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# Radicalism and Pauline Thought in Pedro de la Cavallería's *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles*

Núria Gómez Llauger<sup>1</sup>  
Universitat Abat Oliba CEU

## Abstract

The reference to Saint Paul (2 Cor. 10:2) that we find in the prologue to *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles* (mid-fifteenth century) is an early indication of the authority that Pedro de la Cavallería seems to attribute to Paul, and in my opinion this authority is relevant for interpreting the work. In this study, the different allusions and references to Saint Paul throughout the *Zelus Christi* will be identified and analyzed (primarily the use of his epistles but also other terminology). My objective is to determine to what degree this treatise adopts Pauline thinking, which will later become a central feature of convert circles in Iberia.

## 1. Preliminary considerations

Pedro de la Cavallería's *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles* (hereafter *Zelus Christi*) has traditionally been classified as one of the most radical polemics<sup>2</sup> against Jews and other infidels, alongside Hieronymus de Sancta Fidei's works and Alphonso de Spina's *Fortalitium Fidei*, for example. And a close reading of the work, independent of any preconceived ideas, confirms that its author, who was from Zaragoza,<sup>3</sup> was clear about his rejection of those who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Messiah foretold in Scripture. Thus, we find that the author does not hesitate to use terms like "madness" (*insaniam*), when referring to Jews and other infidels, or "Satan's Synagogue" (*Sinagogae Satane*), when alluding to Jews alone; he likewise criticizes the "tepidity" (*tepiditatem*) of "bad Christians":

Igitur, solus zelus Dei, quod est primum quod dixi, contra insaniam Iudaeorum et Sarracenorum ac aliorum infidelium, et contra tepiditatem malorum Christianorum,

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández.
2. See, among others, Cantera Montenegro, Enrique (2002), «Judíos medievales. Convivencia y persecución», in Eloy Benito Ruano (Ed.), *Tópicos y realidades de la Edad Media (I)*, pp. 179-252; Echevarría, Ana (1999), *The fortress of faith: the attitude towards Muslims in fifteenth century Spain*, Leiden, Boston, Köln, pp. 28-32, and Sicroff, Albert A. (1981), «Anticipaciones del erasmismo español en el Lumen ad revelationem gentium de Alonso de Oropesa», in *Nueva Revista De Filología Hispánica*, 30 (2), pp. 317-318 (especially note 6).
3. At the end of this chapter, I will discuss the inevitable debate over the author's identity.

me induxit ut de fide Christi sic gloriose disseram ut dentes infidelium obrudam efficacissimis rationibus et tam contra Iudaeos quam contra Sarracenos demonstrarem quod filii Israel dereliquerunt pactum Domini, idest fidem Christi, quod est secundum quod praedixi. In quo quidem secundo offertur materia operis, quae erit demonstrare quod fides Christi est uera et ipsa ueritas, et est pactum Domini uerum et fidele. Et, per consequens, Iudaei, qui se dicunt filios Israel licet non sint sed sunt Sinagoga Sata-nae, et Sarraceni, qui in sui primordio Christiani fuerunt et sic fuerunt ueri filii Israel, omnes dereliquerunt pactum Domini, quod est fides Christi, et destruxerunt altaria Domini et prophetas occiderunt, quod est tertium. In quibus uerbis assertur finalis intentio operis, quae est quia isti infideles fundamenta nouae legis Christi destruunt altaria, idest Scripturas sacras prophetarum calumniando.<sup>4</sup>

However, in my view, the use of this language remains in the background compared to the author's desire, expressed in this same passage and many others, to defend the truth of the faith of Christ using powerful arguments based primarily on Holy Scripture and on reasoning derived from scholasticism.

