

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Geoffrey Kyle Martin entitled “Anti-Judaic Religious Polemic and Apocalyptic Thought in the *Disputation of Majorca* and its Later Manuscript Tradition.” I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

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Anti-Judaic Religious Polemic and Apocalyptic Thought in the *Disputation of Majorca* and its
Later Manuscript Tradition

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Abstract

In this study, I first examine the Disputation of Majorca (1286) and analyze how its Christian disputant, Inghetto Contardo, blended apocalyptic thought and anti-Judaic discourse. Although other studies, most notably Ora Limor's critical edition, have touched upon the nature of Inghetto's arguments, none have discussed his clear implementation of intertwined anti-Judaic religious polemic and apocalyptic thought in a satisfactory manner. I place Inghetto in an apocalyptic milieu of the later thirteenth century that especially emphasizes the imminence of the Last Days. In effect, Inghetto's employment of St. Jerome's Daniel exegesis is perfectly suited to 1286, when Jews are most likely to believe a Christian telling them that Daniel prophesies on Christ's Second Coming in 1290.

The latter half of my thesis continues to emphasize the close ties between religious polemic and apocalyptic thought that are present in the *Disputation*. Here, I argue that Heinrich of Oberburg, the scribe of Vatican City, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* MS Lat. 4074, a fifteenth-century manuscript including the *Disputation*, copied this codex specifically for a religious audience interested in the twelfth-century abbot Joachim of Fiore's *virī spirituales*, a mix of canons, friars, and Jews who would receive heavenly rewards in return for the reforms they would carry out during the End Times. BAV MS Lat. 4074 contains a previously unstudied excerpt from Joachim's *Liber de concordia* that describes hermeneutical connections between the Old and New Testaments and collectively intensifies the Daniel prophecies already present in the *Disputation*. Moreover, I continually argue that Heinrich envisioned his audience employing anti-Judaic polemic in the midst of all their apocalyptic expectation, with the understanding that

engaging in disputation was part of the *virī spirituales*' role and would help them earn God's promised rewards.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter I: Inghetto Contardo and the Apocalypse of 1290	11
Chapter II: Building a Joachite Frame for anti-Judaic Polemic: <i>Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana</i> MS Lat. 4074 as a Case Study of the <i>Disputation's</i> Afterlife	32
Conclusion	54
Select Bibliography.....	56
Vita.....	61

List of Tables

Table 1- The Contents of <i>Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana</i> MS Lat. 4074	39
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Abbreviations

TAPS Transactions of the American Philosophical Society

CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CCCM Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis

MGHQ Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters

Regesta Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Italia Pontifica

Introduction

The *Disputation of Majorca*, a 1286 account of four debates between a Genoese merchant named Inghetto Contardo and several learned Jews, is at its core text promoting Jewish conversion to Christianity through multifaceted intellectual interaction. Inghetto's methods of gaining these converts combine typical apologetics and polemical arguments in defense of Christianity and the general fulfillment of Jewish scripture through the New Testament, with a strong apocalyptic preoccupation with the advent of the Last Days. The boundary between Apocalyptic thought and religious polemic is often blurry, as on the occasions when Inghetto implies that Jews were culpable in Christ's death, an event that held clear implications in Christian eschatology and anti-Judaic discourse. In what follows, I will argue first that Inghetto created a form of anti-Judaic polemic that was fully infused with contemporary Christian apocalyptic thought. I will then argue that the apocalyptic elements of the *Disputation* continued to be emphasized two centuries later when it was presented thoroughly immersed in the thought of Joachim of Fiore in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Vatican City, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, MS Lat. 4074) containing it, an excerpt from Joachim's *Liber de concordia*, and other related apocalyptic works.

In the first section of this study, I examine how Inghetto employs prophecies from the Book of Daniel in the context of disputation. The commonly found anti-Judaic arguments that he implements come from a variety of sources. To find these polemical points in a strikingly apocalyptic text is, however, to my knowledge much less common. Ora Limor's excellent critical edition briefly discusses these influences and Inghetto's apocalypticism, but does not discuss the *Disputation's* strong connections between religious polemic and apocalyptic thought

at length.¹ This study builds upon Limor's scholarship, but places the *Disputation* in a wider context of medieval intellectual history, one that incorporates more fully the interaction between Christian eschatology and religious polemic, and that seeks to illuminate the variety of motives driving participation in religious debate. After discussing Inghetto's earlier influences and his previous contacts with Majorcan Jews and mendicants, I note the similarities that the *Disputation* shares with the contemporaneous *Cronica* of Salimbene. Chief among these similarities is their participation in a thirteenth-century apocalyptic milieu that emphasizes the Last Days' proximity. I then illustrate how Inghetto expected the Apocalypse to arrive, and how he capitalized upon this expectation by firmly intertwining apocalyptic prophecy with anti-Judaic discourse.

Central to Inghetto's apocalyptic arguments is the Book of Daniel. As we will see, Daniel provides Inghetto with fear-raising prophecies on Jewish captivity, a prediction of Christ's Second Coming in 1290, and promises of rewards for the blessed who persevere through Antichrist's tribulations. We will examine all of these prophecies in detail in Section 1, but for now, we should note that Inghetto drew heavily upon Daniel 12:7-13, in which a linen-clad man tells Daniel of the time of the "abomination of desolation," a rough equivalent to the Christian Apocalypse in Revelation. Inghetto's belief that Christ will arrive in 1290, the Last Judgment in 1335, and that a short period of peace will flourish between these two dates, are all drawn from St. Jerome's exegesis on these passages.

In the second part of this study, we will consider the afterlife of the *Disputation* by examining a fifteenth-century manuscript in which it is placed in an even more obviously apocalyptic context. Christians in Renaissance Italy continued to await the Last Days, and did so

¹ *Die Disputationen zu Ceuta (1179) und Mallorca (1286): Zwei antijüdische Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua*, Ora Limor, ed., MGHQ, Band 15 (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1994), 34-38.

with a sense of urgency, believing that the world would end in a short, yet undefined, time. The manuscript under analysis in the second half of this study, BAV MS Lat. 4074, clearly ascribes to this apocalyptic perspective. Indeed, the manuscript contains an excerpt, little-known to scholars, from one of the most influential apocalyptic thinkers in the later Middle Ages, the twelfth-century Calabrian abbot Joachim of Fiore.² Although only seven folia in length, this excerpt from the *Liber de concordia* greatly increases the emphasis on apocalyptic thought in the manuscript and serves as a natural complement to the prophecies contained in the *Disputation*. Of central importance to both these texts are discussions of a period of peace that promises heavenly rewards between the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment.³

Joachim of Fiore's thought, so essential to the history of BAV MS Lat. 4047, made its greatest contributions to late medieval apocalypticism by restructuring Christians' divisions of historical time. Along with a rather standard linear progression towards the Apocalypse, characterized by seven persecutions drawn from the seven seals of Revelation,⁴ Joachim more innovatively divided history into a Trinitarian system of three *status*, with an age each allotted to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Each of these ages would also have a predetermined order of people who would thrive at that time: the first age would be for the laity, the second for clergy,

²Although Limor mentions the excerpt in her edition, I have yet to find any evidence that scholars of Joachim have studied it. E. Randolph Daniel does not include it in the list of manuscripts contained in his edition of the *Liber de concordia*, nor does Marjorie Reeves in the Appendices of *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*. In many ways, I believe this speaks to scholars' limited treatment of the interaction between religious polemic and apocalyptic thought in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. See Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia Noui ac Veteris Testamenti*, E. Randolph Daniel, ed., TAPS Vol. 73, Pt.8 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1983); Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969; reprint Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1993).

³I have here avoided conflating Jerome's forty-five day period of peace and its variants, the basis of Robert Lerner's interpretation of the third *status*, with Marjorie Reeves's argument for a Trinitarian concept of the *third status* that Christians placed within their conceptions of historical time. The *Disputation* clearly ascribes to Jerome's exegesis, but the *Liber de concordia* excerpt in BAV MS Lat. 4074 does not provide a set length of time for the *third status*. See Robert E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* Vol. 32 (1976), 97-144; and Reeves's rebuttal in "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," *Traditio* Vol. 36 (1980), 269-316.

⁴Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 5.

and the third for monks.⁵ Because the system of *status* was Trinitarian, the laity and clergy, symbolic of God and Christ, would be present at the same time as the monks who would thrive in the Age of the Holy Spirit, just as in the Christian belief that God and Christ would be present in the sending of the Holy Spirit. Adherents to Joachim's system generally saw themselves on the brink of the third *status*, which would occur at the onset of the Second Coming, would contain a period of peace upon Antichrist's binding, and would be completed upon the Last Judgment.

While certainly innovative in his temporal scheme, Joachim also bore the influence of earlier Christian thinkers. This is perhaps most visible in the second manner by which he divided time, a system of two *tempora* that were based upon the Old and New Testaments. Joachim believed that the Old Dispensation had run from Adam to Christ, while the New would run from Christ until the Last Judgment. Like most Christian thinkers, then, he saw a clear divide between the time of the Judaism and Christianity. This abbot, however, combined the relatively standard system of *tempora* with the *status*, and noted that the two frameworks would come together in the Age of the Spirit. This amalgamation of *status* and *tempora*, and the period of peace following it, their significant presence in BAV MS Lat. 4047, and the way in which they were intended to interact with the *Disputation's* apocalyptic vein of anti-Judaic religious polemic are the subjects of the second half of this study.

In essence, these two divisions of time are a means of understanding the relationship between Christian and Jewish scripture. Indeed, Joachim had an additional exegetical concept, the *concordiae*, which especially emphasized these connections. E. Randolph Daniel has noted

⁵ Additional reading on the important, but here not immediately germane, concept of the double *initio* of the second status can be found in E. Randolph Daniel, "The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's Understanding of History," *Speculum* Vol. 55 (1980), 469-83.

that rather than the general movement of time, the *concordiae* demonstrated through biblical genealogies the exact equivalence of people and events in the Old and New Testaments, with the understanding that those contained in Christian scripture were more worthy.⁶ There were two separate sets of *concordiae* expounding upon the generations of both the *status* and *tempora*.⁷ Our excerpt, as an example, notes that Saul, David, and Salomon, the representatives of the three *status* in the Old Testament, had their equivalents in Zachariah, John the Baptist, and Christ.⁸ The apocalyptic events described in Daniel, which are so important to all phases of the *Disputation*'s history, similarly have their own concordances with the Book of Revelation.

The Christian Apocalypse, from Antichrist's onset to the Last Judgment, was for Joachim the culmination of history. At this time would rise the *virī spirituales*, a mix of canons, friars and Jews who would act as reformers in the period of the second *tempora* and in Age of the Holy Spirit.⁹ As we will see, the *Liber de concordia* excerpt particularly emphasizes this group's connection to both the Holy Spirit and Christ, while also promoting an understanding of these spiritual men's duties, and the rewards that await them in the period of peace between Antichrist's binding and the Last Judgment.¹⁰ Because Jews would comprise part of the *virī spirituales*, conversion and religious disputation remained pertinent to the intended audience of Heinrich of Oberburg, the manuscript's scribe and glossator who envisioned these readers as Joachim's spiritual men.¹¹

⁶ E. Randolph Daniel in Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, xxxvii.

⁷ Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 19-20. The Joachite concept of *tempora* is far less prevalent in our excerpt than the *status* and their representatives.

⁸ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 77^v. I treat this concept more thoroughly in Section Two.

⁹ E. Randolph Daniel, "The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's Understanding of History," 478.

¹⁰ On the connections between the *virī spirituales* and the Holy Spirit, see E. Randolph Daniel in Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, xxxvii-xxxviii.

¹¹ Several twelfth-century documents pertain to the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary, where Heinrich was likely a member. The origins of the monastery are unknown, but the documents date as early as 1019. The

The second section of this study expounds upon the division of historical time into *status* and *tempora* because they are two defining features of Joachim's system of thought and are quite prevalent in the excerpt. In particular, the concept of the third *status*, with the ambiguities surrounding its date of fulfillment and with its promises of heavenly rewards for the *viri spirituales*, is at the very center of what Heinrich and Archpriest Andreas of Saint Peter's Church in Isola Vincentino,¹² the manuscript's commissioner, believe will captivate BAV MS Lat. 4047's readers. In Heinrich's mind this intended audience, which certainly includes Andreas and quite possibly other religious men associated with him, will see the importance of and have a strong interest in mixing anti-Judaic discourse and apocalyptic thought just as Inghetto does, but will additionally emulate the *viri spirituales*. The clearest example of these argumentative similarities is the manner in which Inghetto employs, and Heinrich sees his readers employing, the prophecy from Daniel 12:7-13. The *Liber de concordia* excerpt, moreover, bears strong resemblance to the *Disputation*'s other apocalyptic passages, and gives exact concordances in its explanation of how Christianity will fulfill Jewish prophecy.

monastery was suppressed in 1806. See Paul Kehr, ed., *Regesta*, Vol. 7, pt. 1 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1961), 52-55. Oberburg is near modern Gornji Grad, Slovenia. See Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 66.

¹² The sole references for Archpriest Andreas are the two Vicenzan documents that Limor cites, found in Sella, Pietro and Guiseppe Vale, eds., *Venetiae-Histria Dalmatia, Studi e Testi* 96 (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1941), documents 2817 and 3063. The documents, however, date to 1297 and 1303, respectively. Because the manuscript clearly dates to 1491, as Limor acknowledges, I remain skeptical that the Andreas who commissioned the manuscript is the same as the man (or men) mentioned in these two documents. The placement of Andreas's statement of ownership on the same folio (80^v) as Heinrich's colophon, however, leads me to believe that the fifteenth-century Andreas commissioned the manuscript. Andreas's colophon reads, "Hec suntt (sic) facta per presbyterem Andream Archipresbyterem Ecclesiae Sancti Petri Isulis Vincs dyocs"; Heinrich's reads "Expletum per dominum henricum presbyterem et monachum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti · de Obernburga. aquilegensis dyocesis· 1491^o / ·19^o die mensis Ianuarii hora xxiiii·"

Several documents in Kehr, ed., *Regesta*, 137-39 mention a Vicenzan monastery of St. Peter, which housed Benedictine nuns from the twelfth century until 1436, when it was awarded to the congregation of Saint Justin of Padua. The monastery was suppressed in 1810. At this time, I have been unable to locate further information on St. Peter's Church in Isola Vincentino.

