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La historia universal de Ibn Daud

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Resumen. En su historia universal, *Dorot ʻOlam*, escrita en cuatro breves textos interdependientes, Ibn Daud despliega una visión integral de la historia. *Dorot ʻOlam* es el producto literario de las condiciones políticas, culturales e historiográficas del siglo XII en su ciudad de acogida, Toledo, y en la Península Ibérica en general. Fusionando las preocupaciones judías y rabínicas contemporáneas con el pensamiento filosófico islámico árabe y la historiografía cristiana, los escritos históricos de Ibn Daud fueron abrazados y leídos con entusiasmo por los judíos y especialmente por los primeros cristianos modernos en Europa y América del Norte.
Palabras clave: *Dorot ʻOlam*, historia universal, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, *Zikhron Divrey Romi*, *Divrey Malkhey Yisra'el*, *Midrás de Zacarías*.

[en] Ibn Daud's universal history

Abstract. In his universal history, *Dorot ʻOlam*, written in four brief interdependent texts, Ibn Daud unfolds a comprehensive vision of history. *Dorot ʻOlam* is a literary product of the twelfth-century political, cultural, and historiographical conditions in his hometown Toledo, and the Iberian Peninsula at large. Merging contemporary Jewish and rabbinic concerns with Arabic Islamic philosophical thought and Christian historiography, Ibn Daud's historical writings were eagerly embraced and read by Jews and especially early modern Christians in Europe and North America.
Keywords: Dorot ʻOlam, universal history, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, Zikhron Divrey Romi, Divrey Malkhey Yisra'el, Midrash Zechariah.

Sumario: 1. Ibn Daud and his historical writings. 2. The Texts. 3. Sources. 4. Localizing *Dorot ʻOlam*. 5. *Generations of the Ages* and Christian history. 6. *Generations of the Ages* and political thought. 7. *Generations of the Ages* and its many readers. 8. *Midrash on Zechariah*. 9. Conclusion.

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1. Ibn Daud and his historical writings

Dorot ʻOlam lays out Ibn Daud's vision for his own community in Toledo, its complex past and his hopes and expectations for its equally glorious future. This vision unfolds in four independent and interconnected works, with each also following its own trajectory.

It is unusual for medieval writers to reflect on their methodology but at the end of *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, Ibn Daud explains:

"Now that we have completed the history of tradition, we will recount the history of the kings of Israel during the days of the Second Temple, to refute the Karaites, who claim that all of the consolatory passages in the books of the prophets were fulfilled for Israel in the days of the Second Temple. We deny that and will demonstrate that this was not the case. We shall also interpret the prophecy of Zechariah in which the Holy One, Blessed be He, said to him: "Feed the flock of slaughter," and explain the whole passage. In addition to that [we have composed] a history of Rome to show how late their writings were completed".[1]

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[1] Gerson D. Cohen, *A Critical Edition with a Translation and Notes of the Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah)* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1967), modified translation *p* 164-172, 2.83-87.

Ibn Daud names and characterizes here all texts comprising his universal history. The "history of the kings of Israel during the days of the Second Temple" should, according to this characterization, be read as a refutation of Karaite claims against rabbinic Jews, while the remaining works, a "prophecy of Zechariah," and a "history of Rome" had anti-Christian overtones. These texts allow us glimpses of Ibn Daud's world view, and emphasize the supremacy of rabbinic Judaism, while rejecting competing religious ideologies that might question or threaten his brand of Judaism.

The conceptual unity of these four sections has long been recognized by academic readers of Ibn Daud.[2] While some readers referred to the work, somewhat confusingly, with the name of its first section, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, it is now, following the early modern historian Abraham Zacuto (c. 1452-1515) known as *Dorot 'Olam* (*Generations of the Ages*), a title that captures Ibn Daud's perspective on Jewish history as a series of events involving both Jews and non-Jews.[3]

2. The texts

Today, the best known known of Dorot 'Olam's sections is *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, the *Book of Tradition*. The work tells the history of the world up to author's own days and traces Jewish learning from the last prophets to the author's day, establishing a periodization of the rabbinic era that would find wide acceptance. The *Book of Tradition* ends in Ibn Daud's recent past, when "the last of the Talmudic scholars of the present age"[4] fled Andalusia for Castilian Toledo. The book unabashedly celebrates Jewish life in Andalusia, promulgating a 'golden age,' a period when Jews had political influence that translated into an efflorescence of culture and learning.[5]

Where *Book of Tradition* paints Jewish history in broad strokes, the following three sections focus on specific aspects and periods. *The Chronicle of Rome* (*Zikhron Divrey Romi*) situates Spain in a wider Christian context. The book opens with the foundation of Rome and continues through the Roman republic up to the arrival of the Goths in Italy and Spain and the conversion of King Reccared to Catholic Christianity. It includes an early reference to the "Donation of Constantine," mentions Emperor Julian and devotes unusual attention to Arianism. The book also questions the date of Jesus' birth and casts doubt on the reliability of the New Testament.

The third section, the *History of the Kings of Israel* (*Divrey Malkhey Yisra'el*) tells the history of the Second Temple Period, from Alexander the Great to the battle of Masada. The book leans heavily on *Sefer Josippon* (*Book of Josippon*), an earlier retelling of the same period with an extraordinarily complicated textual history that would eventually add Ibn Daud's writings to later versions of the same text. While some passages of the *History of the Kings of Israel* overlap with the *Book of Tradition*, the focus has shifted to questions of political authority. This work became popular in English, German, and Latin, and was printed dozens of times from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century in Europe, the UK, and in north America.

The last section, the brief *Midrash on Zechariah*, further lays out Ibn Daud's views of Jewish political ideas on the background of Zechariah 11. Like other texts, this one, too, has an anti-Christian slant and disputes interpretations that saw the redemptive promises made in the Book of Zechariah as fulfilled.

3. Sources

Ibn Daud's writings reflect who he was: a rabbinic Jewish philosopher and translator of philosophical works living in Toledo who was conversant in the vernacular, Hebrew, and Arabic literatures of his time. Steeped in his family's Andalusian Jewish traditions and the expansive intellectual heritage of Christian Spain, Ibn Daud's writings display an easy familiarity with rabbinic learning and Arabic-Islamic as well as Christian concepts of history, showcasing how one individual Iberian authors absorbed the material at his disposal. With few exceptions, he does not identify his sources, or share where he encountered them.

