

Joseph Hacoen

The Annals of the Kings of France  
and the Kings of the  
House of Othman,  
the Turk.

PART III.

Text, Translation, Notes and Introduction,  
based on the British Museum MS.Or.3656.

Edited for the first time

by

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in partial fulfilment of the re-  
quirements for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in the Dropsie College  
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.



\*  
Summarized  
in Letteris  
Introd. to  
Eruck

Joseph G. Joshua h - Kohen

1496 - c. 1575

Biographical data derived from his own notes  
in his writings. \* B. in Arignon Dec. 20, 1496.  
date is definite. His death took place in Genoa:  
date is surmised as 1575 (last date mentioned  
his Eruck ha-Bakah) or shortly after was  
Family origin Spanish: thus in 1391, his family  
lived in Cuenca and fled to Hueta (see Eruck  
Apparently in 1492, the family fled to Arignon.  
But Arignon was <sup>no</sup> place for refugees. It  
already had its <sup>own</sup> refugee problems from Spain  
& persecutions in France. Furthermore it had  
a <sup>chronic</sup> ~~continuous~~ economic depression since  
the papres evacuated the city in mid-15th  
cent. Family left Arignon about 1501 for Genoa  
where they remained 15 years. Expelled 1516  
returned in 1538. By this time Joseph was  
physician & practiced medicine till 1550.  
But Christian physicians caused their expulsion  
of all Jews from Genoa. Jos. was invited by  
small city of Voltaggio to practice medicine  
there which he did for 17 yrs. till 1567. Another

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Expulsion from the general territory of Genoa  
included also Voltaggio. Again he <sup>was</sup> uprooted  
& settled in Casteletto. But finally returned to  
Genoa in 1571 where he ended his days  
c. 1575.

His claim to fame based on  
two historical works: one general & the  
other Jewish: 1) *Shet Seder Shet Seder*

completed 1533 : Published Venice 1534

2)

Vienna  
M. Letteris (1852 + 1895)  
ed. Graess

closes with events in 1575. Published by  
*Ruggato* (started by *Ruggato*) Amplified & corrected by S.D. Kuzgatsk.

Former work interested the general  
scholarly world and was translated in whole  
or in part into German, French and English.  
The latter was ignored by non-Jewish scholars  
and remained strictly within confines of  
Heb. lit. till renaissance of Jewish Scholarship  
in 19<sup>th</sup> cent. Germany, when it was first pub.  
by Letteris & later trans. into German by Wiener  
French tr. by J. Sie (Paris 1888)



A curious, interesting & less-known  
book is his (Deut. 32<sup>6</sup>) *Almanach* 215121 215121  
Who settled the Boundaries of Nations, a  
history of the conquest of Mexico to which  
is added an acct. of Columbus  
Discoveries



The Chronicles are constructed on  
interesting thesis: Historic events are conceived  
as conflict between East & West, <sup>Turkey =</sup> ~~Asia~~ &  
France = Islam & Christianity.

In the Chronicles, he includes also  
Jewish historic events, <sup>mostly</sup> persecutions &  
expulsions. However, he felt he could not  
do full justice to the subject in the general  
framework & therefore decided to write a  
separate work which unfortunately ~~was~~  
turned out to be purely a worthy apology  
in that he was influenced more by Ussis's  
Cassalacon than by Ibn Vergas Shabab Yehon  
In the main, both his works  
contain valuable material when he deals  
with more or less contemporary events or  
(for his time) "modern" Italy. For the  
ancient period, he depends on sources  
which more often than not are  
inaccurate.



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the Castilian town of Cuenc<sup>2</sup>. Spain, whence, during the

persecutions of 1492, he fled into the fortress town of

Gueta, where they remained until nearly the end of the

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...the Jews from Spain in 1492, were ...  
...found a temporary shelter in ...

...they were married three years later on August 6, ...  
...to know about them, ...

...and a well-educated man from the fact that he married ...  
...the wife of the house of ...

...he was interested in medicine ...  
...he had been a physician ...

Police's character or education even less can be said.

But their stay in Genoa was brief, for in 1516 they

Concerning the remote ancestors of the chronicler there is

little on record. We find reference to his forebears a century

before his birth, and it is known that they originally lived in

...to the republic of ...

\* In the introduction to his *Annals* (ed. Sappionetta) and

in the *Emek* (p. 10) Joseph ...

which preceded him. ...

It has been suggested (Baer, *Quellen* 35) that he may

have possessed a family chronicle from which he drew



J O S E P H   H A C O H E N .

Joseph Hacoheh, the important Jewish chronicler of the sixteenth century, was born in Avignon on December 20,<sup>1)</sup> 1496.

The frequent allusions to his private affairs, scattered throughout Joseph Hacoheh's works, and the mass of highly interesting personal details available to us solely in his collected letters,<sup>2)</sup> make it possible to bring together the <sup>concerning</sup> known facts of his life and that of his family. <sup>Alconstantine</sup>

Joseph Hacoheh was the son of Joshua and Dolce,<sup>3)</sup> who at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, were among those exiles that found a temporary shelter in Southern France. They were married there three years later on August 5, 1495.<sup>4)</sup> Little else is known about them. Joshua, it may be assumed, was a well-educated man from the fact that he married into the aristocratic house of Don Bonafous Alconstantini,<sup>5)</sup> whose sister thus became his wife. He was interested in medicine, but he doesn't appear to have been a <sup>practicing physician</sup> practitioner of it.<sup>6)</sup> Of Dolce's character or education even less can be said. <sup>is known</sup>

Concerning the remoter ancestors of the chronicler there is little on record.\* We find reference to his forebears a century before his birth, and it is known that they originally lived in

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\* In the introduction to his Annals (ed. Sabbionetta) and in the Emek (p.10) Joseph enumerates seven generations which preceded him. אחר יוסף בן יהושע בן מאיר בן יהודה  
בן יהושע בן יהודה בן דוד בן משה מן הכהנים...

It has been suggested (Baer, Quellen 36) that he may have possessed a family chronicle from which he drew this and other notices regarding his genealogy.



the Castilian town of Cuenca, <sup>7)</sup> Spain, whence, during the persecutions of 1412, <sup>8)</sup> they moved into the fortress town of Guete, <sup>9)</sup> where they remained until nearly the end of the century when Spanish Jewry was finally driven from the country. <sup>10)</sup>

The first five years of the chronicler's childhood were spent at his birthplace, Avignon. <sup>11)</sup> The Spanish exiles did not regard the city as <sup>a</sup> their permanent place of residence although it accorded them a welcome asylum. After a brief period they sought a safer refuge.

The great Turkish Empire, which, in sharp contrast to, ~~and~~ ~~more than any of~~ the Christian states, permitted Jews the observance and practice of their religious tenets, attracted many of their numbers. <sup>12)</sup> However, since Italy, among ~~the~~ Christian <sup>states</sup> ~~sovereignities~~, had a relatively good record with respect to the treatment of its Jewish inhabitants, many of their co-religionists found a haven of refuge within its numerous republics. And so did the family of Joseph. Departing in the years 1501-1502 from Avignon for Italy, they settled in the "province of Genoa, the Superb," <sup>13)</sup> --most probably in Novi. <sup>14)</sup> In Genoa itself they did not settle before 1509. <sup>15)</sup>

But their stay in Genoa was brief, for in 1516 they were expelled, together with ~~the~~ other Jews, by order of Ottaviano Fregoso, <sup>16)</sup> the doge of that important Mediterranean seaport. The family returned to the town of Novi, which, although belonging to the republic of Genoa, was nevertheless more tolerant toward the homeless wanderers. <sup>17)</sup>



At the age of 21, Joseph married Paloma, <sup>18)</sup> the daughter of the prominent Bolognese rabbi, Abraham Cohen. <sup>19)</sup> They remained at Novi. Here, more than two years later, his father died, and the year following his mother. A son, born soon after the loss of his father and a daughter much later were named after their grandparents. <sup>20)</sup>

During the year 1524, when a devastating plague, one of the many recurrent in Italy in those days, broke out in Lombardy and Piedmont, taking a serious death toll, Joseph, who was at the time in Lerma, <sup>21)</sup> was forced to leave the city and live outside its limits "under one of the shrubs, for forty days." <sup>22)</sup> Though he had escaped the ravages of the disease, the ordeal had been so dreadful and harrowing that he considered it "but one step between me and death.", "And I cried unto the Lord and He answered me from the dwelling of His holiness," <sup>23)</sup> he writes in the Biblical style which is characteristic of his work.

Ever wandering, in 1534 we find Joseph in Voltaggio, <sup>24)</sup> where his second son, Judah, was born. <sup>25)</sup> He returned with his family to Genoa in 1538 to settle there permanently, after an absence of 22 years. <sup>26)</sup>

The year 1540 brought great tragedy to Joseph. His eldest son, then 20 years old, was drowned while swimming in the Reno. <sup>27)</sup> For over two months the fatal tidings were withheld from the father. Two weeks <sup>after</sup> ~~later~~ when he was apprised of his great loss, his youngest child of five months died, too. <sup>28)</sup>\*

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\*These tragedies inspired Joseph to write an elegy in which he expresses the sorrow he then felt and complains against his fate. However, as his grief subsided, he recognized in his murmurings a fault and acknowledged the righteousness of the ways of God. With Job (XIII, 15) he concluded, "though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."



Of the three sons only Judah now remained. Joseph had also, at least, two daughters, one of whom, Dolce, was married to Perez Halfan. 29)

Joseph Hacoheh had two brothers: Toderos and Meir. Toderos, who probably married the daughter of the chronicler Gedalyah Ibn Yachya, lived in Novi and later in Genoa. 30) Meir was at least temporarily established in Salonica. 31) There were also two sisters--Preziosa and Clara. The first lived in Voghera and was married to Joseph Halevi. 32) In 1550 we find their son Zerachyah Halevi established as a physician in Genoa. 33) Clara was married to Joseph ben David, also <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ the same profession, and they lived in Genoa since 1524. 34)

There is on record an unhappy family quarrel which for several years filled the life of Joseph Hacoheh with many anxieties and vexations. During the years 1544-1546 we find him in conflict with his relatives over a will of his brother-in-law, <sup>which</sup> ~~of which~~ the precise fulfillment of ~~its~~ terms involved the security of his sole remaining son Judah. Much of the fierceness of the wrangle was due, on the one hand, to the capriciousness of Clara 35) and, on the other, to the intrigues of Toderos; 36) although the very devotion to the son coupled with an excitable temperament seems to have driven Joseph, too, into the painful position which we should ordinarily have expected him, the wise and virtuous man that he undoubtedly was, to have avoided. Insofar as the story can be reconstructed from the details preserved for us in the collected letters, 37) this is what happened:-



Clara's husband, Joseph ben David, <sup>38)</sup> died in Genoa in 1541. He left a will of some 7,000 scudi, <sup>39)</sup> of which he bequeathed 1,000 scudi for each of his four daughters <sup>a</sup> for her marriage portion. With the consent of the executors his wife was permitted to raise that sum to a maximum of 1,300 scudi. Clara, however, took matters into her own hands. Upon the engagement of her oldest daughter, she assigned to her 2,000 scudi, and she wished also to allow her second daughter more than what was stipulated for her in the testament. Her youngest daughter was promised to Joseph's son--~~to~~ Judah, who was then nine years old. But Toderos, the younger brother, desired the niece with the prospective handsome dowry for his own son. By intrigues he soon found an opportunity for the realization of his ambitions. <sup>40)</sup> ~~His~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~brother~~ Joseph, as executor <sup>and</sup> as well as the likely father-in-law of the contested niece, <sup>increasing</sup> ~~the increased~~ dowries ~~for~~ the older sisters at the expense of the youngest. This seems to have been ground enough for the self-willed Clara to change her mind in favor of Toderos' son, and, without consulting the feelings of her daughter, the irritated mother returned the engagement gifts of Judah - a sure proof that the match was broken off. <sup>41)</sup>