## 2. The prologue and the use of Scripture

These preliminary considerations are, in fact, perfectly illustrated at the very beginning of the prologue to the *Zelus Christi*, which provides the bases for interpreting the rest of the work, especially as regards its doctrinal intent and its use of rhetoric:

*Zelo zelatus sum pro domino deo exercituum, quia dereliquerunt pactum domini filii Israel, altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt gladio, scribitur iii<sup>o</sup> Regum xix<sup>o</sup> ca<sup>o</sup>. In quibus uerbis tria mihi assumo notanda. Primo zelum quem zelari me oportet pro domino Deo exercituum: ex quibus uerbis notatur causa efficiens huius operis, quia propter zelum dei est aggradiendum opus istud, quod de eius fide tractabit. Secundo super quo hunc zelum assumpserim, uidelicet, quia dereliquerunt pactum Domini filii Israel, in quibus uerbis notabitur causa huius operis materialis, quia de Iudaeis et Sarracenis, qui legem domini male intelligunt, tractandum est. Tertio ad quem finem et quare hunc zelum assumpserim, uidelicet, quia altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt, in quibus uerbis notabitur causa huius operis finalis, quia de Scripturis sacri canonis Bibliae diserendum est, quae pessime lacerantur et male intelliguntur per Iudaeos et Sarracenos.<sup>5</sup>*

4. ZC, 2b-3a. In citing the Latin text of the *Zelus Christi*, I use Martín Alfonso Vivaldo's edition (1592), since my critical edition is not yet available: De la Cavallería, Pedro (1450), *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et Infideles*. Ed. Martín Alfonso Vivaldo, Venice, 1592.

5. ZC, 1a-b.

The prologue, which is organized around the quote from I Kings (“*Zelo zelatus sum pro domino deo exercituum, quia dereliquerunt pactum domini filii Israel, altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt gladio*”), is to my way of thinking profoundly significant for understanding the rhetorical arrangement of the treatise.<sup>6</sup> The prologue’s structure also recalls how medieval sermons were organized, in which a psalm—or here a quote from I Kings—constituted the thematic core.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, the treatise uses Scripture constantly throughout. While this first quote from I Kings serves to present the author’s reasons for writing it (to demonstrate his zeal for Jesus Christ after the Jews had forsaken the covenant), Pedro de la Cavallería’s second quote is taken from the Gospel of John and reflects his desire to refute the argument that the faith of Christ is based on articles that are difficult to understand, an argument put forward by many infidels who refused to convert: “*Motus zelo Dei, uolens demonstrare totum oppositum, confirmando et demonstrando quod uerbum Christi est uerum, qui dixit ‘Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis forsitan et mihi,’ Ioan. 5. cap<itulo> in fine.*” In fact, this quote is closely connected to the previous one, since it also mentions *zelus* as a driving force and speaks of the continuity between the New Law and Mosaic Law;<sup>8</sup> secondarily, it refers to the Jews’ poor understanding of the law, asserting that they do not believe that Jesus Christ is the Messiah because they actually “male intelligunt” the law of Moses.

Lastly, once again in the prologue, we find a third quotation from the Bible, this one from Saint Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians, which is at the end of the paragraph reproduced below:

6. I analyzed the contents of the prologue and its rhetorical function in a recent article in the following way: “El tratado empieza y se fundamenta en una cita del Antiguo Testamento, la del profeta Elías en el libro primero de los Reyes, que se presenta mediante un desarrollo totalmente sistemático, de base racional, que será imperante a lo largo del tratado. Además, resulta muy interesante que el autor utilice esa cita como inicio de la obra, ya que recuerda al modo de proceder en la definición del tema de los sermones medievales. Parece que en esta cita ya lo diga todo. De hecho, no duda en repetirla, tal como Elías hiciera en el Libro de los Reyes (I 19: 10 y 14). En ella encontramos la causa motriz, la causa material y la causa final de la obra. En ella se explica el celo (la fe) y la refutación argumentada, basada en las Escrituras”, see Gómez Llauger, Núria (2019-2020 [forthcoming]), «Intención y retórica en el Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles (s. XV)», *Hispania Sacra*.
7. Cándida Ferrero Hernández’s analysis of the prologue to Riccoldo da Monte di Croce’s *Contra legem Sarracenorum* is very interesting in this connection. She also sees similarities with sermons and even asserts that “Riccoldo, por la estructura del *Contra legem Sarracenorum* y, en particular, a partir de su prólogo, parece seguir los presupuestos escolásticos de la lectio divina, establecidos por Petrus Cantor, según cuya hermenéutica la lectio configura los cimientos, la disputatio las paredes, la praedicatio el techado”, see Ferrero Hernández, Cándida (2019), «Lectio et disputatio en el prólogo del *Contra legem Sarracenorum* de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce», in Amélie de las Heras - Cándida Ferrero Hernández (Eds.), *Exégèse et lectio divina dans la péninsule Ibérique médiévale, Dossier des Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez. Nouvelle série* 49 (1), p. 148. This analytical perspective seems to me to be suitable for the study of the prologue to the *Zelus Christi*.
8. This idea that there was continuity between the New Law and the Law of Moses appears throughout the treatise, almost in the manner of a leitmotif.