Some of his approaches are well known, the narrative techniques in the *Book of Tradition*, for example, have been extensively studied. The work establishes a 'chain of tradition' (*shalshelet ha-qabbalah*) of trusted rabbinic authorities, and echoes a methodology developed by students of ahadith that established authoritative transmitters of extra-Qur'anic traditions (*'isnād*).[6] Sherira Gaon, the tenth-century head of the academy in Pumbeditha (modern-day Falluja in Iraq) had already traced Jewish learning by dividing rabbis into generations, recalling a method known as *ṭabaqāt*, that categorized extra-Qur'anic material according to their transmitter's profession or place of origin. Ibn Daud's use of *ṭabaqāt* set new standards in rabbinic scholarship, and it is possible that the genre caught on precisely because of its Islamic, Jewish, and Christian roots.

Ibn Daud maps the present and future course of history through the prism of the biblical past. His use of biblical motifs resonated with his Jewish readers, and later also with a Christian audience. Writing in Hebrew, his language echoes the long narratives of the biblical books of Exodus, Joshua, Samuel, Kings, Esther, and Chronicles. Like many pre-modern European writers, he imagines history through the rise and fall of four successive empires, loosely based on the Book of Dan-

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[2] Cohen, *A Critical Edition, xxxii*; Resianne Fontaine, *In Defence of Judaism: Abraham Ibn Daud: Sources and Structures of ha-Emunah ha-Ramah* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990), 2; Amira Eran, *Mi-emunah tamah li-emunah ramah: haguto ha-ḳedem-Maimunit shel R. Avraham Ibn Daud* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz hameuhad, 1998), 33.

[3] Cohen, *A Critical Edition, p* xxviii–xxix, n. 63 and 83-87; Zacuto, *Book of Lineage* (Shamir), 96, 223, 225; Ismar Elbogen, "Abraham ibn Daud als Geschichtsschreiber," in *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage Jakob Guttmanns*, ed. Direktorium der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1915; reprint, New York 1980), *187*.

[4] Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 3.467-468.

[5] Jonathan Ray, "Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval *Convivencia" Jewish Social Studies* 11.2 (2005) *p* 1-18.

[6] Cohen, *A Critical Edition, p* l-lvii.

iel. Ibn Daud updates a rabbinic interpretation of Daniel and continues it to his own days, with Spain representing the fourth and last kingdom as the harbinger of the Last Days. His broad view of Spain embraces the northern kingdoms and those still under Islamic rule, and links Christian Spain with Rome and Byzantium. This image of Spain is somewhat vague; Ibn Daud never explains whether Spain personifies the New Rome, or whether Spain and the Roman Empire together formed an archetypical fourth empire with Christian Spain as its last manifestation. His model is further complicated by long-standing and complex associations of the Roman Empire with Christianity and Edom, a biblical figure symbolizing enmity.[7]

Ibn Daud mentions only two Jewish texts: *Megillat Ta'anit*, the *Scroll of Fasts*, and the *Book of Josippon*, the single most important medieval Hebrew language source for the Second Temple Period.[8] In the Middle Ages, Josippon was associated with Josephus Flavius, the great first-century historian of the Second Temple Period whose writings were unknown to Jews before the sixteenth century. Traces of Josippon appear throughout Ibn Daud's history, and especially in *History of the Kings of Israel*. Much material is missing, and, stressing a quietist approach to political engagement, Ibn Daud downplays narratives depicting political Jewish power such as military conflicts during the Maccabean revolt and the fall of Masada. Other passages are significantly abbreviated, such as the major rabbinic martyrological passages, perhaps to de-emphasize the efficacy of voluntary death in the name of God. Josippon has an extraordinarily complex textual history, and Ibn Daud's use of the text is significant not only because of his unique perspective, but also because *History of the Kings of Israel* itself came to serve as the vorlage for the text compiled by Judah Leon ben Moses Moskoni (1328–1376).[9] In addition, Ibn Daud also knew Karaite literature such as the *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-l-Marāqib* (*Book of Lights and Watchtowers*) by Abu Joseph Jacob al-Qirqisānī (early tenth century) and *Eshkol ha-Kofer* (*Cluster of Henna Blossoms*) by his almost-contemporary Judah Hadassi.[10]

Without identifying his Christian sources, Ibn Daud mentions the "historical works of the Gentiles,"[11] primarily to contrast them with rabbinic material. He is one of the first Jewish writers to reflect a broad awareness of some key events in church history, especially Constantine the Great, the Donation of Constantine, Emperor Julian, and Arianism. A cursory glance at *Dorot ʾOlam* reveals that Ibn Daud had access to Orosius of Braga (d. after 418) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636), two of the most influential historians read during the European Middle Ages. The long chronology linking Iberia with ancient Rome in *Chronicle of Rome*, for example, is indebted to Orosius' *Historiarum Adversum* Paganos *Libri VII* (*Seven Books Against the Pagans*). Orosius is known to have circulated in several Arabic versions, but there were possibly also vernacular versions.[12] He might have encountered these figures in any number of ways: in conversations with fellow intellectuals, in the Christian libraries of Toledo, or in (lost) written material in Hebrew or Arabic.[13] His familiarity with Christian (and Arabic) texts shows how fluid knowledge was, and how easily texts and ideas moved between communities.

Ibn Daud's historiography grew out of his intellectual and religious biography and was shaped by the political, cultural, and historiographical developments in the Iberian Peninsula of the twelfth century. As has been laid out elsewhere in this volume, Ibn Daud was a co-translator of philosophical works and as such in regular contact with Christian intellectuals, perhaps explaining some of his familiarity with Orosius and other historians. In the twelfth century, the Jewish community was profiting greatly from the prosperity brought about by the kingdom's military successes, and Jewish representatives held prominent positions at the courts of Toledo. At the same time, the legal status of the minorities living under Castilian rule was slowly changing. While administrations continued to grant Jews and Muslims far-reaching communal autonomy, twelfth-century law codes show a gradual erosion of Jewish rights in Toledo. The *Fuero refundido*, for example, set out to replace communal law systems with one legal system for all the city's inhabitants. Whether this code was introduced in 118 or in 1160, as some scholars suspect, the encroaching loss of communal privileges might help to further explain Ibn Daud's drive to write a world chronicle that elevated and celebrated his own community. Like slightly later royal and ecclesiastical historians who turned to history to cement the power of their dynasties, he may have been motivated by the need to define the Jewish place in a kingdom that was coming into its own. Ibn Daud writes with a close eye on his own Jewish community in Toledo, with more than a fleeting interest in Christian history, and a political message.