With an understanding of Joachim's system of *status* and *tempora*, and the role of the *virī spirituales* as apocalyptic reformers, Heinrich's intended readers would be ready to engage in a whole series of tasks that prepared for Christ's imminent return. Polemical, apocalyptic, and reformist themes are present in significant quantities in the manuscript's seven texts, suggesting strongly that both the scribe and commissioner of the manuscript imagined an audience with an interest in all three of these issues and that they believed each would be necessary in the Age of the Spirit. These texts' assumption of an audience interested in anti-Judaic religious polemic and a Joachite vein of apocalypticism is all the more important because of what it tells us of the various ways in which the Calabrian abbot's prophecies could be employed. While Joachim himself may have intended his system of thought to be irenic, those people reading his prophecies could do so with an eye for arguments effective in dispute.¹³

My overall arguments for thorough interaction between religious polemic and apocalypticism, in both the *Disputation* and in BAV MS Lat. 4047, also shed light on several ways in which Christians reacted to the idea that the world would soon end. On the one hand, Inghetto and Heinrich especially look forward to Judgment Day, as if as Christians they have nothing to fear. When applying Apocalypticism to their works, however, both realize the potential that it has to terrify Jews. The dichotomy between the images of God's punishment for Jews and his rewards for Christians is striking, and Inghetto employs it in numerous debates. For Heinrich's intended audience of would-be *virī spirituales*, many glosses in the manuscript's

¹³ Brett Whalen has shown convincingly that Joachim believed in a peaceful reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches following the Apocalypse. E. Randolph Daniel has also demonstrated in an earlier article that Joachim was most concerned with Church Reform. In this particular instance, however, which deals with the notion of a perceived audience created by a series of texts, I believe it is clear that Heinrich believed that his readers would implement Joachite thought into anti-Judaic religious polemic. See Whalen, "Joachim of Fiore and the Division of Christendom," *Viator* Vol. 34 (2003), 89-108; Daniel, "Abbot Joachim of Fiore and the Conversion of the Jews," in Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Meyers, eds., *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1-21.

margins provide biblical references from which disputants could derive effective arguments that would lead Jews towards conversion. Furthermore, the presence of Joachite thought in BAV MS Lat. 4047 provided a system by which this imagined audience could reflect upon their apocalyptic duties in the religiously plural and rapidly ending world that surrounded them.

Before examining the *Disputation*, we should mention some of the peculiarities and difficulties that it presents for scholars. The nature of its account, by an anonymous author after the events had happened and in Latin rather than the Catalan that most scholars believe was spoken in the debate, presents obvious problems in determining Inghetto's actual actions as represented in the *Disputation*.¹⁴ None of the arguments Inghetto makes are so far-fetched that we should doubt he employed them- indeed many are ubiquitous to Christian anti-Judaic polemics. We must remember, however, that the *Disputation* is a text designed to circulate among later readers, will undoubtedly have literary elements, and is intended to serve a moral and anagogical purpose as seen in BAV MS Lat. 4047. When dealing with the anonymous author's depiction of Inghetto as represented in the *Disputation*, I have accepted that the debates he held could have happened, with an understanding that the author has incorporated these events into a text.¹⁵ The central concern of this study, the interaction of religious polemic and apocalypticism in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, is relatively unaffected by the fact that the *Disputation* may or may not reflect the contents of the actual discussions accurately. If a writer were truly aiming to gain Jewish converts to Christianity, moreover, he would have to

¹⁴ Larry J. Simon, "Intimate Enemies: Mendicant- Jewish Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Mediterranean Spain," in Steven J. McMichael and Susan E. Meyers, eds., *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 61-62.

¹⁵ To my knowledge, no scholars have argued that the debates did not occur. Determining their content, however, is impossible. Limor discusses the *Disputation*'s authenticity in "Missionary Merchants: Three Medieval Anti-Jewish Works from Genoa," *Journal of Medieval History* Vol. 17 (1991), 43-44. Since the *Disputation* was likely written before 1290, and is our only source for the specifics of Inghetto's arguments, I have in places conflated him and the text.

present a well-reasoned argument that was not outrageous in its claims. The events described in the *Disputation* fall into this reasoned category.¹⁶

Regarding BAV MS Lat. 4047, I have had to deal with another layer of methodological issues on top of those pertaining to the *Disputation*. Most importantly, the evidence present within the manuscript has constrained the historical questions that I might ask. The lack of evidence for Heinrich's audience, other than a statement of ownership for Archpriest Andreas, forces this study to deal with imagined readers created by the cohesion of the texts compiled within the manuscript. There are, however, several assertions that we can make. Though Andreas's name appears only once in the manuscript, as the commissioner of the works he likely had much say in textual selection, and a general desire to show how religious polemic and apocalyptic thought could intertwine. The glosses within the manuscript are in Heinrich's hand and support my overall conclusion that he wanted to guide his envisioned audience towards an understanding of how Joachite thought could intensify religious polemic. While Andreas quite possibly selected the manuscript's contents and directed the glossing, we will here deal primarily with Heinrich's perception of his audience as he was certainly responsible for physically copying the texts and marginalia.

Due to time and space constraints, I have been unable to view the other five late fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italian *Disputation* manuscripts containing the *Liber de concordia* excerpt.¹⁷ My main conclusion, then, that Heinrich saw how fully Joachite thought could collectively intensify this intertwined thirteenth-century Christian prophecy and anti-

¹⁶ The *Disputation*, for example, does not defame the Talmud or specific, well-known Jewish scholars' interpretations of scripture.

¹⁷ Limor lists Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS L III 127 (2175); Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, MS 194; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 4074; Milan, Archivio di Stato, MS Dono Galletti 35; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1548; Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio, MS m. r. III. 1. 25. See Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 39-109.

Judaic religious polemic, at present must remain a case study. I selected BAV MS Lat. 4047, a later copy of the *Disputation*, in part because the resources of the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* were easier to access than many of the smaller Italian libraries that house the *Disputation*'s other manuscripts. The relatively late composition of BAV MS Lat. 4047 also raises questions concerning the originality of its glosses. In my analysis, I have made conclusions that do not rely upon these *notae* being unique to the manuscript, although Ora Limor's critical edition gives no indication that they are copied from an earlier exemplar.¹⁸ Even with these methodological limitations, the *Disputation* and BAV MS Lat. 4047 can still tell us much about the connections between religious polemic and apocalyptic thought at the end of the Middle Ages.¹⁹

¹⁸ Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 67.

¹⁹ An obvious next step in research would be the editing of a critical edition of the *Liber de concordia* excerpt, and then examining how readers approached the relationship between this text and the *Disputation of Majorca*.

Chapter I: Inghetto Contardo and the Apocalypse of 1290

The *Disputation of Majorca* has immense potential to increase our knowledge of medieval intellectual movements. Most notably, Ora Limor has used it to illuminate a class of ‘missionary merchants’.²⁰ This object of this study is to demonstrate the interaction between anti-Judaic religious polemic and later medieval apocalyptic thought. As noted in the introduction, this section explores the nature of Inghetto Contardo’s anti-Judaic arguments and influences, and his participation in a thirteenth-century apocalyptic milieu. We will then examine Inghetto’s creation of a thoroughly intertwined vein of Christian anti-Judaic discourse and apocalyptic prophecy that is well-suited to raising fear among Jews that the Last Days are imminent.

A few brief remarks concerning the *Disputation*’s overall character are necessary before focusing on its prophecies. Most importantly, the text is Christocentric, meaning that nearly all the material in the *Disputation* focuses upon Christ and theological issues pertaining to him, rather than the doctrines and practices of Jews and Christians.²¹ This emphasis is perhaps most visible in the text’s apocalyptic passages, but is not found there exclusively. Rather, commonly cited passages from the Old Testament that Christians interpreted as foretelling Christ, such as Isaiah 7:14, “behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and she will call his name Emmanuel,” appear frequently.²² Inghetto often implements his arguments on Christ’s messianic status before making claims centered upon the Book of Revelation, since he must

²⁰ Limor, “Missionary Merchants,” 35-51.

²¹ Although the *Disputation* discusses Jewish food laws and circumcision, it does so with the understanding that Christ’s death fulfilled these laws, abrogating them in the minds of Christians.

²² Is. 7:14. “Ecce, virgo concipiet et pariet filium et vocabit nomen eius Emmanuel”; Cf. *Die Disputationen*, 194, 216, 219. For Vulgate Bible quotations, I will be citing the *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, Robert Weber, ed., (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).

prove that Christ is indeed the messiah before explaining his return during the Last Days. This passage from Isaiah and other often-cited proof texts serve as a foundation upon which Inghetto builds his arguments pertaining to Revelation.

The *Disputation* contains four debates between Inghetto and several learned Jews. The topics covered within are often common to Jewish-Christian dispute, among the most important of which is, as Ora Limor has shown, whether the Jews had rebuilt the Temple after the time of Nebuchadnezzar, or whether Christ would rebuild the city in the near future:

“Tell me, oh Jew, were not Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the time of the captivity of Nebuchadnezzar, and had not all the prophets spoken on that rebuilding, when Ezra and Ananias, having obtained the patronage of Tyro King of the Persians, rebuilt the Holy City and Temple? Respond to me! ‘So it was’, said the Jew. Inghetto said: Show therefore a prophet who spoke after this time, namely after the rebuilding of Jerusalem, concerning this or another rebuilding. You will be without doubt unable to demonstrate this. And see, O Jew, concerning that fountain, who ought to be born in Jerusalem in the time of the Messiah for the restoration of human kind: That fountain was none other except Jesus Christ, who is a living fountain for the people hoping and believing in him, since you know, Rabbi, that in Jerusalem there is or was at any time no other living fountain, except the Probatia Piscina.”²³

Inghetto’s discussion of the Temple’s rebuilding, moreover, leads us to the most important exegetical relationship in the *Disputation*, in both the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries: the relationship of the Book of Daniel to Revelation. Nearly all the prophecies in the *Disputation* connect these two books, and as we will see, they are clearly the two sources that Inghetto relies upon the most in demonstrating Christianity’s fulfillment of Jewish scripture.

²³*Die Disputationen*, 178. “Dic michi, o Iudee, nonne Ieremias et Ezechiel fuerunt in tempore captivitatis Nabuchodonosor, et omnes prophete locuti fuerunt de illa restauratione, quando Esdras et Ananias accepta gratia a Tyro rege Persarum rehedificaverunt civitatem sanctam et templum? Responde michi!’ ‘Ita fuit’, ait Iudeus. Dixit Ingetus: ‘Ostende ergo prophetam qui post illud tempus, videlicet post hedificationem Ierusalem, loquatur de ista sua seu de aliqua restauratione! Hoc sine dubio ostendere non poteris. Et vide, o Iudee, de fonte illo, qui nasci debuit in Ierusalem in tempore Messie ad restauracionem humani generis: Ille fons non fuit alius nisi Yesus Christus, qui est fons vivus sperantibus et credentibus in se, quoniam tu scis, Rabi, quod in Ierusalem aliquis fons vivus non est nec unquam fuit, nisi Probatia Piscina.’”

The restoration of the Temple during Nebuchadnezzar's reign that Inghetto speaks of came about as part of a divinely ordered Jewish atonement for previous impieties. Originally, God set the duration of the Jews' punishment at seventy "weeks of years" in captivity, as decreed in Daniel 9:24-27:

"Seventy weeks are brought to an end in regard to your people and your holy city, so that transgression is consummated, and the end of sins might be accepted, and iniquity is destroyed, and eternal justice is led forth, and both the vision and prophet are fulfilled, and the holiest of holies is anointed. Know therefore and pay attention: from the end of the sermon that Jerusalem will be built again, all the way to the leader messiah (*christus*), is seven weeks. And there will be sixty-two weeks, and the streets and walls will be rebuilt in the difficulties of the times. And after sixty-two weeks the messiah (*christus*) will be killed; and there will be nothing of him. And the people with the coming leader will scatter the city and the sanctuary, and the end of it will be devastation, and there will be desolation established until the end of the war. He will confirm, however, a pact for many in one week; and in half a week the host and sacrifice will be missing, and the destroyer of the abomination of desolation will be in the temple, and desolation will preserve the end all the way until the consummation."²⁴

From this lengthy passage, Christian exegetes commonly derived four hundred ninety years by equating each day in the seventy weeks with a year. These same exegetes, however, often extended the period of punishment indefinitely, to account for God's reaction to Jewish culpability in Christ's crucifixion. Indeed, the Jews remained in servitude because high medieval Christian thinkers saw prophecies in this of their own messiah's death after sixty-two weeks and a foretelling of Titus's siege of Jerusalem shortly thereafter, which served as the impetus of another, intertwined perpetual punishment for deicide. Interpreting further, these exegetes believed, as Inghetto argues in the *Disputation*, that the captivity would only end when

²⁴ Dan. 9:24-27. "Septuaginta ebdomades abbreviatae sunt super populum tuum et super urbem sanctam tuam, ut consummetur praevaricatio, et finem accipiat peccatum, et deleatur iniquitas, et adducatur iustitia sempiterna, et impleatur visio et prophetae, et ungatur Sanctus sanctorum. Scito ergo et animadvertite: ab exitu sermonis ut iterum aedificetur Hierusalem usque ad christum ducem, ebdomades septem, et hebdomades sexaginta duae erunt et rursum aedificabitur platea et muri in angustia temporum, et post ebdomades sexaginta duas occidetur christus et non erit eius, et civitatem et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo, et finis eius vastitas, et usque ad finem belli statuta desolatio, confirmabit autem pactum multis ebdomadas una; et in dimidio ebdomadis deficiet hostia et sacrificium, et erit in templo abominatio desolationis, et usque ad consummationem et finem perservabit desolatio."

Christ returned during the Last Days. We see then that in employing this exegesis on the Jewish captivity and Christ's death, and indeed in giving a Christocentric interpretation of the Temple's destruction, Inghetto adhered to concepts that are prevalent in both Christian apocalypticism and anti-Judaic religious polemic. His implementation of the passage on the restoration of the Temple, moreover, and its consequences for Jews, is particularly illustrative of intertwined polemical-apocalypticism because it emphasizes the Jews' deicide through an imminent Christian apocalypse that will avenge Christ's crucifixion.

