THE PRACTICE OF MUSIC IN THE *LIBRO DE APOLONIO* AS AN EARLY CASE OF ARISTOTELIANISM

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The *Libro de Apolonio* (c.1250) is a key witness of the medieval European practice of music[1]. This version of the classical story of Apollonius of Tyre (2nd–3rd century CE), one of the first learned works of literature composed in the Castilian vernacular, extensively depicts music as a skill that demonstrates elevated understanding of world. In the *Libro de Apolonio*, virtuoso playing of a stringed instrument, namely the *vihuela*, fiddle, as accompanied by the voice, brings profound insight, transforming the lives of the principal characters at three crucial turning points in the narrative. The interest of the depiction of music in the *Libro de Apolonio* is thus not just diegetic or musicological. This clerical poem is imbued with the scholarship of the medieval curriculum i.e. the seven liberal arts. Within the hierarchy of the arts, music held an important position as one of the four higher, numeric subjects of the *quadrivium*, along with astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry, and exemplified all these higher arts[2]. Mastery of the arts led to study of philosophy and theology, the ultimate disciplines for investigation of the world and the heavens. The practice of music in the *Libro de Apolonio* engages with contemporary philosophical and theological concerns and notably, as I shall argue, an Aristotelian worldview that profoundly challenges Christian doctrine.

Despite the significance of the representation of music in the *Libro de Apolonio*, the topic has garnered relatively little critical attention in Hispanic Studies;

[1] Though there is some disagreement over dating, a broad critical consensus has emerged identifying the *Libro de Apolonio* with the mid-thirteenth century, before or on the cusp of the intellectual progress fomented by Alfonso X, the learned king of Castile (r.1252-1284). See *Libro de Apolonio*, ed. D. Corbella, Madrid, Cátedra, 2007, pp. 12-14; all quotations from the poem are taken from this edition. The *Libro de Apolonio* is extant in one manuscript only, K.III.4 (mid-fourteenth century), held at the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain.

[2] The *quadrivium* brought "measurable objectivity" to the primary principles taught by the language studies of the *trivium*. VAN DEUSEN, N., *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1995, pp. xii, x.

one of the exceptions is the work of Daniel Devoto[3]. The poem has, however, been the subject of some notable commentary from the scholar of English Literature, Elizabeth Archibald, as well as the musicologist, Christopher Page, as one important for European literary history. Archibald, who conducted a pioneering study of the European Apollonius tradition across the medieval and early modern periods, indicates that the Castilian Apollonius is especially "conservative" and notable for its "heavy Christian moralizing"[4]. The poem is also striking for its affinity with hagiographic texts[5]. In a study on voice and instrument in France in the high and late medieval periods, Page includes a section on the *Libro de Apolonio*, as it contains: "what may be the fullest account of fiddle-accompanied singing in medieval literature"[6]. Over the course of the thirteenth century, when the *Libro de Apolonio* was composed, music scholarship rapidly developed new techniques for more complex, polyphonic practice as well as a vernacular vocabulary of music[7]. The *Libro de Apolonio* is remarkable for depiction of the practice of new musical techniques that emerged in this period. The scene when Apolonio plays the *vihuela* is also unusual for its use of technical musical terminology, none of which is found in its Latin source, the ninth-century *Historia Apolloniis Regis Tyri*[8]. I believe that these central aspects identified by Archibald and Page—earnest Christian teaching and detailed depiction of fiddle playing—relate to each other: philosophical exploration through music is put in its place with Christian response. As I will assert, perhaps most remarkable of all about the *Libro de Apolonio* is the depiction of music at the beginning of the story, when performance with a *vihuela* on the part of the protagonist reveals not only his profound rational insight, *razón* (st. 182d), but his potential for worldly success and

[3] DEVOTO, D., "Dos notas sobre el *Libro de Apolonio*", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 74.3-4 (1972), pp. 291-330.
[4] ARCHIBALD, E., *Apollonius of Tyre: Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations*, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1991, p. 47.
[5] See SURTZ, R., "The Spanish *Libro de Apolonio* and Medieval Hagiography", *Medioevo Romanzo*, 7 (1980), pp. 328-41; BROWNLEE, M.S., "Writing and Scripture in the *Libro de Apolonio*: The Conflation of Hagiography and Romance", *Hispanic Review*, 51.2 (1983), pp. 159-74; GRIEVE, P.E., "Building Christian Narrative: The Rhetoric of Knowledge, Revelation, and Interpretation in *Libro de Apolonio*", in A. Classen (ed.), *The Book and the Magic of Reading in the Middle Ages*, New York, Garland, 1998, pp. 149-69; and DESING, M.V., "Women on the Edge of Glory: Tarsiana, Oria, and Liminality", *La corónica*, 42.1 (2013), pp. 229-60.
[6] PAGE, C., *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300*, London, J.M. Dent, 1987, pp. 167-68.
[7] See URIA MAQUA, I., *Panorama crítico del mester de clerecía*, Madrid, Castalia, 2000, p. 247; and PAGE, *Voices and Instruments*, pp. 50-76, 167-71.
[8] See PAGE, *Voices and Instruments*, pp. 168. The *Libro de Apolonio* is based largely on recension A of the *Historia Apolloniis Regis Tyri*, though sometimes also B, on which see ARCHIBALD, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 190.

happiness, in consonance with Aristotelian natural philosophy and ethics. The story of Apollonius, unusually a family man as well as a king and scholar, is extremely well suited to such philosophic and theological exploration.

Let us consider the evidence for Aristotelianism as portrayed through musical practice in the *Libro de Apolonio*. As I have indicated, there are three important incidences of musical performance in the poem. Of these three scenes, one involves the protagonist, Apolonio, with his wife Luciana, and the other two their daughter, Tarsiana. The most significant of these is the first, the focus of this article, in which Luciana performs for her native court, as followed by Apolonio, who at that point in the narrative is a shipwrecked fugitive from Tyre (in modern day Lebanon). Having previously exposed an incestuous relationship between a neighbouring king, Antioco, and his daughter, who Apolonio went to as a suitor in marriage and consequently had to flee for his life, the eponymous protagonist finds solace in Pentápolin (Pentapolis, North Africa). His performance, which is described only very briefly in the *Historia Apolloniis Regis Tyri*[9], is an extensive scene at once scholarly and highly sensual in the *Libro de Apolonio*. Apolonio's playing and accompaniment of the *vihuela* ultimately indicates his fitness as a potential match for Luciana, his future queen. Their interaction initiates the story of redemption of the protagonist, a central part of which comprises his success in living an active secular life: starting and maintaining a family free from the sexual excess that blights Antioco's court, and developing a peaceful reign of several territories. As Alastair Minnis describes, according to the doctrine of Aristotle, the moderation of desire is key for worldly happiness, namely political, economic, and conjugal[10].