4. Localizing *Dorot 'Olam*

In Ibn Daud's eyes, Spain in all its permutations forms the center stage of world history, and the Spanish way of life and thinking provides the only way for Jewish continuity. Ibn Daud views Iberia in its larger Mediterranean Christian context and links the place with ostensibly unrelated periods such as the rabbinic era in *Book of Tradition* and in *History of the Kings of Israel*, or the history of Constantinople, Rome, and Spain in *Chroni-*

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7 Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*. London 1969, *p* 40-41; Cohen, *A Critical Edition, 239*, es n. 81.

8 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 7.260; *Katja* Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam* (Generations of the Ages) (Leiden, Brill: 2013), *History of the Kings of Israel*; Saskia Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption des Sefer Yosippon* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

9 Cf. Dönitz, *Überlieferung*, cha 5.3.

10 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 2.22, 2.146-147; 160-161; Daniel J. Lasker, *From Judah Hadassi to Elijah Bashyatchi: Studies in Late Medieval Karaite Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 127-29.

11 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 2.97.

12 Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum Adversus Paganos Libri VII. Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, ed. by Mayte Penelas (Madrid Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional 2001), 30-40.

13 Elbogen, "Abraham ibn Daud," 197-200; *Contra* Cohen who thought that the severe polemics show that Ibn Daud was unfamiliar with Christian texts, Cohen, *A Critical Edition, 162*, n. 16 and throughout; Fontaine, *Defence*, 262.

cle of Rome, shaping the reader's understanding of this complex place. This celebration of Iberia is not obvious at first glance. Ibn Daud for example astutely observes the many terms used for Iberia by the many inhabitants of the peninsula: "After the Vandals, Spain (Sepharad) was called Andalusia. They conquered all of Spain (Sepharad) from a nation called Espan and after them, this country was called Hispania".[14]

To Jews writing in Hebrew, Spain was Sepharad, a term of biblical origins that had come to indicate Iberia while the term Andalusia derives from the Vandals, a Gothic tribe that conquered the peninsula from the original inhabitants, who called it Spain. But the *Book of Tradition* mentions Spain (Sepharad) only a few times before explicitly turning to Andalusia and Christian Spain in Book 7 and the Epilogue.[15] Castile appears rarely in the *Book of Tradition*; Andalusia and Hispania are each mentioned once in the *Chronicle of Rome*, and not at all in the *History of the Kings of Israel* or the *Midrash on Zechariah*.[16] Like many Iberian Jews, Ibn Daud argues that the Jewish community was fully at home in Iberia, and he traces its arrival to an invitation issued by the Roman governor of Spain during the rule of Emperor Titus. In the *Sefer-ha-Qabbalah*, he shows that Jewish culture, religious life, and political participation blossomed, and he also recalls moments of catastrophe, especially those under the leadership of the Almohad ruler Ibn Tumart (d. 1130).[17] He sees his own community in direct continuation of this celebrated Andalusian culture. Here, too, Jewish courtiers had already positioned themselves at the Christian courts, with Rabbi Judah, Alfonso VII's representative, warmly welcoming new Jewish arrivals to Calatrava, "the city of refuge for the exiles."[18]

The *Book of Tradition*'s famous story of the four scholars shipwrecked off the coast of Spain, a foundation myth of Jewish learning in Spain, connects the community to the academies of Babylonia, but also signals their independence from the same.[19] Castile emerges as the important last center of Jewish learning,[20] with the possible exception of France: "We have heard," he writes, "that in France there are great scholars and geonim, and that each and every one of them is a rabbi who inherits the Torah appropriately, [i.e.,] with the intention of passing it on".[21]

Ibn Daud, the descendent of a prominent family of intellectuals, proudly weaves his ancestors into this narrative: As silk workers and producers of curtains for the holy ark in Mérida, they had settled in Córdoba, where "they were counted among the leaders of the community" after the destruction of their ancestral city.[22] In Córdoba, his grandfather Ibn Albalia had served as an advisor and astrologer to the ruler of Seville, while his maternal uncle succeeded Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi as head of the academy in Córdoba.[23] Ibn Daud closes the last section of *Dorot 'Olam*, the *Midrash on Zechariah*, with the blessings recited after the reading of the *Haftarah* (the weekly prophetic readings) in the synagogue–a not so subtle reminder to his readers that his message is of uttermost importance.[24] In *Dorot 'Olam*, Ibn Daud fondly remembers the ancient roots of his community. He celebrates Jewish efflorescence in Spain both past and present, and especially Jewish learning in Christian Toledo. The work expresses an astute awareness of the implications of recent political developments and the power of historiography. In this, too, Ibn Daud reflects contemporary developments. His use of the past foreshadows later attempts made by the rulers of the new kingdoms of Castile and Catalonia, whose intellectuals would also turn to historical texts in order to legitimize their own expansionist politics.[25] Some of the chronicles springing out of this endeavor similarly connect the present to a remote past.[26] Royal memoirs such as those composed by the Catalonian kings Jaume I (1213–1276) and Peter IV the Ceremonious (1336–1387) argued similarly.[27] But religious writers, too, utilized the past and bolstered their claims to power. The idea of Toledo as an heir to an earlier idealized period, for instance, is reflected in the *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica* (*History of the Affairs of Spain or Gothic History*), composed by Archbishop Rodrigo Jimenéz de Rada of Toledo (in office 1209–1247).[28] Stressing the role of Castile, this text, the first significant history of Spain, argues for the hegemony of Toledo and recalls a distant Gothic past predating the Muslim presence when Toledo had been the center of Iberian religious life.[29] Ibn Daud, writing a generation earlier, struggles with similar ideas of legitimization and Iberian identity.

5. *Dorot 'Olam* and Christian history

Many of Ibn Daud's intellectual collaborators in Toledo were Christian philosophers and translators, and so it is

14 Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam*, 125.10.

15 Spain: Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 4.143/4.105 (Hebrew part), 6.115/6.77 (Hebrew part), 6.211/6.144 (Hebrew part), 6.218/6.149 (Hebrew part).

16 Castile: Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 6.148 (Hebrew part), translated as "Christian Spain" in *ibid.,* 6.217/6, Epilogue, 67 /7.363 (Hebrew part); Hispania: Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam*, *Chronicle of Rome* 127 l. 1; Andalusia: Vehlow, Dorot ʾOlam, *Chronicle of Rome* 7.3.

