## **UCLA**

## **UCLA Historical Journal**

#### **Title**

Jews, Visigoths, and the Muslim Conquest of Spain

#### **Permalink**

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/17h688pf

### **Journal**

UCLA Historical Journal, 4(0)

#### **Author**

Simon, Larry J.

#### **Publication Date**

1983

## **Copyright Information**

Copyright 1983 by the author(s). All rights reserved unless otherwise indicated. Contact the author(s) for any necessary permissions. Learn more at <a href="https://escholarship.org/terms">https://escholarship.org/terms</a>

Peer reviewed

# Jews, Visigoths, and the Muslim Conquest of Spain

## Larry J. Simon

One of the most persistent myths of modern historiography asserts that the Jewish communities of the Visigothic Kingdom collaborated with the Arab and Berber invaders of the Iberian Peninsula in the year 711. Writing over a century ago, Reinhart P. Dozy stated that the "Jews rose in revolt, and placed themselves at the disposal of the Moslems." Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Dozy's most celebrated pupil, explains in his Histoire de l'Espagne musalmane that it was the Jews who opened the gates of Toledo, the Visigothic capital, to the forces of Tarik b. Ziyad. W. Montgomery Watt, author of a wellknown survey on Islamic Spain, writes that "the Jews may have encouraged the Muslims to invade, and the North African Jews were doubtless ready to give what information they possessed." Later, Watt asserts that the Jews "actively aided" the Muslim conquest. Joseph F. O'Callaghan and Anwar Cheine, authors of standard texts in their respective specialties of Christian and Islamic Spain, inform their readers of the "collaboration" and "encouragement" given the Arabs by the "disgruntled Jews." One writer even asserts that a "detachment of Jewish soldiers (perhaps related to Hispano-Jews exiled to the Maghreb) accompanied the invaders."1

Larry J. Simon, this year's Theodore Saloutos Award winner, received a B.S. from the University of Southern Colorado, a B.A. from Loyola Marymount University, and completed an M.A. in history at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is currently working on his Ph.D. dissertation regarding the conquest and resettlement of Majorca in Barcelona, Spain.

This myth is particularly ubiquitous. Spanish historians, for example, are in fairly uniform agreement. The accusation of Jewish collaboration is accepted by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz in his La España musalmana; he particularly emphasizes the role that the Jews played in garrisoning Córdoba. Enrique Flórez, the Augustinian friar who began in 1747 the collection of sources known as España sagrada, writes in a dedication to Fernando VI of the "perfidy" of the Iews.<sup>2</sup> Pascual de Gavangos v Acre, one of the most distinguished Arabists that Spain produced in the nineteenth century, writes that "on the invasion of Spain by the Berbers, the Jews, who expected to be delivered by them from the state of oppression in which they lived, every where made common cause with them."3 José Amador de los Rios, Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, and Francisco Cantera Burgos are all in agreement that the Jews conspired and supported the Muslims. José Orlandis, in his recent and well-received history of Visigothic Spain, makes it clear that Jewish assistance was a major factor contributing to the rapid and complete Muslim success.4

Jewish historians are well represented on the list of those who believe that the Jews eagerly supported the Muslim invasion. Salo W. Baron chides his readers that the "active revenge of decimated Spanish Jewry on their Visigothic oppressors need not be doubted." Although Baron warned against "gross exaggerations by later Christian chroniclers," he believes that the Jews opened the gates of the city of Toledo to the Muslim conquerors while the "Christians were assembled in their churches on Palm Sunday," and argues that the relative lack of forces "made the invaders dependent on Jewish assistance there [Spain] even more than elsewhere." In an article of considerable importance for this paper, Norman Roth lists Heinrich Graetz, the "Father of Jewish History," and Nahum Slouschz as subscribers to this theory. Eliyahu Ashtor, the foremost scholar of Jewish life in Muslim Spain, contends: "Everywhere the Jews rose up and volunteered aid to the Moslems in their war of conquest." "5

Why, most historians would ask, would the Jews not have collaborated with the Muslim invaders? "Whereas the Jews were violently mistreated by the Visigothic kings," asserts Américo Castro, "they will now be protected and sheltered by the kings of Spain for the eight centuries of reconquest." Even many historians who are less optimistic than Castro still see a "Golden Age of Spanish Jewry" sandwiched between violent persecution by the Visigoths and increasing intolerance by the Almoravids and Almohads. One writer mentions a number of restrictive Visigothic laws before anachronistically maintaining that: "To reward the Jews for being a fifth

column, the caliphs of Córdoba treated them kindly. Under the Moors, Jews became knights, physicians, scholars, and poets." S. M. Imamuddin writes that under the Visigoths the "intelligentsia and wealthy section of the population, e.g. the Jews, were exterminated and expelled from the country. With the arrival of the Muslims, however, came prosperity...." In more than one publication, Imamuddin quotes the Cambridge Medieval History: "The legal status of the Jews improved under the Muslims. The destructive policy of the Visigoths was succeeded by wide toleration and freedom." Israel Zinberg, expressing the opinion of countless others, sees the Arabs as bringing "genuine liberation," for prior to when the "Arabs settled on the Iberian peninsula, the Jews lived there in a degraded, depressed condition. The fanatical Visigoths who ruled Spain persecuted them severely..."

Determining whether or not the period 711 to 1031 is appropriately labeled the "Golden Age of Spanish Jewry," and whether or not Jewish status as "people of the book" (ahl al-kitāb) and "people of the contract" (ahl al-dhimmah) is "genuine liberation" is beyond the scope of this paper. It is obvious, however, that any vision of this "Golden Age" in 711 by the Jewish community is little more than wishful thinking and is enormously unfounded, and that any historical argument ex post facto is more than enormously fallacious. One simply cannot correctly assert that the Jews aided and abetted the Muslims because they were, over the next three centuries, to be treated well. One can argue logically that the Jews were led to treachery, and possibly treason, by their harsh treatment at the hands of the Visigoths. And even more historians than those who believe the charge of collaboration with the Muslims accept as fact and common knowledge the invidious and systematic persecution of the Jews by the Visigoths.

Most of the historians previously cited concur with a negative evaluation of Visigothic treatment of the Jews. Watt, for example, sees the persecution of the Jews as one of "three main factors" behind the decline and fall of the Visigothic Kingdom. Chejne writes that "the Jews, who played an important role in the economic life of the country, were subjected to such harsh measures as forced baptism, confiscation of property, and persecution." R. Dykes Shaw, in an article entitled "The Fall of the Visigothic Power in Spain," details a policy of relentless persecution of Jews. He concludes that they "were despoiled of their goods, robbed of their children, compelled to apostasize. It was decreed that they must not act, or speak, or think, in any way that would offend the true faith." In arriving at this conclusion, Shaw indicts the Catholic church in

Spain, decries a monarchy that has "thrown itself into the hands of the ecclesiastics" and proclaims the general decadence and cultural bankruptcy of Visigothic Spain. December 10 Eduardo Saavedra, in his dated Estudio sobre la invasion de los Árabes en España, states that the Jews had "only oppression and misery to expect from the established government."

Given the widespread scholarly belief in the Visigothic persecution of Jews and the concomitant conviction that the Jews collaborated with the Muslim invaders of Spain, this study will critically examine the evidence used to support these contentions. A historiographical examination of the literature, incorporating a number of recent studies, reveals that Visigothic persecution of Jews was neither as uniformly pervasive, successful, nor as racially or religiously hateinspired as is usually argued. In determining the extent of Jewish collaboration with the Muslims, a thorough examination of all pertinent Christian and Muslim sources will be made. The Christian sources are either in Latin or Spanish, and fortunately, the Muslim sources for the conquest are in French, Spanish, or occasionally English translation from the Arabic.<sup>12</sup> Norman Roth has similarly undertaken such a study.<sup>13</sup> The conclusions here echo his findings. but Roth neglects a number of the sources, especially the Latin ones, and does not systematically treat the sources item-by-item. As such his findings merit independent confirmation.

Historians frequently approach the question of Visigothic treatment of the Jews as if it is a perfectly logical stage in the transition of Jewish-Christian relations that begins with the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire and ends with the expulsion of the Jews from European countries such as England and Spain and the ghetto experience of German and Italian Jews. Solomon Grayzel points out that Jewish ghettos were not an unexpected development in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as they had "been long in the making: through conciliar decrees, collections of canon laws, royal edicts, papal decrees, and city charters."14 In an article entitled "The Beginnings of Exclusion," Grayzel begins his discussion with the Council of Elvira (306) in southern Spain. The year 589 is, for Grayzel, even more significant in that it is the date in which a "cooperative effort between Church and State" was instituted in Spain. King Reccared I (586-601), whose recent conversion from Arian to Catholic Christianity behooved the other Gothic nobility to do likewise, stood firmly behind the decrees of the Third Council of Toledo (589). Exemplary of these-decrees is the mandate that all children of a religiously mixed marriage (forbidden in the Theodosian Code) be baptized and raised as Christians.