Aggrediar hoc opus in nomine Iesu Christi, ubi demonstrabo cuicumque sano intellectui, Iudaei primum et Sarraceni, et etiam Philosophi et cuicumque infideli, quod Fides Christi est ipsa ueritas, ut iuxta uerbum Apostoli “redigatur in captiuitatem omnis intellectus in obsequium Christi”. 2. Ad Corinth<os>. 10.<sup>9</sup>

What role does this quote play in the treatise? If we look closely at the specific phrase used by Saint Paul, we see that it reinforces the idea that evidence of the truthfulness of the faith of Christ will persuade infidels (“redigatur in captiuitatem omnis intellectus”) of the need to convert. It is thus a matter of using suitable arguments, of being sufficiently persuasive, to captivate the thinking of Jews, Saracens and other unbelievers, and lead them to a conviction of the truth of the Christian faith.

Moreover, in answer to why Pedro de la Cavallería might have included this quote, we can point to the fact that it is in chapter 10 of Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians. This chapter, in which Paul clearly defends himself against his detractors, begins thus:

Ipse autem ego Paulus obsecro vos per mansuetudinem et modestiam Christi, qui in facie quidem humilis inter vos, absens autem confido in uobis; rogo autem, ne praesens audeam per eam confidentiam, quae existimo audere in quosdam, qui arbitrantur nos tamquam secundum carnem ambulemus. In carne enim ambulantes, non secundum carnem militamus—nam arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sed potentia Deo ad destructionem munitionum—consilia destruentes et omnem altitudinem extollentem se aduersus scientiam Dei, et in captiuitatem redigentes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi, et in promptu habentes ulcisci omnem inoboedientiam, cum impleta fuerit uestra oboedientia.

The Apostle’s obvious effort to defend himself against his detractors might have been seen by Pedro de la Cavallería as a reflection of his own. We get a glimpse of the author’s desire (or need) to defend (or protect) himself in his emphasis on the zeal for Christ as a driving force behind the writing of the treatise. We should bare in mind that Pedro de la Cavallería was very possibly a convert, with an important position at court (he was *Maestre Racional* of Aragon),<sup>10</sup> and he understood that his privileged status was jeopardized by the problems arising out of the popular revolt against converts that took place in Toledo in 1449 and subsequent altercations during the second half of the fifteenth century, both in Castile and in Valencia and Aragon. The resulting “blood purity statutes” and various other actions taken against Jews and converts (and Moriscos) may have been a determining factor for our author

9. ZC, 2b.

10. Some biographical details, analyzed in light of earlier scholarship on this author, can be found in Ferrero Hernández, Cándida - Gómez Llauger, Núria (2013), «Polémica y razón cristiana en el *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infieles* de Pedro de la Cavallería», in *Iberia Judaica V*, and in Gómez Llauger, “Intención y retórica...” (as in note 6).

