

The Hebrew Bible in Fifteenth-Century Spain

Exegesis, Literature, Philosophy, and the Arts

Edited by

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A FATHER'S BEQUEST: AUGUSTINIAN TYPOLOGY AND
PERSONAL TESTIMONY IN THE CONVERSION NARRATIVE
OF SOLOMON HALEVI/PABLO DE SANTA MARÍA

Ryan Szpiech

In the early summer of 1391, Ferrant Martínez, the archdeacon of Écija, near Seville, gave a series of sermons not unlike those he had been giving regularly for over a decade. These sermons, however, unlike those of the 1380s, were destined to impact the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and change the fabric of Iberian society. As he had done in his sermons since 1378, he endorsed violence and hatred against Jews in the parishes around Seville, even prompting local Jews to petition king Juan I of Castile to order Martínez to tame his rhetoric. Things began to change in 1390, however. Following the deaths of king Juan and the archbishop of Seville in that year, Martínez had been charged with administration of the diocese and the eleven-year-old heir apparent Enrique III was powerless to control him as his father had. In June, 1391, Martínez, acting with impunity, preached sermons that inspired masses of people to attack the Jewish quarter, converting two local synagogues into churches. This was the first salvo in an outbreak of mob attacks that spread across much of Castile and Aragon over the following months, killing scores of Jews and forcing thousands of others to accept baptism. The riots of 1391 represent the moment of the largest forced mass conversion in Iberian history. The deep and lasting impact of these events would be felt for many decades after, and the year 1391 has, for better or worse, come to serve as a historiographical fault-line dividing the *converso* society of the fifteenth century from all that came before.¹

¹ For an overview of the events of 1391, see Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961), 2:95–117; Emilio Mitre Fernández, *Los judíos de Castilla en el tiempo de Enrique III. El pogrom de 1391* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994); and Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995), 127–167. Jonathan Boyarin, *The Unconverted Self: Jews, Indians, and the Identity of Christian Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 8–9, 17–18,

Among the many sizeable Jewish communities that suffered from these attacks was that of Burgos, where polemical writer Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid had caused a stir with his public conversion earlier in the century. Around the time of the pogroms—1390–1391—one prominent Jew from the Burgos community, Solomon Halevi, converted and changed his name to Pablo de Santa María. After Abner/Alfonso, Pablo was Burgos' most infamous convert, and he rose in the ranks of Castilian society to become a close ally to Pedro de Luna (d. 1423), who later became the Avignon Papal contender Benedict XIII. Pablo was appointed tutor to the infant King Juan II of Castile, was named bishop of Cartagena, and eventually became bishop of Burgos itself. Although he wrote two Castilian historiographical works highlighting the Castilian monarchy, he also penned two Latin texts for which he would be best known, a polemical dialogue between a Jew and a Christian (significantly called “Saul” and “Paul” in the text) entitled *Scrutiny of Scriptures* (*Scrutinium Scripturarum*)² from 1432, and from only a few years earlier, the *Additions* (*Additiones*), which were glosses appended to the immensely popular biblical commentary of fourteenth-century Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra. Lyra's glosses, accompanied by Pablo's *Additiones*, were widely printed and read for over three centuries. Over twenty-five manuscript copies of Pablo's *Additiones* survive and the text was published with Lyra's commentary in at least that many editions before 1650. As Deena Klepper observes, the two together “[found their] way into hundreds of libraries across the Continent in scholastic, monastic, cathedral, and courtly settings.”³

offers some useful reflections on the limitations of taking 1492 as a standard historical dividing point.

² Pablo de Santa María, *Scrutinium Scripturarum* (Burgos, 1591).

³ Deena Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 6. For a partial listing of manuscripts and printed editions of the *Additions*, see Klaus Reinhardt and Horacio Santiago-Otero, *Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval* (Madrid: CSIC, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1986), 241–244. For a full list of printings of Lyra's *Postillae*, to which Pablo's *Additions* were frequently attached, see E. A. Gosselin, “A Listing of the Printed Editions of Nicolaus de Lyra,” *Traditio*, 26 (1970): 399–426. Pablo's and Lyra's prologues to their commentaries are available along with the *Glossa Ordinaria in Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Apud Garnier, 1844–1855) [hereafter “*PL*”], 113: 35–60. References here to Lyra's *Postilla* and Pablo's *Additions* are from *Biblia Latina, cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1497) [hereafter “*Biblia*”].

Pablo is a remarkable figure, not only because of his political and ecclesiastical prominence in fifteenth-century Castile, but also because he is one of the few people converted around 1391 who represents his conversion in *narrative* form. It is perhaps not surprising that the forced conversions of 1391 by and large did not give way to many conversion narratives by new Christians. The theological and allegorical function of narrating a conversion seems to have been far removed from the harsh reality of the forced mass conversions of 1391. Pablo's conversion, however, does not follow the pattern of other converted Jews from the late fourteenth century, precisely because his conversion was, by all accounts and indications, voluntary and not forced, and because he is one of the few from that generation in Christian Iberia to incorporate the narrative story of this voluntary conversion into his larger corpus of exegetical and polemical writing.

In his *Scrutinium*, Pablo names figures such as Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid and clearly follows his predecessors' models by composing his polemical dialogue as a debate between Christian and Jew (and after the Jew's conversion at the end of part one of the text, as a debate between "master" and "disciple") and also by incorporating post-biblical, talmudic, and midrashic material as part of his argumentative proof. Unlike Abner/Alfonso, who opens his Hebrew anti-Jewish *Teacher of Righteousness* (*Moreh Zedek*, now surviving only in a Castilian translation as *Mostrador de justicia*) with his own first-person conversion narrative, Pablo does not recount his personal conversion story in his polemical opus, the *Scrutinium*. The absence of any conversion story in the introduction to the *Scrutinium* makes his work more closely resemble a typical theological polemic of the Christian *Adversus Iudaeos* tradition—a resemblance reinforced by the fact that the text was written in Latin and not Castilian or Hebrew—rather than a rhetorically complex first-person polemic like those written by the convert Petrus Alfonsi in the twelfth century or Abner/Alfonso in the fourteenth.