17 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 7.453–465, Epilogue, 73–117.

18 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* Epilogue, 101.

19 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 7.1–179, Eve Krakowski, "On the Literary Character of Abraham Ibn Da'ud's *Sefer Ha-Qabbalah*," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 1, no. 2 (2007): 219-47.

20 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 7.362–370.

21 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 7.469–472.

22 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 7.305–306.

23 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 7.423–444.

24 Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam*, 357, l. 5-8.

25 Jaume Aurell, "From Genealogies to Chronicles: The Power of the Form in medieval Catalan Historiography," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 36 (2005), 237.

26 E.g.Alfonso VII's *Crónica del Emperador Alfonso VII*, ed. by Maurilio Pérez González, (León, 1997); also *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XIII*, ed. by Luis Charlo Brea et al. (Turnhout, 1997).

27 E.g., James of Aragon, *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Llibre dels fets*, transl. Damian J. Smith and Helena Buffery (Aldershot: 2003).

28 Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Roderici Ximenii de Rada Historia de rebus Hispanie, sive, Historia Gothica*, ed. by Juan Fernández Valverde (Turnhout 1987); Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Sumario analístico de la historia gothica: Edition and Study*, ed. by Aengus Ward, (London, 2007).

29 Cf. e.g., Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor 2004), 63–70.

perhaps not surprising that Ibn Daud mentions some of the central moments in the history of the early church. Embedded in his overall polemical argument against Christianity, these remain remarkable passages, since few medieval historians reflect on events that do not directly affect their own communities. In the *Chronicle of the Kings of Rome*, for example, he writes:

> "When Datseflesian [Diocletian] died, Constantine Caesar succeeded him as king, legislated (ḥaqqaq) the Christian doctrine, and turned to their teachings and their worship three hundred years after Jesus according to their calculations. According to our calculation, however, more than 420 years had passed. To make [this fact] known, we recorded it in the History of Rome. He left Rome and gave the city over to the Christian priests [who hold authority over the city] until this very day. He built the city of Kustantiniyyah, which means Constantinople the Noble".[30]

This paragraph describes the crucial role of Emperor Constantine in the rise of Christianity, the Donatio Constantini–a historical forgery supporting the idea that Constantine had transferred authority over Rome and the western part of the empire to the pope–and the foundation of Constantinople itself.[31] The emperor appears as a decisive factor in the establishment of Christianity. Gerson Cohen suggested that Ibn Daud implied that Constantine had written the New Testament, or perhaps alluded to a story about a Constantinian distribution of bibles throughout the city.[32] But it seems to me that the use of *ḥaqqaq* (to legislate, engrave) rather underlines a more general awareness of Constantine's importance for the early church. And yet, in other ways, this passage plays into a polemic directed against the authority of the New Testament by detaching the text from Jesus who had, the argument implies, lived many decades before the emergence of Christianity as depicted in the New Testament.[33] Following perhaps rabbinic precedent, Ibn Daud concludes that Jesus had been born decades earlier than commonly accepted, and had been a student of Rabbi Joshua ben Peraḥyah who is dated to the second century BCE.[34] If Jesus, as now established, had lived much earlier, while the New Testament dated his life to the rule of King Herod, the Christian holy writ could not be regarded not a reliable eye-witness account of Jesus! This attack on the reliability of the New Testament is part of a philosophical argument that seeks to define the true religious community as one led by a perfect guide whose deeds are preserved in an impeccably transmitted text. Moses Maimonides (1135/38–1204) argues similarly when he explains in his Epistle to the Yemen that, "quite some time later"–that is, after Jesus– "a religion, which is traced to him by the descendants of Esau, gained popularity".[35]

The Christian chain of transmission, so to speak, was broken and untrustworthy, and with it all Christian claims to authority–all in contrast, of course, to the continuous chain of rabbinic learning that faithfully preserved the deeds of Moses, Judaism's supreme leader. This passage undermines not only the authority of the New Testament, but it also breaks the supercessionist link between the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the rise of the Church, a connection well familiar to Ibn Daud.[36] Christian thinkers, Ibn Daud complains in *Book of Tradition*, "argue this point so vehemently in order to prove that the Temple and kingdom of Israel endured but for a short while after his crucifixion."[37]

Ibn Daud also mentions the third-century Egyptian priest Arius whose teachings gave rise to the theological teachings known as Arianism. Arius, he reports, had lived under Emperor Constantine and "wrote a book containing responses to the Christian doctrines and proofs, but Constantine did not heed to him".[38] Ibn Daud astutely characterizes Arius as a theologian whose opinions were deemed unacceptable by main stream Christianity as represented by Constantine (elsewhere, he calls King Theodoric, an Arian Visigothic ruler, an idol-worshipper).[39] This description of Arianism is remarkable since Jewish authors often considered Arian Christianity as slightly more monotheistic and less Trinitarian than other branches of Christianity because the Arian interpretation of the Trinity seemed to emphasize the role of God over Christ.[40] At pains to downplay religious opposition in their own ranks, many medieval writers thought that discord in other religious communities showed their true character. This idea appears for instance in Saadiah Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, in *The Polemic of Nestor the Priest*, and in the (mostly lost) encyclopedic refutation of religious Christian traditions by the tenth century Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq.[41]

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30 Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam, Chronicle of Rome* 6.1–6.

31 Amnon Linder, "The Myth of Constantine the Great in the West: Sources and Hagiographic Commemoration," *Studi Medievali 3rd* 16/1 (1975): 43–95; Nachman Falbel, "On a Heretic Argument in Levi ben Abraham ben Chaiim's Critique on Christianity," in: ed. David Krone, *World Congress of Jewish Studies. History of the Jews in Europe* (Jerusalem, 1981) 44.

32 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* xxxii–xxxiii, 23-24; Ram Ben-Shalom, *Facing Christian Culture. Historical Consciousness and Images of the Past among the Jews of Spain and Southern France during the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem 2006), 160.

33 Cf. the gap of 135 years between Jesus and the destruction of the temple in Saadia Gaon's commentary to Dan. 9:26.

34 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 2.95–114, 4.127–129; *p* 114–115 n. 100. Cohen suggests that Ibn Daud followed an Arabic dating, *ibid.,* 38. Similarly Judah Halevi, *Kuzari* (Hirschfeld) 3.65; Joanna Weinberg, "Invention and Convention: Jewish and Christian Critique of the Jewish Fixed Calendar," *Jewish History* 14/3 (2000): 324–235, es 329 n. 58. Sebastian Münster has two men called Yehoshuʻa ben Peraḥyah, reconciling the text with Christian dates. Sebastian Münster, *Kalendarivm Hebraicvm*. Basel 1527, 36–37.