Alongside Inghetto's commonplace polemical implementation of the events surrounding the Temple's rebuilding is his more innovative employment of the number 1290, which figures prominently in calculating the end of the "abomination of desolation" of Daniel 12:7-13.²⁵

When Daniel inquires about the length of time remaining until this abomination's completion, a linen clad man tells him:

"'Because in a time, two times, and a half time; and when the dispersion of the band of the holy people shall be complete, all these things will be completed.' And I (Daniel) heard and I did not understand and I said: 'My lord, what will happen after these things?' And he said: 'Go, Daniel, because the discussions have been sealed and closed all the way until a predetermined time. Many will be chosen and cleansed and as if of fire tested, and the impious will act impiously, nor will all the impious understand, on the contrary, the learned will understand. And from the time, when the perpetual sacrifice shall be carried away, and the abomination of the destroyer shall have been placed, is one thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he, who expects and perseveres all the way to one thousand three hundred and thirty five days. You, however, go to the end and rest, and you will stand firm in your fate in the end of days.'"²⁶

²⁵ Interestingly, Peter Olivi, a Spiritual Franciscan writing in the 1290s, remarked that this apocalyptic expectation based solely upon Jerome's exegesis was simplistic. See David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 139.

²⁶ Dan. 12:7-13. "'Quia in tempus, tempora, et dimidium temporis; et cum completa fuerit dispersio manus populi sancti, complebuntur universa haec.' Et ego audiui et non intellexi et dixi: 'Domine mi, quid erit post haec?' Et ait: 'Vade, Daniel, quia clausi sunt signatique sermones usque ad tempus prefinium. Eligentur et dealbabuntur et quasi ignis probuntur multi, et impie agent impii, neque intellegent omnes impii; porro docti intelligent. Et a tempore, cum ablatum fuerit iuge sacrificium, et posita fuerit abominatio vastatoris, dies mille ducenti nonaginta. Beatus, qui exspectat et pervenit usque ad dies mille trecentos triginta quinque. Tu autem vade ad finem et requiesce; et stabis in sorte tua in fine dierum.'" In Inghetto's mind, the yoke of sacrifice must refer to Christ's birth.

For Inghetto, this passage is particularly powerful because he is disputing only three and a half years before 1290, when the passage's arguments would be strongest among a Jewish audience whom he likely believed would favor a literal reading of scripture. Employing standard Christian exegesis, Inghetto interprets each day as one year, with the 1290 days representing the year of the Second Coming and 1335 days being the year of the Last Judgment.

This scheme of 1290 and 1335 days provided precise dates for the onset of the Apocalypse and Last Judgment. Further interpretation was needed, however, for the time between the two established years: there was a surplus of forty-five days, or years, between the onset of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgment. Robert Lerner has written a series of articles discussing this problem, and has noted that Saint Jerome was the first exegete to provide a solution by proposing a short period of peace between the 1290 and 1335 days in which the Saints' wills would be tested.²⁷ This tradition became especially prevalent in writers influenced by Joachim of Fiore, among whom it served as the basis for predictions of the millennial kingdom described in Revelation 20:4-7.²⁸ Inghetto, applying this exegesis towards his polemic, emphasizes one of the kingdom's distinguishing features, the ultimate conversion of the Jews, and on one occasion, mentions this forty-five day period as a final chance for Jews to accept baptism before the onset of the Last Judgment.²⁹ The events described in the *Disputation*, then, provide a new view on the polemical implementation of this forty-five day period, and show that

²⁷ Robert E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints," 102; Lerner, "Joachim of Fiore's Breakthrough to Chiliasm," *Cristianesimo nella Storia* Vol. 6 (1985), 489-512; Lerner, "The Medieval Return of the Thousand-Year Sabbath," in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 51-71. See also Jerome, *Commentariorum in Daniele Libri III (IV)*, CCSL Vol. 75A (Turnholt: Brepols, 1964), 941-945.

²⁸ On literal interpretations of the millennial kingdom, which are not present in the *Disputation* or BAV MS Lat. 4047, see Lerner, "The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath."

²⁹ *Die Disputationen*, 274.

the concept was present beyond the realms of traditional biblical exegesis and apocalyptic commentary.³⁰

Equally important to the 1290 and 1335 days, and the forty-five day interval between them, is the number three and a half, which Inghetto derives from the “time, times, and half time” in Daniel 12:7, the same chapter from which he derives 1290, 1335, and forty five.³¹ Three and a half had numerological significance on three major levels: The *Disputation* began in May 1286, approximately three and half years from 1290; and Christians generally believed Antichrist’s reign would last three and a half years, meaning that in 1286 he was already present on Earth and his persecutions would soon begin. Moreover, 1290 days is approximately three and a half years.³²

Throughout the entire disputation, then, Daniel 12:7-13, with its wealth of numbers that had apocalyptic significance in 1286, forms the heart of Inghetto Contardo’s argument. The main contention of the *Disputation*, feeding on this prophecy, questions whether the Temple will be rebuilt and focuses also on Christ’s impending arrival in three and a half years where he will battle Antichrist, who at that point will have ravaged the Earth.³³ In a broader eschatological sense, Inghetto believes the onset of events in the Book of Revelation will fulfill the prophecies described in Daniel. This theme of Christian completion of Judaic eschatology is present in nearly all the *Disputation*’s arguments, even those that are not obviously apocalyptic. The entire text, relying on the connections between Revelation and Daniel, builds gradually towards the idea that the world will end soon, and that Jews who do not convert to Christianity have little

³⁰ Lerner, “Refreshment of the Saints,” focuses upon these two types of writing.

³¹ Dan. 12:7-13.

³² *Die Disputationen*, 169.

³³ Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 14-15.

hope of salvation.³⁴ It is in this combination of apocalypticism and religious polemic, shown most openly in Inghetto's implementation of the Daniel prophecy and suited perfectly for the later thirteenth century, that the *Disputation of Majorca* tells us most about medieval thought.

With these thirteenth-century prophecies in mind, we can begin to examine the *Disputation* for evidence of Inghetto's personal contacts, in order to discover the sources of his arguments. Inghetto was a widely travelled merchant, and on one occasion when curious Jewish disputants inquired about the source of his arguments, he claims to have held debates in both Provence and Alexandria:

"...But I learned these things which I know from Jews and through the grace of God and of the Messiah our Lord Jesus Christ. And I say well to you, that in my time I have had conflict with many Jews, and especially in Provence and in Alexandria of Egypt, with that Jew Angelo, whom the Jews from Syria call 'the King of Jerusalem,' similarly also with Beloasem from Babylon, who is, if he is alive, the greatest doctor among the Jews.'"³⁵

The ambiguity in Inghetto's references to Angelo and Beloasem makes a concrete identification difficult, but Limor believes the first may refer to a relative of the Exilarchs of Damascus named Engel, whom Syrian Jews referred to as the King of Jerusalem, while the latter may have been a Kabbalist.³⁶

³⁴ Christians placed the Ultimate Conversion of Jews (and other non-Christians) anywhere in their Apocalyptic timeframes, from just before the arrival of Antichrist to the Last Judgment. For further reading, see Daniel, "Abbot Joachim of Fiore and the Conversion of the Jews"; Lerner, *The Feast of St. Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

³⁵ *Die Disputationen*, 254-55. "Sed hec que scio didici a Iudeis et per gratiam dei et Messie domini nostri Yesu Christi. Et bene dico vobis, quod in tempore meo cum multis Iudeis habui conflictum, et specialiter in Provincia et in Alexandria Egypti cum illo angelo Iudeo, quem Iudei de Syria vocabant, 'regem Ierusalem,' similiter et cum illo beloasem de Babillonia, qui est, si vivit, maximus doctor inter Iudeos.'"

³⁶ Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, n. 255. "Der erste davon wird apostrophiert als 'jener jüdische Engel,' den die syrischen Juden 'König von Jerusalem' nannten." Dieser Mann könnte ein Angehöriger der Fürsten-Familie aus Damaskus sein, einer der Seitenlinien des Exilarchats...In der Handschrift G steht beloasem, was man als 'Baal-Schem,' d.h. 'Kabbalist,' verstehen könnte. Auch der Stazbau legt eine 'Berufsbezeichnung' eher nahe als einen Eigennamen. 'Baale-Schem,' die sich auf magische Kombinationen von Gottesnamen spezialisierten, werden in Quellen aus dem 13. Jahrhundert erwähnt; bekannt ist unter anderen ein Kabbalist aus Damaskus."

It is indeed plausible that Inghetto derived arguments from Jews, even though he lacks knowledge of Hebrew and does not mention the Talmud once during the *Disputation*.³⁷ We should note that Inghetto's main argument, that the Book of Daniel foretells the events of Revelation arriving in 1290, does not require Talmudic evidence to be effective. These references to past debates, however, have a clear purpose in Inghetto's argumentative strategy. In acknowledging Jewish masters as a source, Inghetto puts the Jews he is currently debating in a precarious situation. Inghetto can now claim that if Jews do not agree with him, they will also be disagreeing with their own masters. The Jews show genuine interest in what these learned men have told Inghetto on previous occasions, but the *Disputation* gives no examples of the specific arguments that occurred in Provence and Alexandria.³⁸

Furthermore, the Jews' inquiry into the source of Inghetto's arguments demonstrates an interest in biblical knowledge that brings both parties together in intellectual pursuit, where praise of an opponent's superior scriptural knowledge exists alongside polemic. Indeed, on numerous occasions in the *Disputation* both Inghetto and the Jews complement one another's high level of biblical understanding.³⁹ On a very plausible level, a desire for academic pursuit that exists outside the educational or ecclesiastical institutions traditionally associated with the thirteenth-century fuels these peaceful exchanges.⁴⁰ Of course, a vein of polemic and apocalyptic thought pervades this text. Indeed, in a separate instance, two Jews seem both in awe of and openly distressed about their inability to counter Inghetto's skill in dispute,

³⁷ Limor, "Missionary Merchants," 39; Simon, "Intimate Enemies," 62. See also Amos Funkenstein, "Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Later Middle Ages," *Viator* Vol. 2 (1971), 373-382.

³⁸ Limor, *Die Disputationen*, 256.

³⁹ See *Die Disputationen*, 268 (Inghetto complementing Jewish understanding); 263 (A Jew complementing Inghetto); See also Limor, "Missionary Merchants," 40.

⁴⁰ Inghetto, for example, asks Jews for a Latin translation of the Hebrew account of the famous 1263 Barcelona Disputation. It is also interesting to note, however, that Inghetto had previously been unfamiliar with this widely known dispute. See *Die Disputationen*, 229-30.

proclaiming, “There is in this land a certain Genoese merchant, whom we are unable to resist in (religious) law, nor can our greater master.”⁴¹

Along with these plausible encounters with Jews, the *Disputation* reveals the influence of earlier Christian writers. St. Jerome’s Daniel exegesis is the example most germane to Inghetto’s apocalypticism, but our merchant also incorporates arguments from other Church Fathers and from popular anti-Judaic texts such as that of the Gregorian reformer Peter Damien.⁴² Limor has also shown that the *Disputation* contains several passages likewise found in twelfth-century *Disputation of Ceuta*, including those proclaiming that the Antichrist would reign a ‘time, two times, and half time’ as predicted in Daniel.⁴³ We should here note, however, that this exegesis is common to Christian apocalyptic thought and its presence in both the *Disputation of Majorca* and the *Disputation of Ceuta* is not overly surprising.

As an active merchant-disputant in the Mediterranean world, Inghetto undoubtedly was aware of Franciscan missionary activities among Jews and Muslims. Limor has analyzed several occasions in which Jews praise Inghetto’s skill in debate and proclaim him superior to the mendicants, implying conflict between merchants and friars.⁴⁴ Inghetto’s method provides an apparently stark contrast to the religious orders, whose contradictory sermons the Jews deem ineffective: “Thus your Friars Minor and Preacher do. Because if anyone should say anything rational to them, they will respond to it with various sermons, just as each one says according to

⁴¹ *Die Disputationen*, 265. “Est in terra ista quidam mercator Ianuensis, cui non possumus in lege resistere, nec magister noster maior.”

⁴² Damien’s letter to Honestus against the Jews was most likely written in 1040 or 1041 when Abbot Guido of Pomposa invited Damiani to teach at his monastery, and is available in Letter 1 of Petrus Damiani, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani: Teil 1*, ed. Kurt Reindel, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1983).

⁴³ *Die Disputationen*, 144 (Ceuta), 271-74 (Majorca); Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 32. I agree wholeheartedly with Limor that the *Disputation* contains arguments drawn from the *Disputation of Ceuta*, as well as the numerous Church Fathers and Peter Damien.

⁴⁴ *Die Disputationen*, 256-57; and Limor, “Missionary Merchants,” 40.

his opinion. And all the wise men do it similarly, since it would be grave that all doctors would be of one opinion.”⁴⁵ Inghetto, however, also leads a recently converted Jew named Astruch Isaiahs to a Franciscan monastery, telling the monks there to “teach him in the New Testament and in the Catholic faith, and let us all unanimously have peace in Christ, which he himself who is blessed forever deemed worthy to bring us. Amen.”⁴⁶ Inghetto’s contact with friars such as these could easily have involved the exchange of arguments that are effective in polemic, and he even claims to have been active in Provence, a hotbed of Spiritual Franciscan activity in the later thirteenth century.⁴⁷ Moreover, both Inghetto and several Franciscan authors employ Jerome’s concept of a forty-five day period of peace in their writings.⁴⁸ Although we lack a concrete example of Inghetto working from a Franciscan text, he was undoubtedly aware of their missionary efforts, and likely familiar with their polemical material.

We see, then, that Inghetto had a wide range of influences, including Jews who may or may not have supplied him with specific arguments, earlier Christian authorities, and likely

⁴⁵ *Die Disputationen*, 256-57. “Dixerunt Iudei: ‘Ita faciunt vestri fratres Minores et Predicatores. Quia si aliquis eis dixerit aliquam rationem, respondebunt ei variis sermonibus, sicut unusquisque loquitur ad suam opinionem. Et id simile faciunt omnes sapientes, quoniam grave esset, quod omnes doctores unius opinionis.” See also Limor, “Missionary Merchants”; Simon, “Intimate Enemies,” 61-66.