Grayzel, who devotes four of his eleven pages to the Visigoths, then cites King Sisebut who, in 613, did "not even call a council before ordering the Jews either to leave the country or join the Church." Next, Grayzel discusses the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) which passed decrees urging:

...that former converts be compelled to retain their new faith or be treated as blasphemers, to lose their children or their slaves if any of them had been circumcised, for converts to have no contact with unconverted Jews, for converted children of Jews to be brought up away from parental influence but retain their rights of inheritance, for a Jew who marries a Christian to be forced to join the Church, and for a convert whose sincerity was suspected to be excluded from testimony in a court of law.<sup>16</sup>

In Grayzel's opinion the "next logical step" was taken at the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) when King Chintila declared there to be no room in his kingdom for anybody but Christians. "The Jews—now presumably 'all Christians—had to make a humble declaration (placitum) detailing all the ways and rites of Judaism from which they were going to abstain thereafter." Grayzel closes by menuioning the new constitution of King Reccesuinth which forbade "all Jewish rites and observances." 17

A far more detailed picture of Visigothic treatment of the Jews than Grayzel's is given in Aloysius Ziegler's Church and State in Visigothic Spain. This work judiciously blends what secondary material was in existence in 1930 with a fairly thorough study of the original sources. Its lucid order and direct, vigorous style recommend it still as a basic introduction to the topic. Ziegler first discusses the Lex Romana Visigothorum or Breviary of Alaric II. He notes that although the lewish population was placed under considerable restriction (they were forbidden to molest converts from their faith to Christianity, proselytize, acquire Christian slaves, or hold military or civil office), their existence was protected. They were free to repair synagogues, observe festivals, and were not to be disturbed on the Sabbath. Ziegler mentions that no new legislation of importance concerning the Jews was enacted until 589. At that point Jews were once again forbidden to hold public office or purchase Christian slaves, and, as in the Theodosian Code, were forbidden to have Christian wives or concubines. The council further declared that Christian slaves introduced into any Jewish rite (e.g., circumcision) were to be freed and restored to Christianity. King Sisebut passed further laws forbidding slave ownership, marriage to Christians, or proselytism, and attached more drastic penalties. Ziegler also maintains there is evidence that Sisebut imposed on his Jewish subjects "compulsory conversion to Christianity or exile." Isidore of Seville censured Sisebut for this, much as the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) censured all Christians for forced conversions, though the council decreed that Christians created in this manner should remain as Christians and not apostasize.

Among the other legislation of the Fourth Council one finds that baptized Jews were not to associate with unbaptized ones, even if they were their parents (though converts retained inheritance rights), children of mixed unions were required to be reared as Christians, baptized Jews who fell away from the church were not to testify in court, and as usual, Jews were not to discharge public offices or hold Christian slaves. The Sixth Council (638) confirmed many of these ordinances, and spoke of King Chintila as if he sought to ensure that none but Christians remain in Spain. Ziegler adds that:

Under Chintila the baptized Jews were required to present a *placitum* in which after a long profession of faith and abjuration of Judaism they bound themselves to observe only Catholic rites and to accept responsibility for the religious conduct of all members of their families; they obliged themselves to stone to death apostates from Christianity over whom they had *potestas* and to denounce any others to the proper authorities under penalty of confiscation.<sup>20</sup>

Ziegler then explains how Recessuinth sought a policy of conversion or destruction, but the Eighth Council of Toledo (653) decreed nothing more rigorous than the decrees of the Fourth Council. Recessuinth, however, in 654 "took it upon himself to issue a series of laws which made the position of the Jews quite unbearable. They were forbidden to follow the observances of their cult—circumcision, the Sabbath and Jewish festivals, their food laws." In some instances all laws carried the death penalty. And like Chintila, he required all Jews who had been baptized to sign a placitum. The Ninth Council of Toledo (655) insisted that baptized Jews should attend, on the feasts of both the Old and New Testaments, the services held by the bishop. The Tenth Council (656) once again forbade clerics to sell Christian slaves to Jews. This conciliar legislation is minor when compared with the twenty-eight laws against the Jews presented to the Twelfth Council (681) by

King Erwig for approval, and which he later incorporated in his own law code. Although Ziegler accepts the assertion by Paul à Wengen that Julian, the metropolitan of Toledo, was also responsible for this legislation, F. X. Murphy has recently repudiated this view.<sup>21</sup> In the course of his decrees Erwig rescinded the death penalty decrees of Recessuinth, and all of Erwig's legislation, save one decree, was similar in tone to previous enactments. That one decree, however, "was the obligation placed upon the Jews to abjure their religion within a year under pain of exile and confiscation of property." Erwig placed the responsibility for enforcement in the hands of the clergy, and warned bishops against possible avarice or lukewarmness in pursuit of this matter.

King Egica adopted another line of attack against the Jews. He did not force them into baptism, but "they were forbidden to engage in foreign commerce and to trade with Christians; they were obliged to sell to the *fiscus* at its own terms all slaves, buildings, lands, vineyards, olive groves, or other real property which they had at any time acquired from Christians."<sup>23</sup> This law was passed by the Sixteenth Council (693), and was so effective, according to Ziegler, that the Jews entered into a conspiracy with their brethren in Africa. Egica and the Seventeenth Council (694) retaliated swiftly:

All the Jews were declared enslaved to Christian masters, who were to see to it that no Jewish rites were practiced. The goods were confiscated to the *fiscus*, and their children after attaining the age of seven were to be taken from them and reared as Christians.<sup>24</sup>

Ziegler reports that Septimanian Jews, at the request of Egica, were exempted from this fate (apparently for economic reasons), but he does not know the specifics of the success or failure of this new decree.

Ziegler is always concerned in attaching more blame to the state than to the church. He notes that the legislation of Sisebut was rejected by the bishops, and that, although the Sixth Council of Toledo concurred with King Chintila's conversion policy, they repudiated the compulsory conversion attempt spearheaded by Recessuinth. Erwig, Ziegler notes, drew up his policy without church assistance, and the Seventeenth Council passed its law only by royal request: "The king almost invariably took the lead in the matter and the councils followed, except on the occasions when they resisted the fanaticism of the rulers." Although Father Ziegler's book was published by the Catholic University of America Press,

and his language throughout indicates a degree of special pleading, most of his conclusions are not without considerable justification.

Solomon Katz agrees with much of Ziegler's reading of the royal and conciliar legislation. Katz argues, however, that whether "more blame attaches to the king then to the councils is a moot point." He attributes the persecution to the union of the two, and quotes Montesquieu in the French to help establish his point:

The bishops had an immense authority at the court of the Visigoths, the most important affairs were decided in the councils. To the code of the Visigoths we owe all the maxims, all the principles, and all the views of the inquisition....<sup>27</sup>

Pages ten through twenty-two of Katz's book, part of the chapter entitled "Conversion of Jews to Christianity," summarize the Visigothic legislation but add very little new material to the cumulative stack of scholarly knowledge. One of the major advantages of Katz's work is that it is the first study in English to attempt a comprehensive view of the Jews in Visigothic Spain and Frankish Gaul.<sup>28</sup> Katz ranges over a number of topics, treating anti-Jewish polemics, proselytism, religious practices, the organization of synagogues and Jewish schools, the civil and legal status of Jews, jurisdiction in court cases involving Jews, and closing with his most challenging topic—"The Economic Life of the Jews." The results are occasionally disappointing, as Katz lacks an overall scheme and is forced all too frequently to use the same evidence in different contexts. This sometimes results in disconcertingly different interpretations of the same source. In one place Katz relates "whether learned Spanish Jews took up the controversy and replied to Isadore's arguments by counter treatises in Latin, as Graetz believes, is doubtful." Katz later affirms the suggestion "that the Jews of Visigothic Spain wrote anti-Christian works in Latin."29 Still it must not be without some justification that Katz's book is so frequently cited. Certainly Katz's interpretation is considered standard.