Apolonio meets the king of Pentápolin and father of Luciana, Architartres, while playing a ball game. The king is overtaken with admiration for Apolonio's considered manner and insight, *entendimiento,* and invites him to dine at court (sts. 145-51). Despite this honour, Apolonio is utterly miserable. During the meal he mourns his losses and Architartres becomes concerned, sending Luciana, who is described as *cosa ensennyada*, to probe their guest. As Luciana makes clear to Apolonio, her intellectual foil: *omne bien ensenyado*, he is undermining his favour with her father, who expected more from a man such as he. First, she tries to cheer

[9] PAGE, *Voices and Instruments*, p. 170.
[10] MINNIS, A., "<I speke of folk in seculer estaat>: Vernacularity and Secularity in the Age of Chaucer", The Biennial Chaucer Lecture, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 27 (2005), pp. 25-58.

Apolonio with some theoretical philosophy: <<pocol' mienbra al bueno de la cosa perdida>>, and then presses him to tell the story of his lost reign, though this only brings him to further, helpless tears (sts. 167-75). Encouraged by her father to try harder to connect with their guest and make amends for causing him distress, Luciana next prepares herself to perform with her *vihuela*. She tunes the instrument, <<en hun son natural>>, possibly an accordatura of perfect intervals[11], and then begins to play some extraordinary melodies and sing. Luciana is a skilled musician: <<fazìa a la viuela dezir puntos ortados, | semeiaua que eran palabras afirmadas>> (st. 179cd). As Devoto has pointed out, *ortado*, describing the word for a musical note, *punto*, is a learned adjective not necessarily associated with music. In the *Libro de Alexandre* (c. 1200), the Castilian version of the story of Alexander the Great as closely linked with Apollonius in the medieval European tradition, the term is used three times to refer to different *maestros*: in the *Libro de Apolonio* the term thus "respondería así al aspecto 'científico' que el arte de la música tiene para el poeta y para sus personajes"[12]. Note that Luciana's music is described as seeming equivalent to language, highlighting the scholarly rationale and communicative power of her performance. The science of music is also one of elevated understanding of the word.

The court responds with huge praise for Luciana, but Apolonio is unmoved, drawing the disbelief of Architartres. Crucially, Luciana has not performed with sufficient *razón*, 'reason', for the protagonist, who, when challenged, asserts: <<si prendo la vihuela, cuydo fer hun tal son, | que entendredes todos que es más con razón>>. By Apolonio's reckoning, Luciana is *entendida* but not yet a *maestra complida*; she responds with defiance of her own, requesting in polite mockery that her rival take up a lesser-regarded stringed instrument, if he is capable: a *rota* (of the lyre or harp family) or a *gigua* (similar to the viola)[13]. Unable to ignore her, Apolonio instead prepares his instrument of choice, the *vihuela* (see fig. 1): <<sópola bien tenprar>>; he then requests a crown to wear for his performance in accordance with his ultimate scholarly purpose (sts. 181-86):

[11] PAGE, *Voices and Instruments*, p. 168.
[12] See DEVOTO, "Dos notas sobre el *Libro de Apolonio*", p. 310. The stories of Alexander and Apollonius are often cited together and appear alongside each other in manuscripts across the medieval period. This may in part be due to I Maccabees of the Bible, which describes how, on the dissolution of Alexander's empire, the Seleucid empire was founded with some leaders called "Antiochus", who are involved with "Apollonius". On this topic see ARCHIBALD, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 40, 85-87.
[13] On these instruments see DEVOTO, "Dos notas sobre el *Libro de Apolonio*", p. 302.

Non quiso Apolonio la duenya contrastar,
priso huna viuela y sópola bien tenprar;
dixo que sin corona non sabrié violar,
non querìa, maguer pobre, su dignidat baxar.

Ouo desta palabra el rey muy gran sabor,
semeióle que le yua amansando la dolor;
mandó de sus coronas aduzir la meior,
diola a Apolonio, hun buen violador.

Quando el rey de Tiro se vyo coronado,
fue de la tristeza ya quanto amansando;
fue cobrando el seso, de color mejorando,
pero non que houiesse el duelo oluidado.

Alçó contra la duenya vn poquiello el çeio,
fue ella de vergüenza presa hun poquelleio,
fue trayendo el arquo egual y muy pareio,
abés cabié la duenya de gozo en su pelleio.

Fue leuantando hunos tan dulçes sones,
doblas y debayladas, temblantes semitones;
a todos alegraua la boz los corazones;
fue la duenya toquada de malos aguigones.

Todos por huna boca dizién y afirmauan
que Apolo nin Orfeo mejor non violauan;
el cantar de la duenya, que mucho alabauan,
contra el de Apolonio nada non lo preciauan.

El rey Architrastres non serìa más pagado
sy ganasse hun regno ho hun rico condado.
Dixo ha altas bozes: <<Desque yo fuy nado
non vi, segunt mìo sseso, cuerpo tan acabado.>>

. . . . . .

> E con esto la fija, qu'el padre seguraua,
> tornó a Apolonio alegre y pagada.
> <<Amigo, diz, la graçia de el rey as ganada,
> desque só tu diçipla, quiérote dar soldada>>. (sts. 185-94)

As soon as Apolonio is crowned, confirming his true status as one of the ruling élite, he recovers his wits sufficiently to play well. Overcoming his sorrow and interacting with Luciana through his performance, Apolonio proves himself to be the noble gentleman, <<sabidor y liuiano>> (st.146c) who Architartres met during the earlier ball game, and one who is thus also a potential match for the princess. Showing technical mastery, Apolonio leaves his audience with no doubt of his superior musicianship founded in reason: *mesura* and *razón* (sts. 158c, 182d). As Devoto notes, in the *Libro de Alexandre*, *doblas*, *deballadas* and semitones are all also features of "la música cantada por razón"[14]. Apolonio's playing of the *vihuela* is undoubtedly measured and seemly, as indicated by the even strokes he makes with the bow of the instrument, and there is clearly strong sexual attraction between him and Luciana.