⁴⁶ *Die Disputationen*, 281. “Docete eum in testamento novo et in fide catholica, et unanimiter omnes in Christo pacem habeamus, quam ipse nobis prestare dignetur qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.” The monastery to which Inghetto leads Astruch is not Ramon Lull’s well-known school Miramar, but rather a Franciscan house in modern Palma. See John R. H. Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses* (New York: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1983), 285; See also Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, n. 329.

⁴⁷ A parchment court document from 1282 proves Inghetto’s presence in Nîmes as a Genoese Consul. Indeed, the nine notarial documents attesting to Inghetto’s existence demonstrate that he was well-known among Genoese merchants. Finally, these latter documents mention personal contact with Porchetto Salvaygo, author of an anti-Judaic polemic, the *Victoria Porchetti*, which was based upon Ramon Martí’s *Pugio Fidei*. Unlike Inghetto, Salvaygo and Martí employed large amounts of evidence from post-biblical Jewish writings. See “Missionary Merchants,” 40 (Nîmes), 44 (Salvaygo).

⁴⁸ David Burr, “Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse,” in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 95. The manuscripts that Burr links to this forty-five day period are Oxford, Merton College MS. 122, which is likely authored by Iohannes Russel, and two Assisi manuscripts of William of Meliton, Assisi MSS. 81, 122. For further bibliographic information on these manuscripts, see Burr, “Mendicant Readings,” n. 13-14. Burr also analyzes these issues at length in *Olivi’s Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary*.

Franciscan missionaries. The modes of thought shared by these groups, moreover, clearly spread with little effort around the Mediterranean. With all of this in mind, we can begin to discuss how Inghetto's implementation of thoroughly intertwined Christian eschatology and anti-Judaic discourse relates to the thirteenth-century apocalyptic milieu in which he participated. Perhaps the best source for corroborating the placement of Inghetto's polemical prophecies in a common apocalyptic environment is his contemporary Salimbene, a Franciscan chronicler who discusses at length several political events mentioned in the *Disputation*. As an early follower of Joachim of Fiore who professed disillusionment with the abbot following the failed prediction of the Apocalypse in 1260, Salimbene had clearly thought about the Last Days for many years when he wrote his *Cronica* in the 1280s.⁴⁹ In the later thirteenth century, this chronicler continues to relate worldly events, such as earthquakes and eclipses, to the Book of Revelation.⁵⁰ Like Salimbene, Inghetto sees signs of the Apocalypse in his immediate world, though he goes further than the Franciscan in proclaiming a precise prediction of when the world will end.

Salimbene describes these apocalyptically significant events of the 1280s in better detail than Inghetto does, and there are striking parallels in their works. For example, Salimbene discusses the deaths of King Peter III of Aragon and Charles of Anjou and takes interest in the war that these two kings fought, while likewise noting the deaths of Phillip III and Pope Martin IV:

“And note that in modern time all kings of France are called either Louis or Phillip. Note also that in a short time the ecclesiastical faction was condemned vehemently and held grave detriment and sustained hard misfortune. And first, because the son of King Charles had been

⁴⁹ Delno Cloyde West, Jr., “Joachimism and Fra Salimbene,” Ph. D. diss. (University of California, Los Angeles 1970), 3.

⁵⁰ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica II a. 1250-1287*, Guiseppe Scalia, ed., CCCM Vol. 125a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 826. The entries are listed for 1284. West has noted that Salimbene provides a scientific explanation for earthquakes, but still sees them as tribulations foreshadowing the Last Days. See West, “Joachimism and Fra Salimbene,” 173.

captured in a naval battle on the sea by the men of Peter of Aragon and was detained in a jail in Sicily. Second, that King Charles finished the last day a little time after the capture of his son. Third, that Pope Martin the Fourth entered the way of all flesh in the same year. Fourth, that the King of France did that same thing. And all these very things were done in about one year, namely 1285.”⁵¹

Although this passage lacks reference to Revelation, its description of these deaths at the very highest levels of society creates a sense of chaos that characterizes Salimbene’s belief that the Last Days will soon arrive.

The *Disputation* briefly mentions the deaths of these four powerful men in Inghetto’s first debate, in response to Jewish claims that the messiah (*messia*) cannot be God (*deus*).⁵² Inghetto attempts to counter the Jews’ claim by noting that Isaiah 9:6 mentions a small child born for Christians, who is a strong God: “unto us a small child was born and a son was given to us, and the principate was made on his shoulders, and his name will be admirable counselor, a strong god, father of the future world and the prince of peace.”⁵³ Continuing to expound upon this verse, he states, “Jesus according to divinity is God, and according to humanity Christ is human, and he is called Christ (*Christus*) in Greek, in Hebrew Messiah and in Latin Savior, and no one is a savior except God.”⁵⁴ As his argument progresses, moreover, Inghetto clearly states that these four deaths imply that Christ, the strongest King, will soon return:

“Inghetto responded: ‘And who is a strong lord except God? Because he who dies is not a strong lord. Did you not hear, that in a short time great kings on Earth died? King Charles died and the

⁵¹ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica II*, 891-892. “Et nota quod moderno tempore omnes reges Francie aut Lodoyci aut Phillipi dicuntur. Nota etiam quod in brevi tempore pars ecclesiastica damnificata est vehementer et grave habuit detrimentum et durum sustinuit infortunium. Et primo, quia captus fuit filius regis Karoli navali bello in mari ab hominibus Petri Aragonum et in Sicilia detentus in carcere. Secundo, quia rex Karolus post breve tempus post captionem filii ultimum diem clausit. Tertio, quia papa Martinus quartus eodem anno viam est universe carnis ingressus. Quarto, quia rex Francie fecit id ipsum. Et omnia ista quasi in uno anno fuerunt, scilicet MCCLXXXV.”

⁵² *Die Disputationen*, 225-27.

⁵³ *Die Disputationen*, 226. “Parvulus enim natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis, et factus est principatus super humerum eius, et vocabitur nomen eius admirabilis consiliarius, deus fortis, pater futuri seculi et princeps pacis.” This passage is common to Christian anti-Judaic polemics.

⁵⁴ *Die Disputationen*, 225. “Yesus secundum divinitatem deus est, et secundum humanitatem homo est Christus, et Christus Grece, Hebrayce dicitur Messias et Latine salvator, et nemo salvator nisi deus.”

King of France and the King of Aragon, and all who were the greatest in the world (Pope Martin IV). Seek their strength! They find out now, if they did well in their life because even strong men have come in the judgment of a just lord. Whence, O Jews, I want you to know, that no one is a strong lord except God.”⁵⁵

Similar to Salimbene, therefore, Inghetto sees the events in his surrounding world as eschatological indicators of Christ’s Second Coming. Both the *Cronica* and the *Disputation* emphasize the short time in which these four deaths occurred, and use similar language to do so: Salimbene writes *in brevi tempore* and *post breve tempus*, while Inghetto says *in terra parvo tempore*.⁵⁶ While Inghetto lacks Salimbene’s details of the kings’ careers, he nevertheless expounds more openly than the Franciscan on the deaths’ apocalyptic significance.

Inghetto likewise points to a lack of Jewish political power in his world as a sign that the Christian Apocalypse is imminent. As proof, he draws upon the punishment of the seventy weeks of years in captivity in Daniel 9:24-27. Inghetto introduces the argument for an extended Jewish captivity quite early in the *Disputation* and well before he discusses the importance of Jerome’s Daniel 12:7-13 exegesis. In employing the common Christian interpretation of the seventy weeks of years, and their prolongation, before discussing 1290 and 1335, Inghetto again encourages the Jews to relate their own misfortunes to Christian eschatology:

“But you, who remained, are evidence for us, and concerning you mention is not made just as if you were not. Whence undoubtedly you ought to believe and understand that the prophet spoke about this captivity, and not on that of Nebuchadnezzar, since you stood in that captivity seventy years, just as Jeremiah said, on account of the calf which you adored. But you will stand in this eternally, because ‘your hands are full of blood,’ just as Isaiah said in the end of the chapter, because your fathers crucified the Messiah, Lord Jesus Christ.”⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Die Disputationen*, 226-27. “Respondit Ingetus: ‘Et quis est dominus fortis nisi deus? Quia qui moritur non est dominus fortis. Non audistis, quod magni reges mortui sunt in terra parvo tempore? Mortuus est rex Karolus et rex Francie at rex Aragonum, et qui omnes maximi in mundo erant. Querite fortitudinem eorum! Si benefecerunt in vita sua, nunc inveniunt, quia in iudicio iusti domini et fortes venerunt. Unde, o Iudei, vos nosce (sic) volo, quod nemo dominus fortis nisi deus.’”

⁵⁶ Cf. n. 51 (Salimbene); n. 55 (*Disputation*).

⁵⁷ *Die Disputationen*, 215. “Sed vos, qui remansistis, ad testimonium nostrum estis, et de vobis non fit mencio sicut non essetis. Unde indubitanter credere et intelligere debetis prophetam dixisse de ista captivitate, et

While Inghetto here specifically states that he is not referring to the captivity of Nebuchadnezzar, as he did earlier, he clearly intends to alter the interpretation of the seventy weeks of years into perpetual punishment for Christ's crucifixion. This important point reminds the Jews of their supposed guilt, and explains what Inghetto perceives as the weak state of thirteenth-century Judaism.⁵⁸

In Inghetto's discussion of the deaths of Peter III of Aragon and Phillip III, and indeed in his employment of the seventy weeks of years as an explanation for Judaism's weak state, we see that he is active in the same apocalyptic milieu as Salimbene. Both the *Disputation* and the *Cronica* highlight the apocalyptic significance of these political events, and encourage their readers to seek out signs of the Apocalypse in their surroundings. As we begin to analyze Inghetto's implementation of anti-Judaic polemic mixed seamlessly with apocalyptic thought, we must remember that Inghetto sees manifestations of these prophecies' fulfillment in his immediate world.

We should here note again that familiar Christian anti-Judaic discourse frames and indeed surrounds Inghetto's more innovative apocalyptic arguments on the year 1290.⁵⁹ In addition to

non de illa Nabuchodonosor, quoniam in illa captivitate stetistis annis LXX, sicut dixit Ieremias, propter vitulum quem adoravistis. In ista autem in perpetuum stabitis, quia manus vestre sanguine plene sunt, sicut dixit Ysayas in fine capituli, in eo quod Messiam crucifixerunt patres vestri, dominum Yesum Christum." Here Inghetto seems to refer to Augustine's Doctrine of Jewish Witness, which is based upon an interpretation of Psalm 59 (58):12, "Ne occidas eos, ne quando obliviscatur populus meus; disperge illos in virtute tua et prosterne eos, protector meus, Domine." Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) treats this doctrine and its later medieval incarnations at length.

⁵⁸ Although we also see one earlier example of Jews attempting to demonstrate through contemporary events that the time of the messiah cannot be near. Specifically, Inghetto's opponents point to the war of the Sicilian Vespers, and the Crusades, as evidence that contradicts Isaiah 2:4, "In the time of the messiah they will turn their swords into plowshares, and their lances into pruning hooks, and the race will not raise a sword against a race." The Latin reads "...et conflagunt gladios suos in vomeres et lanceas suas in falces; non levabit gens contra gentem gladium..." Inghetto responds that Christ will fulfill what is unfulfilled in the present. See *Die Disputationen*, 198-99.

⁵⁹ I here draw parallels to Thomas E. Burman's scholarship on Latin translations of the Qur'an, which were often framed in a polemical context. See Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, 89.

his traditional Christian interpretation of the seventy weeks of years, our merchant also relies upon common biblical typology to demonstrate Christianity's fulfillment of Judaism. When discussing the *Disputation's* paraphrase of Jacob's speech to his sons in Genesis 49:10, which reads, "the scepter will not be taken from Judah, nor the leader from his thigh, until he who is about to be sent comes, indeed he is the expectation of the gentiles," Inghetto refers to Jacob as "your patriarch Jacob, and not yours- but ours!"⁶⁰ Jacob's speech is, in Inghetto's mind, a foretelling of Christ's arrival, and Jacob himself has been appropriated as a Christian figure. This passage is even followed by his Jewish interlocutors asking why Christ did not return during the seventy weeks of captivity, which from the Jewish point of view have not been extended indefinitely: "why did he not come, when we stood for seventy years in the captivity of Babylon, since then we held neither the scepter nor the leadership?"⁶¹ The response, as we should expect, is that the Jews held the scepter during the time of the prophets, but lost it upon the arrival of Christ.⁶²

Inghetto, moreover, links the passing of the scepter with the seventy weeks of years in captivity. Both are common to Christian anti-Judaic discourse, and both examples explain the Jewish loss of political power that is in turn a sign of the Apocalypse. Inghetto even notes the force of the passage on the seventy weeks in corroborating Jacob as a precursor of Christ, in a rebuttal to the Jews' argument that they will regain the scepter when their messiah returns: "and I shall demonstrate to you the day by name, and the time came to the day just as the prophet

⁶⁰ *Die Disputationen*, 234. "Iacob patriarcha vester- et non vester sed noster!- dixit: Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda nec dux de femore eius, donec veniat qui mittendus est, ipse enim expectatio gentium." Cf. Gen. 49: 10. Inghetto's statement emphasizes Jacob's common typological foretelling of Christ.

⁶¹ *Die Disputationen*, 234. "Cur non venit, quando stetimus LXX annis in captivitate Babillonis, quoniam tunc nec sceptrum nec ducatum habebamus?"

⁶² *Die Disputationen*, 235.

said.”⁶³ The date Inghetto refers to here is either that of Christ’s birth, or more likely that of his crucifixion, but in either case the focus remains upon the Christian messiah. The *Disputation* then goes on to discuss the original meaning of the seventy weeks of years, and their prolongation as punishment for Christ’s death. This amalgamation of two common anti-Judaic arguments serves as proof for Inghetto that the Jews not only ignored Christ’s messianic status, but also crucified their true savior. Moreover, this corroboration of passages from Genesis and Daniel, and their connections to the New Testament, are especially important because in this particular debate, the Jews are Samaritans and claim on several occasions that they do not consider Daniel a prophet. Here especially, Inghetto must prove the Book of Daniel’s textual validity by building connections between it and Torah passages such as Genesis 49:10.⁶⁴

What is perhaps most interesting about the *Disputation* is the manner in which it combines anti-Judaic religious polemic, and the exegesis common to it regarding the passages from Daniel 9:24-27 and Genesis 49:10, with the specific calculation of the year in which the Apocalypse will arrive. Inghetto’s goal in proclaiming 1290 as the onset of the Second Coming is to strike fear into Jews, and to prove through their own scriptures that Christ is the messiah. This fright is most prominent in the debate Inghetto has with Astruch Isaiahs, where he again connects the rebuilding of the Temple to the captivity in Daniel 9:24-27. On this occasion, however, Astruch specifically asks Inghetto how the 1290 days fit with the other prophecies: “‘Let you tell me: where do you find and where is it able to be found, that we ought to stand as captives always, and that Jerusalem ought not to be rebuilt, just as you said to our Jews?’