35 Moses Maimonides, *Epistles of Maimonides: Crisis and* Leadership, ed. by Abraham S. Halkin and David Hartmann (Philadelphia 1993), 99; Stefan Schreiner, "'Ein Zerstörer des Judentums?' Mose ben Maimon über den historischen Jesus," in: Georges Tanner (ed.), *The Trias of Maimonides; Jewish, Arabic, and Ancient Culture of Knowledge* (Berlin 2005), 324-346.

36 Cf. Moses Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Book of Judges, Laws of the Kings* 11:4; Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York, 2008), 394.

37 Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 2.104–106.

38 Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam*, *History of the Kings of Israel* 6.8–9. Cohen thought that this "book" alluded to Arian opposition to Constantine's New Testament, cf. Cohen, A Critical Edition, *Xxxiii*, and Ben-Shalom, *Facing Christian Culture*, *p* 161.

39 Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam*, *Chronicle of Rome* 7.10–11.

40 Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, "Jews and Christians in Medieval Muslim Thought," in: Robert S. Wistrich (ed.), *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism & Xenophobia* (Amsterdam 1999), 114.

41 Saadiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, ed. Samuel Rosenblatt (New Haven: YUP, 1976) 2:7; Bernard Septimus, "A Prudent

I suspect that Ibn Daud's portrayal of Arianism is most likely based on his Christian sources. Far from exploiting Arianism in an anti-Christian argument, Ibn Daud seems to applaud Emperor Constantine for his unifying efforts in what was essentially a backhanded way to point out the divisions within the Church.

6. *Dorot 'Olam* and political thought

Dorot 'Olam has an eschatological bent, as the opening of the History of the Kings of Israel implies:

> "This is what we found in the book of Joseph the Priest ben Gorion and in other trustworthy works, which we will mention due to the comfort that lays in the fact that the prophets who prophesized of the future all said that the reign of the house of David would be reinstated with the Second Temple".[42]

The redemptive promise of the biblical prophets as interpreted by rabbinic literature remains unfulfilled. Again and again, Ibn Daud takes the political leaders to task as he evaluates the reigns of Hasmonean and Herodian dynasties, of Roman and Iberian rulers as well as the courtiers and rabbis guiding his contemporary community, and even of the Khazars, a kingdom briefly ruled by a Jewish elite, and an object of fascination for many medieval and (later) Jewish writers. *Dorot 'Olam*, combining contemporary Jewish and rabbinic concerns with Arabic Islamic philosophical thought and Christian historiography, postulates that Judaism alone offers a valid path to the divine. According to this model, the Jewish community alone is guided by an ideal leader (Moses), whose public deeds are universally recognized and, just as importantly, recorded in a perfect holy text (the Torah), whose righteous interpretation is guarded by the rabbis, Moses' righteous successors. As long as his readers and their leadership followed the guidance of its rabbinic leadership, Ibn Daud warns, they would continue to enjoy divine favor and flourish in the Christian kingdoms, as they had in Andalusia.

Authentic authority was based on leadership as it had been modeled by Moses, and ideally held by someone who was of Davidic descent and guided by rabbinic advice. Power should be divided between political, priestly, and rabbinic authorities whose advice should guide a ruler's hand.[43] But since Jewish leaders had not implemented these ideas, beginning with the last Davidic king, Zerubbabel, who had failed to attain proper monarchy (*melukhah*) and instead held administrative authority (*serarah*) only. Similarly, the Maccabees, a family of priests but not of Davidic descent, become in his parlance "foolish shepherds" (Zech. 11:15) who contributed to the eventual loss of Jewish sovereignty and the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.

In *Dorot 'Olam*, the ideal relationship between ruler and subject rests on a covenantal treaty, *berit*, a biblical term describing the relationship between a human or divine sovereign and his people.[44] Twenty-eight treaties appear in *DMY*, and each time, Ibn Daud carefully takes stock, noting who disregarded the division of power and perhaps seized the high priesthood, or who had bought his way into office instead of relying on rabbinic support.[45] He is particularly enamored by King Herod, whom he pictures as a learned king and supporter of the Pharisees, the ideological ancestors of the rabbis and an architect of the Temple in Jerusalem. At the same time, Herod is seen as violating the principles of political unity in particularly flagrant ways, causing friction between the Hasmonean and Idumean branches of his family. This portrayal may reflect a local fascination with Herod in the twelfth century Toledan *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, a fragment of a liturgical play for the feast day of Epiphany.[46]

Like Naḥmanides, but in contrast to Maimonides, Ibn Daud regards woman rulers such as Alexandria, Mariamne, or Cleopatra as righteous queens–Alexandra is praised for her support of the righteous religious party and for her efforts to maintain political and religious unity–but none of them is assigned a *berit* because in the end, true power remains a male domain.[47] Closer to his own days, he notes that Jewish leaders such as Samuel ha-Levi ha-Nagid and Judah ha-Nasi ben Ezra take on quasi-monarchic functions, but their model is faulty and not sustainable.[48] When Davidic leadership ends with the death of Ḥiyya al-Daudi in 1154, he bemoans, "there did not remain in Spain a single person known to be of the house of David".[49] Instead, rabbinic rule, supported by the Jewish courtiers, would now take over to establish conditions that would enable all Jews to serve God by following the true Torah. The history of Jewish learning in *Book of Tradition*, then, not only cements the truth of the Torah but also has a political message that stresses the authority of rabbinic leadership as a whole and of contemporaneous Iberian rabbinic leadership in particular.

7. Dorot 'Olam and its many readers

Jewish readers turned to *Dorot 'Olam* because they valued the chronology of Jewish learning from Moses

Ambiguity in Saadya Gaon's Book Doctrines and Beliefs," *HTR* 76, no. 2 (1983): 249–54; Daniel J. Lasker, "The Polemic of Nestor the Priest: Qissat Mujadalat al-Usquf and Sefer Nestor ha-Komer," Jerusalem 1996, *p* 6, 75; *Abu Isa al-Warraq*, *Early Muslim Polemic against Christianity: Abu Isa al-Warraq's 'Against the Incarnation*,*'* ed. by David Thomas (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 41, 91–93.