The occasion of Apolonio's performance is fraught with imagery of violent desire that recalls the archetypal sin of Antioco. Architartres experiences *gran sabor* at Apolonio's request to borrow a crown before he plays and Luciana suffers *malos aguigones* while watching their guest. The verb *violar* and noun *violador* used to describe Apolonio in action suggest violation as well as playing the *vihuela*, alluding to the rape of Antioco's daughter along with concupiscence: the violent desire for knowledge that brought about the fall of mankind (sts. 185-89)[15]. Apolonio's performance has the potential to penetrate the truths of the natural world and thereby of god, an emblem of the threat of Aristotle for the contemporary Church. However, Apolonio's learned goals are societal flourishing, cohesion and piety, not the exposure of forbidden knowledge for its own sake, as in the cases of Adam and Eve, Alexander as schooled by Aristotle in the *Libro de Alexandre*, and Antioco. Apolonio is a philosopher who puts his (Christian) community first. As Luciana makes clear, Apolonio distinguishes himself so greatly with his *vihuela* that he is worthy of the king's grace and a job at the palace: she wishes to dedicate herself to him as his pupil,

[14] DEVOTO, "Dos notas sobre el *Libro de Apolonio*", p. 27.
[15] According to Augustine's formulation, original sin was concupiscent. See LE GOFF, J., *The Medieval Imagination*, Chicago, University Press, 1988, p. 97.

diçipla (st. 194). Apolonio is a superior interpreter of verbal and musical language and can restrain his desire for the princess. He can teach her the techniques for playing multiple notes at once (*doblas*), delicate *semitones*, and microtones (*debayladas*), so that she too might achieve such *dulces sones* in expression of her own rational understanding and moderation (st. 189). Finally and notably, the narrator appraises Apolonio in economic terms—as equivalent for Architartres to a *regno* or *rico condado*. The fugitive is a worthy figurehead for his territory, despite his current circumstance; indeed, Architartres also describes him as virtually perfect: <<cuerpo tan acabado>> (st. 191). In this scene, Apolonio proves himself a king, scholar, courtier, and suitor of the highest order. Crucially for this Christian version of the Apollonius story, the subsequent union between Apolonio and Luciana is sanctioned and blessed by god, who gives them a child, Tarsiana: <<Entró entre los nouyos muyt gran dilecçion, | el Criador entre ellos metió su bendiçión>> (st. 241ab). Tarsiana goes on to live in the manner of a virgin saint as well as a great scholar who eventually also marries and continues the dynasty of her father.

The rational scholarship of Apolonio, which leads him to great worldly success as blessed by god, is, I suggest, an early example the assimilation of Aristotelian thought into the Christian tradition in European vernacular literature. The unusually detailed and extensive depiction of playing of the *vihuela* in the clerical *Libro de Apolonio* demonstrates important contemporary associations between musical and philosophical discourse. With his technical musicianship, Apolonio indicates not just his musical capability but also his superior understanding of the world, such that he may turn *maestro* to royalty, just as Aristotle himself was teacher to the young Alexander the Great, as reprised in the *Libro de Alexandre*. Moreover, the protagonist's scholarship is conjoined in this scene with a demonstration of political, marital, and economic potential. As Minnis asserts, there is a connection between ethics, politics, and economics in Aristotle's thought, such that: "each and every man ought to conduct himself in such a way that he may be fit to rule . . . one of the essential characteristics of a secular ideology of virtue that late medieval philosophers and poets deduced from Aristotle." He goes on: "in early medieval monastic theology, the *activa vita* [living life socially, with parents, wife, and children] was often denigrated in the process of aggrandizing the contemplative life; thanks largely to Aristotle, in the later period it could enjoy a much more positive valuation". Minnis is discussing Aristotelian 'practical philosophy' in fourteenth-

century English, French, and Italian authors, as a marker of what he terms "vernacular secularity". Such Aristotelianism comes to be increasingly associated with the controversial Wyclif and Lollardy in England, for example[16], yet seems to be very relevant to the mid-thirteenth century *Libro de Apolonio*.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, to which Minnis refers for his analysis, Aristotle expounds on goodness in relation to worldly happiness:

> The complete good seems to be self-sufficient. By <<self-sufficient>>, however, we mean not self-sufficient for someone who is alone, living a solitary life, but also for parents, children, wife, and friends and fellow citizens generally, since a human being is by nature political…In any case, we posit that what is self-sufficient is what, on its own, makes a life choiceworthy and lacking in nothing, and this, we think, is what happiness is like[17].

Man's ability to moderate his desires and rationally organize his thoughts and his social world is what elevates him above the beasts:

> With the other animals, their community only goes as far as reproduction, whereas human beings share a household not only for the sake of reproduction but also for the sake of various things necessary for life…both utility and pleasure seem to be found in this form of friendship[18].

Apolonio's arrangement with Architartres and Luciana to work as the young princess's tutor and, later, her husband is the ideal expression of utility and pleasure as founded in friendship. Apolonio, described by Architrastes as <<cuerpo tan acabado>> (st.191d), is self-sufficient in his goodness and skills; crucially, he is brought to the realization of this goodness and happiness through interaction with his future wife and father-in-law and their community.

What is the evidence for discussion of Aristotle in Iberian clerical circles in the first half and middle of the thirteenth century? How may such debates have

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[16] MINNIS, "<I speke of folk in seculer estaat>", pp. 35, 58.
[17] ARISTOTLE, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. de C.D.C. Reeve, Indianapolis, Hackett, 2014, I.7 [online: http://oxford.eblib.com/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1643868 (accessed 8-IV-2016)].
[18] ARISTOTLE, *Nicomachean Ethics*, VIII.12.

become familiar to the author and audience of the *Libro de Apolonio*? As is well known, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Aristotle's textual corpus was disseminated in Europe for the first time since antiquity. The vast majority of the philosopher's work came via Iberia, where Arabic, Jewish, and Christian scholars worked to translate Aristotelian texts from Arabic into Hebrew, the vernacular, and Latin in established schools, as part of a broadly "ecclesiastical" movement[19]. Most of Aristotle's works that are known to us today were newly rendered by the end of the twelfth century and were widely known by the time of the composition of the *Libro de Apolonio*[20]. Some of the earliest texts to be translated into Latin were those of natural philosophy, while the *Nicomachean Ethics* was rendered first in fragments in the twelfth and at the start of the thirteenth century, and then fully in the mid-thirteenth century by Hermann the German, a scholar working in Toledo[21]. Christian clerics in Iberia were some of the first to be exposed to the new philosophy, partly working in response to demand for classical texts from north of the Pyrenees and also the increasing numbers of Arabic texts available with the Reconquest gathering momentum[22]. However, despite the early exposure of Iberian scholars, very few contemporary Ibero-Christian responses to Aristotle and the classical philosophical tradition are recorded. There is also almost no available evidence that the translation schools of Iberia had contact with other schools and/or the courts[23]. Such a lack of written response has led some critics to rather damning views of the peninsular

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[19] HASSE, D.N., "The Social Conditions of the Arabic-(Hebrew-)Latin Translation Movements in Medieval Spain and in the Renaissance", in A. Speer and L. Wegener (eds.), *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und lateinisches Mittelalter*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2006, pp. 74.