⁶³ *Die Disputationen*, 236. “Et ego monstrabo vobis diem nominatim, et ad diem et tempus venit, sicut propheta dixit.”

⁶⁴ *Die Disputationen*, 241-242; Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, n. 205a. Samaritans likely came into religious conflict with Judah when King Manasseh brought Sadducean teachings to Samaria around 430 BCE. The Samaritans adhered solely to the Torah. See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Isidore Singer, ed., Vol. 10 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1905), 672-73.

Likewise the Jew said: ‘Let you tell me: when will the time concerning 1290 be completed and filled, just as is read in Daniel? Respond to me about these things, if it pleases you.’ ”⁶⁵

Inghetto obliges, explaining how the prophecy on the seventy weeks of years has been superseded by perpetual servitude, before noting that the 1290 days refer to the time of Christ’s battle with Antichrist: “Moreover, this is understood concerning that time of Antichrist, whom the prophet establishes (*ponit*) is going to reign in a time, two times, and a half time. And if you seek well, three and a half years are completed in 1290.”⁶⁶

Inghetto has by this point explained several instances in which Christ fulfills Old Testament passages, such as Genesis 49:10, and can now make bolder Biblical interpretations that are less commonly found in Christian anti-Judaic polemic. Most importantly, the debate with Astruch contains at least one exegetical concept that the others lack.⁶⁷ Within these arguments lies the text’s sole reference to the forty-five day period of peace between the onset of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment, which became quite common in apocalyptic exegesis and commentaries in the later Middle Ages. Inghetto explains the implications of the period of peace to Astruch, and specifically notes that it is a period for the conversion of Jews in a particularly powerful statement:

“Whence, O Jew, just as I said to you, he (Antichrist) will kill the people of the saints, namely the people believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, who is Prince of Princes and Lord of the reigning peoples, and he himself (Christ) shall wear him down with his judgment, and shall make all his learned servants saved. And when the judgment of the Lord shall have come upon him, then all will know their error and they will adore our Lord Jesus Christ. And you, Jews, similarly will

⁶⁵ *Die Disputationen*, 268. “‘Dicatis michi: Ubi invenistis seu inveniri potest, quod semper captivos stare debeamus, et quod Ierusalem non debeat rehedificari, sicut dixistis nostris Iudeis?’ Item dixit Iudeus: ‘Dicatis michi: Quando impletum sive completum erit tempus de MCCLXXXX, prout in Daniele legitur? Ad hec, si vobis placet, respondete michi.’”

⁶⁶ *Die Disputation*, 272. “Hoc autem intelligitur de tempore illo Antichristi, quem regnaturum ponit propheta tempus et tempora et dimidium. Et si bene queritis, anni tres et dimidium complentur in diebus MCCLXXXX.

⁶⁷ Astruch’s conversion also contains the *Disputation*’s only reference to miracles occurring in the events leading up to a Jew’s baptism. See *Die Disputationen*, 281-283.

know the advent of the Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ. But within forty-five days it will be proclaimed through the whole world, so that all will believe in God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ his son, who deigns to make us saved, and is propitious to us all the way until the end. Amen.”⁶⁸

In expounding on these forty-five days, Inghetto offers a brief glimpse of the rewards that await the ‘people of the saints’ following their tribulations. Inghetto likely believes Astruch will associate these people of the saints with the people mentioned in Daniel 7:27: “moreover, let the kingdom and power and the greatness of the realm which are beneath every heaven, be given to the holy people (*populo sanctorum*)...,”⁶⁹ which as we will see, has a strong presence in BAV MS Lat. 4074. Here, however, the forty-five day period, which as stated before was often interpreted in years, serves as a final chance for Jews to repent and convert before the Last Judgment.⁷⁰ Indeed, this passage is Inghetto’s last argument before Astruch decides to undergo baptism.

Upon his conversion, Astruch and Inghetto join together to engage in a brief dispute with yet another Jew.⁷¹ Here again we see Inghetto’s interpretation of the 1290 days, and the forceful implementation of an apocalyptic vein of religious polemic as a means of creating trepidation about the Last Days. When he hears Inghetto’s arguments, the Jew immediately begins to fear

⁶⁸*Die Disputationen*, 273-74. “Unde, o Iudee, sicut vobis dixi, populum sanctorum occidet, id est credentes in dominum nostrum Yesum Christum, qui est princeps principum et dominus dominantium, et ipse conteret eum suo iudicio, et doctos servos suos salvos faciet. Et quando iudicium domini super eum venerit, tunc omnes cognoscent errorem illum et adorabunt dominum nostrum Yesum Christum. Et vos, Iudei, similiter cognoscetis adventum Messie, domini nostri Yesu Christi. Infra vero dies XLV erit divulgatum per universum seculum, ita ut omnes credent in deum patrem et dominum nostrum Yesum Christum filium eius, qui nos salvos facere dignetur, et propitius sit nobis semper usque in finem. Amen.”

⁶⁹Dan. 7:27. “...regnum autem et potestas et magnitudo regni, quae sunt subter omne caelum, detur populo sanctorum Altissimi...”

⁷⁰On this forty-five day period, see Lerner, “Refreshment of the Saints”; Lerner, *The Feast of St. Abraham*; E. Randolph Daniel, “Abbot Joachim of Fiore and the Conversion of the Jews,” 1-21.

⁷¹It is relatively common practice for a recent convert to denounce his former religion openly. In this instance, Majorcan Jews become enraged when they see Astruch. See *Die Disputationen*, 284.

that he has little time to live, and accepts baptism.⁷² As in earlier passages, Inghetto stresses the importance of the “time, two times, and half time”⁷³ of Daniel, and likewise notes that

Revelation assigns apocalyptic significance to a period of the same length:

“Inghetto said to him: ‘The love of sons and the desire of usury and that cursed sin holds you. If only you had (the Book of) Revelation in translation and you would find these things which you seek! Because in Revelation it speaks on a ‘time, times, and a half time’; and similarly on a vision of four animals, just as is found in the prophet Ezekiel.’”⁷⁴

Although this passage lacks reference to the forty-five day period of peace, it nevertheless claims that the prophecies in Revelation clarify the eschatological fulfillment of the Old Testament.

Inghetto’s overall argument generally centers upon Daniel and its numerology, but here he also draws similar connections between Ezekiel’s first vision of four beasts and the Christian Apocalypse. Moreover, his method draws upon apocalyptic material from several Old Testament books, in hopes that the cumulative effect of Revelation’s connections to several Jewish prophets will increase its validity among an audience unfamiliar with uniquely Christian scripture.⁷⁵

Throughout the *Disputation*, then, Inghetto’s overall argument focuses on proving the Book of Revelation’s clarification of Old Testament prophecies and apocalyptic visions, the most significant of which is the prophecy concerning the 1290 and 1335 days in Daniel 12:7-13. These prophecies are used to create a sense of fear of punishment for Jewish culpability in

⁷² *Die Disputationen*, 287-88.

⁷³ Dan. 12:7.

⁷⁴ *Die Disputationen*, 288. “Dixit ei Ingetus: ‘Amor filiorum et cupiditas usure et peccatum illud maledictum vos tenet. Utinam haberetis in translatione Apocalipsim et inveniretis ea que queritis! Quia in Apocalipsi loquitur de ‘tempore, et tempora, et dimidium temporis’; et similiter de visione animalium quatuor, sicut in Ezechiele propheta invenitur.’” See also Rev. 11, which prophesies that a beast will make war upon people for three and a half days, before they are raised to heaven.

⁷⁵ We should also note that Inghetto uses the same argumentative strategy when discussing the rebuilding of the Temple at the beginning of the *Disputation*, where he mentions that Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Anias, and Esdras were all living around the time of Nebuchadnezzar. This in turn makes all these prophets relevant to the events in Daniel, and thus also Revelation.

Christ's crucifixion, which Inghetto believes will lead Jews to conversion in order to escape further tribulations. This interaction between religious polemic and apocalypticism can tell us much about how Christian medieval thinkers viewed interfaith relations during the rapidly approaching and highly anticipated End Times. Indeed, Inghetto's belief in the Last Days is at the heart of otherwise commonplace anti-Judaic discourse.

In all of this evidence, we see that like the *Cronica*, the *Disputation of Majorca* displays the characteristics of a late thirteenth-century apocalyptic milieu that emphasizes the Last Days' imminence. Beyond the similarities in the ways that Salimbene and Inghetto look to their immediate world for apocalyptic signs, however, lies an even more important and understudied aspect of medieval thought. The manner in which Inghetto combines anti-Judaic religious polemic and apocalyptic thought in a thoroughly-interacting form, at a time when he feels most able to convince Jews that the Book of Daniel foretells the events in Revelation, demonstrates one particular instance of how a Christian living in a religiously-plural society thought about Christian eschatology and the varied faiths surrounding him. What we see in Inghetto is neither a clear instance of *convivencia* or outright hatred of Jews, but rather a deep-running interest in their conversion, and the belief that apocalyptic thought was an effective polemical tool for gaining converts.⁷⁶ Most importantly, the conclusions I have drawn here alongside Ora Limor's bring forth a new way of viewing the *Disputation*, and two genres of medieval writing whose interaction has not been emphasized nearly enough.

⁷⁶ Although the scope of this study is too limited to explore fully the characterization of Inghetto's interactions with Jews, I would propose that there are some similarities to what David Nirenberg terms "systemic violence," with the understanding that violence can take the form of words. Nirenberg's scholarship has shown convincingly how everyday violence between Christians and Jews served as a means of preventing more catastrophic outcomes. Equally importantly, Nirenberg demonstrates that the idea of a Jewish Golden Age in medieval Spain, as well as a lachrymose history culminating in the 1492 expulsion of Jews (or the Holocaust) are historiographical concepts that need refining. See David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), esp. pgs. 4-17.

Chapter II: Building a Joachite Frame for anti-Judaic Polemic: *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* MS Lat. 4074 as a Case Study of the *Disputation's* Afterlife

Despite its emphasis on the Last Days' fulfillment in the later thirteenth century, the *Disputation* continued to have value long after the Apocalypse should have come, as a text that created a thoroughly mixed form of anti-Judaic religious polemic and apocalyptic thought. Several manuscripts survive from fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italy, testifying to its popularity. What is striking is that in these manuscripts it came to be surrounded by further works that collectively reiterate and intensify the *Disputation's* apocalyptically informed anti-Judaic polemic in a thoroughly Joachite manner, as we will see in a detailed analysis of one of these, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* MS Lat. 4074.

BAV MS Lat. 4074, completed in 1491, contains seven texts that demonstrate the scribe Heinrich of Oberburg's perception that its first owner and commissioner, Archpriest Andreas of Saint Peter's Church in Isola Vincentino, and those unknown readers likely associated with him, were fascinated with the thought of the twelfth-century Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore. Although much scholarship has discussed Joachim and the *virī spirituales*, an examination of BAV MS Lat. 4074 opens for us a new window of study on Joachimism by showing how intertwined apocalypticism and anti-Judaic religious polemic were in the eyes of one fifteenth-century scribe.⁷⁷ Heinrich's compilation of BAV MS Lat. 4074 guided his readers towards his understanding of their perceived role as *virī spirituales* in the third *status*, with much emphasis

⁷⁷ The scholarship on Joachim of Fiore and his system of thought is immense. For a general outline, see E. Randolph Daniel's introduction in Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*; Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 17-22; On Joachim's influence on millennialism see Robert E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints," 97-144; Lerner, "Medieval Return of the Thousand-Year Sabbath," in Emerson and McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*; see also Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore."

placed on the possibilities of interaction between a Joachite vein of apocalyptic thought and anti-Judaic religious polemic (See Table 1).

Through the other texts he copied, Heinrich highlighted Christ's role in the imminent End Times throughout the manuscript. We should not be surprised that an anti-Judaic apocalyptic text centers upon Christ, but it is nevertheless important to note because it here stands in contrast to the widespread popularity of the fifteenth-century interpretation of the Last World Emperor prophecy, which foretold a Germanic or French king as the initiator of apocalyptic events.⁷⁸ This prophecy, based upon the seventh-century revelations of Pseudo-Methodius, asserted that an imperial messiah, known variously as the Third Frederick or the Second Charlemagne depending on his nationality, would conquer both Rome and Jerusalem, but would be unable to defeat Antichrist. After the Emperor symbolically removed his crown at Golgotha, Christ would descend and redeem the world.⁷⁹ BAV MS Lat. 4047 makes relatively little mention of secular rulers in the *Disputation* or elsewhere, and when it does so, as seen in the last section, the focus remains upon Christ's impending return. We see, then, that Heinrich and Andreas envisioned the manuscript's other readers having not only an interest in their own role in apocalyptic prophecy, but also in their relation to Christ's mission during the Last Days.

A brief outline of BAV MS Lat. 4047's contents will demonstrate the thematic similarities present throughout the manuscript. Following the *Disputation* (Fol. 1^r-47^r), which we have discussed in detail, is a short text on allegorical interpretations of priests' clothing,

⁷⁸Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 354-55. The most obvious subject of the French Second Charlemagne prophecy in the 1490s is Charles VIII, whom Guicciardini mentions in his *History of Italy*. See Guicciardini, *History of Italy and History of Florence*, ed. John R. Hale, trans. Cecil Grayson (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 106-8.