[42] Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam, History of the Kings of Israel* 1.4-8.

[43] Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 2.126–133.

[44] Daniel J. Elazar, "The Covenant as the Basis of Jewish Political Tradition," in: Daniel J. Elazar (ed.), *Kinship and Consent. The Jewish Political Tradition and its Contemporary Uses* (New Brunswick 1997), 21–31.

[45] Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam, History of the Kings of Israel* 181, l. 13-14; Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 6.127–129; 6.192–194.

[46] Raymond McCluskey, "Malleable Accounts: Views of the Past in Twelfth Century Iberia," in: Paul Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth Century Europe*, (London 1992), *p* 212–13.

[47] For Mariamne, see Vehlow, *Dorot ʾOlam, History of the Kings of Israel* 45 46; for Cleopatra, *ibid.* 42 and 44; Naḥmanides on bShav 30a; Moses Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, "The Laws of Kings and their Wars" 1.5.

[48] See, e.g., the recognition of the Rabbanite leaders: Alexander the Great (Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 3.6–18); Herodians (*ibid.,* 2.130–133); Romans (*ibid.,* 2.163, 3.83–88); Persians (*ibid.,* 4.158); Muslims (*ibid.,* 5.40); the kings of Spain (*ibid., Epilogue* 89–90), and Cohen's closing remarks *ibid., lxii.*

[49] Cohen, *A Critical Edition,* 6.218–219; 4.59–60; 6.185–188.

to the Middle Ages, and for the work's vivid portrayal of Jewish life in Spain. With its implicit and not so implicit claims that Jews enjoyed unprecedented political and cultural influence in Andalusia, *Book of Tradition* is often seen as an early example of the 'myth of a golden age'. While this idea has been largely discarded by scholars, a quick look online shows that rabbis still routinely quote the work to talk about Sephardic achievements and exceptionalism. There is even a 1980 illustrated children's book that celebrates Ibn Daud as a martyr.[50] And lastly, some of Ibn Daud's historical workings became so popular because they were thought to offer an additional window at the Second Temple period, a period medieval Jews approached mostly through the tenth-century century *Sefer Josippon*.

In the early modern period, *Dorot 'Olam* became a work with a multinational, multicultural, and cross-Atlantic reach. The book's astonishing reception history is a reminder of the fascinating ways in which ideas can flow. *Dorot 'Olam* was first printed in the early sixteenth century, in Mantua, in a collection of historical texts titled *Seder ʿOlam Rabba* (*Greater Order of the World*) that found its way into numerous university and private Hebraist libraries.[51] Thanks to the German Christian Hebraist Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), *Dorot 'Olam* soon found new readers. Münster published lengthy excerpts of the *Book of Tradition*, and later a Latin-Hebrew edition of the *History of the Kings of Israel*.[52] A year later, in 1530, the first German-language version appeared in nearby Strasbourg (edited by Johan Schwyntzer) and a second German translation by Georg Wolff appeared in 1558.[53] In the same year, Peter Morwen (1530–1573) in London issued the first English edition, followed a century later by an updated version by the royal historiographer James Howell (1594–1666).[54] Both texts were printed dozens of times.[55] Howell's edition traveled overseas and was among the first Jewish texts to appear in the Americas, and last printed in a Quaker Vermont Press in 1819. As one of the German translators explains, the works popularity lay in its brevity combined with the author's supposed reliability and its immense readability.[56]

The readership circles sometimes intersected–Münster is thought to have discovered this work in the library of a Jewish acquaintance in the southern German city of Worms, for example. Like some of his Jewish readers, Ibn Daud's Christian audience was interested in the historical information the texts had to offer. Some of the later Protestant editors approached the texts with the honed tools of a historian, as did the eighteenth-century German church administrator Andreas Christoph Zeller whose critical Hebrew-Latin edition of Chronicle of Rome (History of Rome) is filled with erudite footnotes, an index, additional background, and a survey of the work's publication history.[57] But for the most part, editors, translators, printers and readers turned to Ibn Daud because, like Josephus Flavius, the text promised to be a Jewish, and thus "authentic" eyewitness accounts of the Second Temple Period and with it, the time of Jesus Christ. They were immediately confronted by a problem: Jesus appears in passing only, as part of an elaborate polemic against the authenticity of the New Testament, an argument whose subtleties were lost or ignored by these early modern Christian readers. Some, such as Sebastian Münster, sought to bring *Dorot 'Olam* in line with his readers' expectations. He explained, (like Wolff and Schwyntzer following him) in the margins that this was not Jesus Christ, but some other person called Jesus. Others (Wolff, Morwen, and Howell) inserted their versions of the Testimonium Flavianum, apologetic additions recalling the death and resurrection of Jesus that appear in all pre-modern editions of the Antiquities, such as this one from Peter Morwen's 1558 Compendious and Most Marueilous History:

> "There was at the time on Jesus, a wise man (if it be lawful to call him a man): for he was a worker of wonderful and strange works, …. This man was Christ, who, after he was accused by the chief ruler of their nation and condemned by Pilate to be crucified, they did not cease to love him. To these he appeared the third day alive, according as the prophets by divine inspiration had told before".[58]

In the sixteenth century, when the authenticity of this addition came under fire, Christian Hebraists such as Sebastian Münster first noted their absence in Jewish texts. Alice Whealey has suggested that it was precisely the growing awareness of Hebrew material that caused some Christian scholars to question the Testimonium on historical grounds.[59] Some, such as Wolff, note these omissions unhappily– "he even skips over Josephus' testimony on Christ, as is characteristic for those perfidious Jews"[60]–without any explanations. Far from reading this text primarily as a witness to the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, these authors regarded themselves and their communities as the new Israel, the True Church.

They understood the narrative–shorter and missing characters, events, and many speeches–differed from Josephus Flavius and from other ancient accounts of the period and debated who the author might have been. Was this Josephus Flavius writing for a Jewish audience

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50 Aviezer Burstin and I.A. Kaufman, *The First Ravaad*, Mighty Minds 12 (Jerusalem: Meir Holder of Hillel Press, 1980).

51 Chaim J. Milikowsky, "Seder Olam: A Rabbinic Chronography." Ph.D., Yale University, 1981.

52 Sebastian Münster, *Shelosh ʿEsrei ʿIqarim*, Worms, 1529, http://aleph.nli.org.il/nnl/dig/books/bk001099641.html.

53 Hans Schwyntzer, *Josippi Judische Historien*, Strasbourg,1530. http://books.google.com/books?id=mvlSAAAAcAAJ&pg=PT3#v=onepage&q&f=false; Georg Wolff, *Josippus: Ejn Kurtzer Auszug Vnd Begriff Josephi*, Ursel, 1557. http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00022290/image_1.