E. A. Thompson's *The Goths in Spain*, a very recent and well-received work, does not differ substantially from Katz. Thompson frequently refers to the Jews, and in his conclusion, he asks: "How...can we account for their [the Visigoths] savage legislation against the Jews, legislation that was enacted by king after king and confirmed by council after council for over a century?" Thompson cannot answer his own question. He notes that Jews were found in

several classes of Spanish society, and that "there is no indication in our sources of any popular feeling against them." Thompson closes his discussion of the Jews by noting that this "sustained, systematic, and nation-wide policy of extermination" may have "contributed to the utter destruction of those who initiated and enforced it." 30

Is it possible, in the face of such expert testimony, to offer a substantially different opinion of Visigothic-Jewish relations? At least one historian, Bernard S. Bachrach, has answered in the affirmative. Bachrach's article in the *American Historical Review* caused waves in the relatively placid sea of Visigothic studies and ripples in both Medieval and Jewish studies which have still not subsided.<sup>31</sup> Bachrach begins by attempting to view the anti-Jewish legislation in the context of an environment typified by: "a weak monarchy, a dependent Church, and a prosperous Jewish community...."<sup>32</sup> There were eighteen kings, at least seven of which were deposed or murdered, from no less than fifteen different families in the period 589-711. Following Reccared's conversion in 589, the Visigothic kings fought for and obtained responsibility over ecclesiastical and spiritual matters:

Visigothic monarchs appointed metropolitans and bishops, called councils and approved their acts, created new dioceses, and redrew the boundaries of already existing ones. The king's court was the court of the last instance in some and perhaps all ecclesiastical cases; the king ordered unqualified laymen to be obtained as priests, he had bishops defrocked, and he exercised power in numerous other ecclesiastical areas.<sup>33</sup>

The Jewish community, which predated the Visigoths, was "rich, large, and influential." Jews engaged in extensive missionary activity, even perhaps attempting to proselytize Arian Goths, "controlled noteworthy numbers of slaves, engaged in local and long-distance trade on a large scale, owned landed estates, held both military and civilian offices in the Visigothic government, and took part in military activities." By first sketching this environment, Bachrach assumes an immediate advantage in arguing his case that no legislation of any sort takes place in a vacuum.

In regard to Reccared's laws concerning the offspring of Jewish-Christian unions, Bachrach notes that, according to Jewish law and custom, one is Jewish only if born of a Jewish mother or if one goes through a formal conversion. If a Christian mistress of a Jewish man gave birth, the child would not be considered a Jew. If the

child is raised a Christian, this is not forcible conversion. It is only "reasonable for the Church to have been concerned about the spiritual and material welfare of a non-Jewish bastard born of a Christian woman living in sin...."35 By contrast, according to Jewish custom, a Jewish mistress of a Christian man who "willingly and openly" lived with him would be considered dead by her family, and it was obligatory on the part of the Jewish community to stone her to death. Bachrach thus finds no reason for the Jewish community to be alarmed at the legislation. He finds that Reccared has done little but "accept the laws of his Arian predecessors who are generally regarded as having been tolerant."36 In addition, Bachrach notes that Reccared eliminated the death penalty for offenses listed in the laws of Alaric II, that he refused to approve acts injurious to Jews passed at a provincial synod at Narbonne (589), and that he ignored Pope Gregory I's request that the king intervene to halt the Jewish-controlled slave trade at Narbonne. Bachrach suggests the possibility that the Jews at Narbonne supported the army of Reccared who suppressed a revolt there and that Reccared was therefore rewarding his political friends.

Liuva, Witteric, and Gundemar "made no effort to enforce the existing anti-Jewish laws and they promulgated no new anti-Jewish laws."37 Sisebut, it may be recalled, embarked on a severe anti-Jewish policy. And when he realized his laws were "not being enforced, he attempted to bring about the forced conversion of all Jews in the Visigothic Kingdom."38 In attempting to explain this policy, scholars have advanced religious piety, economic gain, and foreign policy as possible motivations. Bachrach is able, for reasons too involved to review here, to refute these three possibilities. He notes that many elements of church and society opposed Sisebut's conversion policy, and that the original enactments of Sisebut had strong political motivation. "By legislating the freedom of all Christian slaves owned by Jews, Sisebut probably hoped to create a class of people whose interest lay in supporting the king against their former owners, a policy that resembles in many ways the one followed by Bishop Agobard of Lyons in the ninth century."39 The reason Sisebut targeted the Jewish community was that it had not supported his claim to the throne.

Suinthila, Sisebut's successor, did not enforce the anti-Jewish laws, and in fact, encouraged the Jews who had entered exile to return. The next monarch, Sisenand, returned to the anti-Jewish policy of Sisebut and even gained church support for his program. He attacked the status of Jews in government and he sought to weaken the economic strength of the Jewish community. It should be noted,

however, that he opposed forced conversion, and he recognized that the revival of an anti-Jewish campaign would meet with opposition. Sisenand therefore decreed that those laymen, clerics, and even bishops who continued to protect and champion the cause of the Jews would be anathematized. Supporters of the policies of the predecessors of Sisenand rose against him on at least two occasions. Bachrach considers it quite normal that Sisenand, having overthrown a pro-Jewish monarch, pursued an anti-Jewish path.

Chintila, the next Visigothic king, promulgated a general policy of repression aimed at all who opposed his rule. His reign was characterized by civil war, and it is only in this context that Bachrach feels one is justified in evaluating Chintila's ratification of previous anti-Jewish legislation. The Jews had not supported Chintila's claim to the throne, and Chintila returned the favor by requiring Jews to emigrate or to convert and sign a *placitum*. Little is known about the success of Chintila's conversion policy. Even less is known about Chintila's son Tulga who was deposed in 642 by the pro-Jewish Chindasuinth. Bachrach feels that he has uncovered a definite pattern. He writes that:

...it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the Jews, as a formidable faction on the Visigothic scene, were supporters of Suinthila and Chindasuinth and were opposed to Sisebut, Sisenand, Chintila, and Tulga. The violent nature of the Visigothic royal succession strongly suggests that, for example, a noble like Chindasuinth who sought to overthrow the dynasty of Chintila would first try to obtain the support of the Jewish party that suffered under the policies of the dynasty. Therefore, while the issue of Jewish "liberties" was very probably not a *casus belli* for the various Gothic noblemen who sought to seize the throne, the position of the Jewish faction may well have been an important factor in determining the nature of the Jewish policy pursued by the king, whether he was a successful rebel or a legitimate monarch.<sup>40</sup>

Chindasuinth was indeed pro-Jewish. He put to death hundreds of influential Goths but at no time persecuted the Jews. He failed to enforce the convert or emigrate policy, and he utilized Jews in government. His only anti-Jewish measure (Christians were not to practice Jewish rites) seems aimed at halting conversions to Judaism, a surprising necessity on the heels of the legislation of Sisebut, Sisenand, and Chintila. Recessuinth, who succeeded his father to the

throne, reversed the comparative tolerance of Chindasuinth toward the Iews. Proof of earlier nonenforcement of most legislation can be taken from one of Recessuinth's major decrees that all prior anti-Iewish enactments were to be enforced until specifically repealed. Recessuinth, himself, produced evidence at the Tenth Council of Toledo that the Jews were still buying Christian slaves from clerics. Most historians see Recessuinth as a "religious fanatic"; Bachrach produces evidence from a chronicle that characterizes Recessuinth as "easygoing" and "debauched." Recessuinth granted numerous pardons in the course of his reign, and the key, according to Bachrach, is that "he favored men whom his father had driven out, men who had helped to formulate and enforce Chintila's anti-Jewish policy. It is hardly surprising therefore that he, too, took an anti-Jewish position."41 It is, moreover, entirely possible that his anti-Jewish policy not only remained unenforced but even aroused little interest. The Ninth Council was at best a regional synod, and the Tenth Council was attended by only twenty-two bishops or their representatives, compared to seventy-two in attendance at the Third Council of Toledo in 589.

Wamba, following Recessuinth, did not enforce anti-Jewish legislation despite the fact that Jews in Narbonne militarily supported a rebel force that Wamba crushed. Erwig succeeded Wamba, and promptly embarked on a twenty-eight point anti-Jewish policy. Most of the points are either relatively standard or relate to enforcement: abbots should not employ Jews, bishops should not have sexual relations with Jewish women, officials are liable for a seventy-two solidi fine for nonenforcement of Jewish policy, and anyone accepting a bribe for not reporting violations also must pay a fine. His one very serious point (all Jews must either emigrate or convert) was clearly not enforced. His successor Egica, indicating that there were still many Jews in Spain in 693, "thought it necessary to strike at their capacity to earn a living by issuing a series of laws aimed at crippling the economy of the Jewish community."42 Although many scholars have viewed Egica as a religious fanatic, Bachrach sees his policies, aimed at the economic base of the Jewish community, as trying to "eliminate a potential source of financial and other support that had previously been available to many non-Jewish enemies."43 Egica clearly had enemies. At the Sixteenth Council he legislated against Bishop Sisebut of Toledo who had attempted to overthrow him. Egica had all conspirators condemned, their property confiscated, and descendants barred from public office. Only a year later, Egica called the Seventeenth Council of Toledo (694) and spoke of confessions

from Jews who were plotting his overthrow with their coreligionists and exiled brethren, presumably in North Africa. The council promptly responded by attempting to strip all Jews of their property and reduce them to slavery.