Joseph made great efforts to effect a reconciliation with his sister. He sought to enlist the interest of their relatives <sup>42)</sup> and the support of the celebrated Rabbi Meir Katzenellenbogen of Padua. <sup>43)</sup> He besought Jacob Mantino,



a noted physician in Venice <sup>44)</sup> and a personal friend of his, <sup>45)</sup> to have the ambassadors of Spain and of France <sup>46)</sup> at Venice exercise their influence in his behalf upon the Spanish ambassador in Genoa, <sup>47)</sup> and upon the Admiral Andrea Doria. <sup>48)</sup>

Public sympathy was at first for Joseph, but gradually it declined. Rabbi Meir of Padua also underwent a change of attitude. <sup>49)</sup> Joseph felt that an injustice was being perpetrated against the last wishes of his departed brother-in-law and that ~~the~~ Jewish law ~~itself~~ was being contravened. <sup>50)</sup>

In the bitterness of his disappointment, he railed against his brother and sister, charging them with ingratitude and other transgressions. <sup>51)</sup> He ventured even to impugn the authority of the universally venerated Rabbi Meir, calling into question his reputed equity; his impartiality, he <sup>charged</sup> accused, was but a game of playing for and against him at the same time. <sup>52)</sup>

But ~~for~~ <sup>encountered</sup> Toderos ~~there was~~ <sup>bore an</sup> a difficulty of another kind. His son ~~had the~~ <sup>as</sup> unenviable reputation of a bad character. <sup>53)</sup> The record against him must have been quite serious, ~~and must have gotten pretty well abroad that the local tribune should have forbidden him~~ <sup>forbade</sup> him, under penalty of a fine of 300 scudi, to visit the daughter of Clara; <sup>54)</sup> and the rabbis representing her brother--among them his father-in-law, Abraham Cohen--prohibited him from marrying his cousin under pain of excommunication. <sup>55)</sup> The infuriated Toderos, however,



threatened to carry his appeal before the pope against the rabbis and to request their removal from office for their audacious intention to excommunicate his son. He hinted broadly also that he had been advised to go to Trent where a CONCILE of cardinals was convened at the time (1545) and to solicit their support for his cause before the Christian representatives. 56) ~~No less~~ In the same unsavory character, his son ~~at last~~ attempted to force the hand of his unwilling cousin by asserting that he had taken her in marriage by surprise and he managed even to produce a witness in the person of some "dark individual." 57) *But the woman after going wrong rejected him and his claims* ~~Eventually she declared her refusal of him outright and~~ escaped during <sup>the</sup> one night from her mother's house with the connivance of her ~~uncle~~ <sup>Judah</sup>. It may be presumed that she had always preferred ~~his son to that of her second uncle~~, and we can the better appreciate Joseph's tenacity of purpose. 58)

Clara seems to have become annoyed at last with the scheming nephew and his father, and once more her favor veered towards her older brother and she promised him her daughter for Judah. 59) In the meantime she had given away another <sup>daughter</sup> in marriage, for ~~the~~ purpose ~~of~~ which she went to Venice. 60) There, true to her caprice and inconsistency, she promptly broke her word again to Joseph. When he insisted upon the fulfillment of her promises, he received an abusive letter composed by Joseph Amar. 61) dated February 17, 1546.



With this epistle <sup>62)</sup> our information concerning that protracted family feud comes to an abrupt halt.

We ~~don't~~ know in which direction Clara's decision finally swung, but, be that as it may, the denouement was tragic for Joseph Hacoen. Judah, his only living son, the darling of his hopes and the concentrated object of his paternal aspirations and fighting instincts, died three years later, in 1549, deeply mourned by the unhappy father, "for I hoped for good and there came evil." <sup>63)</sup>

Joseph Hacoen's activities in behalf of Jewish captives deserve to be noted. Quite in the fine old tradition of distinguished Spanish Jewry <sup>64)</sup> <sup>inspired through</sup> and ~~well aware~~ <sup>by</sup> from his own personal experience <sup>redeeming</sup> of the example set by Italian and Turkish Jews in ~~releasing~~ <sup>who has been</sup> vast numbers of Jewish exiles from the Iberian Peninsula ~~and~~ made captives on the sea or road, this sephardic scion devoted his time, energies, and ~~probably~~ money (if he was at all a man of means) for the rescue of his co-religionists.

Joseph relates <sup>65)</sup> that Andrea Doria after conquering Coron and Patras <sup>66)</sup> from the Turks in 1532 captured the Jews of these cities and sold them into slavery in Sicily, Naples, and Genoa. Many of them were ransomed in Zante <sup>67)</sup> and others through the Jewish communities in Italy.

In the LETTERS there are two documents in reference to this event, which reveal the active role our author played and the manner in which the Jews of Italy were called upon



to participate in the rescue work. The first of these <sup>68)</sup> is a circular dated February 27, 1533; <sup>which was</sup> it is directed to the Jewish communities in the provinces of Genoa, Lombardy, and Monferrat.

It tells of 200-300 Jewish captives, men, women, and children, being held in Naples under the most shocking conditions; and of the sacrifices made by the Neapolitan Jews to contribute the utmost which was still inadequate owing to their being small in numbers and impoverished. <sup>69)</sup> The Jews of the above mentioned cities are therefore urged by the rabbi of Naples to send their contributions to Joseph Hachohen in Genoa, who would forward the collected money to Abraham Zerfati in Naples. <sup>70)</sup>

The second item <sup>71)</sup> is a letter addressed to Joseph on the same subject, with a complaint that the response was unsatisfactory and a renewed appeal for additional contributions.

On July 21, 1535 the armies of Charles V conquered Tunis in North Africa and established a reign of terror against the civilian population. The Jews, as usual, suffered more than the others; many of them were killed or sold abroad into slavery. The Jewish communities of Naples and Genoa came to the rescue of about 150 of them. <sup>72)</sup>

Two of the letters <sup>73)</sup> speak of this event and reveal the leading role Joseph played in it. In them he appeals to



the community of Bologna for assistance. One of the epistles is also signed by his brother-in-law, Joseph ben David.

In the years 1542-1547 Joseph Hacoen was busied with the ransoming of several smaller groups of Jewish captives. Although the number of prisoners involved then was not so great as that in the years of 1532 and 1535, he seems to have borne most of the burden, as if the others had grown weary of the task.

In 1542 he rescued eight Jews captured by Cegala Visconti.<sup>74)</sup> The following year his attention was taken up with the cases of a Jewish family made prisoners by Corsicans, and of a distinguished Jew of Algiers captured in Tunis and imprisoned in Villafranca. <sup>75)</sup>

Especially interesting was the last ransom case on which ~~(to our knowledge)~~ Joseph was engaged. A Jew named Solomon and his son Moses were held as captives in Genoa by Gianettino, the nephew of Admiral Andrea Doria. On October 29, 1546, Joseph repaired to Gianettino to secure their liberation, but he met with only partial success. The father was released in exchange of a Turkish slave, but for the son, who was young and vigorous, Gianettino demanded three Turkish slaves or their equivalent in money. <sup>76)</sup>

*Only*  
It ~~required no less than~~ the conspiracy of Fiesco against the Dorias ~~to bring~~ <sup>bring</sup> about his freedom. The rebellion took place on January 3, 1547. One of the first acts of the insurgents was to allow the prisoners held on board the ships



in the port of Genoa to escape. Moses, among them, fled to the house of Joseph who hid him and later helped him to depart from Genoa. But after the collapse of the rebellion the prisoners were ordered to return. The poor young man was recognized in the vicinity of Alessandria and brought back to Genoa. But Gianettino, "whose trust was in gold," had in the meantime been murdered, and Joseph finally secured his liberation in exchange for another slave. 77)

Joseph Hacoen who spared no effort in the redemption of Jewish captives presumably cared for them even after their release when necessary. Thus there is also extant a letter of recommendation which he wrote for several such victims who, redeemed after three years of captivity, were utterly without resource. 78)

Joseph Hacoen was a physician by profession. About his training or when and where he obtained his medical degree nothing is known. 79) Besides carrying on the practice of medicine he was also interested in the <sup>theoretical aspects of the</sup> ~~theory and the science~~ of it. In 1546 he translated into Hebrew the medical work of the Spanish physician, Meir Alguadez, with the prescriptions in Latin and Hebrew, to which he added, also in the same languages, his own prescriptions for many maladies and especially for the "French disease." In the introduction he explains that the purpose of the treatise was "to enlighten the students" and guide them in the art of healing, 80) which may perhaps



Mendel

indicate that he was also teaching the profession. <sup>81)</sup> He was probably engaged in ~~its~~ <sup>the</sup> practice <sup>of medicine</sup>, first at Novi <sup>82)</sup> and later, from 1538 on, in Genoa. The envy of the Christian doctors against their Jewish professional colleagues led directly and in no small measure to the general exodus of the Jews from that city. (The incitements of the Dominican Monk Boniface of Casale had been more fatally persuasive for the city council than the words of the doge, Andrea Doria, who sought to prevent them from issuing the decree of expulsion <sup>83)</sup>). The edict was proclaimed on April 2, 1550. The inhabitants of Voltaggio, where Joseph had formerly lived for a while, invited him now to become their municipal physician, in which office he was an incumbent for more than 17 years. <sup>84)</sup> It was during this long period of medical activity, which must have drawn on much of his time, that he occupied himself most fruitfully with his literary projects. It was in Voltaggio that he finished the Annals, wrote the Emek and other historico-cosmographical works. <sup>85)</sup>

On June, 1567 the "ever Jew-hating Genoa" <sup>86)</sup> ordered all Jews to leave their territories in the course of three months. The decree affected also Voltaggio, where Joseph lived. But its inhabitants were unwilling to let their popular physician go. They made representations before the authorities of Genoa and were granted permission to retain his services. But he preferred to depart with his Jewish brethren. He went to Castel Monferrat, where the population



gave him a joyful reception. <sup>87)</sup> He did not, however, remain long in that town. <sup>88)</sup> In 1571 we find him back in Genoa. <sup>89)</sup>

We do not know the exact date of Joseph Hachohen's death. On June 29, 1575 he made the final revision of the Emek <sup>90)</sup>. But the last evidence of his being yet alive we have in the date recorded by him in a colophon to his Peles - Hashemoth -- Cheshvan 26, (5)337. <sup>91)</sup>

It is evident therefore that he lived to be an octogenarian.



*Quote*

1) Annals, 51b; Emek, 109. <sup>^</sup> The Bodl. Cat. (I, 1498) gives the date of Joseph's birth as December 10, 1496. Loeb also erred in REJ X, 250; however, in a later article (REJ XVI) he gives the correct date and adjusts other minor irregularities found there. The Indice (p. 15) lists: "Coen dott. Mose ben Jehosciuan", born in Avignon in 1496 and lived "in the city and province of Genoa". Read "Joseph ben" etc. for Mosé.

From the date of marriage of Joseph's parents (Aug. 5, 1495) and from the date of his birth (Dec. 20, 1496) it is evident that he was the first born child.

2) In the preparation of the present article it was necessary to make use of the description of these letters by Isidore Loeb in vol. XVI of the REJ (pp. 32-40), since the only extant collection of them is to be found in the library of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris, (cf. Works, p.10) which is now inaccessible. 2/

The reference numbers to these letters used throughout this study will follow those of Loeb in the REJ.