Even though Pablo did not frame his polemical dialogue in the *Scrutinium* with a conversion narrative, he *did* write a short narrative of conversion, inserting it in an even more conspicuous place: at the very opening to his exegetical glosses on Nicholas of Lyra. Because Lyra's text was copied and published so frequently, Pablo's dedicatory prologue containing his conversion narrative became, serendipitously, among the most widely disseminated medieval accounts of conversion

in the early-modern world. Even Martin Luther read his conversion narrative along with his glosses and directly credited Pablo, known in early-medieval theology as Burgensis, as a source of his knowledge of Jewish exegesis.⁴ Given its wide circulation, it is thus all the more remarkable that Pablo's text has been largely overlooked in modern scholarship.⁵

This essay considers Pablo's conversion narrative found in the introduction to his Latin *Additiones*. It argues that Pablo's account follows a traditional Augustinian paradigm of conversion as an *exegetical* act in which individual experience reflects a supersessionist vision of history. In tracing out the strands of that Augustinian paradigm, however, we will see how Pablo also expresses a particular vision of conversion in which Christians of Jewish origin, like himself and his son, Alonso de Cartagena, can be seen as the fullest embodiment of Christian identity. In constructing his conversion story as both an exegetical prologue and a personal letter to his son, Pablo "presents" his Christian converso identity as a gift of great worth, a precious legacy that he bequeaths to his beloved heir.

The conversionary prologue is unique in many ways. Written in 1429–30, only a few years before the author's death, the text is one of the last known conversion accounts in Iberia before the decisive shift in the political and literary significance of conversion that took place in the wake of the anti-*converso* riots and legislation of Toledo in 1449. The riots broke out over an unpopular tax imposed by the constable Álvaro de Luna, to be collected by the treasurer Alfonso

⁴ Martin Luther, Works, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (Saint Louis: Concordia, etc., 1955–86), 4: 99, 138, 156; 47: 138, 180, etc. In *On the Jews and their Lies*, Luther cites Pablo's *Additions* as the work of "one of their very learned rabbis" (47: 228) and names Lyra and Pablo "those two excellent men" (47: 138), both "truthful and honest" (217).

⁵ Discussion of his conversion is not lacking, even if such sources completely ignore his own narrative of the events. Sources on Pablo's conversion include Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena* (Madrid: C. Bermejo, 1942), 21–22; Francisco Cantera Burgos, *La conversión del célebre talmudista Solomón Leví* (Santander, 1933); idem, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos. Historia de la judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios* Madrid: C. Bermejo, 1952), 304–320; Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2:139–150 (see n. 1); Nicolás López Martínez, "Nota sobre la conversión de Pablo de Santa María, el Burgense," *Burgense*, 13 (1972): 581–87; Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition*, 168–171, 1260 no. 9, 1306 no. 11 (see n. 1); and Michael Glatzer, "Pablo de Santa María on the Events of 1391," in *Antisemitism Through the Ages*, ed. Shmuel Almog, trans. Nathan H. Reisner (New York: Pergamon Press, 1988), 127–137.

Cota, a *converso*. In protest against the tax, mobs sacked the houses of numerous *conversos* and imprisoned or expelled their owners. Not long after, the Toledan public figure Pero Sarmiento penned a text known as the *Sentencia-Estatuto*, barring converts from Jewish families from holding public office in Toledo. In what can be characterized as the last gasp of medieval papal doctrines of protection of Jews that derived ultimately from Augustine's theological doctrine of witness, Sarmiento proffered what would later develop into the concept of "purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre*), of such central importance for the Spanish Inquisition.⁶ Pablo's conversion narrative, which appeared before these events, would have looked very different if it had appeared twenty years later than it did. We know that his son Alonso, whose own conversion at a young age along with his father is mentioned in the narrative, would later militate as Bishop of Burgos against the increasing demonization of conversion as it underwent this decisive sea change. We also know that Alonso was largely unsuccessful in these efforts and that a history of conversion from Judaism, whether voluntary or forced, became a stigma of a very dangerous sort in the later fifteenth century and after.⁷

Although Pablo may not have foreseen the massive changes afoot, at least not in all their frightening severity, he was all the same responding to another upheaval in the concept of conversion. While his narrative seems on the surface like a thoroughly conventional account that reflects an inveterate tradition of representing conversion that stretched back many centuries, its tropes and imagery reflect an already changing tradition in which writers like him struggled to balance traditional imagery of conversion inherited from the Bible and the Patristic Fathers with new philosophical arguments and extra-biblical textual sources that came to occupy an increasingly important place in polemical writing after the twelfth century. As an embodiment of both traditional imagery and a changing polemical vocabulary, Pablo's

⁶ The *Sententia* and *Memorial* have been published by Eloy Benito Ruano, in Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV: vida política* (Madrid: CSIC, 1961).

⁷ On the rise in "genealogical mentalities" and the possible backfiring of personal testimonies of conversion into accusations of "Judaizing," see David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present*, 174 (2002): 3–41. On the intersection of this "mentality" with Pablo de Santa María and his theory of history, see Ryan Szpiech, "Scrutinizing History: Polemic and Exegesis in Pablo de Santa María's *Siete edades del mundo*," *Medieval Encounters*, 16 (2010): 96–142.

short conversion account offers a unique window into the history of the representation of conversion in Christian tradition in the wake of one important shift and on the eve of an even more climacteric and permanent upheaval.