[20] See SPADE, P.V., "Medieval Philosophy", in E.N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2016 Edition)* [online: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/medieval-philosophy/ (accessed 29-III-2016)].

[21] On the early versions of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, see: BEJCZY, I.P., "Nicomachean Ethics, Commentaries on Aristotle's", in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, Dordrecht, Springer Netherlands, 2011, pp. 889-92 [online: http://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-1-4020-9729-4_358 (accessed 31-III-2016)]; and WIELAND, G., "The Reception and Interpretation of Aristotle's *Ethics*", in N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, and J. Pinborg (eds.), *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100-1600*, Cambridge, University Press, 1982, pp. 657-60. Between 1240 and 1244, Hermann the German produced two versions of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, one of which was a summary known as the *Summa Alexandrinorum*. BURNETT, C., "Arabic into Latin: the Reception of Arabic Philosophy into Western Europe", in P. Adamson and R.C. Taylor (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, Cambridge, University Press, 2005, pp. 375-99.

[22] See BURNETT, "Arabic into Latin"; and HASSE, D.N., "Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy on the Latin West", in E.N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2014 Edition)* [online: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/arabic-islamic-influence/ (accessed 31-III-2016)].

[23] HASSE, "The Social Conditions", p. 75.

cleric's intellectual life. Francisco Márquez Villanueva dismisses Iberia's "indiferente o adormilada clerecía", including those clerics responsable for the *mester de clerecía*: "el somnoliento mundo académico de Castilla…no prestó verdadera atención al binomio filosofía-teología hasta finales del siglo XIV"[24]. For Francisco Rico, the *mester de clerecía* are merely an: "esqueje cortado de jardines transpirenaicos"[25].

Michelle Hamilton begins to address such views. In an article on the *Libro de buen amor* (1330/43), she focuses on a single stanza of the poem, number 70, which takes music and interpretation as its central theme and occurs directly before a *quaestio* on Aristotle. The *Libro de Apolonio* and the *Libro de buen amor* belong to the corpus of Iberian clerical narrative poems known as the *mester de clerecía*, as often recognised by their use of the verse form *cuaderna vía*: monorhymed, alexandrine quatrains. The highly erudite *Libro de buen amor*, like the *Libro de Apolonio*, is concerned with the proper direction of desire, and large portions of the text are written as songs, highlighting the close relationship between musical performance and intellectual exploration for the *mester de clerecía*[26]. The imagery of stanza 70 of the *Libro de buen amor*, combining voice and instrumental practice, is striking: the book, speaking in the first person, likens itself to a musical instrument and almost certainly a stringed instrument such as the *vihuela*, as Hamilton demonstrates[27]. This instrument, reminiscent of the lyre of David, is to be 'played' by the audience according to his or her skill as an interpreter: <<bien o mal, qual puntares, tal te dirá çiertamente>> (st. 70b)[28]. Hamilton shows that such imagery is very likely indebted to the thirteenth-century Iberian and Provençal Hebrew commentary tradition on Maimonides, perhaps the greatest medieval scholar of Aristotle after Averroes. She cites two Hebrew poems that gloss two separate manuscripts of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* (c. 1190), his most influential work. The *Guide for the Perplexed* is composed as a letter intended for an advanced

[24] MÁRQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., *El concepto cultural alfonsí*, Madrid, Editorial Mapfre, 1995, pp. 57, 70; and "El caso del averroísmo popular español (hacia *La Celestina*)", in R. Beltrán and J.L. Canet (eds.), *Cinco siglos de "Celestina": aportaciones interpretativas*, Universitat de València, Guada Litografía, 1997, p. 125.
[25] RICO, F., "La clerecía del mester", *Hispanic Review*, 53 (1985), p. 5.
[26] On the songs of the *Libro de buen* amor, see CONDE, J.C., "De cantares un librete: de nuevo sobre el *Libro de buen amor* como cancionero", in F. Bautista Pérez and J. Gamba Corradine (eds.), *Estudios sobre la edad media, el renacimiento y la temprana modernidad*, Salamanca, CiLengua, 2010, pp. 99-116.
[27] HAMILTON, M., "The Musical Book: Judeo-Andalusi Hermeneutics in the *Libro de buen amor*", *La corónica*, 37.2 (2009), p. 37.
[28] JUAN RUIZ, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. de G.B. Gybbon-Monypenny, Madrid, Castalia, 1988.

student who believes he must choose between philosophy and faith; the text sought to help the faithful resolve such a dilemma. The Hebrew poems are concerned with the debate on hermeneutic authority of the Maimonidean controversy and compare the *Guide for the Perplexed* to a stringed instrument, specifically a lyre, as referred to in biblical Hebrew as a *kinnor* and a *nevel*. The first, 'Emet *Moreh*', for example, reads: <<Its [the instrument's] strings are tightened according to wisdom. | But when the fool who does not know how to play comes, | He plays it and destroys the strings>>[29]. Both poems are remarkably akin to stanza 70 and equate the skilful playing of stringed instruments with superior understanding.

Hamilton's work intersects with that of Page, who she cites, indicating the importance of the Jewish tradition for scholars in late thirteenth-century Paris such as the Dominican bishop and philosopher Albertus Magnus, who was one of the first of the scholastics to use Maimonides in study of Aristotle, including the *Guide for the Perplexed*[30]. Writing on twelfth-, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century musical practice in Paris, Page describes how, over this period—note, including that in which the *Libro de Apolonio* was composed—the worlds of academic musical scholarship and popular practice began to merge, bringing instruments such as the *vihuela* into the clerical sphere. Contemporary instruments began to be equated with those found in sacred scripture—and notably the *vihuela* with the *kinnor* of the Torah—as tools for higher scholarly pursuits. Once the claim of the Occitan troubadour, performing with a *vihuela* was increasingly regarded as a *scientia*, the principles of which could be taught, and no more so than in Paris, a "hive" of clerics—men who read and sang from script and musical notation as part of their profession. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, important intellectuals studying in the city such as Albertus Magnus began to equate highly skilled fiddle playing with insight into Aristotelian rationalism. Playing an instrument well was considered to indicate a superior capacity for hermeneutics along with a penetrating understanding of the natural world[31]. Albertus Magnus, who sought harmony between Aristotle and his Christian faith, also

[29] The original Hebrew poem is contained in manuscript Regium 16-A-XI, fol.241r., as held at the British Library and cited in full in HAMILTON, "The Musical Book", p. 40; see also pp. 37-41.
[30] HAMILTON, "The Musical Book", p. 45. See also Heusch, who comments: "la evolución del aristotelismo español esta íntimamente ligada a la del peripatetismo parisino". HEUSCH, C., "Entre didacticismo y heterodoxia: Vicisitudes del estudio de la *Etica* aristotélica en la España escolástica (siglos XIII y XIV)", *La corónica*, 19.2 (1991), p. 92.