(about whom we only know that he wrote this work) in deciding to write a treatise that would shield him from eventual attacks by his detractors. In fact, in the prologue there is a well-known paragraph in which Pedro de la Cavallería introduces himself in the first person (as Paul had done in 2 Corinthians and in other epistles cited in the *Zelus Christi*), presenting his credentials and proclaiming his unwavering determination to serve Jesus Christ:

Et, quia ego Petrus de la Caualleria, legum doctor natus in ciuitate Cesaraugustae Regni Aragonum, licet iuri ciuili et canonico operam dederim, tamen a mea tenera aetate iussu fidelissimorum parentum meorum sic in quadruplici lingua fui eruditus, Latina, Caldea, Arabica et Hebraea, ut sacri canonis Bibliae studio me mancipauerim et in seruitutem Dei me redegerim, ut a tenera mea aetate, gratia Dei, desiderio desiderauerim adhaerere Christo Iesu. Et, aequando scripturam Hebraicam cum Latina, nouerim caecitatem Iudaicam, et, habens cum Iudaeis et Sarracenis multas disputationes, noui eorum caecitatem ualidis rationibus superatam.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. Other quotations from and references to Paul in the *Zelus Christi*

It is not only in the prologue, but throughout the treatise, that we find quotations from and references to Saint Paul. Below I list what are perhaps the most important among them, taking into account the context in which they appear and commenting on each, in the interest of providing a general overview of Pauline thought in the *Zelus Christi*.<sup>12</sup>

#### 3.1. *Colossians 2:9*

Tertio principaliter demonstrabitur quod iste Messias in lege promissus debebat esse Deus, et sic erat promissus quod esset Deus et homo: ita quod esset homo perfectus, “*in quo habitaret plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter,*” ut ait Apost<olus> ad Coll<o-censes>, c<apitulo> 2.<sup>13</sup>

This quotation is inserted into the section dedicated to a general demonstration *contra iudaeos* (“*Probatio primae partis contra Iudaeos*”). So, here the author expounds on the main topic of his work, the truthfulness of the faith of Christ (“*quod fides Iesu Christi est ipsa ueritas*”) as opposed to the opinions of the Jews. To this end he quotes Saint Paul, who is, in this passage, refuting several errors into which the Colossians have fallen. In this specific paragraph, Paul defends the absolute

11. ZC, 2a.

12. The quotation is copied exactly as written by Pedro de la Cavallería.

13. ZC, 6a, no. 37.

power of Jesus Christ, “en el cual habita corporalmente la plenitud del ser divino, en tanto que todo el universo creado recibe un influjo de vida divina en la humanidad de Cristo, llena de Dios.”<sup>14</sup>

### 3.2. Galatians 3

Videntes ergo iudaei, quod nec Populus iudaicus nec filius Abrahae in seminis benedictione aptatur, recte fugiunt ueritatem; ex quorum fuga apparet necessaria declaratio Apostoli Pauli de ista auctoritate disserentis egregie in Epistola ad Galatas capitulo 3.<sup>15</sup>

Further along, in the section titled “*Probatio primi articulo primae partis, quod Messias fuit promissus in lege*,” we find this reference to Galatians 3, in which Paul addresses Judaizing Christians in Galatia, reproaching them for straying from the Law of Christ. Thus, chapter 3 of the epistle deals with the relationship between the Law (of Moses) and (Christ’s) faith, and to that end it uses the example of Abraham, whose lineage was blessed precisely because he believed in God. This example is significant, moreover, because Pedro de la Cavallería asserts that to prove that the promise of Christ was included in the Law (of Moses), “multae auctoritates patent,” one of whom is Abraham.

Below is Paul’s text, so that the reader can compare it with the reference given by Pedro de la Cavallería, since in this case the *Zelus Christi* does not quote the Apostle’s exact words:

Sicut Abraham credidit Deo, et reputatum est ei ad iustitiam. Cognoscitis ergo quia qui ex fide sunt, hi sunt filii Abrahae. Providens autem Scriptura, quia ex fide iustificat gentes Deus, praeunntiavit Abrahae: “*Benedicentur in te omnes gentes*.” Igitur, qui ex fide sunt, benedicuntur cum fideli Abraham.<sup>16</sup>

Galatians is among the Pauline epistles with the most fervent tone and that express the clearest desire to unify all Christians, whether they were once Jew or Gentile. In fact, at the end of the third chapter of Galatians, where the above quotation is found, we read this well-known passage (Gal. 3:26–29):

Omnes enim filii Dei estis per fidem in Christo Iesu. Quicumque enim in Christum baptizati estis, Christum induistis: non est Iudaeus neque Graecus, non est servus neque liber, non est masculus et femina; omnes enim vos unus estis in Christo Iesu. Si autem vos Christi, ergo Abrahae semen estis, secundum promissionem heredes.