Dozy, who is supported on this point by Imamuddin and a host of other scholars, states that: "there is no doubt that these decrees were executed in all their rigour."44 Ernest L. Abel, for example, is explicit that "all Jews, baptized or otherwise,...were deprived of all their property and were reduced to perpetual slavery."45 Bachrach, interestingly enough, ventures no guess on the extent to which these laws were carried into practice. He insists, however, that the Jews had in fact entered into a conspiracy. He chides historians to remember that this is seventh-century Spain, not Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia, and announces that he "can find no reason to conclude that Jews did not scheme to overthrow Egica."46 The problem, however, is that neither Bachrach, nor anyone else, can find any evidence, except Egica's assertion, to substantiate this Jewish plot of 694. All that is known about this revolt, or conspiracy to revolt, comes from the enactments of the Seventeenth Council. Consequently, the precise historical nature of this alleged event may never be known. There may not have been any plot at all. The provisions of the council may merely have reflected an anti-Jewish phobia. More probably, the enactments may have reflected the phobia of Egica; his enthronement was considerably less stable than any self-respecting monarch would have deemed satisfactory. It is also possible that it was not a phobia so much as a well-designed ploy on the part of Egica. In any case, Egica stated in the preamble of the Seventeenth Council of Toledo that he had "recently discovered by clear confessions that they [the Jews] were having consultations with other Jews across the sea, in order that they might act together against the Christian race." The council declared that "not only did they knowingly disturb the condition of the church, but they even sought with tyrannical audacity to cause the ruin of the fatherland and of all the people of the universe...." The bishops passed their decrees "by the command of our most pious King Egica."47 If the conspiracy was indeed a flight of Egica's imagination, and the council was merely bowing to the legislative desires of the king, it is clear that bishops and judges would find ways and means to subvert the regulations. And if all Jews were exiled or reduced to slavery and compelled to convert, there would have been no Jews in Spain to collaborate with the Muslim invaders.

Bachrach next explains that little is known concerning King

Witiza, successor to Egica, as no further conciliar documents have survived. He then writes that the "Jews, who opposed Roderic's supporters and allied with the Muslims, seized a large number of cities, and some cities, including Seville, Cordova, and Toledo, the most important in Spain, received Jewish garrisons." This contention will be examined critically later in this essay. It is clear, nonetheless, that the bulk of Bachrach's interpretation of Visigothic-Jewish relations is well-substantiated. From 589 to 711 only seven Visigothic kings followed anti-Jewish policies. At least nine monarchs "pursued policies that varied from benign neglect of the Jews to support of the Jews." 48

Simple logic indicates that many historians, such as Grayzel or Ziegler, do not give an accurate picture. No chronicles as comprehensive as Gregory of Tours for the Franks or Paul the Deacon for the Lombards survive from the Visigothic era. No correspondence and very little other contemporary literature, save the legal enactments of kings and councils, exist to be employed by historians. There simply is no way of judging the extent of enforcement. The fact that Jews were being prohibited from certain actions indicates that they were engaging in the activities with some regularity. And the fact that the laws are so frequently repetitious would seem to indicate that earlier prohibitions were not being enforced.

Several factors have distorted the work of pre-Bachrach historians of Jewish-Visigothic relations. First, there has been a tendency for the "Church" to be seen as monolithic and for the word to be used as a synonym for members, divisions, or isolated enactments of the church. Concerning the Visigothic era historians have failed to realize that the kings exercised a powerful, occasionally even commanding, influence on the "official policy" of the church but did not and could not dictate the general attitude of the church and churchmen. Second, historians have at times misunderstood the motives for certain decrees. The Fourth Council of Toledo (633), for example, argued that Sisebut's policy of compulsory conversion was wrong in principle, but that Jews baptized in such a manner were not free to apostasize. Historians have rightly noted the persecution inherent in this refusal but have failed to note the reason for it—the objective, transcendental validity with which the council viewed sacraments and the value attributed to acts such as baptism and communion. Third, there has been a reluctance to realize the extent of the size and strength of the Jewish community in Visigothic Spain. Thompson writes that "although they are mentioned all too often in the laws, they are not known to have been very numerous

in Spain. They cannot be said to have occupied any very important position in the society of the kingdom."<sup>49</sup> But if all that survives in abundance for this age is legislation and the legislation indicates that the Jews were of great concern to some monarchs, perhaps the original assumption needs to be reevaluated. Fourth, there is a prevalent, modern image of the passive and suffering Jew. Salo Baron labeled this theme the "lachrymose conception" of Jews and was upset with the "eternal self-pity" which he observed in Jewish historiography. Historians have been unaware, though some Christian historians have just been reluctant to admit, that in the early Middle Ages the Jews proselytized extensively and enjoyed considerable success.<sup>50</sup> Evidence does not survive that allows anyone to guess at the extent of Jewish proselytism in Visigothic Spain, though Visigothic kings were repeatedly compelled to outlaw conversion.

Bachrach is not alone in arguing that the Jewish question for the Visigothic kings was above all a political one. Jeremy Adams, in a little-known article that appeared independent of, but correlative to, Bachrach's paper, argued that the Visigothic kings were indeed inconsistent in their policy toward the Jews.<sup>51</sup> Adams indicates that while the Jews were separated for specific condemnation, he believes that the Visigoths were essentially interested in establishing a homogeneous population loval to the throne. Although kings achieved little, if any, success in this direction, the problem of the Jews represented not so much a religious as a political dilemma. Nor is Bachrach's portrait of Jews in Visigothic Spain unlike portraits of Jewish communities in other Christian kingdoms. In Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096, Bernhard Blumenkranz finds a vital and socioeconomically potent Jewish community, which enjoyed a relatively smooth rapport with Christians, to have existed in the Carolingian empire.<sup>52</sup> The Jewish community of Visigothic Spain was large, active, politically important, and, although subjected to the broadswords of several monarchs, there is reason to believe Jews were willing, able, and effective at parrying.

The events surrounding the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula only a year after the death of the Visigothic King Witiza are enormously confusing. To conclusively unravel the often conflicting evidence in the accounts of the conquest would require a book of its own. The accounts and conjectures of many modern historians could provide at least a chapter or two of comic relief in such a book. It seems probable, however, that Visigothic Spain was engaged in a massive civil war. This war centered on a dispute

between Roderic, the newly elected king, who controlled Toledo and enjoyed the support of much of the church, and Witiza's son Achila, who was proclaimed as king and enjoyed the following of a sizeable faction known historically as the Witizanos.<sup>53</sup> Rather than support Roderic as king, the Witizanos allegedly sent envoys to Africa seeking Muslim assistance.

Count Julian, a very mysterious character in history, also seems to have been involved in this civil war. Modern authors have identified him variously as a Byzantine exarch in charge of Ceuta, one of the last Christian outposts in Islamic North Africa; or a Christian Berber, leader of the Ghumāra tribe, loyal subject of Witiza and sometimes even defender of Tangier against the Muslims; or as a Gothic noble who was Lord of Algeciras and Cádiz on the Spanish side of the straits of Gibraltar.<sup>54</sup> One author even engages in a flight of imagination to the point of writing:

When King Witiza, who favored tolerance for the Jews, was deposed in favor of the warrior-noble Roderigo, the sympathizers of Witiza, mainly the entire Jewish population, but also a few Christian noblemen, conspired to rid the kingdom of Rodrigo's rule. Count Julian, a Jew, hated Rodrigo.... Although Rodrigo's troops numbered 100,000, his army was routed because of rampant treachery on the part of his Jewish troops and followers of Witiza. In a single, decisive battle, Visigothic Spain became the Spain of Al-Andalus, and the course of Spanish history was changed completely—largely due to the treachery of one well-placed Jew and his fellows.55 (Emphasis added.)