Pablo's narrative of his conversion in the prologue to his *Additiones* not only mentions his son Alonso but is, in fact, dedicated to him. He begins by referring to his advanced age and thoughts on his legacy:

What do you want me to give you now, my dearest son, while I am still alive? What bequest [should I bequeath] to you after I am gone? [Nothing] except whatever brings knowledge of Holy Scripture and steadies your steps with a real ardor for the Catholic truth. For this is what I bear in my heart and profess with my lips, about which I think it has been written: "The father will make the truth known to his children." (Isaiah 38:19)

[Quid tibi vis ut vivens donem, dilectissime fili: aut successionis titulo post vitam relinquam? nisi quod ad sacrarum Scripturarum notitiam conferat, et gressus tuos in catholicae veritatis solidissimo fervore confirmet. Haec est enim quam corde gesto ac ore profiteor, et de qua puto scriptum fuisse: Pater filiis notam faciet veritatem [s]uam.] (*Biblia*, 1:16r)⁸

He frames the exegetical glosses that follow with this promise to Alonso to give him "his truth" within the context of passing on his own inheritance.⁹ He then uses this opening promise to affirm that part of what he will pass on is the truth he discovered through conversion:

Since I had not received this [truth] in my boyhood, but [rather] was born under the perfidy of Jewish blindness, I had not learned sacred letters from holy teachers but I appropriated erroneous meanings from erroneous teachers, always busy to enwrap imprudently the correct letters with incorrect sophistries, like the other mavens of that perfidy. But, truly, when it pleased Him whose mercy knows no measure to recall me from darkness to light, from the murky whirlpool to the clear air: somehow the scales fell from the eyes of my mind, and I began to reread Holy Scripture somewhat more assiduously, [and I began] to seek after the truth, not faithlessly any longer, but humbly.

⁸ Also in *PL* 113: 35B (see n. 3), with my correction to "veritatem suam."

⁹ Although Pablo's personal manuscript copy of the *Postillae* of Lyra is now lost, there are indications that Pablo's *Additions* were based on his own glosses to that very text made during his years in Paris, shortly after his conversion. See Szpiech, "Scrutinizing History," 104–5, no. 17 (see n. 7).

[Cum ab ineunte aetate non recepissem, sed sub Judaicae caecitatis perfidia natus, sacras litteras non a sacris doctoribus didicissem: ab erroneis magistris erroneos sensus trahebam, litteram rectam non rectis cavillationibus, ut caeteri illius perfidiae duces, temerarie involvere satagens. Cum vero placuit illi cuius misericordia mensuram non habet, me a tenebris ad lucem, a caliginosa turbine ad serenum aerem revocare: ceciderunt quodammodo squamae de oculis mentis meae; et coepi Scripturam sacram aliquanto studiosius relegere, et jam non perfide, sed humiliter veritatem inquirere.] (*Biblia*, 1:16r)¹⁰

Pablo here directly blends Paul's own language in the Epistle to Galatians 1:13–15 (“You have heard, no doubt, of my earlier life in Judaism...But when God...was pleased to reveal his Son to me...”) with the representation of Paul in Acts of the Apostles 9:18 (“Immediately something like scales fell from his eyes, and his sight was restored”). At the same time, Pablo seems to introduce an element not in Galatians: rather than offering a “revelation” of Christ, God chooses to “recall” Pablo from his error. Conversion is, in this representation, not an event but an understanding, not an experience in the world but a subjective realignment within the soul. Rather than characterizing his conversion as a prophetic “calling” (a calling *of* the prophet), like Paul characterizes his turn to Christ, he evokes it in terms of the Gospels as a turning back to God through repentance (a calling *by* the prophet). This interiorization of the Pauline paradigm that recasts conversion as a hermeneutic rather than cosmic, mystical, or emotional change is further evident in Pablo's expansion of the Pauline image of blindness and restored sight—understood both literally and symbolically—into an explicit mention of “Jewish” blindness and mental “sight” after “scales fall” from his eyes and he beholds the new truth that leads him to convert to Christianity. In such images, we begin to see the confluence of various biblical paradigms into a single, hermeneutical model in which conversion is no longer simply a revelation or a moral turning, but a new kind of understanding.

This trajectory, putting increasing emphasis on the hermeneutical transformation wrought by conversion, continues even more clearly in the rest of Pablo's narrative as he “waited night and day for His help”:

¹⁰ Also in *PL*, 113: 35B (see n. 3).

So it happened that the desire for the Catholic faith was more strongly enkindled in my mind from day to day, until I professed publicly that very faith I was carrying in my heart; and at about the same age as you are now, I received the sacrament of baptism in the holy font of this church, taking the name of Paul. . . . But before this time, applying myself to the study of Scripture, I gave attention to the reading of both Testaments, sometimes by hearing from living teachers, often by rereading the works of the holy Doctors and of other eminent men who have passed from this life. Through the gift of divine clemency, I, who had formerly been a teacher of error, was now made a student of the truth.

[Sicque factum est ut catholicae fidei desiderium in mente mea de die in diem fortius incandesceret; quoad ipsam fidem, quam corde gerebam, publice profiterer; et ea fere aetate qua tu nunc es, baptismi sacramentum in hujus ecclesiae sacro fonte suscepi, Pauli nomen assumens. . . . Praecedente vero tempore sacrarum litterarum studio insistens, utriusque Testamenti lectioni operam dedi; et interdum a magistris viventibus audiendo saepe sanctorum doctorum aliorumque insignium virorum, qui ab hac vita transierunt, opera relegendo, divina donante clementia, qui prius fueram magister erroris, factus sum discipulus veritatis.] (*Biblia*, 1:16r)¹¹

In many details, Pablo casts his conversion in biblical terms and reflects the multiple models contained within the biblical canon itself. Like the biblical Paul, he experiences an “enantiadromia,” or inversion of his identity into its opposite, thus turning from “teacher of error” to “student of the truth.” Like other conversions patterned on the narrative model of Paul’s conversion in Acts, Pablo’s happened “through divine grace” rather than the strength of will. At first blush, the language with which he describes his transformation seems to depict a climactic moment of insight rather than admonitory homiletic depicting a will to reform the self. Pablo does not say that he recognized himself as fallen and in need of a moral or spiritual reform, but instead paints himself, in very Pauline terms, as an object of God’s own action. It was only “when it truly pleased him whose mercy knows no measure to recall me” that he is converted, suggesting that Pablo saw his conversion as the result of God’s decision rather than his own.