14. See Biblia de Montserrat, n. 3168 (retrieved from: [http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-biblia--0/html/0006ab60-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064\\_465.html#I\\_679](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-biblia--0/html/0006ab60-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_465.html#I_679); accessed on May 3, 2019).

15. ZC, 11b.

16. Gal. 3:6-9

This passage, which comes at the exact middle of Galatians, seems to be a kind of synthesis or summary, encapsulating the essential meaning of the epistle as a whole. The passage might actually have been a baptismal hymn going back to even before Paul, which he used in his letter.<sup>17</sup> Its use in the *Zelus Christi* is especially significant precisely because this emphasis on unity was hailed in pro-convert circles.<sup>18</sup>

### 3.3. *Galatians 2:21; Hebrews 7:19 and 8:6*

Hoc tibi dico, iudaeae, ut cognoscas quod ista grandis dubitatio omissionis retributionis Gloriam per Legem Moysi, pulsavit animos iudaeorum, et uides quomodo sunt angustiati in eius solutione. Hinc est, quod Apostolus Paulus institutus a Spiritu Sancto ausus est dicere ad Galat<as> 2 cap<itulo> in fine: “*Si enim per Legem iustitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est*”. Quasi uelit clare dicere, per Legem Moysi non erat iustitia, et sic non erat Gloria Coelestis promissa, quia si promissa fuisset, non erat necessaria passio Christi, ad Gloriam consequendam. Et etiam ad Hebr<aeos> 7 c<apitulo> dicit: “*Nihil enim ad perfectum adduxit Lex*”.<sup>19</sup>

Another dominant theme in the anti-Jewish refutation found in the *Zelus Christi* is dealt with in the section “*Quartus Articulus primae partis, uidelicet, quod Lex Moysi non dabat Gloriam animabus post mortem*.” Here, the quotes from Paul come from Galatians 1 and Hebrews 7, and both are used to uphold Christianity’s promise of eternal life after death. In addition, once again both quotations refer to the question of the Law (and its connection to Abraham), since they speak of the supremacy of the New Law over Mosaic Law, of the Law of Christ as the only path that “leads to perfection.” This idea continues to be developed in the following pages of the treatise, and at the beginning of “*Septimus Articulus primae partis, uidelicet, quod lex Moysi non erat perfecta*” we find another reference to Paul, specifically to Hebrews 8, where he speaks of the need for a New Law and of Jesus Christ as the priest of this “New Covenant”:

Satis etiam est probatum septimum, quod dixi in hoc secundo corellario, quod lex Moysi non erat perfecta, cum non daret perfectionem post mortem; et ideo necessaria erat lex noua, de qua scribit Ieremias capitulo 3 et capitulo 31. Quod capitulus 31 inducit Apostolus Paulus ad Heb<raeos> c<apitulo> 8.<sup>20</sup>

17. See Ferreira, Joel Antonio (2014), *Gálatas: la epístola de la apertura de fronteras*, Bogotá, Editorial San Pablo, pp. 5-6.

18. This is interesting for the reading of the work that I propose here, which belies the radical anti-convert interpretation that has traditionally been given to it.

19. ZC, 21a (nos. 128-129).

20. ZC, 22a (no. 134). We find, once again, the same references to Jeremiah and Hebrew 8 in ZC, 30a (no. 183), in the section “*Quintus principalis articulus primae partis, uidelicet, quod celebrato sacrificio corporis Messiae, debet lex noua per electos Messiae, in cordibus hominum infundi, ubi ponitur Prophetiarum ueteris Testamenti discursus de iis, quae de Christo prophetata sunt*.”