3) Dolce, Dolca, or Dolza /דולצי, דולצא, דולצה/ is a common name among Spanish, Italian, and also, though more rarely, among the German Jews. This, for example, was the name of Jehiel of Pisa's wife (Cassuto, La famiglia da Pisa, 29), and also of the martyr-wife of Eleazar of Worms (Zunz, Zur Geschichte etc., 172 and H.B., XIX, 10). Cf. also Berliner, Hebräische Grabschriften in Italien,



(Frankfurt a/M., 1881) pp. 29, 48 (סולצילה), and 61.

4) ויהי בתוך הבאים דון בונאפויס דודי ואמו פריציאוסה  
ואשתו אוריציטי ואמי דולצה בנעוריה בית אמה...

ויהי בתוך הבאים דון בונאפויס דודי .....  
ואשתו אורוסיטי ואמה דולצה בנעוריה בית אמה...

The first version is from the Emek (p. 102), the <sup>second</sup> ~~latter~~ is from the Annals (49b). The parallelism of texts is quite apparent with the exception of a slight abridgment in the Annals. From a comparison of the two versions it can readily be seen that ואמה is a misprint for ואמי. Bialloblotzky, however, does not notice this error; therefore בנעוריה in his words "not quite clear" (I, 327).

Joseph's report continues: וימצאו שם את אבי כמ'ר  
יהושע מן הכהנים אשר יצאו ממצודת אואיטי ויתנו לו את אמי לאשה.

Since Joshua was 68 at his death in 1519 (Annals, 66b; Emek, 111), he was evidently 43 years old at the time of his marriage.

In Wiener E, 68, line 9 the date 1492 should be corrected to 1495.

5) That the family name of Don Bonafous was Alconstantini is not mentioned in Joseph's works but in his letters (nos. 22 and 24). (See also Loeb's note on p. 40). Concerning the Alconstantinis vide Ghironi's תולדות גרודי.

(Trieste, 1853) pp. 108, 160, and 179; Indice, p. 2; Grätz, VII, 25 and 45. Don Toderos (or Mordecai) Alconstantini was one of the sixteen delegates to the famous disputa-



tion of Tortosa, representing the community of Huesca (Verga, 40, and Appendix to Grätz, VIII, note 3, p. 407). We find the family Alconstantini in Calatayud at the end of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, which may have been its place of origin. (Quellen, 46, n. 4.)

6) Steinschneider points out (Magazin, X, 168) that among the additions and notes to Joseph Hacoheh's translation of Alguadez' medical work (cf. Works, p. 12) were such "was er von der Hand seines Vaters gefunden." (Cf. note 16).

7) Capital of the province Cuenca, located 120 miles southeast of Madrid. A law promulgated at the end of the XII<sup>th</sup> century gave to the populace of Cuenca, including the Jews, rights of residence and permission to engage in commerce. During the XIII<sup>th</sup> century these privileges were extended to a large number of Castilian cities. (Baer, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, I, Berlin 1929, p. 1037 f.)

8) There are two conflicting versions given by Joseph regarding the migration of his ancestors from Cuenca to Guete. One is to be found in the Annals (p. 40a); the other, in the Emek (p. 85). The reference in the first reads as follows:

בִּמְסֵי הָהֶם בֵּימֵי אֲיוֹנוּיָאן הָאֲפִיפִיּוֹר בֵּימֵי פִלִּיץ רַב  
הַשְּׂמֹדוֹת בַּסֶּפֶד... כִּי קָם פֶּרָא וַיִּנְצֹצֵץ... וַיֵּצֵא אֶת אֲבוֹתָי  
הַכְּהֹנִים מֵעִיר קוֹרְיֹקָה... וַיֵּלֶכוּ אֶל מַעֲרֹת אוֹרֵי...

The connection of Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) and the anti-pope Felix V (1439-1449) with Vincent Ferrer (Fra Vicenza) is



impossible, since Ferrer died in 1419, i. e. before both popes assumed office. However, in the Emek Joseph connects the persecutions instigated by Fra Vicenza with the period of Pope Urban VI (1378-1389) and the anti-pope Benedict XIII (1394-1422 or 1423) and he places the uprisings, as well as the above-mentioned migration of his parents, in the year 1412, when Ferrer had actually been engaged in his "holy" work. Thus Joseph corrects in the Emek (p.86) his original error in the Annals and says: הָנֹס כִּי בִסְפָר ד'ה כְּתוּבָתִי  
 Wiener (Wiener E, notes 212 and 214) errs, however, when he states that the reading in the Annals is the more correct one.

Regarding the persecutions of 1391 and 1412, see Baer (Quellen, 26-37) who gives a keen analysis of the various Jewish and non-Jewish chronicles <sup>concerning</sup> of them.

Kayserling (Jewish Encyclopedia, article:Cuenca) states that Joseph's ancestors left for Guete in 1391, whereas in his article on Guete (ibid.) he writes: "Joseph Hacoen says that his grandparents, who were expelled from Cuenca in 1414, found protection and shelter at Guete, his birthplace"(!)."

9) Guete or Huete (גֻּעֵט, הֻעֵט), slightly east of Cuenca, belonging to the same bishopric, had a strong fortress. (Bial. /I, 327/ has: Oviedo!)

It was a usual occurrence both during the Crusades and later in Spain for Jews to escape from their persecutors to some nearby fortress town for protection.



10) Annals, 40a; Emek, 85.

11) Avignon was the birthplace of many outstanding Jews. Abraham Farrissol, the first cosmographer to write in Hebrew, was born about 45 years before Joseph. It may very well be that his אורחות עולם influenced some of Joseph's writings. (See Works, p. 11 f.)

12) (Annals, 49b; Emek, 102) ולא ארכו להם שם הימים  
Among the exiles from Spain who so-  
journed at Avignon and later left for the Turkish dominions  
we find the maternal uncle of Joseph, Bonifous Alconstantini.  
He settled in Micropoli where his son Obadia was born. Stein-  
schneider (Geschichtsliteratur, p. 100) erroneously says:  
"...Obadja ben Bonafos ibn al-Constantini, an seinen Oheim  
Joseph ha-Kohen," while Joseph was, in fact, his cousin  
(vide p. 3).

13) (Annals, 51b; Emek, 109).  
"Genova la Superba" was the appellative the Genoans liked  
to use in describing their city (cf. Johnson, Genoa the  
superb, Boston, 1892).

14) The suggestion may be ventured that Novi was the  
place where Joseph's family settled after leaving Avignon.  
There are three references by our chronicler to support  
this contention:

a) נושא כנבולי (ibid.). Novi is in the outlying di-  
strict of Genoa.



b) ביתם ההם בהיותנו בנובי (Emek, 110). This remark follows a description of the events of 1509, which indicate that at that date Joseph was in Novi.

c) ויצא אבי ר' יהושע הכהן זצ"ל וישב אל ביתו לנובי (Annals, 63a). The use of the word וישב indicates that Novi was his home at an earlier date.

From the above quotations it may be concluded that Joseph's family had not yet settled in Genoa by 1509, and that they were in Novi at that date and possibly earlier. Loeb is puzzled by the allusion to Joseph's father returning to his home in Novi, and therefore suggests (REJ, p.42): "...le paragraphe ביתם ההם de cette p. 94 (p. 110 in our Emek ed.) ou Joseph dit qu' il était à Novi, n'est pas à sa place (my italics) et doit probablement venir après le paragraphe de la même page." The correctness of the quotation, however, is corroborated by the two others (a) and c)), and it may be presumed that the paragraph is not misplaced and that Novi was actually their home prior to Genoa.

15) Grätz (IX, 321), Bial. (I, XXI) Wiener (Wiener E, XX), Zinberg (p.102), and others maintain that Joseph and his family moved directly from Avignon to Genoa. See, however, note 14, where evidence is given that there was an intermediate stage in their progress from Avignon to Genoa, with a stay of at least seven years in the suburbs of Genoa, probably in Novi.



16) Annals, 63a; Emek, 111. Joseph adds to his name אברהם בן ישראל which clearly indicates Fregoso's anti-Jewish attitude. During this period the families of the Fregosi and the Adorni fought for the rule of Genoa. When the latter gained the upperhand in 1524, the Jews were permitted to return to Genoa, for the Adorni were אברהם בן ישראל (Annals, 73a; Emek, 112). However, not all the members of the Fregoso family were like Ottaviano. His brother Pedro, the ruler of Novi, dealt fairly with the Jews (Emek, p.110).

Letteris confused the Adorni with the Doria family (note to Emek, *ibid.*), but this error was corrected by Wiener (Wiener E, note 255).

At this time they enforced the existing law that no Jew be allowed to remain more than three days in the city of Genoa. The expulsion of the Jews from that city was not all-inclusive; physicians and their families <sup>being</sup> ~~were~~ exempted (M. Seligmann, JE, article Genoa). This may perhaps prove that Joseph's father, although interested in medicine, was not a practicing physician (cf. note 6)).

That year (1516) was also a turning point in the life of Italian Jewry, when a law compelling the creation of the first Jewish Ghetto was established in Venice, and later spread throughout Italy (C. Roth, Venice, 51).

17) Concerning their earlier stay in Novi, cf. note 14).



18) Paloma (from the Spanish palomba) signifies a dove and is used as a feminine proper name. (Vide Canticus, II,14; IV, 1; etc.) Cf. also the usage among German Jews: Taube or Täubchen, and in Yiddish: טאָבע. See Wiener E (preface X., note, except that paloma is not Italian but Spanish as on p. 67, note 234 and H.B.I.,110). Besides Letteris (Emek, 101,note) and Bial. (II., 458), Bonhard (Annals L, 17, note 9) also unnecessarily makes palomba a corruption of colomba.

19) Annals, 64a; Emek, 111. Abraham ben Moshe Cohen, also a Spanish exile, occupied in Bologna the position of Chief of the Rabbinical Tribunal, אב בית דין, and head of the Ralmudical Academy/ראש ישיבה/.

In 1522 he edited the ספר חסידים; and besides many halachic responses he left a commentary to the שאלות of R. Ahai Gaon, (רבני איטאליה שלשלת הקבלה) under Ghironi's חולדות גדולי ישראל. 20; Carmoly's חולדות גדולי ישראל (Metz, 1828); Indice, pp. 14 and 18, note 3). For some of Cohen's responses see REJ, X,--especially on pp. 197, line 3; 199, l. 8; and 201, l. 9. The ms. which includes responses from various other Italian rabbis of the sixteenth century (שולחן ערוך באדם) is now in the possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City.

A letter written by the rabbi of Sabbionetta, Azriel Dayna, to Abraham Cohen, urging him to attend a public hearing against the mysterious David Reubeni, has ~~historical~~ historical value in shifting the commonly assumed date of the imprisonment of the Messia<sup>ni</sup> pretender to a later time. (Ge-

schichtsliteratur p. 95). Cf. also Marx' article describing incidentally the leading role Abraham Cohen had in the interesting case of R. Joseph of Arles. תרביץ, שנה ח' ספר ב' / אברהם כהן / ירושלים תרצ"ז / Abraham Cohen died in 1550 in Bologna.

20) Annals, 64a, 66b, 71b; Emek, 111. Bial. (I., 437) has "...and his wife" for ותהר אשתו of the original.

21) Annals, 73a. Lerma, a small town in the province of Alessandria in Piedmont, is today a well-known summer resort (Grande Enc. Pop. Sonzogno, Milan).

Bonhard (Annals L. 18, note 11) says: הוקראת לערמא. There is indeed a city Lerma in the province of Valladolid, Spain, but one fails to perceive what bearing it has upon Joseph's account of Northern Italy.

Our chronicler mentions Lerma but once, and it is, therefore, difficult to determine if his expression מקום מושב means that it was a permanent or only a temporary residence for him.