Despite such similarities, there are even more important differences. Although Pablo’s language is deeply Pauline—Pablo’s choice of baptismal name is, of course, not fortuitous—his text also betrays a new, subjective understanding in which conversion is not premised on

¹¹ Also in *PL*, 113: 35B–D (see n. 3).

the singular revelation of a truth, not on a sudden thunderbolt from without, but on a progressive, even gradual, alteration of inner understanding. Pablo claims that his baptism is only a final detail in his transformation already underway within his soul. He began reading *both* Testaments before his baptism, and claims to have both studied with Christian teachers and read Christian works. When God “recalled” him “from a misty whirlwind to serene air,” he “*began* to reread sacred scripture” and “to search for truth.” His conversion “begins” with God’s call, but is only realized through rereading and a gradual alteration in understanding. Pablo holds this new, burgeoning truth “in my heart,” dissimulating his faith while the truth “was more strongly enkindled in my mind from day to day.” In a linear narrative, Pablo characterizes his change as both a dialectical ascent “from darkness to light” and as a return to the text based on “rereading” rather than an abandonment of his earlier knowledge. The action of “returning” to the biblical text through rereading is reflected back into his own narrative in the form of a narrative retelling.

Even more importantly, by framing his biblical exegesis in the *Additiones* with his own personal conversion narrative in its prologue, Pablo draws a parallel between his hermeneutic conversion and the rereadings he presents in his exegesis throughout the rest of the text. He not only casts his image as a Christian and a bishop against the backdrop of his former life as a Jew, but also casts his Christian exegesis, the keystone of his conversion, as a translation of Hebrew sources into Latin Scriptures and a transformation of the Old Testament into the New. Because his exegesis involves not only abundant material from the Hebrew Bible, but also frequent references to Talmud, Jewish midrashim, later Jewish thinkers such as Rashi (d. 1105) and Maimonides (d. 1204), Pablo’s narrative of transformation cannot simply remain “an inversion” of all he formerly believed. Both his identity as a convert from Judaism and his reading of Scripture must address more precisely the relationship between old and new, Jew and Christian, the law of Moses and the law of Christ. Does the new replace and destroy the old, or is the old the necessary foundation of the new? What place does the old self and its authoritative texts have in the voice and teaching of the new? Because Pablo chooses *not* to “forget what lies behind” as Paul claims to do in Philippians 3:13, but instead builds his conversion and his exegetical commentary on the Bible on a return to his past—a rereading, a retelling, a recollection—so his hermeneutic turn must also confront the tensions

inherent within the biblical models he cites. At the same time, because he also includes post-biblical material alongside his biblical sources, Pablo must address the meaning of the historical survival of the Jews after the death and resurrection of Christ.

The key way in which Pablo addresses this question of the value of the past—the Jewish past, the preconversion self, the Old Testament—is by connecting his recounting of his conversion story with a call to his son to “remember” the action of God throughout history, even up to the point of their own births within Jewish families. Pablo “narrate[s] this” so that his son, and with him the many readers of his exegesis, should “hand down to memory” his reading to future generations “lest they forget” (*ne obliviscantur*). In the context of Pablo’s anti-Jewish agenda, this call not to forget is not only an evocation of Psalm 78 and Deuteronomy 6, but of one of the central verses of medieval Christian writing about Jews, Psalm 59:11, “Do not kill them, or my people may forget” (*nequando obliviscantur*). In Christian tradition, this verse, perhaps more than any other, came to represent the Christian stance on the role of Jews in God’s divine plan.¹²

Pablo fits himself and his conversion squarely within this tradition by depicting his conversion narrative as a call to preserve Christian memory of their own inheritance of the status of True Israel. That Pablo is evoking this tradition as part of his call to his son to remember the past becomes even more evident when we consider his exegetical comments on this verse later within the same text of the *Additiones*. In his gloss on Psalm 59, he explains:

Slay them not...so that they be moved to conversion and so they do not forget your holy books, which reside originally with them...Scatter them...that is, may they be scattered among all the nations, so there be a witness of the sacred scripture that is among them.

[“*Ne occidas eos...ut ad conversionem provocentur, scilicet ne obliviscantur sacrarum librarum tuarum, quod apud eos originaliter resident...Disperge illos...id est per omnes gentes dispergantur ut testimonia sacre scripture quod apud eos sit.*”] (*Biblia*, 2:154)¹³

¹² On this verse and its place in Augustine’s formulation, see Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 33–41 and throughout; and Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 324–331.

¹³ Addition to Psalm 59:11 (listed as Psalm 58). It is telling that in this long addition to Lyra’s brief gloss, Pablo not only evokes the Augustinian exegesis of this passage,

Through such comments, he thus includes the exegetical commentary that follows his narrative as well as his identity as a converted Jewish priest as part of his own bequest to his son. His conversion represents both a revelation and a return, both a fulfillment of Scripture and a narrative recollection in which he depicts himself as a witness to that Scripture's true meaning. As convert, exegete, and priest, he becomes an epitome both of history and text, a figure to be interpreted just like the text on which he comments, a new "testament" to its own hidden truth. He himself says as much:

This is, my son, my last testament, these are my codicils. From them know that this has been bequeathed beforehand, 'that your will may rest in the law of the Lord and that you may meditate on His law day and night.' Truly, by rereading these and similar things, you will in fact make your meditating purer and sweeter.

["Hoc est ergo, fili mi, testamentum meum, hi sunt codicilli mei, hoc ex illis praelegatum agnosce, ut in lege Domini sit voluntas tua, et in lege ejus mediteris die ac nocte. Meditationem vero tuam, haec et similia relegendo, puriorem profecto et suaviolem efficies."] (*Biblia*, 1:16v)¹⁴

As such passages make clear, Pablo, like most medieval Christians speaking about the value of the past, and especially of the Old Testament, regularly employed the language of prefiguration and fulfillment that he drew from Augustine. For him, the Old Testament was divine Scripture in which the one and only God, the God of both Christians and Jews, revealed himself and established a covenant through Moses. It describes God's love of the Jews above all other nations. God has not changed his covenant with Israel, but rather has fulfilled it by extending its truth to all nations through Jesus. Jesus, moreover, was the Messiah awaited throughout Jewish history, and prophecies about his future coming saturate the Hebrew Bible. Christians, as the only faithful followers of God's commandments and revelation, have become God's chosen people. The New Israel has replaced the Old and this is, for Pablo, nowhere more in evidence than in the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Old Testament in the teachings of the New. The Old

but also names Moses/Petrus Alfonsi and Abner de Burgos/Alfonso de Valladolid. Pablo's reading of Jews as "witnesses" in Augustinian terms picks up a chain of exegesis that is not simply part of anti-Jewish polemic, but pertains specifically to that polemic in the works of converts who, like Pablo, introduced their ideas with conversion narratives.