### 3.4.1. *Corinthians 15*

Ita, quod corpora humana tanta gloria redundabunt et glorificabuntur, quod licet sint corpora humana cum suis formis et membris substantialibus, erunt tamen quasi spiritalia, ut Angeli. Et, quia forsitan posset quis dubitare de quo seruiet ista membra, ut infelix Rabbi Moyses Aegyptius dubitauit. His respondet Daniel Propheta in sua prophetia, quod “*fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.*” Dan. ca<pitulo> 12 in fine. Quod magis declarans Apostolus Pau<lus> I ad Cor<inthios> c<apitulo> 15: quod ista corpora resuscitata, miraculose surgent post corruptionem in corpora incorruptibilia, quae dabit Deus cuilibet sicut uolet, cum differentia condigna, sicut est differentia inter stellas, quia una est maior alteras, et clarior. Et omnes resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimus, quia non omnes erunt in Gloria et resplendentes, prout stellae.<sup>21</sup>

The last reference to Paul that I will comment on here is inserted into the section “*Quintus principalis articulus primae partis ...*,” which deals with the spread of the New Law by the apostles (“*electos Messiae*”). This New Law was announced by the prophets of the Old Testament, who, together with other prophetic voices such as the sibyls, are Pedro de la Cavallería’s focus throughout this section.

The paragraph that we will be commenting on below comes from the part about the prophet Isaiah, which deals with the resurrection of the flesh, a fundamental aspect of Christian eschatology. Moreover, just below the reference to Paul that concerns us (1 Cor. 15:38-49) there is a direct quotation from another prophet, Daniel (Dan. 12:3), which refers to the glory that some men will receive after death: “But the wise shall shine brightly like the splendor of the firmament, and those who lead the many to justice shall be like the stars forever.” This idea is reinforced by the quotation from Paul that follows, which addresses the concept of resurrection directly and, perhaps somewhat less directly, the idea of predestination (which is present in the word *electos* itself).

However, let us take a look at Paul’s text, since here Pedro de la Cavallería quotes freely and in abridged form:

Sed dicet aliquis: “Quomodo resurgunt mortui? Quali autem corpore veniunt?” Insuper! Tu, quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi prius moriatur; et, quod seminas, non corpus, quod futurum est, seminas sed nudum granum, ut puta tritici aut alicuius ceterorum. Deus autem dat illi corpus sicut voluit, et unicuique seminum proprium corpus. Non omnis caro eadem caro, sed alia hominum, alia caro pecorum, alia caro volucrum, alia autem piscium. Et corpora caelestia et corpora terrestria, sed alia quidem caelestium gloria, alia autem terrestrium. Alia claritas solis, alia claritas lunae et alia claritas stellarum; stella enim a stella differt in claritate. Sic et resurrectio mortuorum: seminatur in corruptione, resurgit in incorruptione; seminatur in ignobilitate, resurgit in

21. ZC, 40b-41a (nos. 273-274).

gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, resurgit in virtute; seminatur corpus animale, resurgit corpus spiritale. Si est corpus animale, est et spiritale.<sup>22</sup>

Clearly the most important thing for understanding the *Zelus Christi* is the text itself. However, I believe that we should not leave out the general context in which it is inscribed or to which it refers, and which the readers of the treatise must have known. That is why in this case it was important to quote this key passage from Paul's epistle, which makes explicit reference to the existence of a spiritual body in addition to a carnal one, one of Saint Paul's basic concepts.