22) Cf. Cassuto (Firenze, 348), where he relates that under similar circumstances the poet and physician, Joseph Zerfati, lost his life: "Colpito però dalla pesta fu cacciato dal paese e relegato in campagna dove rifugiatosi in un meschino tugurio, senza aver nessuno che gli porgesse il minimo soccorso morì più per fame a per sete che per la violenza del morbo".



23) Annals, ibid.

24) Voltaggio, adjoining the community of Busalla, is in the province of Alessandria (Gr. Enc. Pop. Sonzogno, Milan).

Annals, 96a and in Emek, 149; the Hebrew text reads וולטגיו, which Bial. (II., 192) transcribes as Botago and Letteris (Emek, ibid.) as Yolatggio(!). In the Emek, 126 the text reads וולטגיו; in the Annals, 138 and 139, וולטגיו which to Bial. (II. 485 and 495) means Voltabio (cf. Wiener E, note 279).

All the three different spellings, however, seem to be corruptions of Voltaggio, where Joseph lived at this time, and whither he returned in 1550 after the expulsion from Genoa (cf. p. 10, infra).

25) Annals, 96a.

26) Annals, 109b; Emek, 118. After 1524 Jews were again permitted to settle in Genoa (Annals, 73a; Emek, 112).

There is no indication whatever that Joseph Hacoen went to Genoa in 1538 after his alleged expulsion with his co-religionists from Novi, as Zinberg declares (p. 102). In fact, it may be doubted whether he lived at that time in Novi at all, since his last mentioned abodes before returning to Genoa were Lerma and Voltaggio (cf. p. 3).

27) Annals, 113b; Emek, 119. Joshua had been sent to his grandfather in Bologna to study Talmud. During the summer

he went on a visit to his maternal uncle, Moshe Cohen, who then lived in Pieve, a small community situated between Bologna and Ferrara. Joshua was at the time already affianced to a girl in Genoa (Letters, 29, 36; REJ, XVI, 42).

In 1543, another tragic event took place in Pieve: the wife, daughter and two sons of Moshe Cohen were murdered by a gang of robbers, one of whom our chronicler was later able to identify by his investigative assiduity and have capital punishment meted out to him. (Emek, 120-121; Letters, 33, 36). The reference in REJ, 43 should, of course, be to "Mose Cohen frère de Paloma" instead of père.

On Moshe Cohen cf. also Cassuto (Firenze, 357 and 358, note 2) and Indice, 15.

28) Annals, ibid; Emek, ibid; Letters, 30, 36.

29) In 1545 his two daughters were still living in Joseph's house (REJ, 41). His son-in-law, Halfan, who married Dolce (Letters, ibid.), may be of the famous Venetian family of that name (cf. for instance, Indice, p. 13 and Roth, Venice, p. 77).

30) REJ, 40.

31) Letters, 65, 39; REJ, 40 and 44-45.

32) Letters, 34, 36, in which Joseph sends his condolences to Preziosa and Zerachyah on the death of Joseph Halevi, their husband<sup>at</sup> father respectively. Cf. also Annals,



III (ms.), p. 71. Regarding some verses written by Joseph Halevi, see REJ, p. 29, 6.

33) Annals, 135a; Emek, 125. Cf. Zerachyah's verses written at the end of the Annals (p. 143b).

34) Annals, 73; Emek, 112.

35) "Celle-ci paraît avoir été une personne d'un caractère léger et inconsistant" (Loeb, p. 49).

36) In REJ, p. 29, 2, there is an interesting disclosure concerning an antagonism existing between Joseph and Toderos, when both were yet youths. To one of Toderos' insults, Joseph replied with verses beginning שירים שלחתי

... On another occasion, Joseph asked Toderos if he had acquired his bad manners from the Ashkenazim (Letters, 20).

37) Approximately half of the Letters concerning the chronicler (52-76, on pp. 39-40) deal with the Joseph-Clara-Toderos affair.

Nothing about the family conflict is found in the Annals or the Emek.

38) Among the verses written by Joseph Hacohe<sup>on</sup> ~~at~~ various occasions (see Works, 10, 3 and notes 73, 74 *ibid.*) there are a few devoted to the presentation of some silver vessels to the synagogue of Bologna by Joseph ben David:

עוד לי על קשרת כסף וכיור שהקדיש גיסי ז"ל לרחמי ידי הכהנים  
... (B.M.CAT., p. 531; REJ, p. 29, 9a, b, c).

One letter written by Joseph Hacoen in an appeal to the Jews of Bologna for the redemption of captives is also signed by Joseph ben David (cf. p. 8).

39) A scudo was a gold or silver coin (from the 16th to the 19th C.) in Italy and Sicily, usually approximating 4 shillings or 97 cents (see Webster's Dictionary, Springfield 1935, and Zunz, Zur Geschichte und Literatur, 560.

40) Loeb, p. 49.

41) Ibid. From the halachic point of view, a mere promise by Clara to give her daughter in marriage could not have constituted a contract binding on either party. However, we learn that Judah sent his cousin an engagement gift, (מליונות). (We may safely assume that she was under age, and, being a minor, we may further assume that she accepted his present with the knowledge and approval of her mother.) If the acceptance occurred before two witnesses, the agreement between both parties would be so evident that, according to some rabbinical authorities, the girl might not marry any one else unless a divorce were first obtained.

The following talmudic passage (Kiddushin, 50a) throws some light upon the problem in question: MISHNAH: המקדש ב' נשים... אעפ"י ששלה מליונות לאחר מבאן, אינה מקודשת.

GEMARAH: אחרי רב הווא אמר הוששין למליונות וכן אמר רבה...

Rashi explains: הוששין למליונות in the following manner:

מי ששדך באשה ונתרצה וקדם ושלה מליונות בעדים הוששין שמה קדושין הם ואם נתקדשה לאחר, צריכה גם כן הראשון.



Other authorities, such as R. Hananel and Alphasi are of a different opinion.

For a discussion of this problem by Italian rabbis in the first half of the sixteenth century see e.g. responses 43, 44, especially pp. 68 and 84 in ספר זרע אש (edit. by David Fraenkel, Husiatyn, 1900).

Whether or not the מלווה constitutes a legal bond between donor and recipient has never been conclusively established under a generally accepted ordinance. The decision has varied, depending upon local Jewish custom ( מנהג המקור , באחר דיוקני ).

For Jews in Italy at that time, a betrothal followed by a present from the bridegroom to the bride had rather serious implications. For instance, Cassuto informs us (Firenze, p. 220): "Il fidanzamento (kinjan) che aveva carattere d'impegno definitivo, revocabile soltanto per gravi motivi (my italics)..." And further *ibid.*: "Era di prammatica che appena scambiata la promessa di matrimonio il fidanzato offriva un dono alla fidanzata, come per ratificare l'impegno assunto."

42) Among the letters concerning that affair are some exchanged between Joseph and his brother Meir (number 65), his father-in-law Abraham Cohen (nos. 52, 58, 75), his brother-in-law Moses Cohen (nos. 68, 69), the sons-in-law of Clara, Isaak Cohen of Vercelli (nos. 53, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62,

66, 70, 71, 72, 74) and Naphtali Levi Hertz of Venice (nos. 73, 76). Naphtali may be of the CESENA family (see Berliner's Hebr. Grabschriften in Italien, 65 and 66, p. 43; H. B., XXI., 73; and Leo Modenas Briefe etc., ed. Blau, Budapest, 1905, p. 66, note 1 of the Hebrew text). There is also a letter (no. 59) written to Chaim Cohen of Alessandria, whose possible relationship with Joseph Hachohen is not established (cf. Emek, 148 in which Joseph refers to him as Chaim Cohen ben Samuel of Alessandria. Is he the same Samuel mentioned in responsum 20 ( הא ליכא זרע לצדקה ) as the associate judge of R. Meir of Padua?)

43) Letters, 54 & 55. They are reprinted in part by Kaufman in REJ, XXVII, 214, note 1.

44) Letters, 63 and 64. They are published by Kaufmann (*ibid.*, 234-36).

45) Kaufman's assertion that Joseph was a close relative ("proche parent") of Mantino because the chronicler sends him compliments "de la part de sa femme et de tous les siens" (*ibid.*, 215-16) is not convincing.

In the first letter Joseph pays his respects, and his son's, to Mantino ( למנחם ונצח ); in the second, he offers greetings for himself, his wife, his daughter, and all his family ( למנחם ונצח וכל חתני וכל חתנותי וכל בני ביתי ). It is evident, therefore, that intercourse between the two families was on a friendly footing, but there is no evidence here to suggest that they were kinsmen. However, had they



been related, the chronicler would probably have alluded to the fact by the commonly used expression: שאר בשר, and he would not have resorted to such phrasing as: נושק ידי ... (ibid., 235); or, in another instance: רק להשתחוות מול הדר תפארת מעלתך כראוי ופרוש ... עליו ועל אנפיו שלומות לאליהם ולרבבות... נושקים (ibid., 236) כפות ידי אדני.

46) The ambassador of Spain at the Venetian Republic at that time was Diego Hurtado del Mendoca, who was a client and patron of Jacob Mantino (ibid., 213).

47) Loeb's uncertainty about the nationality of the ambassador at Genoa (REJ, 50) is resolved by Kaufman (ibid. 215, note 3; correct p. 60 to p. 50) by means of the expression : אל האינובאצאטור הזה (see note 48 below).

48) ועתה זה הסדר אשר תגדיל עמדי... לחלות פני האינובאצאטור ספרדי שיכתוב אל האינובאצאטור הזה תוכן הדבר הרע הזה על מחכונתו וכי דבר מחועב הוא בעיני כל איש ישר ונאמן רוח וכי יהיה לו לחן פרטי לתקן את עון המין הרע הזה. פן ישמע בחוץ שנותן יד לפושעים, ופחות ויותר לפי ראות שכלך ולחכימא ברמיוזה. ועוד כתב אחר אל הישיש הפרינסיפי די אוריאה מהאינובאצאטור ספרדי ומהצרפתי ובזאת אדע כי מצאתי הן בעיני מעלתך.

(REJ, XXVII, 235 f.)

49) Cf. the halachic decision in one of the responses of Meir of Padua to the effect that סבילונות are not sufficient to constitute even a חשש קדושין.

אבל במקום שהכל סבילי ברישא והדר מקדשי לית מאן דחש לסבילונות, הא לכם זרע לצדקה. (Fuerth, 1771, p. 51, resp. 28).

I could not find, however, anything in his responses bearing directly upon our case.

50) (Kaufmann, *ibid.*, 235) בבקשה כמנה"פ שנים נגד הדין ונגד צוואת בעלה.

51) כי מכרתי ויאכל גם אכול איש צר ואויב המין הרע הזה, הכי קרא שמו שודרוס ויטרידני זה פעמים, שלש ואחרון הנדיל, יטרידנו אל ויסתהו מאהל, כאשר הטרידני וכאשר הסיה והדיח; תמא והחטיא את נשאות המרדות הדוברת בפיה שלם ובקרבה אורבה חשים אחותי זאת... ואשר חשבתי לאחים נעשו הוהים בידי, וישכחו כל גמולי זאת אשר הטיבותי להם לפני משורת הדין מנעורי עד היום הזה... ישלם להם ה' פועלים וישיב להם שבעתים אל היקם, אמן.

(*ibid.*, 234-35)

52) To his father-in-law in Bologna, the chronicler wrote on July 30, 1543: ונא אל הסניא נהור אשר בפדווה כתבתי (*ibid.*, 214, note 1) ונא אל הסניא נהור אשר בפדווה כתבתי, וכפתון הרש לא אבא שמוע, ויביאו נזול ויאמרו הנה מתלאה.