What is fairly certain is that Count Julian contributed to the downfall of Roderic. In Muslim sources there is also the story that Roderic violated Count Julian's daughter when she was in Toledo and that Julian was motivated by personal vengeance when he aided the Muslims. There is little reason to treat this story as anything more than legend. "It was relatively common, of course, for medieval people to explain social and political phenomena whose motives were incomprehensible to them by imputing events to the personal quirks of one leader or another."56

Regardless of Count Julian's motives, it is likely that the proximity of Spain to North Africa would have led the Muslims to attempt conquest on their own. Though details are meagre, there is evidence in fact, both Muslim and Christian, to suggest that in 675-

676 the Muslims attempted a substantial military expedition to the Iberian peninsula. The summer of 710 Mūsā b. Nuṣair, governor of North Africa, sent a small reconnoitering expedition led by Ṭarīf (the city of Tarifa is said to bear his name) to the southern tip of the Iberian peninsula. He returned with enough booty, mainly from Algeciras, to cause Mūsā to then send his Berber lieutenant Ṭāriķ b. Ziyād with a force of seven thousand men. In April 711 Ṭāriķ landed on the rock of Gibraltar (Djabal at-Tarik) to which he gave his name. Ṭāriķ occupied Algeciras, sent for and received an additional five thousand troops from Mūsā, and proceeded toward Seville. Roderic, who had been quelling a revolt among the Basques, hastened to the south where he assembled an army of considerably less than the 100,000 asserted in the chronicles. Battle was fought from July 19 to July 23, 711.59

Roderic's forces suffered absolute defeat. Many of his troops defected, including perhaps the supporters of Witiza, Sisebert, and Oppa, who commanded flanks of the army. Roderic himself disappeared on the battlefield and was neither found nor heard from again, though a later tradition has him buried in Portugal. Tarik immediately realized his advantage and pressed north, eventually taking Toledo. Not to be outdone by his lieutenant. Mūsā b. Nusair landed in Spain in 712 with an army of eighteen thousand. He headed for and conquered Seville and then proceeded north, taking a number of cities along the way, until he joined forces with Tarik at Talayera outside of Toledo. Mūsā had coins struck at Toledo with the inscription Amir Muse filius Nusir and the Muslim statement of faith. After the winter of 713-714, Mūsā and Tārik raided to Saragossa and beyond before encountering stiff opposition and deciding to spend the rest of the year in Galicia and Asturias in the northwestern part of the Iberian peninsula. In late 714, when Tarik and Mūsā left Spain for Damascus, Mūsā's son 'Abdal 'azīz remained in Seville in charge of the newly conquered territory.60

In northwest Spain Roderic was succeeded by King Achila, who is thought to have ruled for three years. Although he is not mentioned in any chronicle, coins of his issued at Narbonne, Gerona, and Tarragona have survived. The Witizanos were not, however, in any position of power. Abdal azīz is thought to have married Roderic's widow Egilona and is known to have continued the offensive northward to the Pyrenees, conquering Pamplona, Tarragona, Barcelona, and Gerona.

The accusations of Jewish collaboration are intriguing. The earliest chronicles make no reference to the Jews. The first mention of them in Christian sources is not, in fact, until Lucas of Tuy's

Chronicle of the World in 1236. The Chronicle of the Moor Ar-Rāzī, written in the mid-tenth century, is the first Muslim source to attribute collaboration to the Jews. But an important distinction is critical here. There is after-the-fact collaboration for giving aid to the enemy after the enemy has already captured a city. There also is a second, more treacherous, type of before-the-fact collaboration where one aids the enemy in effecting a city's seizure. Ar-Rāzī and other Muslim chroniclers who mention the Jews attribute only the first type of collaboration to them. The first chronicler to accuse the Jews of being traitors is Lucas of Tuy, writing more than four hundred years after the event. Such an accusation likely tells one more about Lucas than it does about the historical events surrounding the Muslim conquest of Spain.

The only extant source that truly may be labeled as primary for the Muslim invasion of Spain is a Christian one usually referred to as the Chronicle of 754 but occasionally as the Latin Anonymous, Anonymous of Córdoba, Chronicle of Isidore Pacensis, or Chronicle of Isidore Hispalensis.62 This chronicler speaks so intimately of Córdoba and to a lesser extent Toledo that it is likely he once lived in both. Benito Sánchez Alonso believes him to be a Mozarab (Christian) writing in Muslim Córdoba.63 The chronicle is in very poor Latin, the result of barbarous Latinity plus extensive copying and interpolation. It is, nonetheless, impartial and fairly complete. Moreover, the author claims to have witnessed some of the events which he describes. Regardless of whether or not he actually did, the Chronicle of 754 is the most authoritative account of the conquest; his successors, writing centuries later, may preserve early and correct traditions but they should not be easily accepted when they contradict him. Surprisingly, Roth makes no mention of the Chronicle of 754, and Eliyahu Ashtor, although he is cognizant of it and employs it on a number of occasions, passes over its account of the conquest in favor of later (sometimes as much as nine centuries later) Muslim sources.64 The Chronicle of 754 mentions civil war among the Visigoths, the role played by Julian, and refers to Tarik's invasions. The invaders "wickedly ravaged" the royal city of Toledo, but treachery is attributed to the Jews neither in the fall of Toledo nor in the fall of any of the other cities.

The first Muslim chronicle containing information on the conquest does not appear until almost one hundred years after the *Chronicle of 754*. Tsā b. Muḥammad lived in the first half of the ninth century, and, although his original writings have been lost, portions exist in Ibn 'Idhārī's *Al-Bayān al-mughrib*.65 Ibn 'Idhārī's work is one of the most important sources for the history of Muslim

North Africa and Spain. Written in Marrākush in the thirteenth century, it is a comprehensive history and is arranged chronologically. For his details of the Muslim conquest of Spain, Ibn 'Idhārī follows 'Īsā b. Muḥammad, who tells the story of Count Julian's daughter having been molested by Roderic and reports that traitors supplied boats to the Muslims. The Jews are neither mentioned as being among the traitors nor as aiding and abetting Ṭāriķ as he progresses through Spain.

Many of Tsa b. Muhammad's details seem to have been copied by Abd al-Malik b. Habib, one of the most famous and influential Andalusian scholars of his day. Born in approximately 796, Ibn Habīb is known to have studied at Elvira and Córdoba, made the pilgrimage and become acquainted with the legal doctrines of Malikism, and to have written a universal history beginning with creation and ending with his own time before he died at Córdoba in 853. By his own account, his works number over one-thousand, but only two fragments survive. One is Manuscript 127 of the Bodleian Library (Oxford): its Arabic text is unedited but Melchor M. Antuña obtained a photocopy of the portion referring to the conquest and translated it into Spanish. Sánchez-Albornoz, in an introduction to the translation, observed that the manuscript is not Ibn Habīb's original but a greatly altered excerpt by Ibn Habīb's pupil, Ibn Abī Rika.66 The excerpt is full of much fabulous and some absurd material. The second fragment of Ibn Habīb's work to survive exists in the anonymous eleventh-century Fatho-l-Andaluci.67 Whereas the Bodleian manuscript begins in the middle of the action when Mūsā sends a man with red hair, cross-eyes, and a scarred hand (Tarik) to Tangier to capture Christian ships and obtain information about Spain, the narrative in this work is more complete. In the Bodleian manuscript the Visigothic state is in chaos and traitors seek Muslim assistance; in the Fatho-l-Andaluçi version of Ibn Habīb Count Julian's daughter has been molested by Roderic. In neither version do the Jews collaborate with the Muslim invaders.

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 871) was an Egyptian chronicler and author of a *History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa, and Spain*. This is obviously not, as Roth asserts, the "earliest known chronicle of the invasion." It is, nonetheless, an extremely valuable work that contains important information on the topography and financial administration of Egypt. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's point of view is more that of legal scholar than historian, and he consequently includes a long appendix listing the chief judges of Egypt. He presents two different versions of the conquest of Spain but neither mentions the Jews.<sup>68</sup>

Two Christian chronicles which deal with the conquest complete the list of sources before the end of the ninth century. They make no reference whatsoever to the Jews. The *Albedensian Chronicle* states little more than in the third year of Roderic's reign the Muslims conquered Spain and captured the Gothic Kingdom, which, even now, they possess. The *Chronicle of Alfonso III* gives a slightly fuller description. It explicitly accuses the Witizanos but not the Jews of treachery which led to the downfall of Roderic and the Visigothic state. Thus there exists not a single source, Muslim or Christian, prior to the year 900 that contains any reference or even hint of Jewish collaboration with the Muslim invaders of Spain.

The first mention of the Jews in a chronicle occurs in the work of the Muslim historian Ahmad B. Muhammad ar-Rāzī. Ar-Rāzī wrote numerous works, including a general history of Spain, a genealogy of famous Andalusians, a description of the capital city of Córdoba, and a geographical work on the roads and cities of al-Andalus. None of these works is known in the original and only diverse portions from a substantially later date are known of his general history. The Chronicle of the Moor Ar-Rāzī was dictated by a bilingual Muslim named Muhammad to a Portuguese cleric, Gil Pérez, who did not know Arabic. This was done under the patronage of King Dinis of Portugal (1279-1325). No direct copy of this translation survives; there are only innumerable and diverse fragments from later dates.70 Saavedra transcribed and published two Castilian translations from the Portuguese translation which exist in manuscript.71 In neither of these texts are the Jews mentioned, and the Witizanos are, as usual, blamed for the invasion. In the version that survives in the General Chronicle of 1344, there is a different story. The invasion is brought about by the violation of Count Julian's daughter. Tarik proceeds through Spain, taking Córdoba and then arriving at Toledo. The Christians, however, have fled the city, leaving the Jews to the mercy of the invaders. The Jews make their peace with Tarik, and, in return, he places them in charge of the city.72 It is clear by this account that the Jews have not betrayed a Christian populace because the Christians have fled. No treachery can be attributed to their actions. In addition it should be noted that it is not certain that this story exists in the original chronicle.