¹⁴ Also in *PL*, 113: 37C–D (see n. 3).

Testament is still the true, revealed word of God, but its understanding is incomplete without the fulfillment of its prophecy depicted in the New. Although Pablo evokes the name of Paul as his model, the language and imagery by which he represents this typological understanding of history go far beyond the Pauline model, both as it is theorized in Paul's own Epistles and as it is represented in narrative telling and retelling in Acts. In fact, in the exegetical discussion that constitutes the bulk of the prologue to the *Additiones*, the name he cites more than any other—twice as often as that of Paul—is Augustine of Hippo.

Augustine's representation of conversion in the *Confessions*, which was at the same time a reflection on time and narrative and a polemical defense of the exegetical interpretation of the past, was the dominant paradigm of conversion in the Middle Ages. Its deep and lasting impact derived from its underlying exegetical framework in which it interpreted individual salvation as a parallel reflection of the history of the Church and of the evolution of Scripture. Part of its appeal came from its attempt to resolve the tensions within the Pauline tradition of conversion concerning the value of the past (the old self, the Old Testament, Jewish Law). It did this by elaborating a *typological*—or “figural”—model of time in which the past does not only precede the present and future, but prophesies its later unfolding and fulfillment. In Augustine's mature view, in which Scripture can be understood entirely “historically” and, at the same time, as a form of figural prophecy, he constructs a comprehensive sense of history that includes past, present, and future in a single, self-affirming temporal scheme. This model, which applied equally to Christian understanding of Scripture (Old Testament and New Testament), the self (old self and new self), and history (Jews and the Christians, “Old Israel” and “New Israel”),¹⁵

¹⁵ For an overview of the development of Augustine's theory of figural language, see David Dawson, “Figure, Allegory,” in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald and John Cavadini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 364–68; Michael Cameron, “The Christological Substructure of Augustine's Figurative Exegesis,” in *Augustine and the Bible*, ed. Anne-Marie La Bonnardière and Pamela Bright (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1999), 74–103; and the classic discussion in Erich Auerbach, “Figura,” in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 [1959]), 37–43. For a more general introduction to medieval typological thinking, see Kathleen Biddick, *The Typological Imaginary. Circumcision, Technology, History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), especially the opening observations in pp. 1–8.

used the logic of exegesis to fuse profane and personal history with sacred time into a single, figural web of Salvation History, a dialectical *Heilsgeschichte*.

Moreover, and most importantly, this use of Paul's own conception of "figural" thinking as the key to his struggle with the question of grace on all three levels of expression (not merely on the level of selfhood or interiority) provided Augustine with a narrative template for his own conversion. Narrative was an apposite form to embody a figural model of salvation history and of exegesis because it allowed him to represent time as a unified fabric in which the past looks proleptically to the future through prefiguration and foreshadowing and the present looks analeptically (in a narratological sense) to the past in flashback and fulfillment. Thinking "figurally" in narrative, Augustine's historical reading of Acts became a circular, not merely linear, dialectic, a spiraling gyre that casts Paul's conversion as a process of transformation in which the old self, like the "Old Testament," is not rejected but superseded and incorporated within the new through a diachronic relation of potential and actualization. By reading the theology of grace in the Epistles along a historical framework but through the particular lens of a figural understanding, Augustine was able to harness Paul's manifold thinking on the Law, but also affirm the canonical unity of the New Testament as embodied by the *narrative* structure of Acts.

The exegetical model that guided his thinking on Judaism applied equally to Augustine's narrative, in which the events of his life fit together in a single fabric of meaning that reflected the dialectic between God's unremitting grace and his own embattled and dilatory response. By thinking in this personal way about history, as Brian Stock explains, Augustine likewise "learned to think of the past, present, and future of his life as if he were interpreting a text."¹⁶ Within the texture of his narrative, his life becomes a reflection of the same rule of prophecy he uncovered by his reading of Romans through the lens of Acts: that all of time is singularly present to God's omniscience, and what to human perception moves in a line from past to future exists for God as a single web of eternal meaning. As he states in book eleven of the *Confessions*:

¹⁶ Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader. Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 74.

In your transcendent present state of eternity, you are before all past time and after all future time... eternity is your today.

[“Praecedis omnia praeterita celsitudine semper praesentis aeternitatis et superas omnia futura... hodiernus tuus aeternitas.”]¹⁷

The centrality of narration as the principal mode of representing conversion in book eight of the *Confessions*, as well as his meditations on time and memory in books ten and eleven and his exegesis of Genesis in twelve and thirteen, all derive from Augustine’s alignment of scripture, self, and history as parallel expressions of God’s comprehensive grace. Together, they preserve the salvific value of the past and yet still affirm the inexorable validity of Christian supersession in the present and future.