[31] PAGE, *Voices and Instruments*, pp. 50-76; see also HAMILTON, "The Musical Book", pp. 45, 55.

wrote two extremely influential commentaries between 1263 and 1267 on the *Nicomachean Ethics*. This text was of important reference for Maimonides, who cites it in his *Guide for the Perplexed*[32]. The skilled musicianship demonstrating rationalism by Apolonio in the *Libro de Apolonio* strongly resembles that described by Aristotelian clerics in late thirteenth-century Paris, such as Albertus Magnus. Apolonio's playing of the *vihuela* also calls to mind interpretation of the Maimonidean *kinnor*, as linked with the *Libro de buen amor*. Albertus Magnus and, as it would seem, the author of the *Libro de buen amor*, Juan Ruiz, were aware of the *Guide for the Perplexed*. The author and audience of the *Libro de Apolonio* may also have been familiar with the commentary tradition on Maimonides.

Hamilton's findings show up territories that remain in large part unchartered for scholars of medieval Castilian literature: the Hebrew and Arabic language traditions and cultures. The thirteenth-century Provençal and northern Iberian Hebrew commentary tradition identified by her in relation to the *Libro de buen amor* points to the wider contribution of Jewish scholarship to Castilian clerical poetry. With regard to the *Libro de Apolonio*, I believe that such a contribution is most likely to have come through the vernacular rather than Hebrew, as a sister culture that drew on the Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin traditions. Discussions of Aristotle in Iberian and French clerical milieus began in earnest from the twelfth century. Aristotle's thought also had early impact in Paris. Though his natural philosophy was prohibited in 1210 and 1215, in 1255 the arts faculty declared all his known works compulsory reading for students[33]. Yet the most challenging debates may have taken place in unofficial schools, with teaching likely taking place in the vernacular. As is well known, Iberian Christian clerics in general had a poor grasp of Latin and little Hebrew or Arabic, while the vernacular was a lingua franca in twelfth- and thirteenth-century intellectual circles[34]. Unlike Latin—*romano, cristiano, eclesiástico*—the vernacular was the

[32] Maimonides draws on the *Nicomachean Ethics* in books I.8, III.10, and X.6-7. See MAIMONIDES, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, ed. J. Guttman and D.H. Frank, Indianapolis, Hackett, 1995.
[33] See CAMILLE, M., "The Eye in the Text: Vision in the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Aristotle", *Micrologus: View and Vision in the Middle Ages*, 6 (1998), pp.131-34; HASSE, "Influence of Arabic and Islamic Philosophy".
[34] In the words of Márquez Villanueva: "la usual diglosia medieval no se hallaba representada en Toledo por el latín y el vernáculo, sino por éste y el árabe, con el latín relegado a un tercer lugar como lengua de cultura de segunda clase. Bajo tales condiciones de anómala triglosia, sólo el dialecto iberorrománico servía como *koiné* o medio de comunicación a las distintas comunidades de castellanos, mozárabes, mudéjares, judíos y francos". MÁRQUEZ VILLANUEVA, F., *La Escuela de Traductores de Toledo*, Diputación Privincial de Toledo, Cromograf, 1996, pp. 31, 126-27; on the Iberian cleric's poor grasp of Latin, see also LINEHAN, P., *The Spanish Church and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*,

language of Iberian Jews as well as Christians[35].

Three important Christian Iberian texts offer evidence of an interpretative community for the alternative discussion of Aristotle in the first and last decades of the thirteenth century, with a likely involvement of Jewish scholars: Lucas de Tuy's *De altera vita fideique controversiis* (*c.*1236), the *Lucidario* (*c.*1292) of Sancho IV, and the *Libro del cauallero Zifar* (*c.*1300). Two of the works, the *Lucidario* and the *Libro del cauallero Zifar,* are treated by Rico and Márquez Villanueva in articles on Iberian Aristotelianism with principle regard to the *Libro de buen amor* and *Celestina* (last years fifteenth century), respectively. For both of these critics, the two texts offer evidence of unofficial communities for Aristotelian discussion[36]. Explicitly, the *Lucidario,* a rewriting of Honorius of Autun's theology manual for clerical education, describes how a Christian student, troubled by his frequenting of schools of natural philosophy, asks his orthodox teacher for help and guidance[37]. Less obviously, in the *Libro del cauallero Zifar,* the king of Mentón gives a series of pieces of advice to his children with an emphasis on the moderation of (sexual) desire:

> Devedes saber que la primera e la más presciada de las buenas costumbres es castidat, que quiere dezir temprança, por que ome gana a Dios e buena fama…E, certas, de ligero podrá ome refrenar su talante en estos vicios si quisiere, salvo en aquello que es ordenado de Dios, así como en los casamientos. (ed. Wagner 1929 pp. 265-66).

Overweening desire, such as Roboán's for a hunting dog, a hawk, and a horse, leads to one's undoing[38]. Rico asserts that the *Libro del cauallero Zifar* is a Christian response to radical Aristotelian thought. He associates the text with the *Lucidario* and the Aristotelian *quaestio* of the *Libro de buen amor* in this respect and Pedro Cátedra

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Cambridge, University Press, 1971, p.31.

[35] MÁRQUEZ VILLANUEVA, *El concepto cultural alfonsí*, pp. 65-66.

[36] As Rico describes: "En las cercanías del 1300, en verdad, las doctrinas de ese aristotelismo agresivo habían hecho un largo camino más allá de la facultad de artes". RICO, F., "<Por aver mantenencia>. El aristotelismo heterodoxo en el *Libro de buen amor*", in C. Iglesias, C. Moya, L. Rodríguez Zúñiga (eds.), *Homenaje a José Antonio Maravall*, Madrid, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1985, p. 289, also pp. 271-97; MÁRQUEZ VILLANUEVA, "El caso del averroísmo", pp. 124-26. See also HEUSCH, C., "Juan Ruiz and the Heterodox Naturalism of Spain", *The Romanic Review,* 103.1-2 (2012), pp. 11-47.