Casting some doubt on whether or not the story of the Jews garrisoning Toledo existed in Ar-Rāzī's original (or, if it existed, whether it is accurate) is the *History of the Conquest of Spain* by Ibn al-Kūtīya.<sup>73</sup> Al-Kūtīya (d. 971) lived in Córdoba and was a descendant of Visigothic nobility. Renowned for his knowledge of grammar and lexicography, al-Kūtīya also won fame as a poet,

judge, and historian. His *History* was dictated and recorded by one of his students. It starts with an account of the internal situation of the Visigothic state and ends with the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Al-Kūtīya reports Count Julian's desire for vengeance. Ṭāriķ defeats Roderic thanks to the treachery of the Witizanos, and he takes Ecija, Córdoba, and Seville. Despite the fact that al-Kūtīya knew and used Ar-Rāzī's chronicle, the Jews are not mentioned.

There are three Christian works of significance for the conquest that survive from the period 900 to 1200. The Pseudo-Isidorian Chronicle was apparently written in the tenth or perhaps eleventh century by an unknown Mozarab in Toledo. Ramón Menéndez Pidal believes that this work was originally written in Arabic (and only later translated into Latin) and that the author was familiar with Arabic sources and Arabic translations of Latin sources.74 Pseudo-Isidore is the first Christian account to report the vengeance of Julian on his daughter's behalf. According to him, it was Witiza, not Roderic, who violated the Count's daughter. Tarik invades but in the meantime Witiza has died and it is Roderic who is defeated by Tārik. He takes Córdoba and settles in Toledo, but there is no reference to the Jews. The History of the Monk of Silos follows the Pseudo-Isidorian account, and, although the Witizanos are accused of deserting Roderic on the battlefield, the Jews are not mentioned.<sup>75</sup> They are also not mentioned in the Iriensian Chronicle, a church history that survives only in the Historia Compostellana written c. 1140.76 This last work mentions neither the treachery of the Witizanos nor the violation of Julian's daughter, though it does assert that Roderic's tomb is at Viseu in Portugal.

The Iews are mentioned by the anonymous Muslim author of the Akhbar madim $\bar{u}^c a$ , a short chronicle of the early eleventh century preserving traditions that date from as early as the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>77</sup> This chronicle relates Roderic's violation of Count Julian's daughter and reports that Witiza's "sons," Oppa and Sisebert, desert Roderic on the battlefield. After defeating Roderic, Tarik divides his army into several parts. Mughith ar-Rumi leads one set of troops against Córdoba and, after a siege of three months, captures the city. Another set of troops is sent to the province of Elvira where they find "many Jews." They take possession of Granada and entrust the garrisoning of the city to the Jews and a "detachment" of their own troops. They continue on to Málaga, the capital of the province of Rayya, but they find neither Jews nor Christians as all residents have fled. Tārik, leading yet a different set of troops, captures Toledo, but no mention is made of the Jews. Mūsā arrives one year later and, after a lengthy siege, he conquers

Seville where he utilizes Jews in his garrison.<sup>78</sup> The Jews, however, have done nothing treasonous. After the Muslims have taken control of a city, the Jews of that city cooperate, but even in this cooperation the Muslims are still careful to leave troops of their own with the garrison.

There exist three more Muslim chronicles which deserve examination. The Fatho-l-Andaluci is an anonymous work dating to c. 1100.79 In this account, Tarik takes Seville and Écija by capitulation and Córdoba by siege. Mūsā, not Tārik, takes Toledo, and Mūsā is forced to recapture Seville. When he does this, he utilizes Jews in his garrison. This conflicts with Ibn Habīb's version of the conquest, where Córdoba is taken by capitulation rather than the sword, but the chronicler then incorporates Ibn Habīb's account and places it immediately after his own. 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233) spent most of his life in Mosul but made repeated journeys to Baghdad. His Annals of the Maghreb and of Spain states that Tārik finds Toledo deserted and utilizes the Iews in his garrison and that Mūsā establishes a garrison with Jews in Seville one year later.80 Al-Makkarī (1591-1631) was born at Tlemcen and died at Cairo. His History of the Mohammedan Dynasties of Spain was written at the request of scholars in Damascus, and, though from a significantly later date, it preserves a great deal of material that would not otherwise be known. Al-Makkarī accepts all earlier sources which report that Jews helped garrison cities, and consequently has them garrisoning Córdoba, Granada, Málaga, Toledo, and Seville.81 Even if this were true, and it is by no means certain, the Jews are neither involved as a reason for the invasion nor do they participate in the invading forces. Their actions are obviously no more, and probably quite less, collaborative than the actions of Christian cities that capitulated.

Why, then, have modern historians so freely accepted the story of Jewish collaboration with the Muslim invaders? Part of the reason lies with what they perceive as the Visigothic treatment of the Jews as compared to the treatment the Jews received at the hands of the Muslims. Part of the reason is that many commentators have thought al-Makkarī more reliable than earlier sources which neglect the Jews. When interpreting al-Makkarī they frequently bring romantic notions that emphasize medieval siege-warfare rather than the more common negotiation and surrender. But the major reason has to do with one well-placed anti-Semite. Lucas of Tuy wrote his *Chronicle of the World* in Latin in the middle of the thirteenth century, and it was translated into Spanish at a later date. Although it purports to be a universal history, it is very provincial in its

outlook. Lucas ends his account with the capture of Córdoba by San Fernando III in 1236. Lucas of Tuy was unfamiliar with the Arabic sources as he makes no reference to the Jews garrisoning Córdoba or Seville; he seems to have drawn heavily from Isidore of Seville, the Chronicle of Alfonso III and the History of the Monk of Silos. Lucas tells the story that as Ṭāriķ's forces proceed to Toledo the Jews open the city gates to them while the Christians are occupied in their Palm Sunday procession. The Muslims then put all Christians to the sword. Lucas does not, however, list an earlier source for this event.

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1171-1247) was a graduate of Paris and Bologna, chief advisor to San Fernando III, a participant in the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), a major Church reformer who attended Lateran Council IV, and, from 1208 on, Archbishop of Toledo. He began the building of the present cathedral at Toledo, encouraged scholars such as Michael Scot and Mark of Toledo, knew Arabic, and wrote a number of historical works. His History of the Goths relates the Arabic stories of Jews garrisoning cities but does not mention Lucas's story concerning Toledo.83 It is clear, however, that he was familiar with Lucas's chronicle as he employed it on a number of other occasions. Acceptance of Lucas of Tuy's story of the downfall of Toledo was achieved, despite Jiménez's rejection, shortly thereafter. The Primera crónica general, begun in 1270 at the behest of Alfonso X el Sabio who participated in its composition, accepts without reservation the accusation by Lucas against the Jews.84 From this point on, Lucas's story is accepted as fact by Gil de Zamora and numerous other Spanish writers.

There are a number of factors operating in the thirteenth century that increased anti-Semitism and might explain why an accusation of Jewish collaboration was so readily believed. One factor was certainly socioeconomic rivalry. Another was perhaps an increased desire for conversion spurred on by an active and renewed lay piety and spearheaded by a succession of strong, reforming popes such as Innocent III. Jeremy Cohen, in a provocative and recent work, has argued that the Dominicans and Franciscans were especially responsible for creating a new mentality that left no room for Jews to exist in Catholic Europe.85 One of the most interesting suggestions has been that Christians frequently categorized Jews with Muslims since they both rejected the Holy Trinity, claimed physical descent from the same ancestor, and used closely related languages.86 If Jews happened to be agents of a foreign Islamic conspiracy, they had to be degraded, converted, exiled, or killed. Very effective propaganda for such an end would be provided if it could

be established that the perfidy of the Jews led to the overthrow of the Visigoths. Such a fact sheds new light on thirteenth-century chronicles. Jewish "collaboration" is very much a thirteenth-century creation, but, like so many creations of the thirteenth century, it is one that still exercises a powerful influence on the twentieth-century imagination.