⁷⁹Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 300-301.

entitled *De indumentis sacerdocium* (Fol. 47^v-51^r).⁸⁰ A stole for instance, symbolizes the perseverance that a priest must have because it is a burden placed upon his shoulders, just as if he is carrying the weight of men upon them.⁸¹ Much of the symbolism in the text relates to Christ, such as its comparison of a priest's kissing of the altar to Christ's kiss of peace.⁸² *De indumentis sacerdocium* encourages its readers to reflect upon Christ's mission on Earth, and his role in the ultimate conversion of Jews following Antichrist's defeat:

“Afterwards (i.e. after communion) the priest returns to the right part of the altar, to signify that in the end of world after the death of Antichrist he (Christ) will return to the Jews. The Jews when they have seen Christ, truly God and Man, will confess that they believed evilly before, and God will abandon us because of this, but we and the Jews will be one flock, and he will be one Shepherd for us.”⁸³

Although the passage reads *post mortem antichristi*, an event normally associated with the Last Judgment, Heinrich likely believed his readers would interpret it as a reference to Antichrist's binding before the advent of the Millennial Kingdom described in Revelation 20. As we will see, the vast majority of apocalyptic material in BAV MS Lat. 4047 deals with this period between Antichrist's binding and the Last Judgment, when the forty-five day period of peace discussed earlier would occur.

Christocentric apocalyptic texts continue in BAV MS Lat. 4047's third work, the widely popular *Epistle of Rabbi Samuel to Rabbi Isaac* (Fol. 51^v-76^r). Limor has noted that hundreds of

⁸⁰ To my knowledge, *De indumentis sacerdocium* is an unedited text. I have likewise not come across secondary literature pertaining to it.

⁸¹ MS Lat. 4074, 47^v.

⁸² MS Lat. 4074, 48^r.

⁸³ BAV MS Lat. 4047, 50^v. “Postea sacerdos redit ad dextram partem altaris ad significandum quod in fine mundi post mortem antichristi redibit ad Iudeos. Iudei cum viderint christum verum deum et hominem / confitebunt se ante male credidisse / et nos propter hoc relinquet deus. sed nos et Iudei erimus vnum ovile / et ipse erit nobis vnus pastor”. This passage seems to imply that in the Last Days, priests will have a role similar to Christ's mission among the Jews. I would like to thank my friend and colleague Leah Giamalva for her insight here and throughout this paper more generally. Any mistakes in this interpretation are of course my own fault. We should also note the rhetorical character of the second sentence, as if the text is speaking directly to the reader.

this polemic's manuscripts survive, the largest number of which date to the fifteenth century.⁸⁴ Even more importantly, eleven *Disputation* manuscripts contain copies of it as well.⁸⁵ Clearly many scribes saw the *Epistle*'s value as a supplement to the *Disputation*'s polemical material. The text describes the fears of a catechumen, Rabbi Samuel, concerning the Jews' culpability in killing Christ. The original fourteenth-century author of the text, the Dominican friar Alfonso Buenhombre, writes in a decidedly anti-Judaic polemical tone with little attention to the intricacies of apocalyptic thought.⁸⁶ In a manner very similar to Inghetto, however, Rabbi Samuel creates a sense of fear over God's wrath against Jews as a tool to induce their conversion to Christianity. The now familiar prophecy from Daniel 9:24-27 provides the source of Rabbi Samuel's worries.

The excerpt from Book 5 of Joachim of Fiore's *Liber de concordia* (Fol. 76^v-79^v) that comprises the manuscript's fourth text deserves special mention and plays a key role in demonstrating how Heinrich guided his readers towards an understanding of their role as *viri spirituales*. Book 5 is especially important to our study because it provides *concordiae* in an exegetical format.⁸⁷ The passage found in BAV MS Lat. 4047 outlines the signifiers of each *status*, and like the *Disputation*, links the apocalyptic events in Daniel with those in Revelation. Here the people who suffer in Daniel's visions, whom Joachim calls the people of the saints and

⁸⁴ Limor, "The Epistle of Rabbi Samuel of Morocco: A Best-Seller in the World of Polemics," in Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds., *Contra Iudeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 179. An edition is available in Monika Marsmann, ed., "Die Epistel des Rabbi Samuel an Rabbi Isaak: Untersuchung und Edition," Ph. D. diss. (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München 1971).

⁸⁵ Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 39-106.

⁸⁶ Limor, "The Epistle of Rabbi Samuel"; Klaus Reinhardt, "Un Musulmán y un Judio Prueban La Verdad de La Fe Cristiana: La Disputa entre Abutalib de Ceuta y Samuel de Toledo," in Horacio Santiago-Otero, ed., *Diálogo Filosófico-Religioso entre Cristianismo, Judaísmo e Islamismo durante La Edad Media en La Península Ibérica: Actes du Colloque international de San Lorenzo de El Escorial 23-26 juin 1991* (Tournhout: Brepols, 1994), 195-98.

⁸⁷ E. Randolph Daniel in Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, xxiii.

who will receive the greatest rewards, represent the *viri spirituales* who will flourish in the third *status*. Furthermore, this excerpt applies all these Joachite concepts to the conversion of Jews, as demonstrated in its interpretation of an excerpt from Psalm 72 (71) that allegorizes Christ falling like a rain that washes away Jewish sin at the end of the second *status*.⁸⁸

Like the *Disputation* and *Epistle of Rabbi Samuel*, the fifth-century North African Quodvultdeus's *Sermon to the Jews, Arians and Pagans* (Fol. 79^v-80^v) relies heavily on the Old Testament to prove that Christ is the messiah.⁸⁹ The passages are not openly polemical in the same manner as the *Epistle*, or even those of the *Disputation*, but instead provide quotations that argue for Christ's status as the son of God without vicious denigration of Jews. The text is just over two folia long and lacks the apocalyptic references characteristic of the other six texts. The *Sermon to the Jews*, however, is another Christ-centered text that urges its readers to ruminate on Christ and the manuscript's earlier works.⁹⁰

The sixth work in the manuscript is the unedited *Tractatus misse et primo de ceremoniis* (81^r-118^v), which gives allegorical interpretations of the mass in a manner similar to *De indumentis sacerdotium*. There are two sections in the work, under the headings *De virtutibus misse* and *Exposicio misse et Canonis Innocenci*. The majority of this text deals with many of the same issues as BAV MS Lat. 4047's other works, and refers to Christ's life and actions alongside rather brief anti-Judaic diatribes, including a discussion of Judas' betrayal:

"Indeed, Pilate knew that they (the Jews) had delivered him through hatred, whence God the Father delivered the son as gift (*ex dono*), namely, of grace. Therefore it is said 'these gifts'.

⁸⁸ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 79^r.

⁸⁹ An edition is available in Quodvultdeus, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginiensi episcopo tributa*, R. Braun, ed., CCSL Vol. 60 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

⁹⁰ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 79^v-80^r.

Judas delivered him as a gift (*ex munere*), that is, on account of gifts, and therefore it is said ‘these gifts...’⁹¹

The *Tractatus misse*’s strongest evidence that Heinrich guided his readers towards an understanding of their role in the third *status* as moral reformers, however, is its emphasis on the evils of church corruption and the importance of chaste living. These themes complement well the mix of religious polemic and apocalyptic thought found throughout the manuscript.

MS Lat. 4074’s final work, the *Tractatus de horis canonicis* (118^v-120^v), also includes the same symbolic interpretations of Christ’s life present throughout the rest of the manuscript.⁹² Although only two folia long, this text contains many of the themes discussed throughout the manuscript. Of particular interest to Heinrich’s goal of guiding his readers towards a Joachim-influenced vein of polemic is the text’s division of historical time, which derives from the canonical hours:

“Likewise in Matins is signified the time from Adam up to Noah. In Prime, the time from Noah up to Abraham. In Tierce, the time from Abraham up to Moses. In Sext, the time from Moses up to David. In Nones, the time from David up to the Incarnation of Christ. In Vespers, the time from the Incarnation of Christ up until Judgment Day...”⁹³

The time scheme here is simplified when compared to Joachim’s outline of three *status*, but has the same overarching goal of demonstrating a general progression towards the Last Days.

Moreover, it is very similar to Joachim’s system of two *tempora*, which further divided time into Old and New Dispensations running from Adam to Christ, and Christ to the Last Judgment. As

⁹¹ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 118^v-119^r. “Sciebat enim pylatus quod per invidiam tradidissent eum. Vnde deus pater tradidit filium ex dono scilicet gratie / igitur dicitur / hec dona. Iudas tradidit eum ex munere id est propter munera. ideo dicitur hec munera”

⁹² To my knowledge, no critical edition of this work exists.

⁹³ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 118^v-119^r. “Item in matutino significatur tempus ab adam usque ad noe. In prima tempus a noe usque ad abraam. In tercia tempus ab abraam usque ad moysen. In sexta tempus a moyse usque ad dauid. In nona tempus a dauid usque incarnationem christi. In vespis tempus ab incarnationem christi usque ad diem iudicii”

in much of the manuscript, Heinrich here again attempts through his copying to ingrain his readers with eschatological thought that manifests itself in readers' daily lives.

With likely direction from Andreas, Heinrich alone copied these seven thematically similar works. The texts are all in one *Cursiva hybrida libraria* scribal hand, with descending strokes on miniscule **s** and **f** extending below the baseline, single-compartment **a**, and a lack of looped ascending strokes.⁹⁴ Glosses within the manuscript appear only in the first portion of the *Disputation* and are in the main text hand. Miniscule **p** has a hook looping downward to the left that solidifies the uniformity of the main and marginal texts. Heinrich is somewhat erratic when forming miniscule **d** and **a**, but this is more likely the product of a rapid *ductus* than it is separate scribal hands. The contents of the glosses consist of, among other topics, biblical references, summaries of passages relating to Christ, and *notae* concerning how the rebuilding of the Temple and apocalyptic prophecy could serve as evidence in an anti-Judaic polemic.

The presence of multiple works within each of MS Lat. 4047's ten quires of twelve paper leaves, written in one scribal hand, provides strong evidence that Heinrich copied the entire manuscript as a single unit. At the conclusion of each text, the following work begins in the same quire, if not on the same folio, creating one cohesive codex, rather than a compilation of what were originally seven independently circulating works.⁹⁵ The general lack of major divisions within the manuscript's physical layout encourages the reader to make mental connections between the texts' contents and to read them continuously, noting the thematic similarities that exist throughout. BAV MS Lat. 4047 lacks a table of contents, although the relatively short length and moderate usage of rubrication and initials within it could assist a

⁹⁴ Albert Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 163-65.

⁹⁵See BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 80^v.

reader in finding a desired passage quickly if he had a general idea of where to look.⁹⁶ Despite all this codicological evidence, however, the thematic connections in content between the seven texts give the clearest indication that Heinrich believed the readers would approach the manuscript as one entity, rather than a series of disconnected works, with the overall goal of learning about anti-Judaic polemic and their role as *viri spirituales* in Joachim of Fiore's third *status*.

Table 1- The Contents of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Lat. 4074

Title of Work	Foliation	Quires in which Work is Contained
<i>The Disputation of Majorca</i>	1 ^r -47 ^r	1,2,3,4
<i>De indumentis sacerdotium</i>	47 ^v -51 ^r	4,5
<i>The Epistle of Rabbi Samuel to Rabbi Isaac</i>	51 ^v -76 ^r	5,6,7
<i>Excerpt from Book Five of The Liber de Concordia</i>	76 ^v -79 ^r	7
<i>Sermon to the Jews, Pagans, and Arians</i>	79 ^v -80 ^v	7
<i>Tractatus misse et primo de cerimoniais</i>	81 ^r -118 ^v	7,8,9,10
<i>Tractatus de horis canonicis</i>	118 ^v -120 ^r	10

Running through all these works, therefore, is a clear emphasis on Christ's life, Christ-centered apocalyptic thought, anti-Judaic polemic and conversion to Christianity, suggesting strongly that this manuscript's audience was intended to approach BAV MS Lat. 4047 as a continuous work. Although there is relatively little information on the manuscript's provenance, its lone statement of ownership reads, "these things were made through presbyter Andreas Arch

⁹⁶A comparison can be made here to Thomas E. Burman's scholarship on the layout of BnF. MS Arsenal 1162, a mid-twelfth century Latin translation of the Qur'an. Burman discusses the many features that scholastic reading practices brought to manuscript layouts- including finding aids such as rubrication and chapter titles. See Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, 78-79; Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Statim Invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., with Carol D. Lanham, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 201-225.

Presbyter of the Church of Saint Peter, Diocese of Isola Vincentino.”⁹⁷ As the commissioner of the manuscript, Andreas presumably had considerable input in textual selection. While this study focuses upon Heinrich, whose colophon attests to the date of completion,⁹⁸ we can nevertheless assume that Andreas was a very influential reader and likely part of a larger religious audience.⁹⁹ The nature of BAV MS Lat. 4047’s contents further suggests a religious audience, especially when we consider that Joachim envisioned the *virī spirituales* growing from monks and canons during the second and third *status*. Moreover, the many passages in the *Tractatus misse* on the corrupted Church point towards an audience interested in church reform. Although the specifics of Heinrich’s intended readers beyond Andreas are unattainable, he clearly wished to persuade them of the merits to be found in religious polemic, apocalypticism, and the purification of the Church.¹⁰⁰

Even more important than the identity of BAV MS Lat. 4047’s intended readers is that as he copied the manuscript, Heinrich envisioned his audience as Joachim’s *virī spirituales*, who were to preach the gospel and reform the Church before Antichrist’s arrival.¹⁰¹ Jews would also constitute part of the spiritual men, since Joachim envisioned the third *status* arising from both

⁹⁷ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 80^v. “Hec suntt (sic) facta per presbyterem Andream Archipresbyterem Ecclesiae Sancti Petri Isulis Vincs dyocs”. See also Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 66-67.

⁹⁸ MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 80^v. “Expletum per dominum henricum presbiterem et monachum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti · de Obernburga. aquilegensis dyocesis· 1491° / ·19° die mensis Ianuarii hora xxiiii.”

⁹⁹ While these works could certainly appeal to laypeople, I have assumed a religious audience based upon the evidence of Andreas’ statement of ownership. No other colophons within the manuscript indicate a lay audience.

¹⁰⁰ The manuscript’s mixed order of texts pertaining to religious polemic, apocalyptic thought, and general religious practice further suggests an audience that saw all three of these topics as intertwined.

¹⁰¹ Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, discusses the *virī spirituales* and their clear connections to mendicant orders. See pg. 172. Also see David Burr, “Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse,” in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 89-102, which discusses Joachim’s influence upon mendicants.

the Old and New Testaments.¹⁰² Indeed Heinrich intended for BAV MS Lat. 4047's readers to learn about their own role in the imminent End Times, while also discovering how to employ apocalyptic evidence in anti-Judaic religious polemic. Our scribe and commissioner expected the *Disputation* to provide intertwined anti-Judaic discourse and apocalyptic thought, and clearly believed that Joachimism could further emphasize the polemical and eschatological qualities present in that thirteenth-century text.