And his brother in Salonica he informs on Aug. 6, 1544: וכשכתבנו אל כמה'ר מאיר אל פדואה כתב גם הוא כמוני... וכשהיינו שלא לנוכ [ה] (ד) היה יועץ אל קשות הרוח והעיורה אחותנו, לשעות של אפינו ועל חמתינו נגד הדין והדת ונגד צוואת הנפטר; וגם כתייה לשעות הרשעה והרשאות שלא בפנינו לשעות הדבר הרע הזה ויגנוב את לבו ההרוס כיום הזה... (*ibid.*)

53) Loeb, REJ, p. 51.

54) *Ibidem.*

55) Letters, 67. These rabbis may have viewed the



matter differently from R. Meier and considered sufficient ground for a דבר in which case the daughter of Clara may not have married Toderos' son unless she were to receive first a divorce from Judah; cf. note 41).

56) Letters, 72. It is noteworthy that Toderos speaks of looking to the pope and the cardinals for help. Furthermore, it is remarkable that, besides calling him רודוס and רודוס, Joseph refers to him, in both letters to Mantino, as a בן (see notes 48) and 51)), and Toderos' son, when in the need of a witness, obtains one—who shortly afterwards apostatized from the Jewish faith. (See the note below).

The charges against Toderos might be thought inconclusive, although מכור, פושע and especially בן are sometimes applied to renegades in the making, were it not for the following ~~in~~ evidence: During the siege of Florence, in 1529-30, a Spanish duke was accompanied by a physician named Toderos Cohen, who settled later in Florence and embraced Christianity under the name of Ludovicus Carretus. In 1533 he published a Hebrew epistle to his former co-religionists (Cassuto, Firenze, 182-83).

We know that one of Joseph's brothers was a physician (REJ, p. 44), and the fact that Carretus was a native of France (Friedenwald, Jewish Physicians in Italy, p. 173, note 134) may also fit into the picture, for like Joseph, Toderos might have been born in Avignon.

The question remains whether Ludevicus Carretus is identical with our Toderos Cohen. If he is, it would explain perfectly well the attitude of the chronicler, who would then have foreseen in 1545 that his brother was going to end up later on as a renegade of the Jewish religion.

57) Letters, 66, 74. He was called Judah Almosnino, who shortly thereafter became a convert to Christianity.

58) In the feud over the will, Joseph seems to have renounced entirely his right to interfere with Clara's inequitable distribution of the bequests among her daughters. He was unwilling, however, to yield in the struggle to prevent Toderos' son from marrying Clara's daughter. And this probably is to be understood in the sentence: דכולנו מחילנו (in the first of the above-mentioned letters to Mantino, as quoted by Kaufmann, p. 235).

59) Letters, 65b, 69a.

60) Letters, 74b, 76b. On Naphtali Levi Hertz of Venice, her son-in-law, cf. note 42).

61) Otherwise, we find Joseph Amar of Coron on friendly terms with the chronicler (cf. note 77)). <sup>For the time being</sup> At present he seems to have exercised, for what motives is not clear, an influence on Clara to the disadvantage of her gifted brother. For this reason he is called יוסף אהרן (in the first letter to Mantino).



62) Letters, *ibid.*

63) Job, XXX, 26. The broken-hearted father bewailed the loss of his beloved son in an elegy even more poignant than that of nine years ago (see p. 3 footnote).

Disillusioned, he exclaims (Annals, 133b; Emek, 123) תסמי על זמני הרע הזה אשר הביאוני לימים ולשנים אין לי  
And, with reference to the previous misfortune: מדוע קדמוני ברכים לראות  
The phrase והוא בן שבע על ויגון במשך חשע שנים פעמים?...  
is to be understood as in the seventeenth year:  
Judah was exactly 16 years and 18 days old at the time of his death (11 Shebat, 5293 -- 29 Shebat, 5309).

64) Cf., for instance, Verga, p. 108: ואני הדל שלמה  
בן וירנה שלחוני קהלות ספרד לקבץ פדיון לשבויו מאליאוא;  
or the activities in this regard of Isaak Abrabanel (Grätz, VIII., pp. 239-40, 337).

In Venice there was during the second half of the sixteenth century a "Society for the Redemption of Prisoners" (Blau, Leo Modenas Briefe etc., p. III of the Hebrew text, Budapest, 1905).

65) Annals, 90a; Emek, 113.

66) Loeb (p. 46) is not correct in his statement that according to the Emek "après la prise de Coron, Patras et Zante (my italics) ... beaucoup des Juifs de ces villes furent capturent...", since both, the Emek and the Annals

66) speak of Zante as having ransomed some of the Jews taken prisoners in Coron and Patras.

67) Cf. preceding note.

68) Letters, 36.

69) On January 5, 1533, a proclamation was issued to the effect that all Jews still remaining within the kingdom of Naples after the expulsion of 1510, must leave in the course of six months or become converts. (Ferorelli, Gli Ebrei nell' Italia Meridionale, Turin, 1915, p. 227). Although the final expulsion did not take place until 1541, the plight of the Neapolitan Jews at that time was a miserable one (*ibid.*, 236-37).

70) <sup>ol</sup>Zerfati was an outstanding member of the community (*ibid.*, 233).

71) Letters, 37. Although this letter bears the signature of Joseph Ibn Yachya, it probably also came from the rabbi of Naples. Since the Letters are not Joseph Hachohen's autograph but copies by others (see Works, p. 10, note 72), a mistake of Joseph for David ben Joseph is likely.

72) Annals, 102a; Emek, 117-18. The Emek, however, states no precise number of Jews ransomed.

פדו קהלות איטאליאנה רבנים בעת ההיא.

73) Letters, 39, 40.

74) Letters, 38.



75) Letters, 46, which is a circular sent out to raise the required 220 scudi. Among the signers besides Joseph, is his father-in-law, Abraham Cohen.

76) Annals, 129b; Letters, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45. In Letters, 41, Joseph appeals in behalf of the prisoners to the Jews of Bologna; in Letters, 42, to those of the Provence; in Letters, 43 to an unidentified personage requesting his intervention. The next epistle is a letter of recommendation directed to the Jewish communities of Italy; the bearer of it is a collector. Letters, 45 is addressed to the Jews of Mantua on the same subject.

77) Annals, 130ab; Letters, 52 (which should be corrected to 47 -- in REJ, 38). It contains the account of Fiesco's conspiracy. The facts concerning Moses the prisoner are confirmed by Joseph Amar and Chayim ben Elazar.

78) Letters, 53 (should be 48 in REJ, *ibid.*).

79) He probably received his degree after 1516. Zinberg holds (Zinberg, p. 102) that Joseph Hachohen embarked upon his medical career even before that year, which was the date of exile from Genoa. If, however, he were so early already a practitioner of the profession at Genoa, he could easily have availed himself of the exemption from the expulsion decree granted to physicians, as they, in fact, did. (Cf. note 16)).

80) ... להעיר עיני התלמידים ולהדריכם במלאכת רהבת הידים

הלזו, שיוכלו לצאת ולבא מאליהם; חן להכם ויחכם עוד.  
(In Joseph Hachohen's introduction to the translation of Al-  
guadez' medical work as quoted by Steinschneider in Magazin,  
X., pp. 166-67; cf. Works, p. 12, 3).

81) A medical diploma at that time usually conferred  
upon the graduate also the right to teach the profession.  
(Zoller, Rivista Israelitica, Firenze, 1913, anno X., p.62,  
note 2).

82) According to Cassuto, already in 1516 (Enc. Jud.  
article Josef Hakohen). The chronicler makes first mention  
of himself as a physician in 1550, in connection with the  
second expulsion from Genoa during that year (Annals, 135ab;  
Emek, 125-26).

83) Annals, 135b; Emek, 125. It is generally assumed  
that Joseph Hachohen was physician-in-ordinary to Andrea Do-  
ria, the Doge of Genoa. For Grätz it is only probable (Grätz,  
IX., p. 321); Zinberg (Zinberg, p. 102), Friedenwald (Jew.  
Phys. in Italy, p. 195), and others repeat the statement, but  
without his cautious reservation or question. F. Haneman  
(Jew. Enc., article Medicine) refers to the chronicler as  
the "physician to the doge Andrea Doria of Venice (sic)".

On what does the assumption of Joseph as physician  
of the doge rest? Probably on the fact that Doria tried to  
dissuade the Christian physicians from expelling their Je-  
wish fellow-practitioners (Annals, ibid.: ולא יכול הישיש



...ולא יכול הישיש להתאמץ לעמוד בפניו. Emek, ibid.:  
among whom was also Joseph Hachohen -- a fact which apparently points to a relationship between him and the doge.

But this is not convincing, and there is no other proof in support of the theory. It seems, on the contrary, to break down at the first glance into the Annals (completed in 1553). As his personal physician, Joseph would hardly have called Doria a צורר היהודים (Annals, p. 96a), or write about him: כי נסע אחרי הבצע, וזה משפטו כל הימים (ibid., p. 98b), or exult over Doria's defeats: כמעשה ידיו השב לו ה' (ibid., p. 90a) ותהי המנופה באניות אנדריה דוריה... כן יאבדו כל אויביו ה' (ibid., p. 112a). Cf. also ibid., pp. 99a; 111ab).

Note, too, the lack of sympathetic cooperation on the part of Andrea in the chroniclers' effort to ransom the young captive Moses (p. 9). Had the intimacy between the physician and the doge been closer, we should have expected less obstacles and grief in the termination of the case. He would also not <sup>have</sup> need to ask Mantino (in 1554) ~~that the latter~~ writes from Venice to Doria in Genoa on his behalf (cf. Bio-graphy, p. 5).

84) Annals, 135ab; Emek, 125-26.

85) With the exception of the translation of Alguadez, which Joseph completed while still in Genoa, in 1546 (cf. Works, p. 12), all other works were finished by him during his stay in Voltaggio (1550-67). He concluded the Annals in 1553; he did three versions of the Emek, (which he began to write in 1554), in 1558, 1560, 1563; the Matziv in 1557; the

Book of India and the Book of Cortez in 1557; and the Peles Hashemoth in 1561 (Works, pp. 1, 4, 11 f., and ibid., notes 67 and 94; Hebräische Uebersetzungen, II, 775 and 948 f.).

86) Grätz, IX., p. 370.

87) Emek, 149. The dukedom of Monferrat, of which (Casale) Castel Monferrat was the capital, maintained for the most part a liberal attitude towards the Jews. Thus, it was, in 1553, the only state in Italy, save Milan, which opposed the decree of Pope Julius III. to burn the Talmud (Emek, 129). It is also remarkable that Monferrat never saw the establishment of a ghetto within its bound<sup>aries</sup> (Foa, Gli Ebrei nel Monferrato nei secoli XVI. e XVII., Alessandria, 1914, p. 110).

In 1566 the newly established Statuti del Collegio dei Medici di Casale expressly permitted Jewish physicians the practice of their art (ibid., pp. 41-42 and note 45), and this may have encouraged our chronicler to settle there. Foà (ibid., p. 43) mentions also a typographer by the name of Nathaniel Halfan, the son of Perez Halfan, residing in 1525 in Castel Monferrat. He may have been the father or, at least, a relative of the chronicler's son-in-law Perez Halfan (cf. note 29)).

88) In February, 1570, Monferrat issued for the first time restrictive edicts against the Jews. Among other things they were ordered to wear a yellow badge and Jewish physi-



cians were prohibited from attending on Christians (ibid. pp. 14, 24, 56, 108, 109).

89) Annals, ms. sub anno.

90) Emek, 154.

91) BM. CAT., p. 532, cf. Works, note 67.

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## Chapter II.

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THE LITERARY WORKS OF JOSEPH HACOEN.