54 Peter Morwen, *A Compendious and Most Marueilous History of the Latter Tymes of the Iewes*, London, 1558, http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home; James Howell, *The Wonderful and Most Deplorable History of the Latter Times of the Jews, and of the City of Hierusalem*, London, 1652. http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home.

55 Katja Vehlow, "Fascinated by Josephus: Early Modern Vernacular Readers and Ibn Daud's Twelfth-Century Hebrew Epitome of Josippon," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 48/2 (2017): 413-435.

56 Wolff, *Josippus*, sig. A5v.

57 Andreas Christoph. Zeller, *Zikhron Divrey Romi*, Stuttgart, 1724, http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10239646.html.

58 Morwen, *History*, sig. 75r–v.

59 Alice Whealey, Josephus on Jesus: The Testimonium Flavianum Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 84.

60 Wolff, *Josippus*, sig. 6r.

or maybe Josippon after all? They offer various solutions: For Sebastian Münster, it was clear that the text had been compiled and abbreviated by a certain "Iosippus Iudaeus" who used texts written by Josephus.[61] Georg Wolff thought he was a "Jew like Josephus," but he was not sure when he had lived. He speculated that this Josippus was a sloppy reader who had either failed to take note of Josephus' Antiquities or had willfully changed the material at his disposal.[62] And in the eyes of Peter Morwen, this was the unaltered original of Josephus Flavius, written by Josephus Flavius for a Jewish audience.[63] Many of Ibn Daud's readers encountered the text in the vernacular, in German and English. And except for Schwyntzer, a radical Reformer perhaps more familiar with the use of German every single editor expresses unease with the very undertaking of a vernacular text. Morwen writes about this in some detail and explains that he wanted to make post-biblical history, an era so important to know well for Christians, accessible to all. Aware of the stigma of vernacular writings, he warns that the use of English should not tempt the reader to underestimate the works' messages. By using the vernacular, early modern translators courted a new readership: lay people, both urban and rural, and people reading for entertainment. As their publication record shows, their efforts were rewarded, and their translations were snapped up by an interested but not necessarily specialized public.

Morwen's first English edition for example became prominent because for some forty years, it was the only vernacular history of the Second Temple Period English-language readers could find. Lucien Wolf, the early twentieth-century journalist and historian of Anglo-Jewish history regarded this edition as one of the events that would culminate in the re-establishment of official Jewish communities in England under Cromwell.[64] While this seems unlikely, the text was probably widely read: In the late thirty years of the sixteenth century, the destruction of Jerusalem appears with some regularity in popular ballads and theater, as Ori Weisberg has shown.[65] In 1569, John Barker published a ballad that seems to reflect Morwen in its particular emphasis on the reliability of Josephus as a historical eyewitness.[66] In the early 1590s, the destruction of Jerusalem was the topic of at least three plays performed at the Rose Playhouse, one of the first public theaters. And if, as has been suggested, Titus Andronicus by William Shakespeare (1564–1616) first played in the Rose Playhouse, the audience would have been well familiar with Titus and his role in the events leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem from Morwen's text.[67]

Ibn Daud's text then belongs to the wider European reception of Rewritten Josephus that transcended linguistic and religious boundaries, and reached audiences that often-displayed fascination with, but also considerable ambiguity toward, the work's Jewish roots. From Münster's 1529 edition through Wolff, Schwyntzer and to the first editors of Morwen's translation, virtually everybody connected to these texts was located on the Protestant spectrum. This includes translators, publishers, and printers. Some were central figures who were forced into exile, and many were Hebraist scholars and proud of their linguistic expertise. They identified in new ways with Israel and the Jews. They saw themselves as the New Israel, prone to the same mistakes made by those who had been God's people before them. If, their dedications and introductions insist, God could punish his own people so they would suffer so terribly, what would happen to them who remained newcomers to the covenant with God? Except for Howell and some of his later publishers who were actively opposed to a Jewish presence in their midst, the editors focused less on Jews as Jews but rather on Jews as a trope.

For Georg Wolff, the son of a prominent Lutheran family for example, Jewish history mattered because it told God's story with God's righteous followers, beginning with creation, and ending tantalizingly close to the rise of the Church. This past was important because it foreshadowed patterns that could be applied to contemporary events. If only readers were to heed the text's message of unity and proper leadership, all would be well, and Christ would watch over his faithful and vanquish the hypocrites.

> "[T]he Jews" then serve as a negative foil to the redemption history of the Protestant Church. Certainly, he reminded his readers, their punishment had been terrible. As everyone could see, the Jews were impoverished, an obstinate, blinded, miserable, fearsome people without an equal in the world, without any hope of comfort or joy, only someone with a heart of stone could not be horrified by their situation. May God squash them under our feet. Amen!".[68]

Indeed, if God could punish Israel for murdering Christ and for persecuting his apostles with the destruction the Temple and the loss of their homeland, what might be the punishment for Christians who refused to hearken to the redeeming messages they constantly received? The work of the Welsh political writer and first royal historiographer James Howell (c. 1594–1666), best read in the context of his pro-royalist and anti-Puritan work, goes a step further. His 1652 Wonderful, and most deplorable History, quotes Hosea 13:9 in the Vulgate's translation. "Perditio tua ex Te, Israel" serves as a reminder that the Jews and Israel had ceased to be God's favorite people, a place now occupied by England.[69] He dedicates his work to London, a city that, like Jerusalem, was seen as being threatened by destruction: by political chaos, and worse, by the sinister presence of

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61 Münster, *Shelosh 'Esreh 'Iqarim*, "Ad Lectorem," sig. 2.2v.

62 Wolff, *Josippus*, A9r.

63 Morwen, *History*, sig. A3.

64 Lucien Wolf, "'Josippon' in England," *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)* 6 (1908–1910): 277–288.

65 See Ori H. Weisberg, "The City and the World: London, "Jerusalem," and the Early Modern English Nation" (PhD diss., Ann Arbor University of Michigan, 2011).

66 John Barker, *Of the horyble and woful destruccion of Ierusalem* (London, ca. 1569). Cf. Weisberg, 113.

67 G. Harold Metz, *Shakespeare's Earliest Tragedy: Studies in Titus Andronicus* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), 163–65.