Paula Fredriksen has observed that Augustine’s reading of Paul had two major effects in subsequent Christian tradition: it made Paul’s conversion the byword to Pauline thinking (thus making Luke’s account in Acts central to subsequent understanding of Paul’s ideas in the Epistles); and it made “the inner life of man... the sovereign arena of God’s work of redemption.”¹⁸ Augustine’s highly original polemical rendition of the Pauline tradition proved to be the dominant paradigm on which were based virtually all medieval Christian conversion narratives over the subsequent millennium, including that of Pablo. Pablo’s first-person presentation of his conversion experience in exegetical terms as well as his explicit connection of his conversion and subsequent exegetical model in the *Additiones* with anti-Jewish polemical argument both depend directly on an Augustinian reading of the Pauline paradigm of conversion. In particular, three elements stand out as decidedly Augustinian in Pablo’s account—the importance of memory (through retelling, rereading, and repeating to future generations); the explicit representation of the transformation of the former self into the present one in exegetical terms as a fulfillment of a former prophecy; and the direct connection of memory to a recognition of the testimonial role of Jews and Judaism in Christianity. In all of these aspects, Pablo shows us that the model of his conversion

¹⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions*, ed. James J. O’Donnell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 1:153–4, 11.13.16—trans. Garry Wills (New York: Penguin, 2006), 266.

¹⁸ Paula Fredriksen, “Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1986): 27.

narrative, like that of his exegesis and his anti-Jewish polemic, is Augustine, not Paul.

Not only is Pablo's narrative patterned on Augustine in most of its narrative details—his protracted struggle, his “mistaken” education, his use of his conversion narrative as a preamble to his exegesis, his change of faith “in his heart” before his baptism, his mention of his son's baptism along with him, etc. It also rehearses Augustine's particular reading of a Pauline theology of grace. His conversion, like Augustine's, came about only “when it pleased Him whose mercy is measureless to call me back,” only when God “would deign to implant in my heart whatever might be most healthful for my soul.” Pablo, like Augustine, is unable to even begin to turn to God without God's prior action of grace.¹⁹ At the same time, his theory of grace is fused, like Augustine's, with an exegetical vision of his own conversion. His focus on rereading as part of the action of his transformation imitates Augustine's constant evocation of reading and rereading as the catalyst of his own development. Pablo's journey “from darkness to light” is hermeneutic rather than cosmic or physical; the “scales fall,” but they do so figuratively, “from the eyes of my mind.” Pablo's retrospective emphasis on retelling as a kind of exegesis of the self is modeled on Augustine's representation of retelling as one of the primary vehicles of the enactment and fulfillment of conversion. Also, Pablo's emphasis on the growth of the self as a vector of the fulfillment of scripture and history is patterned on Augustine's own presentation of his narrative of self in the *Confessions* as an expression of time that ran parallel to that of the Old Testament exegesis of Genesis.

This defense of a narrative return to the past leads Pablo to explain in more detail his characterization of the relationship between past and present. The presentation of the self in terms of prefiguration and fulfillment involves Pablo's double vindication of both the preconversion self and the pre-Christian Jew as valuable and necessary components of the historical unfolding of God's salvific plan. Pablo follows Augustine in linking his conversion narrative with his own polemical arguments, and like Augustine, he does not simply repeat the tropes

¹⁹ Of the many sources treating Augustine's theory of grace, see in particular Gerald Bonner, *Freedom and Necessity. St. Augustine's Teaching on Divine Power and Human Freedom* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007); and Pierre-Marie Hombert, *Gloria Gratiae. Se glorifier en Dieu, principe et fin de la théologie augustinienne de la grâce* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1996).

of anti-Jewish writing found in earlier sources. Pablo's strong valuation of the old "Jewish self" as part of the prefiguration of the new "Christian self" elaborates Augustine's use of Pauline language as the basis of his doctrine of Jewish witness. His theory of typological reading—what he passes on as his bequest to his son—is part of his *polemical* characterization of the role of Jews and Judaism in Christian history. Pablo recounts his narrative to future generations "lest they forget," casting the narrative memory of his former Jewish self as an eternal witness to the triumph of Christianity. Like Augustine, Pablo values the past and all it represents—the Old Testament, the old law, the former Jewish self—as part of a circuitous web of time in which unfolds the gratuitous and inscrutable salvific plan of God's grace. In Pablo's writing, we begin to see how the strong currents within the Pauline paradigm were harnessed together in Augustine's rendition into a single vision of Christian identity.

This typological structure is further represented by Pablo's distinction between "public" confession and private belief "in my heart," a distinction that mirrors his Christian exegetical perspective that distinguishes between the "outer" and "inner" meaning of Scripture, the "flesh" and the "spirit" of the believer. This inner/outer distinction is combined with a past/present distinction in which Christianity fulfills the inner potential of God's covenant in the Bible while Judaism merely preserves its outer form. Just as Pablo "who was previously a teacher of error was made a disciple of the truth," so the authoritative proofs on which he based his exegesis were converted, within his new exegetical perspective, from being erroneous teaching to correct doctrine. Just as the Hebrew Bible itself offered typological proof of the New Testament, so Pablo's conversion narrative represents in miniature, emblematic form the Christian idea of the transformation of all Jews into believing Christians. In his opening narrative, conversion represents both a turning of his own belief as well as a turning of his sources from Jewish authorities into Christian prooftexts and, even more broadly, of the translation of the Hebrew Bible into the Latin Vulgate. It both dramatizes the logic of exegetical typology in which Jewish Scriptures come to be fulfilled in Christian revelations and also establishes his own authority in invoking post-biblical sources in defense of Christianity. By framing his whole exegetical project with his brief narrative of transformation, he makes Christian figurative reading, the "scrutiny of Scripture," an extension of the process of conversion itself. At the same time, he makes the *narration* of

conversion a fulfillment of the promise given in the event narrated. Experience itself, expressed through the cipher of typological reading, becomes a prophecy to be fulfilled in its retelling. Man and text, retrospection and rereading, reinforce one another as parallel axes of transformation.