I. The Annals of the Kings of France and the Kings of the House of Othman, The Turk.

The first historical work of Joseph Hacoen was completed by him in November 1553 and was printed in 1554<sup>1)</sup> by Adelkind in Sabbionetta<sup>1a)</sup> under the title of

” דברי הימים למלכי צרפת ומלכי בית אוטומאן המזרח ”

The book is divided in two parts and deals mostly with general history. (328 leaves, 16<sup>o</sup>, begins with a colophon by Joseph's nephew Zerahia ha-Levi,<sup>1b)</sup> and was finished 14 of Nissan 5316.)

Copies of the editio princeps are today very rare.<sup>2)</sup> A book on general history, written in Hebrew was at that time a real novelty,<sup>3)</sup> and should have found a large reading public even if written by some of lesser authority than Joseph Hacoen. We can therefore only wonder why it took a hundred and eighty years for the first reprint of it by Propos<sup>4)</sup> in Amsterdam in the year 1733.<sup>5)</sup> It contained 143 leaves, in 16<sup>o</sup>.

The third edition was published in Lemberg in 1859, with an introduction on the value of history by Joseph Cohen Zedek (pp. 3-14) and with a biography of the author by S. Bonhard (pp. 15-22).<sup>6)</sup>

There are in existence today, to my knowledge, two

manuscripts of the Annals; one in the British Museum in London,<sup>7)</sup> and the other ~~one~~ in the Library of the Alliance Universelle Israélite in Paris.<sup>8)</sup>

Both of these manuscripts are of considerable value, being superior to the printed text because they were frequently augmented and corrected by the author himself, or by others who worked under his supervision, especially because of the supplements of historical events which occurred during the last years of Joseph's life. While therefore the printed text ends with the year 1553, the Alliance ms.<sup>9)</sup> extends until 1573, and that of the British Museum continues until 1575.<sup>10)</sup> The editing of the third, unpublished part, of this British Museum manuscript is the task of this thesis.<sup>11)</sup>

The printed text of the Annals was frequently made the object of partial or full translation, indicating its value for many historians and scientists.

In the year 1670, Ludwig Ferrandus published in Paris a review of the Annals in Latin.<sup>12)</sup> He had also intended to translate Joseph's entire book into French,<sup>13)</sup> a hope which was never realized.<sup>14)</sup>

Johann Jacob Rabe, the German translator of the Mishnah, rendered a little less than the first half of Joseph Hacoheh's Annals into German.<sup>15)</sup> This translation, still in manuscript, belonged to Baron Gemingen, and its present whereabouts <sup>is</sup> are not known.<sup>16)</sup> Wilken frequently used this



manuscript for his "Geschichte der Kreuzzüge".<sup>17)</sup> The part which deals with the second Crusade was later retranslated from the German into English by Keightley, who published it in his "The Crusades".<sup>18)</sup>

A complete English translation of the Annals was made by Bialloblotzky in 1835-36,<sup>19)</sup> with a preface and notes. This translation, done in behalf of the Oriental Translation Fund, <sup>and</sup> published in most attractive form, has no scientific value whatsoever.<sup>20)</sup>

Bialloblotzky made his translation from the Amsterdam edition of the Annals, and for the translation of the second volume he promises to use also the editio princeps, which "will enable me to proceed with greater safety in preparing for the press the second part of my translation" (Preface). But, whatever his intentions may have been, Bialloblotzky's translation of the second volume, no less than of the first, is often incorrect and gives a false and sometimes ridiculous sense to the text.<sup>21)</sup>

## II. Emek Habaka.

In 1553 Usques' Consolation was published.<sup>22)</sup> Several months later (in 1554) Joseph Hacoen printed his Annals. After receiving a copy of the Consolation, which describes in a poetical way the Jewish sufferings through the ages, Joseph became inspired to write a more complete martyrology

of Israel,<sup>23)</sup> while the Annals have only occasional references to Jewish History.<sup>24)</sup> Thus was born the idea of his second historical work, which is devoted exclusively to the history of his people.

The E. starts with the period following the destruction of the second Temple, and concludes with the author's own time.

In 1558 (5318) the first version of E was finished.<sup>25)</sup> Joseph H<sub>a</sub>cohen continuously added to the first redaction of the E. and the second version was completed on the 23rd of August, 1560 (1. Elul, 5320).<sup>26)</sup> November 22, 1563 (6. Kislev, 5324) saw the third version finished.<sup>27)</sup> He put his hand to E. for the last time on June 29, 1575 (21. Tamuz, 5335).<sup>28)</sup>

Joseph had an intense interest in multiplying the number of copies of his work, either by doing it himself, or by having others do it under his supervision.<sup>29)</sup> At the end of one of his copies we read: "This ninth copy finished by me, Joseph H<sub>a</sub>cohen, the author and copyists of the work... .."<sup>30)</sup>

In this way the mss. of E. were diffused in many Jewish circles in Italy.<sup>31)</sup> However, outside of Italy and in non-Jewish quarters even in Italy, the E. seems not to have been circulated.<sup>32)</sup>

An anonymous author, who calls himself המסכת (the cor-



rector) possessed only the 1563 version of the E. and added to it some unimportant notes<sup>33)</sup> and additional events until the year 1605.<sup>34)</sup>

Thanks to the eagerness of the author to have many copies of his writings made, we possess at least one manuscript of everything known to have been written by him.<sup>35)</sup>

We mentioned already the two existing manuscripts of the Annals.<sup>36)</sup> Of the E. there are, to my knowledge, at least six manuscripts::

1. Ms. Rabinowitz.<sup>37)</sup> This manuscript was written by one of Joseph's copyists and only a few of the last pages seem to be in the author's own handwriting.<sup>38)</sup> It was finished on August 23, 1560, and contains at the end a few pages of poetry, written in verses, which no doubt is in Joseph's hand.<sup>39)</sup>

2. Ms. Luzatto.<sup>40)</sup> This manuscript was completed on November 22, 1563; it has the additional events until 1605 and has also the notes of the Corrector.<sup>41)</sup>

3. Ms. Ghironi has the same characteristics as the ms. Luzatto.<sup>42)</sup>

4. Ms. Almanzi. Its events cover the period until the 29th June, 1575. This manuscript is appended with some poetry and other writings by Joseph and others and is of his own hand.<sup>43)</sup>

5. Ms. Bodleian Library.<sup>44)</sup>

6) Ms. of the Adler Collection.<sup>44a)</sup>

The copy of the E. from the Royal Library in Vienna, which Letteris mentions,<sup>45)</sup> is only the prepared version by S. D. Luzatto for the editio princeps.<sup>45a)</sup>

The E. was not printed until about three centuries after the author's death. How should this strange delay of a book, full of interesting content, written in a beautiful biblical style, be explained? Why didn't the author himself publish the E. as he did the Annals? We are unable to give a satisfactory answer, but we venture to advance some suggestions. The great number of copies, made by Joseph and his copyists, were widely scattered everywhere and may have been copied by still others, so that the publication of the E. became superfluous.<sup>46)</sup> There may be, perhaps another and better explanation: the appearance of two other chronicles at the same time. Even though, seen from the scientific viewpoint, they are much inferior to E., the public may have preferred them, because they were, at that time, more interesting than the E. We refer to the Shebet Jehuda<sup>47)</sup> and the Sefer Yuhasin.<sup>48)</sup> Ibn Verga's book must have gained great popularity,<sup>49)</sup> because of its argumentative character, i.e. the events are not simply related, but are put in the form of discussion. This made the book interesting quite apart from the historicity of its contents.<sup>50)</sup> Zacuto's book may have been even more popular,<sup>51)</sup> and this



especially because of the author's description of the Talmudic period,<sup>52)</sup> which we miss entirely in E.

It is ~~to~~ the merit of Luz<sup>2</sup>atto that he prepared for print a correct version of the E., after having compared his own manuscript with that of Ghironi and with that of Almanzi. He added also very useful notes to this manuscript. Luz<sup>2</sup>atto sent it to Letteris, who added some unimportant notes of his own.<sup>53)</sup>

The title page of this ed. pr. reads: ספר הקורות והתלאות אשר עברו על בית ישראל, מאת הסופר הקדמון הנעלה ר' יוסף הכהן הרופא מעיר אוניון.....  
Mit kritischen Noten begleitet, herausgegeben von Dr. M. Letteris, Vienna, 1852."<sup>54)</sup>

Even though Luz<sup>2</sup>atto asked Letteris to give his entire attention and care to this edition,<sup>55)</sup> he mistranscribed many names of persons, places, and dates; but the eagerness of Luzatto to have this ms. published, softened his criticism of Letteris.<sup>56)</sup>

An unchanged reprint of this edition appeared in 1895-6 in Cracow.<sup>57)</sup>

Asher, the editor of Benjamin of Tudela's Itinerary, intended to make an English translation of the E., but his death intervened.<sup>58)</sup>

A very careful German translation with a preface was prepared by Wiener;<sup>59)</sup> in more than 300 notes<sup>60)</sup>

he elucidates many unclear points and also corrects many mistakes of Letteris and Bialloblotzky.<sup>61)</sup> In this edition Wiener published also four Hebrew mss., which are related to the E.<sup>62)</sup>

Julien Sée offered a French translation of the E.,<sup>62a)</sup> which is largely based on the German version of Wiener. The notes, however, contain some originality, and are based also on other sources.<sup>62b)</sup>

### III. Minor works.

Besides the two mentioned historical works, Joseph Hacothen showed interest in other literary <sup>activities</sup> treatises, which show him to be a learned physician and lexicographer. Apart from the E. and the Annals none of Joseph's writings, either the original contributions, or his translations of Latin and Spanish works, were ever published and are scattered in different libraries or in private hands.

We have information on the following mss.:

1. מִשְׁכָּל הַשָּׂרָם (The Balance of the Nouns). In the preface of this book Joseph explains<sup>63)</sup> the purpose of this compilation of Hebrew nouns, according to their gender (masculine and feminine). Since, he says, there are many people writing in Hebrew who make intolerable mistakes, especially concerning the nouns, he offers this book which should be of great help to the user.<sup>64)</sup>



Joseph gives in alphabetical order many Hebrew nouns (he starts with the word ארץ and ends with the word תשובה) with proper examples from the Bible.<sup>65)</sup> There are today three manuscripts of this compilation: one in the Library of the Alliance Universelle Israélite,<sup>66)</sup> the other one in the British Museum,<sup>67)</sup> and the third in the library of the JTS of America.<sup>67a)</sup>

## 2. A compilation of letters.

In the Alliance Library, there is a collection of 78 letters,<sup>67b)</sup> of which more than two-thirds are either written by or addressed to Joseph Hachon. The remainder consists of a series of letters of diverse authorship, contemporaneous with, or antedating Joseph's time.<sup>68)</sup> Included in his collection is <sup>an autograph</sup> a signed letter by Solomon Molko<sup>69)</sup> directed to <sup>his friends</sup> the Italian Jews.<sup>70)</sup> These letters have great biographical interest, illuminating many phases of Joseph's life not referred to elsewhere. We have no knowledge of the existence of any other compilation of letters of this author in any place other than the Alliance.<sup>71)</sup><sup>72)</sup>

## 3. An anthology of poems.

Some of Joseph's mss. are supplemented by a series of miscellaneous poems<sup>73)</sup> on varied subjects, prompted by specific occasions and occurrences.<sup>74)</sup> Of these some have been published in the appendix of Davidson's Sopher Sha'ashuim.<sup>75)</sup> Some of these poems are autographs.<sup>76)</sup>



#### 4. Manual of letter salutations.

Finally, mention should be made of Joseph's work on epistolary salutations, a manual formulating the correct manner of addressing letters to persons of various rank. One ms. of this work is found in the Alliance<sup>77)</sup>, another in the British Museum,<sup>78)</sup> and a third in the JTS,<sup>78a)</sup> all in the author's own handwriting.<sup>79)</sup>