#### 4. The use of Paul's authority

Now that we have identified and commented on the main references to Saint Paul in the *Zelus Christi*, we need to ask how significant Paul's authority is for the work. And if we find it to be significant, we should ask whether this allow us to interpret the treatise (and even its author) in the light of Pauline humanism, which was consolidated by Erasmus of Rotterdam in the sixteenth century, though its earliest traces can be found in Iberia back in the fifteenth century, mainly among convert circles.<sup>23</sup>

The authority granted to Paul is one of the issues that requires, in my view, special attention when analyzing a Christian apologetic text, particularly if it is a work written by a convert. And though space prohibits me from elaborating on this debate here, different scholars have studied the issue in depth and have arrived at the consensus that the fifteenth-century in Spain was a very interesting time for the development of Pauline Christianity. This strain of Christianity, which stresses the inner life, grew in importance in tandem with Erasmian humanism and influenced Luther's reformation. In fact, it was due to Erasmus that Pauline thought began to develop in earnest in Iberia in the sixteenth century, even though it had previously made a deep impression there.<sup>24</sup>

22. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova\\_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata\\_nt\\_epist-i-corinthios\\_lt.html#15](http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_nt_epist-i-corinthios_lt.html#15)

23. "A lo largo del siglo XV, siempre que se desarrollaba un debate religioso, había también una conciencia conversa inquieta que acudía a la autoridad del apóstol Pablo, como el navegante cuyo barco ha perdido el rumbo en la noche oscura. Más adelante, ya asentados en el cristianismo, volvieron a protagonizar el debate religioso inevitablemente, puesto que entonces su formación y vivencia paulina les puso en sintonía directamente con el contexto europeo y, sobre todo, con lo que de dicho contexto penetró en España gracias a Erasmo", see Giordano, María Laura (2010), «La ciudad de nuestra conciencia: los conversos y la construcción de la identidad judeocristiana (1449-1556)», in *Hispania Sacra*, 62, p. 46.

24. "De hecho, el paulinismo de Erasmo pudo triunfar porque se injertaba en un paulinismo anterior," see *ibid.*, p. 47. In this connection, the article by Albert A. Sicoff that was cited at the beginning seems particularly relevant, because, though he considers the *Zelus Christi* to be strongly anti-Jewish (a thesis that I attempt to qualify here), he lays the groundwork for the study of pre-Erasmus Pauline thought in the Iberian Peninsula, following up on an earlier insight by Marcel Bataillon. Maria Laura Giordano is currently doing research along these lines, especially in her studies on Alonso de Cartagena.

In this connection, the reference to Paul that we find at the beginning of the *Zelus Christi* (2 Cor. 10:2) is especially noteworthy, because of both its contents (already discussed) and its location in one of the key paragraphs of the prologue, which as we have seen, turns out to be extremely useful for understanding the treatise as a whole. The fact that this reference appears up front leads me to think that it is intended as a kind of foretoken to signal a less belligerent tone than what we would initially be inclined to expect from Pedro de la Cavallería. In this way, the reference would make the *Zelus Christi* more akin to the Pauline thinking that would later on will take center stage among convert circles in Iberia.

We perceive this Pauline tone, whose function remains to be elucidated, both in the quotations from Paul that Pedro de la Cavallería inserts into the text of the *Zelus Christi* and perhaps also in the somewhat ambiguous and relatively nuanced tone that the author uses in his refutation. Indeed, the glossator and editor of the 1592 Venice edition of the text, Martín Alfonso Vivaldo, asserts this very fact when he says, without any ambiguity, that “*auctor es imitator D. Pauli*” and recalls a Pauline phrase, also from Corinthians: “*Sine offensione estote Iudaeis et gentilibus et ecclesiae Dei*” (1 Cor. 10:32).<sup>25</sup> Along these lines, it should also be mentioned that Vivaldo himself uses many references to Paul in his glosses, another indication of the importance that the saint had both for Pedro de la Cavallería and for the Dominican who edited his work a century after it was written.

## 5. Conclusions

In his study “Ideología y anfibología antijudías en la obra  *Fortalitium Fidei*, de Alonso de Espina: Un apunte metodológico,” José María Monsalvo Antón argues, as I do here regarding *Zelus Christi*, that there is a tendency among critics to classify authors of polemics as either radical or moderate, based on their view of converts. The problem, as Monsalvo also points out, is that the contrast pro-convert/anti-convert presents a polarization that makes thoughtful analysis of less-certain, wavering positions impossible. This focus on the author’s pro-convert or anti-convert position also requires us to adopt a perspective on the connection between authors and their work that has largely been superseded by literary theory.<sup>26</sup>

25. ZC, “*Index copiosissimus ad tractatum Zelus Christi*” (p. 1). This point was made previously in Gómez Llauger 2019-2020 (forthcoming).

