

24. HISTORY, LANGUAGE AND THE SCIENCES IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

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1: Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures : Mr. Gad Freudenthal :

24 History, Language, and the Sciences in Medieval Spain Eleazar Gutwirth This volume on the history of science in medieval Jewish cultures has its own history.

Many medieval Jews, whether living in Islamic or Christian civilizations, joined Maimonides in accepting the rationalist philosophical-scientific tradition and appropriated extensive bodies of scientific knowledge in various disciplines: Its breadth reflects the number and diversity of Jewish cultures in the Middle Ages and the necessity of considering the fortunes of science in each within its specific context. The assimilation of Greek-Arabic learning by medieval Jewish cultures: Medieval Hebrew translations of philosophical and scientific texts: Arabic and Latin cultures as resources for the Hebrew translation movement: The medieval Hebrew scientific book: Astronomy among medieval Jews Bernard R. Mathematical and physical optics in medieval Jewish scientific thought Eyah Meiron; The evolution of the genre of philosophical-scientific commentary: Latin scholastic influences on late-medieval Hebrew physics: Meteorology and zoology in medieval Hebrew science Resianne Fontaine; The mental faculties and the psychology of sleep and dreams Hagar Kahana-Smilansky; Toward a history of astrological literature in Hebrew: Astrology among medieval Jews Shlomo Sela; Astral magic in medieval Hebrew thought Dov Schwartz; Medicine among medieval Jews; the science, the art, and the practice Carmen Caballero-Navas; Medieval alchemy in Hebrew: Scientific Knowledge in Context: Science in the Karaite communities Daniel Lasker; Science in the Jewish communities of the Byzantine cultural orbit: Science in medieval commentaries on the Bible James T. Scientific elements in Kabbalah Hava Tirosh-Samuelson; History, language and the sciences in medieval Spain Eleazar Gutwirth. He is the author and editor of several volumes on the history of science in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, especially in Jewish cultures, most recently, Science in the Medieval Hebrew and Arabic Traditions He is also editor of the journal Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism.

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The intense involvement of the Jews in science in medieval Iberia was affected by various historical settings and factors, which partly conditioned the production of knowledge by Jews there.

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In Spain, where the medieval period is still regarded as the crucible of modern Spanish society, a longstanding debate continues to rage over the contributions of Jews and Muslims during this formative period. Against this view, others have countered that it was precisely in the medieval period, in which Christians, Muslims, and Jews came together to form a dynamic society fueled by cross-cultural interaction, that the true Spanish character was forged. This faction sees the fall of Muslim Granada and the subsequent expulsion of Spanish Jewry in as a regrettable collapse of a Golden Age of Spanish society, and the first step on the long road to cultural decline. Nor are the Spaniards alone in their continued engagement with these questions. For the German-Jewish historians of the nineteenth century, the material and scholarly success achieved by the Jews of medieval Spain represented the golden mean of religious devotion and social integration. Almost immediately, however, Judaica scholars began to modify this image of inter-religious cooperation in medieval Spain. They argued that Jewish life in Muslim al-Andalus might represent a Golden Age of intellectual productivity and acculturation, but the subsequent period under Hispano-Christian rule was one of deteriorating status for the Jews. Yitzhak Baer, perhaps the most influential historian of Spanish Jewry of the twentieth century, took this revision of the Golden age paradigm one step further by comparing the Jewish experience in Christian Iberia unfavorably with that of Jewish society in the rest of medieval Latin Europe. Maria Rosa Menocal and Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells New York, , Ray CP 1 [http: Ray CP](http://Ray CP) Andalusí predecessors, Baer argues that its members were also far less pious and less dedicated to the particularities of Jewish tradition than their contemporaries in northern European, or Ashkenazi, society. Indeed, it retains much of its influence today despite repeated criticism and modification. The first, and perhaps most salient, problem that presents itself is how to interpret the seemingly contradictory evidence that suggests both inter-religious symbiosis as well as antagonism between these two communities? The second issue I would like to consider here is one that has received far less attention, but that may offer a more fruitful way of thinking about Jewish-Christian interaction in this and other eras. Namely, is it profitable, or even accurate, to speak of religious interaction between Jews and Christians in such sweeping terms? Evidence of a Golden Age If we are to define a Golden Age of Jewish-Christian interaction as a period of amicable relations, prosperity and mutual creativity, then there is certainly enough evidence to support its application to medieval Spain during the high and late Middle Ages. Recent studies have begun to challenge the popular notion that the final centuries of Jewish life in Christian Iberia were marked by inexorable and inevitable decline. During this period, Jewish translators played an integral role in the transmission of Greco-Arabic philosophical, medical, and astronomical texts into the kingdoms of Christian Iberia and beyond. Abraham bar Hiyya d. These monarchs, together with a host of other the Middle Ages Princeton, Other scholars remain unconvinced by this revisionist approach. Myers, *Re-inventing the Jewish Past: Elie Kedourie* London, , ; and Mark D. Zion Zohar New York, , , esp. Ray, *Whose Golden Age?* Ray CP 2 [http: Ray CP](http://Ray CP) nobles, bishops, abbots and leaders of Military Orders sought access to the intellectual riches of the Muslim cities that began to pass under Christian rule. They commissioned Latin and Romance translations of Arabic works from any scholars familiar with both languages. The Jewish contribution to this process of intellectual and cultural transmission reached its zenith in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with the so-called School of Translators of Toledo. The Alfonsine Tables, a set of astronomical calculations produced by a joint effort of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scholars, was emblematic of this vast enterprise. Jewish translators were also active in the Crown of Aragon, where they rendered Arabic medical treatises into Latin and Catalan. Abraham Crescas and his son, Judah, were mapmakers from Mallorca who flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century, producing charts for the Aragonese and French royal courts. Their world maps represent a landmark of cartography and a major contribution to the Age of Discovery. Their fame was such that Prince Henry, the