#### IV. Translations.

Three translations by Joseph Hacoen have come down to us, two treating<sup>7)</sup> geographic-historical subjects, the third dealing with medicine.<sup>80)</sup>

##### 1. ספר מצייב ובו לוח עמים

The ספר מצייב is much more a re-edition than a translation of Boemus,<sup>81)</sup> "Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus", a book in three parts dealing with geographic-historical aspects of Europe, Asia, and Africa.<sup>81a)</sup> From the original Latin, the book had previously been translated into many languages, including Italian,<sup>82)</sup> and Steinschneider suggests<sup>83)</sup> that this latter served as a basis for Joseph's work.<sup>84)</sup> Far from rendering a literal translation,<sup>85)</sup> Joseph produced more nearly an adaptation, abridging and supplementing the book with his own ideas and notes. Two chapters were added to the original,<sup>86)</sup> an introduction dealing with the antediluvian and post-diluvian periods



based on the Bible and other sources,<sup>87)</sup> and a supplement treating <sup>of</sup> the discoveries of Columbus.<sup>88)</sup>

2. Book of India and Book of Fernando Cortez  
(or: Book of Mexico)

These two books are really one work and, as Schwab points out,<sup>89)</sup> a translation of Gomoras' "La Historia general de las Indias."<sup>90)</sup> Joseph's enthusiasm over the appearance of the Spanish work is vividly expressed by him. "I have sent (to Spain) to bring this book 'New India'", and "I have set my heart upon translating it".<sup>91)</sup>

The first book, ספר האינדיות, in three parts, deals with the West Indies and Peru.<sup>92)</sup> The second, ספר פירנאדור, also in three parts, narrates the discovery of Mexico and New Spain. <sup>93)</sup> (93).

Here, again, Joseph's treatment is not a translation, but rather a revision, abridged, condensed and annotated. As in the French and Italian translations, the division of chapters departs from the order of the original Spanish.<sup>93)</sup>

Three mss. of this work are extant, that of the Alliance,<sup>94)</sup> that in possession of Professor Gotheil,<sup>95)</sup> and one in the Berlin library.<sup>96)</sup>

3. ספר נרדמים

The ספר נרדמים was expressly written to assist and guide Joseph's students, in the field of medicine.<sup>97)</sup> From

the original by Meir Alguadez,<sup>98)</sup> and supplemented by the original author's student, a certain Joseph,<sup>99)</sup> Joseph Hacoen produced another of his revised translations. The book consists of a formulary of prescriptions for many diseases, with the formulae in Latin.<sup>100)</sup> Besides embodying those of the Spanish original, Joseph Hacoen added many of his own prescriptions with remarks and notes particularly pointed against the "French Disease".<sup>101)</sup>

Steinschneider indicates two mss.: Ms. Turin<sup>102)</sup>, Ms. Halberstam 407 (probably former Bilichis later ms. Rabinowitz.<sup>103)</sup>

Joseph made this translation in 1546, in Genoa. The introduction to the Mekitz was published by Steinschneider in the Magazin (X, pp. 166 f.).

#### V. The Manuscript.

A description of some phases of the Ms. in question has already been given above, whose publication is the purpose of the present thesis. (cf. Works, 2f. and ibid. notes 7 and 10). To complete the picture of the external appearance of this document a few more details will be added.

The whole Ms., ~~that is~~ preserved in the British Museum, (Or. 3656) consists of 207 leaves. It is being classified as an Italian Rabbinic Script. The first part of the Annals begins on fol. 1a, the second on fol. 64b, and the third part



on fol. 150. The remaining leaves (189a-207a) contain some of Joseph Hacoheh's minor writings (cf. Works, pp.2-8).

The manuscript is on paper, the size being about  $8\frac{3}{8}$  inches by 6 inches, with an average of 38 to 51 lines to a full page.

Margoliouth rightfully points out that "the writing is sometimes irregular, and shows throughout the characteristics of an autograph."

For more details with some extracts from each of the works included in this ms., see BM Cat., III, 530-532, n.1103. Cf. also the enclosed photostatic copies of foll. 1a and 1b.

1) <sup>מס</sup>וּחַי הַשְּׁלֵמָה בְּסוֹף הַדָּשׁ הַשּׁוֹן שָׁנָה וְחָדָשׁ חֲמִידָה... (Annals, in the end of the second part); cf. also Geschlit. p. 102; but De Rossi erroneously says: "Terminata nel 1554, e stampata ... in questo stesso anno" (p. 147). Also the date given in the JE (article, Joseph Hacoheh) as 1533 should be corrected accordingly.

1a) About the Adelkind/s and their pioneer work as printers of Hebrew books in Venice and the neighboring cities, vide: C. Roth, Venice p. 251 ff., Philadelphia 1930; D. W. Amram, The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy, p. 176 ff., Philadelphia 1909.

1b) Cf. Ozar Nechmad II, 231; Bodl. Cat. p. 2591 ad H. B. I, 110 f.

2) One is in the British Museum (Zedner Cat. p. 345); two in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Bodl. Cat. p. 1499), one of which is from the Seder and the other from the Oppenheimer collection (cf. Bial. p. VIII); and one in the Alliance library (Rab. Cat. No. 10 n. 128; also Loeb REJ, X, p. 248; cf. note 10). One in the JTS.

3) Besides Elia Capsali, who wrote a History of the Republic of Venice with an account of his travels in Northern Italy (in ms. see BM. Cat. No. 1059 p. 432, v) and a History of the Ottoman Empire in 4 vols.



(ibid. p. 430; another copy: N. Cat. I. No. 2411 p. 847; cf. also Geschlit. p. 93), we do not know of any contemporary book in Hebrew on general history.

- 4) On the title page he says: ... ואין בנסא אפילו  
אחר בעיר ושנים במשפחה ומש לא נודע מסונו.
- 5) Cf. De Rossi (p. 147-8), where the year of publication is erroneously given as 1700.
- 6) XXV+116, small Rashi-script; Zeitlin, Bibl. Hebr. p. 181; HB, V (1862), 59.
- 7) BM. CAT. pp. 530-32; for a detailed description see later.
- 8) Rab. Cat. ibid.
- 9) Ibid; also Loeb p. 248.
- 10) The BM. ms. starts from the very beginning and is also supplemented by the unpublished part (1553 - 1575). The All. ms., however, starts with the year 1553 and extends until 1573 (Loeb ibid.). The fact that the printed text is bound together with the ms. made many believe (U. Cassuto in EJ s. v. Joseph Hachohen) that also the All. ms. is complete.

This copy is from the Gaster Collection of Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts which was acquired by the British Museum in 1924 (cf. British Museum Annual Report, 1924, p. 6).

- 11) See p. 12 f.
- 12) Under the title: "Annales Regum Franciae & Regum domus Ottomannicae"; 12<sup>o</sup>, cf. Wolf, IV, p. 853 and De Rossi p. 147, Bj. P. 105.
- 13) Joseph Cohen-Zedek mentions (Annals L., XIX) a French translation; however, this <sup>in fact</sup> fact has no foundation. Also Zinsberg (p. 104) makes the same mistake.
- 14) "ma che prova quanto basta il concetto ch'egli aveva di questo libro". (De Rossi ibid.).
- 15) Zedner (p. 104-121) also translated the part which deals with the rebellion of Fiesco (from Annals A., p. 129a-130b) into German.
- 16) Bial. preface, p. XIII; also Wiener preface to E. p. XI and note 74 to p. 21.
- 17) Bial. p. XIII; Wiener E, p. 11.
- 18) Thomas Keightley, The Crusades, 2 vols., London 1834, 8<sup>o</sup>. (British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, No. 1123).
- 19) The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph Ben Joshua ben Meir, the Sphardi, translated from the Hebrew by C. H. F. Bialloblotzky, London, Vol. I: 1835; Vol. II: 1836.
- 20) "Wir würden das Werk überhaupt nicht der Erwähnung werth geachtet haben, hätten wir es nicht für



Pflicht gehalten, den des Hebräischen unkundigen Leser vor dem Gebrauche einer Uebersetzung zu warnen..." (Zedner, note 11 to p. 54).

Cf. Wiener p. XI and his notes: 36, 47, 50, 57, 63, 72, 168, 213, 232, 252, 268, 271 ecc. and Steinschneider : ספרות ישראל p. 332 and 407.

- 21) ... "sinnloser und komischer zugleich möchte selten ein Uebersetzermissgriff ausgefallen sein..."

(Zedner *ibid.*).

~~In order to~~ <sup>A</sup> give an example <sup>F</sup> for Bial.'s carelessness, it will be sufficient to mention, that the expression 'ש' which frequently appears in Joseph's works, being the initials of the Biblical verse (Pr. 10,7) שם רש' by him transliterated as Sadi (Bial. I, p. 324) sometimes as Sari (*Ibid.* p. 415). "Er verfährt in seinen Fehlern also nicht einmal konsequent". (Wiener E, note 252).

- 22) Consolacam as tribulacam de Israel, Samuel Usque, in three Dialogues, Ferrara, Sept. 7, 1553. An English translation of the third Dialogue with an introduction and notes was prepared by Gershon Gelbart, 1936 (in ms. at the Dropsie College library). The date of completion is in the JE erroneously given as 1557.

23) Vide Luzzatto in E p. 4; Wiener E p. XI; See E p. VI;  
Bonhard in Annals L, p. 19.

24) Cf. p. 1.

25) There is ~~a little~~ confusion in the scholarly world  
in regard to the date when this first version was  
completed? Since the author starts his work with  
the words: אשר הברתי אני יוסף הכהן בכמ'ר יהושע הכהן  
זצ"ל פה ווטאנו, בשנת ה' אלפים שי' ה' 1558/.

and in another place (E p. 144) he states וחת' השלמתו  
Luzzatto (E p. 5 f.), and  
after him Wiener (E XII) and Bonhard (Annals L. p.

19) apparently compromised that the word הברתי  
is to be understood so, in their opinion,  
Joseph started to write the E in the year שכ"ד and  
completed its first version in the year ש"ה. But  
there is no basis for this forced assumption. It  
seems much more plausible that Joseph's first ver-  
sion was completed in the year ש"ה and the few  
events from 1558 until 1563 were added later, in-  
cluding the letter to Ottolenghi, which is also in-  
corporated in the third part of the Annals (III, p.  
51 ff.). This is the opinion of Loeb (p. 43) and  
seems also to be the view of Steinschneider when he  
says: (Geschlit. p. 102): "Nach der Ueberschrift zum  
Einleitungsgedicht ist das Buch 1558 verfasst".



The fact that the Alliance ms. ends with the year 1560 (Works p. 5) made Zinberg believe (p.105) that the first redaction of the E was completed in 1560. In my opinion this was the second redaction (cf. Works, p. 4).

Zinberg's second statement (*ibid.*) that Joseph first saw the Consolacam in 1558 can also hardly be correct. The Consolacam was first published in 1553 in Ferrara (Works, *ibid.*). A few months later this book was already popular among the Marranos in England (see: Lucian Wolf, "Jews in Tudor England" p. 88 in Essays in Jewish History, London, 1934) and Joseph, who lived then in Voltaggio would scarcely have waited for it five years. Everybody agrees (Works, p. 3 f.) that the E was written after its author saw the Consolacam, consequently if we will take the year 1558 as the date when the first version was completed, we can well understand that the writing took Joseph several years. If we assume, however, that in the year 1558 the author started to write the E, the question arises why did Joseph wait five years to start this work?

That Joseph treated the events after 1558 separately we can see from the fact that he incorporated, with slight stylistic changes, the happenings after 1558 also in the third part of the Annals (cf. Works, pp. 51 ff. and E pp. 137 ff.).