26. “A menudo la historiografía sobre conversos o sobre judíos bajomedievales atribuye a Alonso de espina la condición de antisemita ‘radical’, alineado con el sector ‘duro’ de las polémicas sobre los conversos, como lo fue también Pedro Sarmiento, Marcos García de Mora y todos los herederos de la revuelta toledana de 1449 contra los conversos, frente a otro puñado de autores ‘moderados’ o ‘proconversos’, entre los que se encontraban Alonso de Cartagena, Lope de Barrientos, el cardenal Juan de Torquemada o Alonso de Oropesa. El problema es que a partir de esta contraposición proconversos/anticonversos no solo se tiende a diluir las opciones que fueron tibias o los discursos vacilantes de muchos autores, sino que se tiende a adjudicar a las obras sobre judíos y conversos las mismas intenciones o posiciones personales de sus autores. Se quiebra así la necesaria distancia entre el autor y su obra, entendida esta como creación intelectual o literaria de naturaleza genuina y en parte autónoma respecto a la voluntad de aquel.

Indeed, the motives behind the writing of the different Christian polemics and apologies, especially in Spain during the tumultuous fifteenth century, are complex, and it would be reductive to make general assertions about them. Though such assertions may apply to many authors and their works, they are inadequate as explanations of them as a group. This is true of the classification of authors and works into pro-convert and anti-convert camps, spoken of by Monsalvo and alluded to, with regard to *Zelus Christi*, at the beginning of this chapter. Moreover, as for the connection between the author and the work, I propose that Pedro de la Cavallería (who refers to himself in the first person throughout) uses the treatise, at least in part, to present himself to his contemporaries as a zealous defender of the Christian faith, to dispel any doubts that a convert like him might have raised at such a complicated historical moment.

As I have attempted to show in previous studies on this work,<sup>27</sup> the method used in the *Zelus Christi* is mainly argumentative. It places the word and the *validae rationes* at the center of its argument in order to demonstrate the veracity of the faith of Christ and, above all, the coming of the Messiah, to those who reject them. Jews, Saracens and other infidels (i.e., Greeks) must be convinced that Jesus Christ is the Messiah foretold in Scripture, especially by the prophets, to whom Pedro de la Cavallería devotes a large portion of his anti-Jewish refutation and to whom he grants clear authority.

Lastly, we should acknowledge that the *Zelus Christi* is not a work that is openly pro-convert, as is, for example, Alonso de Cartagena's contemporary work, *De unitatis Fidei Christianae*. However, that is no reason to label it as "radical" or to liken it to others that have been classified as taking clearer anti-convert positions. In any case, to determine where both the *Zelus Christi* and its author belong on the radical-moderate spectrum, a much more detailed study of the work will be necessary, in which the analytical perspective offered by the use of the Saint Paul's authority will, I believe, be absolutely decisive.

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"Ciertamente, la polarización en dos bandos pro o anticonversos existió. Existió desde el punto de vista de la opinión pública de Castilla de 1449-1492. Pero el significado de los mensajes sobre judíos o conversos, y de las obras que los contenían, es algo más complejo. En el caso de Alonso de Espina convendría no confundir obra y autor, actitudes personales y creación intelectual", see Monsalvo Antón, José M<sup>a</sup>. (2013), «Ideología y anfibología antijudías en la obra *Fortalitium Fidei*, de Alonso de Espina. Un apunte metodológico» in Pablo de la Cruz Díaz Martínez et al. (Eds.), *El historiador y la sociedad. Homenaje al Profesor José M<sup>a</sup>. Mínguez*, pp. 164-165.

27. See Ferrero Hernández - Gómez Llauger (2013) «Polémica y razón cristiana...» and Gómez Llauger (2019, -2020 [forthcoming]), «Intención y retórica ...».