The Christocentric nature of BAV MS Lat. 4047 and the emphasis on living a spiritually pure life fit well with the reader's perceived interest in Joachim of Fiore's thought. Although we may find the abbot's influence more widely in biblical and apocalyptic commentaries, his system of historical time nevertheless intertwines seamlessly with apocalyptically-influenced polemics. As we will see, the readers of BAV MS Lat. 4047 were intended to understand that Joachimism and anti-Judaic polemic are not only compatible, but that they could employ a thoroughly interacting brand of the two just as Inghetto had. In his copying of these seven texts, Heinrich created a manuscript that made available to readers the concepts most relevant to polemical apocalypticism, in a manner that built upon the thirteenth-century apocalyptic character of the *Disputation*. The collection of these texts within the manuscript illuminates in what manner the Apocalypse will come and what the reader's personal involvement in the change from the second to the third *status* will be.

The starting point for a discussion of Joachim's influence within BAV MS Lat. 4047 is the excerpt from the fifth book of his *Liber de concordia*. As noted above, the fifth book of this work in particular deals with concords between the Old and New Testaments. This excerpt

¹⁰²E. Randolph Daniel in Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, xxxviii. See also Whalen, "Joachim of Fiore and the Division of Christendom."

focuses upon the third *status*, and the rewards awaiting the holy men who are its harbingers. Although Joachim envisioned three orders of men playing a major role in the switch from the second to third *status*, that is, canons and monks along with Jews, he here emphasizes the former two groups. The excerpt in BAV MS Lat. 4047 gives indication of their importance in a problematic passage explaining the subjects of 2 Samuel 7:13-14: “He will build a house in my name, and I shall establish the throne of his kingdom eternally, and he will be a son to me, and I will be a father to him.”¹⁰³ Joachim relates this passage to Christ and God, but also to an order of elect men: “Therefore this saying is said not about that savior (Salomon), but according to the letter about Christ and the Messiah, and according to the spiritual understanding concerning a certain order, that there will be an end.” Although the end of this sentence is ambiguous, a result of one of many textual problems, the reading from a 1519 edition perhaps provides a clearer picture of Joachim’s intended phrasing: “on a certain future order near the end.”¹⁰⁴ The order Joachim speaks of, with its strong ties to spiritual understanding, is undoubtedly the *viri spirituales*. As he copied this excerpt, Heinrich very likely saw its value in guiding his intended audience toward a greater understanding of their relationship with God, and indeed to their own links with Christ through shared responsibilities in rapidly approaching apocalyptic events.

Alongside connections to spiritual understanding in the excerpt are those relating to Trinitarian theology. Although at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 Church authorities

¹⁰³2 Sam. 7:13-14. “Ipse aedificabit domum nomini meo, et stabiliam thronum regni eius usque in sempiternum, et ipse erit mihi in filium, et ego ero ei in patrem...” Cf. BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 77^r. “ego ero illi in patrem / et ipse erit michi in filium”. This phrase appears on numerous occasions in the excerpt.

¹⁰⁴BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 77^r. “Non ergo dictum est verbum istud de illo saluatore / sed secundum litteram de christo siue messia· Et secundum spirituale intellectum de ordine quoddam esse finem futurum.” A textual problem exists most likely because the scribe assumed *intellectum* to be neuter, and used *spirituale* rather than *spiritualis*. I have also transcribed *quoddam* as such because there is no *o* abbreviation above the *q*. A reading of *quodam*, in agreement with *ordine*, would make more sense. The 1519 Venetian edition, which unfortunately is the standard edition for Book 5, reads “ordine quodam circa finem futuro.” See Joachim of Fiore, *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (Venice: 1519; reprint, Frankfurt a. M.: Unveränderter Nachdruck, 1964), Fols. 95^v-96^r (Book 5, Ch. 66).

condemned Joachim's Trinitarian doctrine, which itself had criticized Peter Lombard's twelfth-century *Sententiae*, many biblical commentators nevertheless continued to implement the Trinitarian-based concept of *status* into their writings.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the excerpt casts Christ as a representative of the people of the third *status*, in addition to the Holy Spirit and the *viri spirituales*. This is, in effect, a direct result of the Trinitarian nature of Joachim's system- the Father and the Son must likewise be present in the Age of the Spirit:

"Moreover so that it might shine forth more in this brief relation, the deeds of Salomon must be poured back onto the people of the third *status*. It is not fitting to be foreign to our intelligence that just as Saul properly signified the people of the first *status*, David the people of the second *status*, and Salomon the people of the third *status*. Thus also the Priest Zacharias designates in an equal manner the people of the first *status*, and John the Baptist the people of the second *status*, and the man Jesus Christ the people of the third *status*, the people of God concerning whom it was written in Daniel..."¹⁰⁶

In his emphasis on the human Christ as a representative of the people of God, shown most prominently through the phrase *homo Iesu Christu*, Joachim gives the third *status* a tangible representative, while still allotting it to the Holy Spirit in his Trinitarian conceptualization. Furthermore, the links Joachim creates here between Christian and Jewish scripture are among the excerpt's greatest contributions to the interaction of polemic and prophecy in this manuscript,

¹⁰⁵ Morton W. Bloomfield and Marjorie Reeves, "The Penetration of Joachimism into Northern Europe," *Speculum* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Oct., 1954), 773-775.

¹⁰⁶ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 77^v. "Vt magis elucescat in breui qua ratione salomonis facta in populum tercii status refundenda sit / non oportet esse alienum / intelligencia nostra quod sicut saul significauit populum propie primi status / dauid populum secundi status / et salomon populum tercii status. Ita quoque zacharias sacerdos designat pari modo populum primi status. Et Iohannes baptista populum secundi status et homo ihesu christus populum tercii status. populum dei de quo scriptum est in danieli." The Venice 1519 edition of the *Liber de concordia* reads "qua ratione verba ista que videntur tangere in typo salomonis in populum 3ⁱⁱ status refundenda sint". See Joachim of Fiore, *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, Venice 1519 edition, Fol. 96^r (Book 5, Ch. 66).

On the Trinitarian nature of the *status*, see Daniel, "The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's Understanding of History."

since they provide a concrete outline of Christianity's fulfillment of Judaism and the progression of historical time towards the Last Days.¹⁰⁷

Joachim's discussion of the representatives of each *status* and *tempus* provides an excellent indication of what Heinrich envisioned as the most important aspects of Joachite thought for his readers. The excerpt provides examples of *concordiae* that help the reader comprehend how Christianity, Judaism, and historical time relate. Heinrich and Andreas must have noted the weight that the excerpt could hold for an audience interested in disputation: it is concise in its presentation of Christianity's fulfillment of Judaism, lacks a cumbersome vocabulary that could possibly drive Jews away from conversion if used in an argument, and discusses rewards awaiting the Christians of the third *status*. Moreover, in a manner similar to the *Disputation*, it links the *virī spirituales*, and their role in apocalyptic events, with the *populus sanctorum* mentioned in the Book of Daniel.

The excerpt's relative lack of overly complex material furthermore implies that Heinrich saw the importance in learning the workings of Joachim's temporal scheme, and the *status*, *tempora*, and *concordiae* associated with it. Heinrich especially stressed the importance of the third *status*, the belief which Marjorie Reeves has argued is the critical criterion for labeling a person or group as having a "Joachimist influence." Because we cannot know with certainty whether the readers took up Joachim's ideas, speculation about whether they bore a Joachimist influence, or held the Trinitarian concept of history that Reeves established as a marker of being "Joachite," is a moot point.¹⁰⁸ The presence of the *status* within BAV MS Lat. 4047 tells the readers that it is a Trinitarian concept, but without any indications of response to the excerpt, we

¹⁰⁷ A Joachite interpretation could easily be applied, for instance, to the already common Christian argument that the Patriarch Jacob foreshadowed Christ. Cf. Section 1.

¹⁰⁸ Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," 298.

can only say that Heinrich believed they would recognize the apocalyptic significance of the third *status*.¹⁰⁹

The *Liber de concordia* excerpt does, however, provide excellent evidence that Heinrich and Andreas wanted to bring forth an understanding of the concepts in Joachim's system of thought that were most pertinent to polemic. The text even notes the importance of the Holy Spirit in the third *status*, and combines two topics frequently discussed in the *Disputation*'s anti-Judaic discourse¹¹⁰; the nature of the Trinity and the movement of time towards the Last Days:

“And it must be noted that in the third *status* the mysteries will be bare and open for the faithful people, because through each age of the world knowledge is increased just as was written ‘many will pass through, and there will be complex knowing’. In short, in the first *status* the knowledge is of the Father as sending the Son. In the second *status*, the authority of the Son was shown, as one sending the Holy Spirit. In the third *status*, the authority of the Holy Spirit is shown, as one remaining in equal unity.”¹¹¹

With a brief summary, the excerpt notes the Trinitarian nature of the *status*. The passage could serve as a demonstration of how Christians should explain the Trinity to Jews. The excerpt elsewhere notes an Old Testament equivalent to the Trinity with Saul, David and Salomon, though one must wonder how willingly a Jew accept these claims.¹¹²

Although it would be useful in polemic, the above passage would be even more so in convincing the reader of his role in the coming age. The phrase “the mysteries will be bare and

¹⁰⁹ BAV MS Lat. 4047 presents an interesting case when held up to Reeve's criteria. Her system is excellent in emphasizing the importance of the third *status* to Joachim's followers, and provides scholars with the tools to delineate the level of Joachim's influence in a text, but also does little for instances in which an understanding of the Trinitarian concept of history seems implied. The lack of evidence for reader response within the *Liber de concordia* excerpt furthers the problem.

¹¹⁰ The *Disputation*, for instance, discusses the Trinity in a final, fourth debate where the Jew does not convert. See *Die Disputationen*, 294-300.

¹¹¹ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 78^v. “Et notandum est quod in tercio statu nuda erunt et aperta misteria fidelibus quia per singulas etates mundi multiplicatur sciencia / sicut scriptum est / per transibunt plurimi / et multiplex erit sciencia· denique in primo statu ostensa est patris tamquam mittentis filium· In secundo ostensa est auctoritas filii tamquam mittentis spiritum sanctum· In tercio ostenditur auctoritas sancti spiritus tamquam in equalitate vnitate manentis·”

¹¹² Cf. *Infra*, n. 106.

open for the faithful people,” demonstrates how Joachim privileges that group, as he does throughout the entire excerpt.¹¹³ The people mentioned are in this context undoubtedly the *viri spirituales*, whom Joachim associated with an increased spiritual understanding.¹¹⁴ These mysteries refer to the events described in Revelation, in particular the coming of Christ and the establishment of a heavenly kingdom. We should expect that Heinrich would here attempt to guide his readers towards an understanding of their role in the third *status*, given the apocalyptic content in BAV MS Lat. 4047’s other six works. As in much of this concise excerpt from Book 5, the passage on the revealed mysteries works very well in providing the essential elements of Joachim’s thought for a religious audience, and in creating an atmosphere of expectation for the Apocalypse’s fulfillment that is likewise present in the *Disputation*.

Heinrich perceived his audience’s concern for the purification of the Roman Church as an integral part of their duties as *viri spirituales*.¹¹⁵ The discussions within BAV MS Lat. 4047’s works highlight issues of ecclesiastical corruption, a common topic in late fifteenth-century apocalyptic thought, as evidenced perhaps most famously in the sermons of the reforming preacher Savonarola. Even more importantly, many exegetes, including Joachim elsewhere in the *Liber de concordia*, depicted the Church as the subject of seven tribulations, a number based upon the seven seals in the Book of Revelation. Although these seven persecutions are lacking here, BAV MS Lat. 4047 contains a similar phenomenon in the *Tractatus misse*, complete with a Joachim-influenced scheme of four *status* that is most commonly associated with Fra Dolcino, a

¹¹³ Cf. *Infra*, n. 111.

¹¹⁴ E. Randolph Daniel in Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia*, xxxvi-xxxviii.

¹¹⁵ Indeed Heinrich himself may have had his own concerns for the health of the Church.

leader of the Apostolic Brethren movement.¹¹⁶ The example lacks an attribution to Joachim of Fiore, but clearly employs his language and thinking:

“It must be known that the faith and the Church have suffered attacks always. In the *status* of the apostles, the Jews attacked them; but in the *status* of the martyrs the tyrants; in the *status* of the learned the heretics such as Arrius and Nestorius. In the *status* of peace, evil Christians. At the end of the world, Antichrist will attack the church. Therefore it is necessary that we pray to pacify the Church, nevertheless especially from schismatics and heretics. And may you (singular) deem it worthy to unite it, which is dispersed among the perfidious Pagans and Jews, and otherwise may you deem it worthy to pacify and unite it on account of those quarreling, because one must pray for the quarreling in turn.”¹¹⁷

Alongside Joachim-influenced language, we also see the general progression of persecutions and an age of peace before the final advent of Antichrist. As the reader worked through this portion of the manuscript, he would likely recall instances of similar apocalyptic predictions placed throughout earlier folia and again reflect on his role as a reformer in the End Times.

While not from the Joachim of Fiore excerpt, the above passage nevertheless effectively demonstrates Heinrich’s invocation of the Calabrian abbot’s thought as a means of making his audience aware of their role in the Apocalypse. While the subject of the verb *digneris* is either God, or Heinrich’s intended reader in the role of *vir spiritualis*, in either case the emphasis in the reading still lies upon the Church’s dispersal among Jews and Pagans. In copying texts for BAV MS Lat. 4047, Heinrich foremost envisioned his readers’ interest in their apocalyptic role, which included church reform and the conversion of Jews through an apocalyptic vein of anti-Judaic polemic.

¹¹⁶ On the system of four *status* and Fra Dolcino’s implementation of it, see Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 243-244. There is no reason to think that this excerpt is from Dolcino himself.