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Navigator, asked Abraham to help train Portuguese sea captains. Jewish translators also helped to negotiate the formal transfer of power when Muslim cities fell to Christian forces, and played an active role in the administration of the newly conquered territories. In Iberia, where medieval life was defined by centuries of warfare between Christian and Muslim forces, the Jews represented a group that threatened neither Christian nor Muslim sovereignty and whose ability to act as diplomatic and mercantile go-betweens helped to establish their position as a valued, and thus protected, minority under both Muslim and Christian rule. As they transitioned from al-Andalus to the Christian kingdoms of the north, the upper echelons of Jewish society maintained their positions as royal physicians, diplomats, tax collectors and scribes. Translations into Hebrew also made these works available to European Jewish readers who were not familiar with Arabic. Ray CP 3 [Page 4](http://Ray CP The ambivalent nature of this cross-cultural exchange can also be seen in the new intellectual circles dedicated to the study of mystical traditions, or kabbalah, which began to emerge in both Castile and the Crown of Aragon toward the end of the thirteenth century. This increased interest in the esoteric nature of Judaism opened up a new point of contact between Jewish and Christian intellectuals who had already found a connection through the study of Greco-Arabic science and philosophy. For Iberian Jews, religious interaction with Christians could not only lead to an appreciation of Christian learning, but also conversion. For many Jewish witnesses to these and similar events, the familiarity of Christian society that arose from its proximity and general openness was, perhaps, even more threatening than Christian enmity and exclusion. If the specter of conversion cast a shadow over Jewish-Christian relations throughout medieval Europe, the unprecedented events of made its</p></div><div data-bbox=)

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impact in Christian Iberia particularly acute. It was during the spring and summer of that year that the mounting Christian resentment of Jewish status and wealth together with a parallel rise in popular religious fervor came to a head. A series of violent attacks against the Jews erupted throughout the Peninsula, resulting in the destruction of much of Iberian Jewry through killing and forced conversion to Christianity. When these efforts proved unsuccessful, the impetus of Christian society turned toward enforcing the social separation of these New Christians and their former coreligionists. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, royal and municipal authorities took a number of steps to segregate members of 19 The literature on Spanish kabbalah is extensive. Zion Zohar New York, , On Lull, see Frances A. Elena Romero Madrid, , A New History, ed. David Biale New York, , Ray CP 6 [http: Ray CP](http://Ray CP) the two religions including an expulsion of the Jews from the Castilian province of Andalusia in . In the first generation after , kinship ties between Jews and New Christians remained a potent force shaping social interaction. These bonds of family and friendship often hopelessly blurred the boundaries between religious communities. The official position of the Church was that the converts and their descendants were Christians, while rabbinic authorities still considered them to be Jewish, arguing that their conversions were forced and thus invalid. The attitudes of average Christians and Jews filled a wide spectrum between these two positions. In certain parts of the peninsula, popular Jewish sympathy for the plight of the Conversos began to fade as the fifteenth century progressed. Regardless of the official position of their rabbis, many found the Jewishness of those who had been raised as Catholics to be suspect. Elsewhere, leading Jewish families considered it to be advantageous to retain strong ties to the Conversos, despite condemnation from many Old Christians. In Toledo, riots against the Conversos were accompanied by a demand that members of the town council and other important institutions prove the purity of their Christian blood going back several generations. In spite of such accusations of the unalterable nature of Jewish blood, many Conversos were dedicated to their new faith and argued passionately for their full acceptance into Christian society. In his *Defensorium unitatis christianae*, the Castilian churchman Alonso de Cartagena argued against the logic that lay behind recent purity-of-blood statutes as being fundamentally anti-Christian and heretical. Ironically, by embracing Christian doctrine in its purist form, converts such as de Cartagena, only succeeded in marking themselves as distinct from the Christian masses who took religion to be socially, not theologically, constructed. Can we view the persistence of close bonds between many Conversos and Jews as evidence of inter-faith symbiosis? Or does the inability of the Conversos to fully integrate into Christian society highlight a fundamental cultural rift between Jews and Christians that even baptism could not overcome? *Jewish Medieval Studies and Literary Theory*, ed. Ray CP 7 [http:](http://) How, then are we to evaluate a relationship that was so indelibly marked by both cooperation and conflict? Modern defenders of the idea of a Jewish Golden Age in Christian Iberia argue that episodes of inter-religious strife during this period are the exceptions that prove the rule, while detractors point to a steady decline in Jewish status under Christian rule that was punctuated by wide-scale massacres and forced conversions in , and the eventual expulsion of Spanish Jewry in . It is my suggestion that the nature of Jewish-Christian relations in medieval Iberia revolves around an even more fundamental question than which of these two opposing tendencies represented the norm. Namely, was religious identity the only, or even the primary factor that shaped the relationship between members of different religious communities? To be sure, religious identity remained the principle means for social organization for both Christian and Jewish leaders throughout the Middle Ages, and beyond. In reality, however, neither culture operated monolithically. Not only did the general relationship between these two cultures wax and wane from the eleventh through the fifteenth century, but it also varied significantly according to region and city, as well as to the wealth, profession, and social standing of the individuals involved. The varying experiences of Iberian Jewish communities during the tragic events of offer clear illustration of the highly contextualized nature of Jewish-Christian relations.

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About Author Gad Freudenthal is a Senior Research Fellow (Emeritus) at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) in Paris. He is the author and editor of several volumes on the history of science in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, especially in Jewish cultures, most recently, Science in the Medieval Hebrew and Arabic Traditions ().

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