Even as Pablo's story recapitulates the core elements of the Augustinian model of a "narrative" conversion, it also contains elements that are extraneous to Augustine's formulation, reflecting the evolution of his ideas about conversion and Judaism as they had evolved over the preceding millennium. Pablo blends his conversion narrative and his biblical exegesis with a heavy dose of post-biblical sources from Rabbinic tradition, turning not only to the Bible but also to the Talmud, and not only to the writing of Christian exegetes, but to that of Jewish exegetes as well (above all Rashi, whom he names along with other medieval Jewish writers in the introduction to his exegesis immediately following his conversion narrative). Similarly, he makes regular recourse to Aristotle and his medieval interpreters, both Jewish and Christian (and occasionally Muslim).²⁰ Although Augustine is the first Christian writer (after Paul) mentioned by Pablo in his introduction, he is immediately followed by Aristotle. Yet it is very telling that the citations from Augustine's *Literal Commentary on Genesis* as well as those from Aristotle are in fact derived second-hand, like much of the prologue itself, from Thomas Aquinas.²¹

²⁰ On Pablo's use of Hebrew sources in the *Additiones*, see Herman Hailperin, *Rashi and the Christian Scholars* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963), 341, no. 584, and elsewhere; Ch. Merchavia, "The Talmud in the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos," *The Journal of Jewish Studies* 16, no. 3-4 (1965): 115-134; and the partial index of Wolfgang Bunte, *Rabbinische Traditionen bei Nikolaus von Lyra: ein Beitrag zur Schriftauslegung des Spätmittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1994).

²¹ For example, Pablo's characteristically Scholastic phrase "Furthermore, according to the Philosopher in *Posterior Analytics* I, that, on account of which a thing is [in a certain way], it is itself more [that very way]" ["Praeterea, secundum Philosophum I Posterior. Propter aliud unumquodque et illud magis"] (*Biblia* 1: 16v, and Cf. *PL*, 113: 38; see n. 3) is found constantly throughout the *Summa Theologica* (e.g. 1.16.1.3, 1.87.2.3, 1.88.3.2, 1-2.71.3, 1-2.109.3; 2-2.26.3, 3.2.7.3, etc.). Similarly, Pablo states, "And thus [says] Augustine on the literal meaning of Genesis: Since divine Scripture can be explained in multiple ways, one should not adhere to any particular explanation, since if certain reason should establish it as false that someone should presume to claim that sense of Scripture. From this, Scripture is derided by infidels, and the way of belief is closed off to them." ["Et ideo Augustinus super Genesi ad litteram: Cum Scriptura divina multipliciter exponi possit, nulli expositioni ita praecise aliquis inhaereat, quod si certa ratione constiterit hoc esse falsum, quod aliquis sensum Scripture hunc asserere praesumat. Ex hoc enim Scriptura ab infidelibus derideretur,

Both of these strains of thought—post-biblical writing and Aristotle filtered through Jewish and Christian philosophy—were recent arrivals in Christian exegesis and polemic, appearing only in the twelfth century and after. Both, moreover, presented formidable challenges to the Augustinian paradigm of conversion, challenges to which Pablo is heir. Just as Pablo read Paul through Augustine, so he read Augustine through the exegesis and polemic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Much of this polemic, moreover, was marked by an attempt to blend the traditional Augustinian paradigm with philosophical arguments derived from Aristotle and with non-Christian citations drawn from post-biblical Jewish and Islamic writing. As anti-Jewish polemical texts of the period—the *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* of Petrus Alfonsi, the *Opusculum de conversione sua* of Herman, the *Mostrador de justicia* of Abner de Burgos/Alfonso de Valladolid—all attest, one of the ways that authors sought to mitigate the tension that came of this blending of traditions was to include a story of conversion to “testify” to the truth of one’s sources and the unity of one’s polemical vision.²² Pablo’s first-person narrative in the *Additiones* plays a similar role in balancing the tradition received from Augustine with the argumentation drawn from non-biblical writing.

Pablo’s account, however, takes this strategy of first-person testimony one step further by dedicating it to his son. Pablo’s conversion narrative thus becomes more than a simple recapitulation of Augustinian figuralism through a late-medieval textual understanding. It is also an expression of his belief that both he and his son, through their conversion from Judaism to Christianity, are themselves expressions

et eis praecluderetur via credendi”] (*Biblia* 1: 17r; Cf. *PL*, 113: 40A–B). This passage is itself only loosely based on Augustine’s *Literal commentary on Genesis* (I.18.36–7, 19.38–9, 21.41), and is rather taken directly from *Summa Theologica*, I.68.1c. Also, Pablo’s statement, “Augustine says on Genesis 2, In any [passage], only the literal sense is to be sought” [“Dicit enim Augustinus II super Gen. In quibusdam solus sensus litteralis quaerendus est”] (*Biblia*, 1: 17r; CF *PL*, 40B) is taken from Aquinas’s *Quodlibet* vii. q6.a2.arg5.

²² On this use of the conversion narrative in the context of Christian polemical writing, see Ryan Szpiech, “Polemical Strategy and the Rhetoric of Authority in Abner of Burgos / Alfonso of Valladolid,” in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities. Iberia and Beyond*, ed. by María Esperanza Alfonso and Carmen Caballero-Navas (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2010), 55–76. For a reading of Herman’s account that works to broaden the frame within which it is interpreted, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Conversion of Herman the Jew. Autobiography, History, and Fiction in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Alex J. Novikoff (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

of divine will and that their own personal stories embody and help fulfill the unfolding of Christian supersessionist history.²³ Thus part of Pablo's text includes a justification of his own retelling of his conversion as a teaching tool for younger generations. In this, he characterizes memory as a didactic tool of ongoing tradition.

I gladly tell you these things, so that...you might commit them to memory and...explain them to younger people who perhaps did not hear of them, so that they in turn should tell [them] to their sons, so that 'they do not forget the works of God, but investigate his law.'

[Tibi autem...haec libenter enarro, ut...memoriae tradas, junioribusque, qui forsitan non audierunt...ut illi enarrent filiis suis, ne obliviscantur operum Domini, sed legem ejus exquirant.] (*Biblia*, 1:16v)²⁴

As noted, Pablo here evokes Psalm 78:5–7 and Deuteronomy 6:7, in which fathers teach sons who teach their sons, "lest they forget" the Lord. He stresses both the importance of *remembering* God in each generation and the ongoing continuity of God's teaching as an inheritance given from father to son.