¹¹⁷ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 100^r. “Sciendum quod fides siue ecclesia semper est passa inpugnaciones. In statu apostolorum Iudei inpugnabant / In statu vero martyrum tyranni / In statu doctorum heretici. vt Arrius et Nestorius / In statu pacis · mali christiani · In fine mundi antichristus ecclesiam inpugnabit · Ergo necesse est vt oremus ecclesiam pacificare / maxime tamen ab hereticis et scismaticis · Et digneris eam ad vnare que dispersa est inter perfidos iudeos et paganos · Vel aliter / digneris eam pacificare et ad vnare propter discordantes quia orandum est pro invicem discordantibus ·”

In addition to arguing for the importance of ecclesiastical reform, the presence of Joachim of Fiore's system of thought within BAV MS Lat. 4047 also furthers the connections between apocalypticism and religious polemic found in the *Disputation*. The *Liber de concordia* excerpt, like that thirteenth-century text, is important for establishing the links between prophecies in the Books of Daniel and Revelation that readers with an interest in religious polemic would surely find useful. In the Joachim excerpt, however, there is a greater focus on the rewards awaiting the *viri spirituales*, the people of the saints mentioned in Daniel, while the *Disputation* instead contains a more polemical tone. As we have seen, this excerpt has a vital role in bringing forth both the polemical and apocalyptic content in BAV MS Lat. 4047, and its descriptions of the rewards awaiting the *viri spirituales*, combined with its precise connections between Daniel and Revelation, could provide valuable evidence in demonstrating why a Jew should abandon his religion.

Having established that Heinrich envisioned the Joachim text providing BAV MS Lat. 4047's readers with an informative, albeit stripped down, apocalyptic discussion that privileged the *viri spirituales* and described their role in apocalyptic events, we can now begin to examine further how that text connects to the *Disputation*'s apocalyptically influenced religious polemic. Although the *Disputation* was the readers' likely starting point, I have elected to discuss Heinrich's interactions with it last, in order to emphasize their overall connection to the manuscript's content. Our scribe made many notations in the *Disputation*'s earlier folia, but did not limit his additions to the manuscripts margins alone. Indeed, in his copying of Inghetto's debate with Astruch, Heinrich added a further interpretation of the forty-five day period of peace, found in three other *Disputation* manuscripts, into the body of the text:

“And you Jews will similarly know the advent of the messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ. Within forty-five days it will be proclaimed through the whole world, so that all will believe in God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ his son, **so that those people who had been led away from him may do penance. And therefore it says, blessed is he who awaits and arrives at 1335 days. For that space of time, let penance be done until the Lord should come for judgment. There is no one who might know, but he remains in the disposition of God,** who deigns to make us. May he always be propitious to us all the way to the end. Amen.”¹¹⁸

The phrase that reads, “And therefore it says, blessed is he who awaits and arrives at 1335 days. For that space of time, let penance be done...,” is especially important as a marker of what material our scribe wanted to emphasize from this earlier prophecy based upon St. Jerome’s exegesis.¹¹⁹ Though Heinrich presumably copied the whole passage from another source, the greater level of exegetical interaction with the Book of Daniel that he achieves through the addition is striking nevertheless. This brief remark would help shift a fifteenth-century reader’s focus towards the concept of a short period of peace before the Last Judgment. Heinrich likely believed the addition would emphasize the irenic concept of the ‘Refreshment of the Saints’,¹²⁰ which era of calm remained relevant to the *Disputation*’s apocalyptic content even though the prophecies stemmed from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The marginal notes throughout the manuscript’s opening folia display even clearer interaction between Heinrich and his envisioned readers, grab their attention immediately, and

¹¹⁸ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 38^r-38^v. “Et vos iudei similiter cognoscetis aduentum messie domini nostri yhesu christi. Infra vero dies xlv. erit diuulgatum per vniuersum seculum. ita vt omnes credent in deum patrem et dominum nostrum yhesum christum filium eius **vt illi qui ab illo fuerant seducti agant penitenciam. Et ideo dicit. Beatus qui expectat et peruenerit vsque ad dies .m. ccc. xxxv. Acta penitencia quanti temporis spacium fiat / quousque dominus ad iudicium veniat / nullus est qui sciat / sed in disposicione dei manet** qui nos facere dignetur / propicius sit nobis semper vsque in finem Amen”. The bold text indicates Heinrich’s addition. See also *Infra* n. 68; *Die Disputationen*, 274.

¹¹⁹ See Limor, in *Die Disputationen*, 69; *Die Disputationen*, 274. The other manuscripts are Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 1322; Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek MS 181; Jerusalem, Nationalbibliothek, MS Friedenwald 853/4, which contains the first twenty-five words. Thomas E. Burman discusses the practice of inserting passages among Latin translators of the Qur’an in *Reading the Qur’an in Latin Christendom*, 44-45.

¹²⁰ See Lerner, “Refreshment of the Saints.”

testify to the entire manuscript's purpose.¹²¹ Many of these glosses relate to the Apocalypse, with some notes explicitly stating their connections to the Last Days even though 1290 had long passed. The prophecies in Daniel 12:7-13 continued to hold importance for later readers, since the length of Antichrist's reign, and the calculation of a short period of peace between his binding and the Last Judgment, stemmed from them.¹²²

On Folio 4^r, well before the passages from Daniel 12:11-13 concerning the 1290 days, we find clear evidence that our scribe wanted to emphasize the Apocalypse's imminence. Here Inghetto makes his initial arguments on the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem after Nebuchadnezzar's reign. An interlinear gloss on the time of rebuilding after Nebuchadnezzar reads, "truly in which you are now."¹²³ At this point in the manuscript, the reader would not have knowledge of the interpretation of Daniel 12:11-13 except through prior reading. The gloss, however, alerts the reader to the Apocalypse's importance within the text. As he worked through the *Disputation* and BAV MS Lat. 4047, the reader would continue to learn about the Last Days' proximity in his world. Indeed, the glosses' placement at the beginning of the text guides the audience towards apocalyptic contemplation.

These apocalyptic glosses are, moreover, relatively common in the manuscript's margins. On Folio 12^v, Heinrich draws attention to a passage from Isaiah 2:2-5, which discusses heavenly teaching and the general establishment of worldly peace following the Apocalypse: "Note the

¹²¹ On the importance of glosses in drawing a reader's attention, see John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de buen amor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), esp. 153-170.

¹²² See Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints," 133-44.

¹²³ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 4^r. "vera in qua estis nunc". The lemma reads, "dixit Ighetus: Ostende ergo prophetam qui post illud tempus videlicet post redifficacionem ierusalem loquatur de ista." Cf. *Die Disputationen*, 178.

prophecy of Isaiah concerning Judgment Day where he says ‘in the last days’.”¹²⁴ Just as in the interacting anti-Judaic discourse and apocalyptic thought found throughout the body of the manuscript’s texts, we here see a strong, continuous current of similar themes that is even more immediately apparent to the reader’s eye.

On Folio 14^r, just as the number of glosses in the margin begins to dwindle, we find a passage in the body of the text discussing an adulterous woman from the Book of Proverbs who eventually abandons her impious ways. The passage follows upon an allegorical description of the flight of a high-soaring eagle that represents faithful Christians. Inghetto argues that the woman represents Christianity’s fulfillment of Judaism, and serves as an allegory for the Church’s movement away from the Synagogue. In the following discussion of similarities between the two religions, he makes the important, polemical distinction that Jews worship vain idols:

“But that adulterous woman is called the Church, which as you see is named the congregation of the faithful, just as the Synagogue is called the congregation of the Jews, although for a long time among the gentiles who ignored the true God and worshiped vain, mute and deaf idols. They had a temple where they were congregated, in which they sculpted idols, and adored (them) in place of God, and as long as that congregation remained in such great error, deservedly such a congregation of the unfaithful was able to be called adulterous. But it too became the congregation of the faithful and the true bride because it accepted Christ in marriage as in the Song of Songs...”¹²⁵

A series of glosses in the right-hand margin leave little doubt about the information Heinrich wanted to convey. A gloss directly across from the above passage reads, “Note concerning the

¹²⁴ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 12^v. “Nota propheciam ysaie de die iudicii vbi dicit in diebus nouissimis”.

¹²⁵ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 14^r. “Mulier vero illa mecha dicitur ecclesia· que quippe congregacio fidelium nuncapatur / veluti synagoga congregacio iudeorum appellatur / quamquam diu in gentibus que deum verum ignorabant et ydola vana / muta / et surda adorabant / templum habebant ubi congregabantur / in quo ydola sculpebant · et pro deo adorabant / et donec congregacio illa in tanto errore permansit / merito talis infidelium congregacio mecha dici potuit · Sed postremo facta est congregacio fidelium / et vera sponsa / eo quod accepit Christum in sponsum vt in canticis canticorum / ”.

adulterous woman who acts as a figure of the church of Christ,”¹²⁶ a statement that emphasizes Christianity’s status as a purified relative of Judaism and which more subtly hints, when read along with the above lemma, at the importance of faithfulness to the Church and Christ in the readers’ contemporary world.

At the top of the folio, moreover, is a gloss stating, “Note concerning the flight of the eagle and the adulterous woman in proverbs.”¹²⁷ The note on the eagle is especially important, since it could remind the reader of images from Revelation 12:14-18, which describes a woman, often taken to be representative of the Virgin Mary (herself often symbolic of the Church), riding on an eagle that is fleeing a dragon symbolic of Satan. The allegorized Mary escapes the dragon, before she gives birth to a child interpreted as Christ.¹²⁸ This section of Revelation also discusses the “time, times, and half time” that exegetes employed in calculating the Antichrist’s reign, and is similar to the prophecy in Daniel 12:7. Strikingly, Heinrich intended for his audience to compare this adulterous woman from Proverbs, who created the Church, with the woman riding an eagle in Revelation, who herself is often allegorized as the Virgin Mary. As BAV MS Lat. 4047’s readers approached this one folio they would be drawn in by these glosses’ content, and encouraged to link polemic, apocalyptic thought, and church reform, and apply all three concepts to their immediate world.

The glosses within BAV MS Lat. 4047 are, to the best of my knowledge, original to the manuscript. Unfortunately, its exemplars in the manuscript tradition are unknown for several

¹²⁶ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 14^r. “Nota de muliere mecha que figurat ecclesiam christi”

¹²⁷ BAV MS Lat. 4047, Fol. 14^r. “Nota de volatu aquile et de muliere mecha in prouerbiis”

¹²⁸ Rev. 12:14-18. “et datae sunt mulieri duae alae aquilae magnae ut volaret in desertum in locum suum ubi alitur per tempus et tempora et dimidium temporis a facie serpentis et misit serpens ex ore suo post mulierem aquam tamquam flumen ut eam faceret trahi a flumine et adiuvit terra mulierem et aperuit terra os suum et absorbit flumen quod misit draco de oro suo et iratus est draco in mulierem et abiit facere proelium cum reliquis de semine eius qui custodiunt mandata Dei et habent testimonium Iesu”.

generations. Heinrich, who wrote the glosses, certainly saw their value in guiding his readers towards an understanding of their role in the third *status* as *viri spirituales*, and the relationship of the Apocalypse to anti-Judaic polemic. The content of the glosses fits well with the overall character of the manuscript, and this creation of a guiding theme is their most important contribution to the overall manuscript. Through these notes, Heinrich brings an apocalyptic vein of religious polemic to the forefront of BAV MS Lat. 4047.

The combination of texts in BAV MS Lat. 4047 provides an excellent example of how one late medieval scribe envisioned his readers approaching their immediate world, complete with his own thoughts on church corruption and approaches to Judaism as influenced by Joachim of Fiore. The fact that the *Liber de concordia* excerpt is present in five other Italian *Disputation* manuscripts testifies even more to the importance that the Calabrian abbot held for anti-Judaic polemic in the fifteenth century. This relatively unstudied manuscript clears a new path for us by illuminating how strongly connected Joachimism and religious polemic could be in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, and how prevalent apocalyptic expectation was among reformers. In a sense, Heinrich envisioned an audience who related their very existence to their role in the End Times as *viri spirituales*.

Conclusion

In both the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, we see a clear understanding that the concept of a rapidly approaching Apocalypse could hold much weight in anti-Judaic religious polemic. In 1286, when Christians were most likely to convince Jews that Daniel's prophecies foretold Christ's return in 1290, we see Inghetto Contardo employing this mix of polemical prophecy effectively against Jews. Likewise, Heinrich envisioned the readers of BAV MS Lat. 4047 as a group that would integrate this intertwining of anti-Judaic polemic and late apocalyptic thought into their duties as *virī spirituales*. These examples demonstrate a clear expectation on the part of Inghetto and of Heinrich's intended readers that the world will end soon, and an understanding of Christian eschatology's effectiveness as a tool in the conversion of Jews. Our scribe's envisioned amalgamation of anti-Judaic discourse, reflection on the Last Days, and reform furthermore illuminates our understanding of how these three prominent themes could collectively reiterate one another in a manuscript context.

Even more so, BAV MS Lat. 4074 lucidly illustrates the manner in which the addition of Joachite thought intensified the interaction of religious polemic and apocalyptic thought in the *Disputation*. Though there is an undercurrent of expectation in Inghetto's arguments that a short period of peace will ensue following the binding of Antichrist, he mentions this time only once by name, and does so in a manner that will ideally frighten Jews into conversion. Heinrich and Andreas' envisioned audience, however, were encouraged to ruminate upon this period in much greater depth. Like Inghetto, they were led to see how it could be employed in anti-Judaic discourse, but even more so they were to ponder over the rewards that would await them, God's

rewards for the reforms they had brought to Christians and Jews. In effect, they were to read all of BAV MS Lat. 4047's texts with several motivations.¹²⁹ This shift in focus, from an emphasis on a late-apocalyptic vein of religious polemic alone to a greater understanding of the *viri spirituales'* duties, is accomplished most effectively through the addition of the *Liber de concordia* excerpt, but is found to a less obvious but no less important extent in the other six texts.

From all of this evidence, then, we see how extraordinarily complex the intertwining of religious polemic and apocalyptic thought, and its perceived invocation by later readers, could be. At the root of the *Disputation*, however, are the clear expectation that the Apocalypse will soon arrive and a desire to understand how Jews fit into polemical Christian eschatology. It has been this study's goal to elucidate the connection between apocalyptic expectation and religious polemic in the *Disputation* and its later Joachite manuscript context, and I believe further research will continue to demonstrate the thorough, understudied interaction of these two aspects of late medieval thought. For now, however, we must be satisfied with the wealth of information that the *Disputation* and BAV MS Lat. 4047 provide.

¹²⁹ On reading a text with simultaneous and indeed seemingly disparate motivations, see Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom*, esp. chs. 2-3.

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