#### **NOTES**

- ¹ Reinhart P. Dozv, Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain, trans. Francis Griffin Stokes (London, 1913), 232; Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane, 3 vols. (Paris, 1950), I, 23; W. Montgomery Watt, A History of Islamic Spain (Edinburgh, 1965), 12, 32; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca, New York, 1975), 92; Anwar G. Chejne, Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture (Minneapolis, 1974), 7; Stanley Payne, A History of Spain and Portugal, 2 vols. (Madison, 1973), I, 18.
- <sup>2</sup> Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *La Espana musulmana*, 2 vols. (Córdoba, 1946), I, 41; *España Segrada*, 56 vols. (Madrid, 1747-1879, 1918, 1957-1961), IV, f. 5: "De V. Mag. es la gloria de pureza de la Fé que la Iglesia conserva en sus Dominios, controdecida desde el tiempo de los Godos la perfidia Judayca. . . ."
- <sup>3</sup> Pascual de Gayangos in Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkari, The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, 2 vols. (London, 1840), 1, 531, n. 18. For more information on Gayangos see James T. Monroe, Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (Sixteenth Century to the Present) (Leiden, 1970), 67-83.
- <sup>4</sup> José Amador de los Rios, Historia social, política y religiosa de los Judíos de España, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1875-1876, I, 106-107; Antonio Ballasteros y Beretta, Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal (Barcelona, 1981-1936), II: 107; Francisco Cantera Burgos, "Christian Spain," in The Dark Ages: Jews in Christian Europe, 711-1096, ed. Cecil Roth (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1966), 357; José Orlandis, Historia de España: La España Visigótica (Madrid, 1977), 83, 191.
- <sup>5</sup> Salo Wittmayer Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, (2nd rev. ed., New York, 1957), III, 92; Norman Roth, "The Jews and the Muslim Conquest of Spain," Jewish Social Studies 38 (1976), 145-146; Eliyahu Ashtor, The Jews of Moslem Spain, trans. Aaron Klein and Jenny Machlowitz Klein, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1973), I, 15.
- <sup>6</sup> Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, trans. Edmund L. King (Princeton, New Jersey, 1954), 77; Don A. Halperin, *The Ancient Synagogues of the Iberian Peninsula* (Gainesville, Florida, 1969), 3.
- <sup>7</sup> S.M. Imamuddin, Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain, 711-1492 A.D. (Leiden, 1965), 7. The fact that this work was published by E. J. Brill and possesses challenging chapter headings recommends it highly. It should, however, be used with extreme

caution. See, for example, Vincent Cantarino's review in the *Journal of Asian History* 2 (1968), 54-56.

- <sup>8</sup> Imamuddin, Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Muslim Spain, 41; Imamuddin, "The Jews in Spain (711-1492 A.D.)," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan 7 (1962), 401. The quotation is from the Cambridge Medieval History, ed., H. M. Gwatkin, et al., 8 vols. (New York, 1911-1936), III, 429; Israel Zinberg, A History of Jewish Literature, vol. I: The Arabic-Spanish Period, trans. and ed. Bernard Martin (Cleveland, 1972), 13.
  - <sup>9</sup> Watt, History of Islamic Spain, 12-13; Chejne, Muslim Spain, 4.
- 10 R. Dykes Shaw, "The Fall of the Visigothic Power in Spain," English Historical Review 73 (1906), 214, 213-214. An evaluation or partial resurrection of the Visigothic reputation is beyond the scope of this paper. Readers should be alerted, however, to the many articles in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, ed., Edward James (Oxford, 1980); Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 17 (Spoleto, 1970), 261-311; Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 62, ser. C, no. 6 (1960), 167-194; and P. D. King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom (Cambridge, 1972).
- <sup>11</sup> Eduardo Saavedra, Estudio sobre la invasion de los Arabes en España (Madrid, 1892), 89.
- <sup>12</sup> All references will be to the editions in translation. Since many of these were done in the nineteenth century, personal and place names (and some titles) appear in diverse methods of transliteration. Standard Arabic to English transliteration will be employed in the text, though all footnotes will be to the edition as published. Recent, critical editions of Arabic texts, unnecessary for the present work, will not be noted, as they were not consulted.
- <sup>13</sup> Norman Roth, "The Jews and the Muslim Conquest of Spain," *Jewish Social Studies* 38 (1976), 145-158.
- <sup>14</sup> Solomon Grayzel, "The Beginnings of Exclusion," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 61 (1970), 15.
  - 15 Ibid., 24.
  - 18 Ibid.
  - 17 Ibid., 30.
- <sup>18</sup> Aloysius Kieran Ziegler, Church and State in Visigothic Spain (Washington, D.C., 1930), 186-199, 190.
  - 19 Ibid., 191.
  - 20 Ibid., 192.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid., 193, 194. See for example Paul à Wengen, *Julianus Erzbischaf von Toledo* (St. Gall, 1891); and Francis X. Murphy, "Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom in Spain," *Speculum* 27 (1952), 1-27.
  - 22 Ibid.
  - 23 Ibid., 195.
  - 24 Ibid., 196.
  - 25 Ibid., 198.

<sup>26</sup> Solomon Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Franklin Kingdom of Spain and Gaul (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), 11.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., quoting Montesquieu, *L'espirit des lois*, XXVIII, l: "Les évêques eurent une autorité immense à la cour des rois wisigoths, les affaires les plus importantes étoient décidées dans les conciles. Nous devons au code des Wisigoths toutes les maximes, tous les principes et toutes les vues de l'inquisition...."

<sup>26</sup> Guido Kisch in a review in Jewish Social Studies 1 (1939), 129-131, argues that the book should "not have been published." Kisch maintains that Katz "should have openly and honestly admitted that the greatest part of the book represents nothing but a translation from the works of Juster." Jean Juster is author of, among other works, La condition légale des Juifs sous les rois visigoths (Paris, 1912); and Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain: leur condition juridique, economique et sociale, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914). Neither of these works is easily found. Linda McMillin Simon recently called my attention to Alfredo M. Rabello, "A Tribute to Jean Juster," Israel Law Review 11 (1976), 216-258; and to Rabello's translation of Juster's "The Legal Condition of the Jews Under the Visigothic Kings," Israel Law Review 11 (1976), 259-287, 341-414, and 563-588.

- 29 Katz, Jews, 35, 62.
- 30 E. A. Thompson, The Goths in Spain (Oxford, 1969), 316.
- 31 Bernard S. Bachrach, "A Reassessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy, 589-711," American Historical Review 78 (1973), 11-34. This article is incorporated in its entirety into Bachrach's Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Europe (Minneapolis, 1977). See the reviews by Steven Bowman in Jewish Social Studies 42 (1980), 93-94; Gavin I. Langmuir in Speculum 54 (1979), 104-107; and Joseph Shatzmiller in American Historical Review 83 (1978), 413-414. Special attention should be called to Bat-Seva Albert's "Un Nouvel Examen de la Politique Anti-Juive Wisigothique: A Propos d'un Article Récent," Revue des Études Juives 135 (1976), 3-29.
  - 32 Bachrach, "Visigothic Jewish Policy," 13-14.
  - 33 Ibid., 13.
  - 34 Ibid.
  - 35 Ibid., 14.
  - 36 Ibid., 15.
  - 37 Ibid., 16.
  - 38 Ibid., 16-17.
  - <sup>39</sup> Ibid., 19.
  - <sup>40</sup> Ibid., 22.
  - 41 Ibid., 25.
  - 42 Ibid., 29. Thompson, Goths, 246-247, lists these laws.
  - 43 Bachrach, "Visigothic Jewish Policy," 29.
  - 44 Dozy, Spanish Islam, 228.
- <sup>45</sup> Ernest L. Abel, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Rutherford, New Jersey, 1975), 223-224.
  - <sup>46</sup> Bachrach, "Visigothic Jewish Policy," 32-33.
  - 47 Giovanni Domenico Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissma

Collectio, 53 vols. (Florence, Venice, 1759-1798), XII, 93, 101-102.