[37] See RICO, "<Por aver mantenencia>", p. 288; and MÁRQUEZ VILLANUEVA, "El caso del averroísmo", 124-25.

[38] See, for example, HARVEY, L.P., and HOOK, D., "The Affair of the Horse and the Hawk in the *Poema de Fernán González*", *The Modern Language Review*, 77.4 (1982), pp. 844-46.

corroborates his assertion[39]. In the case of the latter poem, over the course of his *quaestio* on Aristotle, which directly follows stanza 70, Juan Ruiz parodies an extreme form of naturalism that encouraged unbridled sexual activity. Such parody is extended across the text as a whole, with the protagonist's continuous failure to acquire a lover. Notably, he is only gratified once in a dream with a young widow, who he agrees to marry, and the episode is followed with advice to women on becoming skilled listeners of music and language to avoid deception by the opposite sex (sts. 653-909). Cátedra describes an Aristotelianism: "vivo…en el mundo de los intelectuales, y presente, con censura y como contrapunto, en otro mundo que se dice menos universitario…mundo éste que depende del primero aunque sólo sea por la reacción que en él suscita"[40]. I suggest that the *Libro de Apolonio* should also be associated with this group of texts, which, as in the cases of the *Libro del cauallero Zifar* and the *Libro del buen amor*, incorporate Aristotle into their content as well as react against his thought.

What Rico does not mention is that the Christian doctrine of chastity with an exception granted for marriage is highly compatible with Aristotelian thinking on the moderation of desire for the active secular life, as portrayed in the *Libro de Apolonio* and the *Libro del cauallero Zifar*. The *Libro de Apolonio*, like the *Libro del cauallero Zifar*, is a poem founded on the tenets of a pious Iberian *cortesía* that seems to incorporate Aristotelian ethics[41]. In the *Libro del cauallero Zifar*, the king of Menton's emphasis on temperance is particularly striking when he discusses *cortesía*, the habits of advantageous behaviour of the socio-political elite, in the section <<De commo el rey de Menton demonstraua a sus fijos que sienpre vsasen del bien e que sienpre fuesen muy corteses>>. The king advocates wordly success along with the moderation of desire: <<el auer es vida de la cortesia e de la linpieça, vsando bien del, e la castidat es vida del alma. . . cortesia es que non faga ome todas las cosas de que ha sabor>> (González 1983: 288). The importance of *cortesía* to the *Libro de Apolonio* is indicated in its first stanza, when the narrator states his purpose of writing

[39] RICO, "<Por aver mantenencia>", pp. 288-91; CÁTEDRA, P.M., *Amor y pedagogía en la edad media (Estudios de doctrina amorosa y práctica literaria)*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1989, p.43.
[40] CÁTEDRA, *Amor y pedagogía*, p.43.
[41] Both Maravall and Hazbun define *cortesía* in relation to the *Libro del cauallero Zifar*. MARAVALL, J.A., *Estudios de Historia del Pensamiento Español*, III vols, Serie Primera – Edad Media, Madrid, Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1983, pp. 261-62; HAZBUN, G., "Memory as *Mester* in the *Libro de Alexandre* and *Libro de Apolonio*", in A.M. Beresford, L.M. Haywood, and J. Weiss (eds.), *Medieval Hispanic Studies in Memory of Alan Deyermond*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2013, p. 104.

about <<el buen rey Apolonio y de su cortesía>>, the concept of which is developed across the text and notably in the musical sequences with the *vihuela*, the most crucial of which I treat in this article. When Apolonio plays the *vihuela* for the court at Pentápolin, as requested by Architartres with <<gran sabor>> (st. 186a) and received by a lusty Luciana, his musical skill demonstrates his superior reason over nature and thus his great potential as a political leader. In the *Libro del cauallero Zifar*, as Carlos Heusch asserts: "la moral se concibe como el medio de un sueño fantasmado de poder", a witness of the political and cultural milieu of thirteenth-century northern Iberia, in which: "el Aristóteles *hombre de ciencia* pase al segundo plano, detrás del Aristóteles *ayo de Alejandro*, el Aristóteles formador de un poder fuerte"[42]. His words apply equally to the *Libro de Apolonio*.

When Cátedra links the *Lucidario*, *Libro del cauallero Zifar*, and the *Libro de buen amor*, he alludes to an Aristotelianism running as a counterpoint to scholasticism[43]. Such troublesome thinking is also attested to in Paris in the late thirteenth century with the condemnation in 1277 of the then bishop Étienne Tempier of a range of philosophical beliefs and activities, including the notion of the eternity of the world as opposed to one created, and teaching as well as merely listening to the new ideas[44]. Notably, the sources for Tempier's most serious objections have not been found: if they existed, they have been lost, or perhaps—and this seems likely—challenging content circulating orally was never recorded for prosperity[45]. The third text with which we are concerned, the cleric Lucas de Tuy's *De altera vita fideique controversiis*, offers further evidence of unauthorised Aristotelian activity, yet this time from the earliest portion of the thirteenth century. In the *De altera vita fideique controversiis*, de Tuy describes and denounces the principles of some Aristotelian heretics who have been teaching informally and producing documents in his immediate locale of León[46]. The Leonese heretics are particularly keen to deny divine

[42] HEUSCH, "Entre didacticismo y heterodoxia", p. 96.
[43] CÁTEDRA, *Amor y pedagogía*, p. 43.
[44] MARENBON, J., *Medieval Philosophy: An Historical and Philosophical Introduction*, London, Routledge, 2007, p. 266; TEMPIER, E., *La Condamnation parisienne de 1277. Texte latin, traduction, introduction et commentaire par D. Piché*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1999, pp. 77, 79.
[45] WIELAND, "The Reception and Interpretation", pp. 663-4; MARENBON, J., *Medieval Philosophy*, pp. 266-70.
[46] LUCAS DE TUY, *Lucae Tudensis Episcopi De Altera Vita, Fideique Controuersiis Aduersus Albigensium Errores Libri III.* Nunc primum in lucem prolati notisque illustrati / Ingolstadii: excudebat Andreas Angermarius, 1612, III.1.691B, III.2.692A [online: http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=ucm.532354321x;view=1up;seq=199;size=300 (accessed 1-IV-2016)].

providence and assert causal determinism in the sublunary sphere, an issue closely associated with free will, as discussed in book III of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. In the world described by the heretics, there can be no contact with god, asserts de Tuy:

> They state…that what scripture says, that god made all past things and acts in the present, has to be understood like this: that god conceded all power to nature. . .As a consequence, the prayers offered up to God for worldly gain are useless, because nothing can come to pass in this world that is not brought about by nature[47].