68 Wolff, *Josippus,* sig. A4r–v.

69 This is a common interpretation, cf. already Rashi and Kimḥi on this verse, and Edward Pococke, *The theological works of the learned Dr. Pocock*, ed. Leondard Twells, (London, 1740), vol. 1, 656. I would like to thank Scott Ettinger for this reference.

the Jews. Writing only three years before Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel of Amsterdam petitioned the Council of State for what is often referred to as the "Readmission of the Jews to England," Howell happily notes that most European rulers had followed the example set in 1290 by England's King Edward I and had expelled the Jews from their territories.[70] Although Howell was surely aware of the thriving Jewish presence in the Netherlands and elsewhere, he assured that while Jews might flourish from the Maghreb to India, and especially in the Ottoman Empire, this was now a rare occurrence in Europe proper. Howell associates Jewish communities with England's adversaries, especially with Portugal, "born of a Jews bum crack",[71] Rome, and some of the expelled Jews had even "fled then to Scotland, where they have propagated since in great numbers; witness the aversion that nation hath above others to hogs flesh".[72] Recalling Jewish history and the many calamities Jews had suffered in post-biblical times, Howell then reiterates a long list of anti-Semitic statements: Jews are cunning, poison wells, forge money, crucify children, and hold despicable professions. They plunder people and are spies. They also sexualize women and prevent them from entering the synagogue, and they follow an esoteric and objectionable discipline, "their mysterious Cabal." [73] Yet Howell, who objected to Jews and Judaism on so many levels, remains tied to the Jews: When he warns his readers to change their way of life, lest they experienced a fate like that of the Jews, he identifies, if negatively, with the Jews as well.

8. Midrash on Zechariah

Ibn Daud's writings occasionally circle between Jewish and Christian audiences. Let me give you an example from the very brief *Midrash on Zechariah*. Noting its anti-Christian vibe, Ibn Daud's near contemporary, the medieval philosopher and Bible commentator David Kimḥi (1160–1235) excerpted the Midrash in his own anti-Christian reading of the Book of Zechariah.[74] Included in the *Miqra'ot Gedolot* (*Great Writings*), to this day the standard edition of the Jewish Bible with rabbinic and medieval commentaries, virtually all later exegetes of Zechariah, such as Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), reflect Ibn Daud's approach to the prophet.[75] In the sixteenth century, concerned by increasing conversions to Christianity, the Karaite Lithuanian polemicist Isaac ben Abraham of Troki used the Midrash in his anti-missionary *Strengthening the Faith* (*Ḥizzuq 'Emunah*) to teach Jewish readers how to refute Christian Bible interpretations.[76] His book, completed by his student Joseph Malinowski of Cracow, circulated in manuscript form before it was translated into German in 1631.[77] Decades later, the Christian Hebraist Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705) discovered this German translation and translated it into Latin for his multilingual *Fiery Darts of Satan* (*Tela ignea Satanae*)–now to teach Christian missionaries how to counter Jewish arguments. Troki's *Strenghening the Faith* in turn was reprinted for a Jewish audience in Amsterdam in 1705 and translated into the vernacular, first into Spanish and followed by Yiddish (1717), Portuguese (18th century), and English (1851, published 1866). In 1865, a German translation appeared alongside the Hebrew text (1865).[78] And a little later, Jechiel Zevi Lichtenstein (1831-1912), a Jewish convert to Christianity, wrote *Strengthening the True Faith* (*Chizzuk Emunat Emet*), to counter Troki's *Strengthening the Faith*.[79]

9. Conclusion

Over the last decades, our understanding of twelfth-century Toledo and especially its unique intellectual climate has deepened. Today, reading the interconnected sections of *Dorot ʾOlam* together with *'Emunah Ramah* allows us a granular view of Ibn Daud's approach to the past, presence, and future of his community. In his eyes, the promise of Jewish efflorescence, so present in his portrayal of Jewish life in Andalusia, continues in the Christian kingdoms, although he voices some anxiety about the future of Jewish learning. Questions remain. In what ways, for example, do his translation activities influence his historiography? How and in what form did he encounter his Christian sources? Another avenue of future research might give us greater insights in Ibn Daud's political thought. In the over eight hundred years that have passed since Ibn Daud sat down to pen this work, his ideas moved across audiences and languages; they were of interest to theologians, historians, and polemicists alike, reminding us of the fluidity of texts and their interpretation.

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[70] Howell, *Wonderful, and most Deplorable History,* sig. A5r–7r.

[71] Howell, *Wonderful*, *and most Deplorable History,* sig. A5v.

[72] Howell, *Wonderful*, *and most Deplorable History,* sig. A6v.

[73] Howell, *Wonderful*, *and most Deplorable History,* sig. A5r.

[74] Kimḥi to Zech. 11:14.

[75] See Isaac Abravanel on Zech. 11 in *Miqra'ot Gedolot*.

[76] *Ḥizzuq 'Emunah* (ed. Deutsch), Part II, cha 25 (Matth. 27:9–10 and Zech. 11: 12–13) and cha 44 (John 10:16 and Zech. 14:16); Stefan Schreiner, "Isaac of Traki's Studies of Rabbinic Literature," *Polin* 15 (2002): 65–76.

[77] MS Hebr. Oct. 80, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main; See Rosemarie Sievert, *Isaak ben Abraham aus Troki im christlich-jüdischen Gespräch der Reformationszeit* (Münster: Litverlag 2005), 14.

[78] *Fortificacion de la ley de Moseh* (Amsterdam, 1624); *Sefer Hizuk 'Emunah,* trans. Kristofer Vagen (Amsterdam, 1716/17); *Livro da Fortificacao da fee*, trans. Solomon Beneveniste (Amsterdam, n.d.); *Ḥizzuq 'Emunah*, trans. Moses Mocatta (London, 1851); and *Tela ignea Satanae: The Original Latin text and a New English Translation of J. C. Wagenseil's [sic] Introduction to his 1681 CE Book*, trans. Wade Blocker (DaRyton: Blocker, 2001).

[79] Jechiel Zevi Lichtenstein, *Chisuk Emunat Emet* [Hebrew title: Chizzuk Emunat Emet]; *Befestigung im wahren Glauben* (Leipzig Vollrath Greifswald Universitätsbibliothek, c. 1865); https://vineofdavid.ffoz.org/remnant-repository/yechiel_lichtenstein/