When Pablo characterizes the teaching of father to son in personal terms, he is moved to depict his own conversion narrative as a vehicle for revealing the very same typological fulfillment of the Old Testament by the New. He sees his own conversion not only as a personal narrative of transformation and faith, but also as a symbol of God's own providential plan, prophesied in Scripture and fulfilled in Pablo himself. In this light, he stresses the historic and prophetic importance of his and his son's own former name, Halevi. Pablo's legacy to his son is a converted identity that represents a fulfillment of God's plan as described in Jewish scripture. Just as God decreed that the sons of Levi should have no inheritance because of their sacerdotal role, so Pablo, writing as Bishop of Burgos, describes the fruit of his conversion as the "possession" that he passes on to Alfonso as an "inheritance." (*Biblia*, 1:16v).²⁵

²³ For an exploration of the notion of "converso" identity in both Pablo and his son, see Maurice Kriegel, "Autour de Pablo de Santa María et d'Alfonso de Cartagena: alignement culturel et originalité 'converso'," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 41, no. 2 (1994): 197–205.

²⁴ Also in *PL*, 113: 36C (see n. 3).

²⁵ Also in *PL*, 113: 36B–C.

Thus, the dedication of this text to his son is not gratuitous. Just as the stories of conversion of Paul and the early apostles in Acts serve as the foundational narratives of the Church itself, so Pablo presents his narrative as the opening of his multi-volume commentary on the entire corpus of Old and New Testaments and as the foundation of his own story of worldly success and his rise to ecclesiastical prominence, which he mentions directly.²⁶ By showing that through his transformation from Jew to Christian, “worldly things were added to ecclesiastical ones,” Pablo draws a direct parallel between his own foundational fiction and the founding narrative of the Church itself. Through his use of narrative as the basis of both his biblical exegesis and his polemical attack on Judaism, he blends the passage of Saul into Paul and Hebrew Scripture into Christian Scripture with his own conversion from Solomon to Pablo. By casting his text and his name as a bequest, he expands this appeal to the past as prefiguration of the present and future by drawing parallels between Pablo’s experience and that of his son. He invokes prophecy about the tribe of Levi and stresses his own name change upon “assuming the name of Paul,” and in this way Pablo presents his conversion as the fulfillment of an earlier Jewish prophecy, a fulfillment that continues by passing on his sacerdotal name to Alonso. Significantly, Alonso literally followed his father as “inheritor” of the bishopric of Burgos upon Pablo’s death in 1434, just as his brother had become Bishop of Plasencia in 1423. By mentioning “these successes, which common men call the events of fortune,” Pablo explicitly reminds his son that their “inheritance” has been as much material as spiritual. Through his narrative, he both literally and figuratively bequeaths his conversion to his son, and his legacy is one of both letter and spirit, the prophecy of the old self and its fulfillment in the new.

The typological reading of history, both public and private, reflects and frames the exegetical approach in the subsequent glosses to Nicholas of Lyra. Pablo in fact directly follows his conversion story

²⁶ “And yet neither were those successes lacking which the vulgar call prosperous. For divine grace has raised me, though completely undeserving, to no mean level of ecclesiastical authority. In fact, at first promoted to the see of Cartagena and then to this of Burgos, I have been sustained by the abundant favors of God’s Church.” [“Nec tamen hi, quos prosperos vulgus appellat, successus defuerunt. Nam me... non ad parvum Ecclesiae gradum divina gratia sublevavit. Primo enim ad Carthaginensem, deinde ad hanc Burgensem sedem promotus, amplissimis Ecclesiae Dei favoribus sum nutritus.”] (*Biblia*, 1: 16v. Also in *PL*, 113: 36A–B; see n. 3).

with a detailed description in the rest of the prologue of his approach to Scripture, stressing the importance preserving the literal meaning of Scripture while at the same time understanding its figurative and typological meaning.²⁷ He implies a parallel between himself and the text of Scripture when he applies an exegetical model to his own biography. Just as he was converted from wrong to right interpretation, “recalled” from “shadows to light,” so the biblical *testimonia* he invokes were “transformed,” through proper reading, from Jewish Scriptures into proofs of Christian doctrine. Just as in his conversion “the scales fell from the eyes of my mind, and I began to reread sacred scripture,” so through his “additions” (in the exegetical *Additiones* that follow his narrative) and “scrutiny” of Scripture (in his *Scrutinium* a few years later), his rereading rescued his own sources from the literal “perfidy” in which they had lain prisoner. His sources, like his own name, can be read “not faithlessly any longer,” but correctly as authoritative proofs of Christianity.

In his exegetical turn to Augustine as the keynote of his bequest to his son, Pablo is able to invoke, in what is perhaps among the last such characterizations by a medieval writer, the coherent unity of individual identity combined with an exegetical vision of God’s unfolding plan through the action of the Catholic Church. Given the solemn historical moment in which it appeared, Pablo’s conversion narrative in fact became an important vehicle for the transmission of Augustine’s reading of Paul and it enjoyed a wide dissemination in the late-medieval and early-modern world. It is at once a *précis* of the distinctly Augustinian combination of self, text, history, and church in the context of exegetical polemic and also a response to the changes in that synthesis through its exposure to non-Christian philosophical and religious sources. It is, however, more than this, adding onto the combination of exegesis, polemic, and individual testimony the even more personal dedication to his son to whom he offers his “converted” status and name as a valuable legacy. Writing shortly before the final breakdown of the long-eroded Augustinian doctrine of Jewish Witness

²⁷ As Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture. Second Partie* (Paris: Aubier, 1959–64), 2:281, and Ceslas Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1944), 277, no. 1, both observe, Pablo was among the first to develop the notion of multiple literal senses in Christian exegesis. For example, *Biblia*, 1: 17v–18r. Also in *PL*, 113: 43–5 (see n. 3). On his theory, see also Szpiech, “Scrutinizing History,” 114–116 (see n. 7).

in Iberia—only two decades before the anti-*converso* riots of 1449 that so deeply scarred his son's final years—Pablo's personal conversion narrative and the exegesis that followed it are at once the last vestiges of a waning idea and the portentous harbingers of radical, irreversible change.