- 48 Bachrach, "Visigothic Jewish Policy," 32-33, 34.
- <sup>49</sup> Thompson, *Goths*, 316. Ziegler is the only scholar prior to Bachrach to come close to an accurate portrayal of the Jewish position. In *Church and State* (p. 197), Ziegler claims that "evidently the Jews were a powerful, aggressive body, propounding their doctrines, eager to proselytize."
- 50 Bernhard Blumenkranz, "The Roman Church and the Jews," The Dark Ages: Jews in Christian Europe, 711-1096, ed., Cecil Roth (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1966), 84-88; Karl W. Deutsch, "Anti-Semitic Ideas in the Middle Ages: International Civilizations in Expansion and Conflict," Journal of the History of Ideas 6 (1945), 239-241. Such evidence of extensive conversion to Judaism indicates the wrongheadedness of statements such as O'Callaghan, History of Medieval Spain, 72: "Despite the abundance of legislation against them, the majority of Jews preserved their religious and racial homogeneity."
- <sup>51</sup> Jeremy du Qesnay Adams, "Ideology and the Requirements of 'Citizenship' in Visigothic Spain: The Case of the Judaei," *Societas* 2 (1972), 317-332.
- 52 Bernhard Blumenkranz, Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096 (Paris, 1960). The first section of this book deals with the conditions under which the Jews of this period lived. The second concerns efforts to convert them to Christianity and efforts made by Jews to proselytize for Judaism. The third section deals with the large, two-way polemical Christian-Jewish literature. The last traces the gradual growth of repressive legal measures against the Jews. See also the collected studies by Blumenkranz in Juifs et chrétiens: patristique et Moyen Age (London, 1977).
- <sup>53</sup> The problems of the Visigothic state were, however, far more grave than recurring dynastic disputes. See Luis A. Garcia Moreno, *El fin del reino de Toledo, decadencia y catastrofe, una contribucion a su critica* (Madrid, 1975).
- 54 Joaquín Vallvé's, "Sobre algunos problemas de la invasion musulmana," Annuario de Estudios Medievales 4 (1967), 361 makes the strongest case for identifying Julian as Goth. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "Frente a unas páginas erroneas sobre la conquista de España por los musulmanes," Cuadernos de Historia de España 49-50 (1969), 306-307, n. 43, follows Ibn Khaldūn in identifying Julian as a Christian Berber. The majority of contemporary historians think Julian a Byzantine or refrain from judgment.
- 55 Albert Bagby, "The Jew in the Cántigas of Alfonso X, el Sabio," Speculum 46 (1971), 685, n. 37, quoted in Norman Roth, "Jews and Muslim Conquest," 148.
- <sup>56</sup> Thomas F. Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages (Princeton, New Jersey, 1979), 31-32.
- <sup>57</sup> M. Saghir Hasan al-Ma'sumi, "The Earliest Muslim Invasion of Spain," *Islamic Studies* 3 (1964), 97-102; Miguel Barceló, "Some Commentaries on 'The Earliest Muslim Invasion of Spain," *Islamic Studies* 9 (1970), 183-190.

- 56 Nahum Slouschz in his articles "Hébréo-Phéniciens et Judéo-Berbères" and "Judéo-Héllènes et Judéo-Berbères," both in *Archives Marocaines*, 14 (1908), 1-205 and 211-470 respectively, has suggested that Ṭāriķ was a Jew. Gayangos in Al-Makkari, *History*, I, 531, n. 18 states: "I have shown elsewhere on the authority of Ibn Khaldūn, that most of the Berber tribes inhabiting the northern shores of Africa professed the Jewish religion...." Roth, who in his "Jews and Muslim Conquest" (p. 147), points out both of these beliefs, argues that Ibn Khaldūn outright rejected the "absurdity" of the opinion that all Berbers were descendants of Abraham, as they were Christians and pagans as well.
- <sup>59</sup> The site of the battle is another "Count Julian" issue. It has traditionally been identified as taking place on the Guadalete River between Jerez and Medina Sidonia. Lévi-Provençal and Chejne have located it on the Barbate River and the Lake of La Janda close to the coast. Joaquín Vallvé, in his "Sobre algunos problemas" (p. 367), places the site near the Gibraltar on the banks of the Guadarranque River (a name which perhaps means Roderic's River: *Wad al-Rink*).
- <sup>60</sup> See Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "Itinerario de la conquista de España por los Musulmanes," *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 10 (1948), 21-74 for greater detail.
- 61 George C. Miles, The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain Leovigild to Achila II (New York, 1952), 40-42.
- 62 Editions are España Sagrada, VIII, 274-317; Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi, IX, ed., Theodore Mommsen (Berlin, 1894); and Anonyme de Cordoue, Chronique rimée des derniers rois de Tolède et de la conquete de l'Espagne par les Arabes, ed., Jules Tailhan, S. J. (Paris, 1885). There is a recent, critical edition by Miguel Barceló which I have been unable to locate. There is another contemporary Christian account, a chronicle by John of Biclaro continued by an unknown author down to the year 721 in España Sagrada, VI, 375-388 and 422-432. Its detail concerning the Muslim invasion, however, are meagre and unreliable.
- 63 Benito Sánchez Alonso, Historia de la historiografía española, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1947), I, 99-100.
- 64 This is even more striking if there is any truth to the assertion by Saavedra, *Estudio* (p. 15), that these later Muslim chronicles are influenced by set motifs that picture "the audacity of the invasion in Tarik, the glory of the conquest in Musa, the fall of the Spaniards in Julian, resulting in hazy improbabilities, inexplicable treason, and impossible itineraries." See also *España Sagrada*, VIII, 299.
- 65 Ibn 'Idārī, Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée Al Bayano 'l-Mogrib, trans. from Arabic by E. Fagnan, 2 vols. (Algiers, 1901-1904). The Muslim conquest of Spain is found in vol. II, 9-11.
- 66 Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and Melchor M. Antuña, "Notas de Ibn Abī Riqā de las lecciones de Ibn Ḥabīb acerca de conquista de España por los Árabes," Cuadernos de Historia de España 1-2 (1944), 248-268.
- <sup>67</sup> Fatho-l-Andalucí: Historia de la conquista de España, trans. from Arabic by Joaquín de González (Algiers, 1889), 10-12.

68 Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, History of the Conquest of Spain, trans. from Arabic by John Harris Jones (Göttingen, 1858), 18-21. An excellent introduction by Charles C. Torrey is in his critical Arabic edition entitled The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain known as the Futūh Misr on Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (New Haven, 1922). There is a recent Spanish translation by Eliseo Vidal Beltran entitled Conquista de Africa del Norte y de España (Valencia, 1966).

69 España Sagrada, XIII, 450, 480-481.

7º For information on these see, among others. Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra's introduction to the Portuguese text of the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* (Lisbon, 1961); R. Menéndez Pidal, "Sobre la tra ducción Portugesa de la 'Crónica General de España de 1344," *Revista de Filología Española*, 8 (1921), 391-399; Diego Catalán's remarks in *Fuentes Cronisticas de la Historia de España*, III (Madrid, 1974); Pascual de Gayangos, "Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la crónica denominada del Moro Rasis," *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 8 (1852), 5-63; and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "Rasis fuente de Aben Alatir," *Bulletin Hispanique*, 41 (1939), 5-59.

<sup>71</sup> Saavedra, *Estudio*, 147-148.

- <sup>72</sup> In Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, El "Ajbar Maymu'a": Cuestiones historiograficas que suscita (Buenos Aires, 1944), 397.
- <sup>73</sup> Abenalcotía el Cordobés, *Historia de la conquista de España*, trans. from Arabic by Julián Ribera in *Coleccion de obras arábigas de historia y geografía*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1867-1926), II.
- <sup>74</sup> Chronica Minora in Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Avetores Antiquissimi, IX (Berlin, 1894); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "Sobre la Crónica Pseudo Isidoriana," Cuadernos de Historia de España 21-22 (1945), 10-14.
  - <sup>75</sup> España Sagrada, XVII.
  - <sup>76</sup> España Sagrada, XX.
- 77 Ajbar Machmua, ed. and trans. from the Arabic by Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara in Coleccion de obras arábigas de historia y geografía, I.
  - <sup>78</sup> Ibid., 25-27.
- 79 Fatho-L-Andalucí: Historia de la conquista de España, trans. from the Arabic by Joaquín de González (Algiers, 1889).
  - 80 Ibn al-Athir, Annàles du Maghreb et L'Espagne, trans. from the Arabic
- by F. Fagnan (Algiers, 1898), 45-50.
- 81 Ahmed ibn Mohammed Al-Makkarī, The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, trans. from the Arabic by Pascual de Gayangos (London, 1840-1843).
- 82 See Bernard F. Reilly, "Sources of the Fourth Book of Lucas of Tuy's 'Chronicon Mundi," Classical Folia 30 (1976), 127-137; Chronicon Mundi in Hispaniae Illustratae, 4 vols., ed., Andreas Schottus (Frankfort am Main, 1603-1608), IV. 70-71; and Lucas, obispo de Tuy, Crónica de España, ed., Julio Puyol (Madrid, 1926), 270.
- 83 Roderici Toletani, Chronicon Gothorum, in Hispaniae Illustrate, II, 25-194.
- <sup>84</sup> Primera crónica general de España, 2 vols., ed., Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1955), I, 309-316.
- <sup>85</sup> Jeremy Cohen, The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism (Ithaca, New York, 1982).
- <sup>86</sup> Allan Cutler, "The Origins of Modern Anti-Semitism: A New Hypothesis," *Judaism* 17 (1968), 469-474.