The philosopher Ángel Martínez Casado has examined de Tuy's document and Márquez Villanueva has taken up his findings. Martínez Casado categorizes the heretics as Averroist and notes the consonance of their beliefs with those condemned by Tempier in 1277. He argues that their activity constitutes "una isla en el mundo cristiano" and thus an important incidence of very early Aristotelianism in Europe, notably concluding that the heretics are probably Christian clerics who have taken their discussions too far[48]. If Martínez Casado is correct in this assertion, de Tuy's document provides significant evidence of clerical knowledge of Aristotle in Iberia outside of official institutions such as the universities and translation schools. The author and audience of the *Libro de Apolonio* may have been familiar with the clerics described, or have included them. In fact, the *Libro de Apolonio* may well have been a direct response to the Leonese heresy, as it takes pains to emphasize both the limits of scholarship for its own sake and the ultimate power of the Christian god on earth.

At the beginning of the poem, for example, when Apolonio is trying to understand the terrible situation in which he finds himself following his exposure of the incest between Antioco and his daughter, he consults his library, including *escritos* and *estorias notadas*, to no avail: <<cerró sus argumentos, dexóse de leyer, |

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[47] <<Item haeretici, quod inquiunt, dicit scriptura Deum fecisse omnia praeterita, & facere in praesenti, ita intelligendum est, quod Deus facendi omnia naturae contulit potestatem. Unde proueniunt a natura, & non extenditur diuina prouidentia ad creandas species singulorum. Ergo cassae sunt preces, quae Deo pro bonis temporalibus offeruntur. Quia nihil potest in hoc mundo fieri nisi quod determinatum est a natura>> (III.1.691C). The English translation is mine; for a Castilian version see MARTÍNEZ CASADO, A., "Aristotelismo hispano en la primera mitad del siglo XIII", *Estudios filosóficos*, 33.92 (1984), p. 79.

[48] As Martínez Casado identifies, the Leones heretics' beliefs correspond to Tempier's article IV: "se refiere al sometimiento determinista del mundo terrestre frente al celeste", as well as X and XI, which: "contemplan la negación de la providencia por excluir de Dios el conocimiento de lo singular o de otra cosa distinta de sí mismo", for example. MARTÍNEZ CASADO, "Aristotelismo hispano", pp. 60-84.

en laçerio sin fruto non quiso contender>>. Notably, he reads not only Western but Eastern sources: <<caldeas y latines, tres o quatro vegadas>>. Despite his frustration he tries profound reflection on the matter, *comidìa,* yet only becomes more confused, *confondido* (sts. 31-33). In order to solve his problems, Apolonio must go out onto the high seas as a pilgrim, *pelegrino* (st.151c); only then can he find true happiness through the practice of scholarship within society, through Christian marriage and leadership[49]. God guides him from his shipwreck to Pentápolin:

> Ca como Dios quiso houo la cosa de seyer,
> . . . . . .
> fueras el rey solo que quiso Dios valer.
>
> Por su buena ventura quísol' Dios prestar,
> ouo en hun madero chico las manos ha echar;
> lazrado y mesquino de vestir y calçar,
> a tierra de Pentápolin ouo de arribar. (sts. 111-12)

There are many more examples illustrating the conceived limits of scholarship and the all-encompassing power of the Christian god in the poem. Those pertaining to medicine and Luciana, for example, are striking. Medicine was considered another type of philosophy in the medieval period[50]. When Luciana first falls in love with Apolonio she becomes ill with longing. She is treated by <<maestros…que sabién de la física toda>>, yet as the narrator pointedly notes, there is no medical cure for the sin of unregulated desire: <<non hí fallaron ninguna maestría | nin arte por que pudiesen purgar la maletía>> (st. 198). Only Apolonio's reciprocated love, leading to the couple's union as sanctioned by Christian marriage, can cure Luciana. Later on in the tale, Luciana appears to die after giving birth to Tarsiana. Her coffin is committed to the waves by her husband, as they are travelling at sea at the time, and is found by a pair of doctors: a <<buen maestro de física>> and his <<diciplo sauio y bien letrado>> (st. 284). The doctors detect that Luciana is actually still alive and

[49] Apolonio is referred to as a pilgrim—*peregrino, romero, palmero*— on ten occasions over the course of the poem. See BROWNLEE, "Writing and Scripture", p. 169n17.
[50] See BURNETT, "Arabic into Latin", p. 384. See also ARIZALETA, A., "La transmisión del saber médico: *Libro de Alexandre* y *Libro de Apolonio*", in M. Freixas and S. Iriso (eds.), *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de la Asociacíon Hispánica de Literatura Medieval: Santander 22-26 septiembre de 1999, Palacio de la Magdalena, Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo*, Barcelona, AHLM, 2000, pp. 221-31.

painstakingly revive her, yet she only becomes responsive <<quando Dios quiso>>: she has been saved <<grado al Criador>> (sts. 314a, 318c). Emphasizing the power of god on an even grander scale, at the denouement of the tale an angel comes to Apolonio to direct him back to his lost wife: <<todo lo fue veyendo ssegunt la visión>> (st. 584). In the *Libro de Apolonio*, god, commander of the heavens and nature, is ultimately responsible for the spiritual and physical lives of human beings, as emphasized in the final lines of the poem, which connects every worldly action with the next life:

> El Sennyor que los vientos y la mar ha por mandar,
> Él nos dé la ssu graçia y Él nos denye guiar;
> El nos dexe tales cosas comedir y obrar
> que por la su merçed podamos escapar. (st. 656)

If my reading of the *Libro de Apolonio* is correct, then, in conjunction with the evidence of the *De altera vita fideique controversiis*, we can conclude that some familiarity with Aristotle was an important part of clerical education in early to mid-thirteenth-century Iberia. Without at least a little the cleric would not be equipped to identify Aristotle as received within the Church in relation to prominent Aristotelianisms that were to be rejected and argued against. Knowledge of Aristotle would surely have been very important for Iberian clerics who potentially associated with intellectuals at the vanguard of interpretations of the philosopher's work. Though there may be little extant evidence of formal writing on Aristotle from the region, this by no means procludes the likelihood of a generalised oral familiarity with his ideas in the thirteenth century, just as there was in the fourteenth, as evident from the *Libro de buen amor*.

