translations produced in Toledo is mostly unknown. The translation activity seems to respond to the need for texts to educate Latin scholars. Indeed, within the Latin world there was a perceived penuria in scientific culture and Toledan translations quickly spread throughout Europe: the translated texts circulated early in Paris, and the presence of the French Clergy in Toledo may have been the link between the cities. These elements suggest that the translation movement was caused by needs that were far away from Toledo. But this conclusion becomes less convincing if other considerations are added. At the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Paris became the most important scientific centre in Europe. It is obvious that these new texts circulated there. Furthermore, the short time span between the rise of the Parisian University and the translation movement does not allow for the establishment of a cause-and-effect relationship. Additionally, eventual commissions from Latin authorities and scholars do not explain, of course, the request by the Jew Intellectual, Abraham Ibn Daud, to sponsor the translation of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Šifā'* (*The Book of Healing*).

The heuristic exercise proposed by Nicola Polloni clarifies some aspects of the Toledan translation movement but also shows what escapes our understanding. According to the author, "possibly, more light can be cast on these problematic issues by examining Dominicus Gundissalinus's biography [pp. 269-74]". The patronymic "Gundissalinus" suggests that he was born in the Iberian Peninsula (p. 269). The great influence of Chartean masters' work on his philosophical reflection brought scholars to suppose that he was educated in Chartres. Gundissalinus is attested for the first time in Segovia as Archdeacon of Cuéllar (a village near Segovia) in 1148. In 1149 John of Castelmoron became bishop

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hypothesis" is insufficient to justify, at least at present, the modalities of this kind of collaboration" (p. 266-267). This idea traces back essentially to two witnesses. The first is contained in the Preface's Translation of the *Kitāb al-naḥs* by Avicenna, in which Ibn Daud writes: "*Habetis ergo librum, nobis praecipiente et singula verba vulgariter proferente, et Dominico archidiacono singula in latinum convertente, ex arabico translatum*" (*Avicenna latinus, Liber de Anima seu Sextus de Naturalibus*, I-II-III, édition critique de la traduction latine médiévale par S. Van Riet, introduction sur la doctrine psychologique d'Avicenne par G. Verbeke, Peeters, Brill, Louvain - Leiden 1972, p. 104\*). The second witness is Daniel of Morley, who narrates that a Mozarab named Gallippo assisted Gerard in the interpretation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*: "*Gallippo mixarabe interpretante Almagestum latinavit*" (G. Maurach [ed.], "Daniel de Morley. Philosophia", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 14 (1979), pp. 204-55, in part., pp. 204-5). D'Alverny confirms (M.-Th., D'Alverny, *Les traductions à deux interprètes, d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire en latin*, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Harvard U.P., Cambridge Mass. 1982, pp. 193-206, in part. p. 197 n. 1; M. Th. D'Alverny, "Notes sur les traductions médiévales d'Avicenne", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 19 (1952), pp. 337-58, in part. p. 344 (repr. in *Avicenne in Occident. Recueil d'articles de Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny*, Vrin, Paris 1993). However, the existence of translations "à deux interprètes" does not exclude that many texts were translated individually, directly from Arabic. Suffice it to say that the *socii* who draw up the list of Gerardo's translations do not mention any Arabic-speaking collaborators (cfr. Ch. Burnett, "The Coherence of Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century", in *Science in Context* 14 [2001], pp. 249-88, in part. pp. 275-81). Rather, as Minio-Paluello suggests: "Quasi chiunque abbia tradotto da una lingua, viva o morta, ad un'altra lingua, viva o morta, ha – se ne ha avuto l'occasione – consultato una persona più competente, almeno per punti particolari. Il caso estremo di traduzioni condotte sistematicamente, passo a passo, attraverso una lingua intermedia volgare è, c'è da sospettare, l'eccezione, non la regola. Non c'è ragione di spezzare in due la personalità di ogni traduttore, o di creare collegi di due nazionalità e tre lingue, organizzati o meno da arcivescovi. In mancanza di testimonianze esterne sicure, o di risultati precisi, d'analisi linguistiche delle singole traduzioni, bisognerà accontentarsi di attribuire ogni singolo lavoro ad una singola persona" (L. Minio-Paluello, *Aristotele dal mondo arabo a quello latino*, in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto medioevo*, I-II, Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1965, II, pp. 603-37, in part. p. 609).

of Segovia and in 1152 he was elected archbishop of Toledo. Around 1161, the Jewish philosopher Abraham Ibn Daud arrived in Toledo and translated the prologue of Avicenna's *Liber sufficientiae* (*The Book of Healing*). The Prologue's dedicatory letter is an appeal to archbishop John to sponsor the translation of the Avicennian corpus. In 1162 Gundissalinus is attested in Toledo and there he translated, together with Avendauth, Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Nafs* (*On the Soul*) by 1166 (John's death). This chain of events suggests that the Archbishop of Toledo, John II, already knew Gundissalinus (archdeacon of Cuèllar) and his philosophical background from his time as bishop of Segovia and that he invited Gundissalinus to move to Toledo to help Avendauth with his translation activity. However, in Toledo there were certainly well-learned Latinists (the Chapter was composed mostly of French clerics) and the (possible) Chartrean background of Gundissalinus does not seem to be indispensable in the translation activity if Gerardo of Cremona's experience is considered. A potential solution is to suppose that John invited Gundissalinus to Toledo for his previous experience in translation. Indeed, around 1144-1145 an important translator was active in Segovia: Robert of Chester. Unfortunately, though, he is attested in England in 1147, one year before Gundissalinus's arrival in Segovia. "The possibility of a translating activity in Segovia, in which Gundissalinus could have collaborated before going to Toledo, is a fascinating research hypothesis that must be corroborated (or rejected) by a renewed analysis of the Segovian documental sources, and the manuscript tradition of Gundissalinus' translations" (p. 272). Polloni in this Chapter shows how the lack of data causes huge difficulties in the study of this crucial moment in the history of thought but also demonstrates that our reflection can always open new, fruitful lines of research.

In conclusion, "A Companion to Medieval Toledo" provides the reader with a teaching and a tool. A teaching, because it illustrates how the return to sources, be they literary, archaeological, or artistic, allows the undermining of some historiographical *clichés* and outlines new perspectives in historical research. But this *Companion* is also a tool. Although it is not a systematic study of Medieval Toledo, the specificity and variety of analyses enable the reader to synoptically grasp the stratified context of Medieval Toledo, an indispensable acquisition for the scholar interested in the transmission of philosophical texts and knowledge via Toledo.

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