As I have indicated, Márquez Villanueva believes Iberian clerics to have been too ignorant of philosophy as well as mired in anti-Semitism to have been capable of participating actively in the contemporary philosophical debate. He consequently argues that alternative Aristotelian groups, such as those described by Lucas de Tuy in the *De altera vita fideique controversiis*, must have been attended by Jewish intellectuals, rather than the clerics asserted by Martínez Casado. What is the likelihood that this was the case? Márquez Villanueva describes the scholars he

considers responsible as: "hábiles judíos en los salones de los reyes y de la nobleza"[51]. His argument that Jewish scholars worked in hermetic isolation from contemporary clerics is highly problematic. As Julian Weiss has highlighted, the nature of a clerical career in thirteenth-century Castile was peripatetic and public; in his terms, one "in between" the church, court, and town[52]. I suggest that "informal school" may be added to that set of locations and that we might consider the activity of Iberian clerics, such as those responsible for the thirteenth-century *mester de clerecía*, as involving Jewish scholars of the period. The notion complements what we already know about Christian and Jewish intellectual interaction in Iberia and Europe. In the northern Iberian translation schools, for example, Christian and Jewish scholars worked together and notably Dominicus Gundisalvi (fl. late twelfth century) with Abraham ibn Daud (c. 1110–1180): the pair collaborated on a version of Avicenna's *On the Soul*[53]. As Hamilton attests, Jewish scholarship such as Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed* fed the Aristotelian ambitions of clerics such as Albertus Magnus in Paris in the late thirteenth century and a Provençal and northern Iberian Hebrew commentary tradition on Maimonides was known to Juan Ruiz[54]. Iberian Jewish writers also made an important contribution to clerical literature. The *mester de clerecía* include fourteenth-century poetry written by Jewish authors, the so-called *clerecía rabínica*, including the *Proverbios Morales* by Sem Tob de Carrión, and the *Poema de Yosef*[55]. Aristotelianism in the *Libro de Apolonio*, as related to that in the *Libro de buen amor*, may be evidence of clerical participation in alternative intellectual networks in the case of the thirteenth-century *mester de clerecía*. Such networks used musical performance as an analogy for philosophical understanding, as read in the contemporary Hebrew commentary tradition on Maimonides.

Over the course of this article I have investigated the *Libro de Apolonio* as a key witness of the medieval European practice of music. I have demonstrated how the musicological significance of the poem is related to an exploration of Aristotelian thought as incorporated into a pious courtly ethic. The use of musical performance for

[51] MÁRQUEZ VILLANUEVA, "El caso del averroísmo", p. 125.
[52] WEISS, J., *The* Mester de Clerecía*: Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile*, Woodbridge, Tamesis, 2006.
[53] BURNETT, "Arabic into Latin", p. 380.
[54] HAMILTON, "The Musical Book", p. 45.
[55] Also: *El Pecado Original* and the *Lamentación del alma ante la muerte*. See GONZÁLEZ-BLANCO GARCÍA, E., *La cuaderna vía española en su marco panrománico*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2010, pp. 268-80.

intellectual exploration in the poem is no coincidence. In the thirteenth century, the rise of the vernacular in conjunction with rapid development in musical scholarship brought the instruments of the troubadours into the clerical sphere. One of the most highly regarded was the *vihuela*, akin to the stringed instruments of sacred scripture such as the *kinnor* of the Torah and Old Testament. The *Libro de Apolonio* demonstrates the instrument's status in contemporary northern Iberia. The aforementioned factors—the rise of the vernacular, advancement in musical scholarship, and clerical adoption of popular instruments, as relevant on a European scale—took a very particular manifestation in mid-thirteenth century Iberia. At the height of the Reconquest and on the cusp of the beginnings of the standardization of Castilian under Alfonso X, use of the vernacular by clerics to describe the scientific endeavor of musical performance was highly politicized, seeking to assert Christian over Muslim and Jewish cultural and territorial interests. A major part of that project was to assimilate Arabic learning, ultimately stifling the development of natural philosophy and reaffirming the authority of Christian law.

As the highest discipline of the seven liberal arts, exemplifying the quadrivium, music was the gateway to study of philosophy and theology in the medieval curriculum. In the scene when Apolonio plays the *vihuela* and sings at the beginning of the *Libro de Apolonio*, he demonstrates his superior rational understanding as a character who was often associated with Aristotle's pupil Alexander the Great in the medieval and early modern periods. However, Apolonio, unlike Alexandre, is a man of measure who wishes for leadership based on Christian community as well as philosophical insight. The leadership he seeks is that of an active secular life, as described by Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Yet such leadership is blessed by god, who also ensures that Apolonio undergoes serious trials throughout the poem such as shipwreck and the loss of his wife, helping him and the audience of the poem understand god's power and the relationship between worldly happiness and the life to come. The protagonist's ability to restrain his desire, *sabor, malos aguigones, maletía*, is especially important in this regard, as it saves him from destruction as suffered by Antioco, whose incest casts a shadow over the beginning of the poem. With temperance Apolonio can become a highly successful king, father, and Christian hero, resembling adventurous saints such as Eustace and Clement. Showing his understanding of music as a numeric discipline along with the word, Apolonio simultaneously demonstrates his morality and power: a heady mix that no

one in the court of Pentápolin can deny, with strong implications for the values of mid-thirteenth century northern Iberian courts, and namely that of Fernando III, King of Castile and León. With Iberia's historic connections to Phoenician Tyre (Apolonio's hometown) and North Africa (location of Pentápolin), the *Libro de Apolonio* as a whole may also serve as an elaborate emblem of the burgeoning Castilian Christian empire.

The especially strong tone of Christian moralizing in the *Libro de Apolonio,* reiterating the conceived limits of a worldview that excludes the divine, is an example of the mid to late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century zeitgeist in Castilian letters. Along with the *Libro del cauallero Zifar* and the *Libro de buen amor*, the *Libro de Apolonio* responds to the threat of an ever more widely disseminated Aristotle. With the evidence offered by the *De altera vita fideique controversiis* and the *Lucidario,* in conjunction with the three aforementioned texts, I conclude that unauthorised interpretations of Aristotle were quite prominent in wealthy and intellectual Iberian circles during the period. The cleric responsable for the *Libro de Apolonio* was likely aware if not part of such intellectual circles. Familiar with the principles of those purveying perhaps the greatest challenge to Catholicism in the history of the Church, clerics such as the autor of the *Libro de Apolonio* were in an ideal position to reaffirm Catholic authority. The combination of unusual attention to music as a philosophical pursuit with earnest Christian moralizing in the *Libro de Apolonio* is uniquely Iberian, responding to the particular contemporary circumstances of Reconquest and the translation movement. Iberian clerical activity was not necessarily scholastic and requires that the vernacular be considered an important vehicle for intellectual exchange beyond the traditional Castilian and Latin/Hebrew and Arabic binary in Hispanic Studies.

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