- 26) Cf. note 25; also Loeb pp. 28, 43 and 56.
- 27) E p. 144; Luzzatto *ibid.*; Wiener p. XII; Loeb p. 43; Goldenthal (Catalogue p. 54) gives by mistake the year 1564 as the date of its completion; cf. Wiener E note 95.
- 28) E p. 154; cf. also Luzzatto and Wiener *ibidem* and Loeb p. 44.
- 29) Loeb in Graetz-Jubelschrift, Breslau 1897 p. 56 note 2; *idem*, p. 45.
- 30) As quoted by Loeb p. 30, 3.
- 31) Luzzatto *intr.* to E. p. 5.
- 32) De Rossi speaks only of the Chronicles (p. 147 f.) and does not seem to know of the E at all. Neither does Wolf know of its existence.
- 33) Luzzatto *ibid.* ~~מסכת בבבא מציעא דף כ"ג ע"ב~~
- 34) Printed in Letteris E pp. 155-199; see also *ibid.* p. 129, where the only note of the *אמרי*, which Luzzatto admitted in the printed text, is to be found, saying: (p. 5) *ורק אחת מהן העתיק והיא בשם ישיבת קריסטל ובשם הרב יוסף אומלינוב.*
- 35) Having in mind that the E was not printed until about three centuries after the author's death, and that the rest of Joseph's writings except



the Annals, (which were published by the author himself) were never published at all, the importance of a large number of manuscripts is evident.

- 36) See p. 2.
- 37) Rabbinowicz Cat. 10 n. 128 of the Alliance Universelle Israélite.
- 38) For a full description of this ms. see REJ XVI, p. 28.
- 39) This copy of the first version has many better readings than the printed text. For a comparison between this ms. and the published E, see Loeb pp. 52-56.
- 40) In possession of the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano, Rome, Italy.
- 41) Luzzatto Pref. to E p. 5.
- 42 ) Ibid. But where now?
- 43) According to Luzzatto this ms. is the most exact:

כתב יד אלמנצי שהוא היותר מדויק

(E, note on p. 124), but he himself states (E, note to p. 131) that a whole paragraph which <sup>S</sup>does appear in his and the Ghironi mss., is lacking in the Almanzi ms. Luzzatto may have been right then, since he did not know of the Alliance ms., which is in the opinion of Loeb (ibid.) the more correct, however, it extends only until 1560. For the ms. see the "Catalogue de la





- 47) The Shebet Jehuda by Salomon Ibn Verga was first printed in 1554, probably in Constantinople (Ben-jacob p. 564). A German translation with preface was prepared by M. Wiener, Hannover 1856; reprint in 1924.
- 48) Sepher Yuhasin by Abraham Zacuto, edited first by Samuel Shalom, Constantinople 1566 (Bj. p. 216).
- 49) After the editio princeps, the Shebet was reprinted a few years later (see Wiener's German introduction to the Shebet pp. X-XII) and in 1591 translated into Yiddish; further Hebrew editions are of 1608, 1655, 1709, 1724, 1774, 1804, 1841, 1846, 1855 ecc.
- 50) For discussion see Wiener *ibid.*
- 51) After the ed. prin. of 1556 the Yuhasin was reprinted in 1717, 1799, 1805, 1858, 1861 ecc.
- 52) This may have been the reason why such authorities in the Talmudic world as R. Jacob Emden and R. Moses Isserles considered it important to add their notes to the Yuhasin; the first to the 1858 edition and the second to the Cracow ed. of 1581.

In discussing various chronicles, especially as to whether or not they may be read on Saturday, Rabbi Jacob Emden classifies them according to their contents. Chronicles concerned with Jewish

History and matters dealing with the spiritual life of Israel, were accordingly permitted by him to be read on Saturday, while books of a secular nature were prohibited.

R. Jacob Emden highly praises the Sebet Jehuda.

As for the Yuhasin and Zemach David are concerned, he considers the first sections of both as even comparable

to holy books: לכן אני אומר מצוה היא על כל אדם מישראל להיות בקי בספר הנחמד הלו, לזכור חסדי ד' אלינו בכל הדורות... צמח דוד חלק ראשון, וס' יוחסין חלק ראשון הם נחשבים כספרי קודש ממש, כיון שאין עסקיהם אלא בניני מקרא וחלמוד...

(Mor U-Kezi'ah, Altona 1761, p. 18).

~~But~~ On the contrary he treats the Annals of Joseph Hachohen differently, <sup>because</sup> only a small portion of which deals with Jewish affairs, while the bulk consists of general history. He says: אך ספר ד'ה של רי"כ, דבר מועט הוא הנמצא בו ממה שעבר על אבותינו, המצטרף אלינו, ושראי לנו לדעתו... ורובו ככולו סד'ה של מלכי או'ה שעברו, ואין צורך בידיעתו כלל.../שם/.

Emden considers the general history, and this means about 90% of the Annals simply as "דברים בטלים". If this attitude of Emden toward general history, even though written in Hebrew, had any currency during the previous generations, we can perhaps assume that this was the reason for Joseph's anxiety to publish the Annals in his own life time. As for the E is concerned,



Joseph may have believed that the future generations would complete the task of publishing if he were unable to do so, since it deals with Jewish history primarily.

Isserles, however, takes a more favorable approach to secular books written in Hebrew. When Caro generalizes by saying: ... וכן ספרי מלחמות אסור לקרות בהן בשבת, ואף בחול  
אסור משום מושב ליציים...

Isserles remarks: ונראה לדקדק: הא דאסור לקרות בשיחה  
חולין וספרי מלחמות, היינו דוקא אם כתובים בלשון לע"ז, אבל  
בלשון הקודש שרי... וכן נהגו להקל בזה.

And apropos of this Judah Aschkenazy further remarks:

ואין בכלל זה יוסיפון וס' יוחסין ודברי הימים של ר' הכהן,  
שמהם ילמדו דברי מוסר ויראה וכן שבט יהודה.

(About the whole matter vide: או"ח, הלכות שבת, סימן ש"ז,  
סעיף ט"ז, ווילנא תרס"א, דף 600.)

- 53) ...ומלבד כל זה הוסיף כה וכה שמות המקומות בלי להודיע, מה הוא שלי  
ומה הוא שלו, ואם אמר כל מה שהוא מוטעה הוא שלו, מי יאמין ל?

(In a letter from Luzzatto to Asher. Epistolario, Padova  
1840, p. 638)

- 54) Contains an Introduction by Letteris in which Luzzatto's  
introductory words are incorporated (pp. 4 ff.); a colophon by Joseph Hacoen in verse (p. 9), plus 177 pages of  
the text and an אחריית דבר by the author, size 16° (Bj.  
443 f.; Zeitlin p. 198).

X  
55) ובבקשה שתהיה עיניך פקודה על הנהגה כאלו היה הם' מעשי אצבעותיך "...  
/ אנרות שר' ל, חלק 7, הוצאת ש.א. גראבסר, פשמישל 1861, מכתב חל' ב /

56) After the E appeared Luzzatto writes to Steinschneider:

... גם הוספתי בו הערות רבות ויקרות והוא / למרים / הוסיף עליהם.  
דברי הבל... אבל מכל מקום די לי כי ספרו של יוסף הכהן לא יאבד עוד.

.. ואעפ"כ הנני מוכן להיניק בנפש הפצה and to Asher he writes:  
יותר ממה שעול רוצה ליינק.  
(Epistolario ibid)"...

57) In a letter to Letteris Luzzatto corrects five of his mistakes (Iggarot CDLXX). A severe review on the Letteris edition appeared also in the Ha-Magid (1862, No. 33), where the anonymous author says about Letteris:

but, unfortunately, none of  
these corrections were taken in consideration by the following publisher, A. Faust.

58) E p. 7; also Wiener p. XIII.

59) "Emek habacha von R. Joseph ha Cohen. Aus dem Hebräischen ins Deutsche übertragen, mit einem Vorworte, Noten und Registern versehen und mit hebräischen handschriftlichen Beilagen bereichert" by Dr. M. Wiener, Leipzig 1858. 8° (XVI + 226 p. German + 30 pp. Hebrew and Arabic) (cf. Zeitlin, p. 419).

60) Some of them, marked with "L" belong to Luzzatto. Kirchheim justly remarks "Der Werth vorliegender Ausgabe liegt mehr in den Noten als in der Uebersetzung".



- 61) A critical review of Wiener's edition, by R. Kirchheim, is to be found in the "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums", Leipzig 1858, p. 157 ff. Another review is to be found in the H. B. I., pp. 110 - 112, Berlin 1858.
- 62) 1) A report ~~over~~ the second Crusade by Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn.
- 2) An anonymous description on the blood-accusation and persecutions at Blois. and other places.
- 3) A letter from Luzzatto about the expulsion of Spain in 1492, taken from Capsali's work.
- 4) An Arabic document about the pseudomessiah David el-Rai, written by Samuel ibn Abbas with a German translation by Dr. Haarbrücker.
- 62a) La vallée des pleurs, chronique des souffrances d'Israel depuis sa dispersion jusqu'à nos jours, par Maître Joseph Ha-Cohen, Médecin d'Avignon 1575, publié pour la première fois en Français avec notes et texte historique par Julien Sée, Paris 1881.
- 62b) Vide H. B. XXI, 99, where the year of its publication is erroneously given as 1884.
- 63) Cf. BM. Cat. III, p. 531 f.
- Zinberg says that Joseph wrote "a special work about Biblical names" (p. 103). He mistranslated

the word שמות with names instead of nouns.

64) Ibid. also Loeb p. 31.

65) Ibid.

66) For a description see Loeb ibid. This manuscript was finished in 1561 in Voltaggio and is Joseph's own handwriting.

67) At the end of this copy is append<sup>ed</sup>~~ant~~ a colophon dated ה'של"ז (1577). The author was then at the age of 81 and this is the last of his dates to be found anywhere (BM. Cat. III, p. 532).

( 67a) I am indebted to Dr. Rivkind for having called my attention to the existence of this ms. It is bound together with Moses Kimchi's grammar (which was the property of Joseph's father ... מקנה כספי יהושע הכהן (בר' מאיר), 7 pages in the author's own handwriting, and finishes with the words: תם ונשלם ש' ל בורא עולם. היום. ע"י אני יוסף הכהן ... המחבר (April 1577) יום ב' יז יעומר, שלז .  
(Register of the JTS, 1937-1938 p. 71. The place of completion is not Castelnovo but Castellazzo)

67b) Rabbinowicz Cat. 10, No. 125. For discussion see Loeb pp. 32-40.

68) Loeb ibid.



- 69) Ibid. This letter is also to be found in the Annals pp. 91a - 95b.
- 70) Loeb ibid.
- 71) Except ~~that~~ the ~~דברים~~, appended to the Almanzi ms. contains also letters (cf. supra n. 43).
- 72) According to Loeb these letters are not Joseph's autograph.
- 73) I could gather information about the following mss. of the poems:
- a) In the Alliance together with the E ms. (Rabb. Cat. 10, No. 28).
  - b) In the Gottheil ms. (see further p. 12)
  - c) In the Berlin library (Berlin Cat. part II, p. 19).
  - d) In the British Museum together with the Annals (BM. Cat. ibid.).
- Cf. also Loeb pp. 28, 32, 35.
- 74) One of these letters sent to Josua Todros in 1515 (5274) can be considered as the first literary composition to come down to us, when Joseph was about 17 years old (about this letter see the above mentioned catalogues).
- 75) Sepher Shaashuim, Joseph ben Meir Ibn Zabara, edited by Israel Davidson, New York 1914, Appendix D, CXIX ff.

- 76) A copy of the poems is also to be found in the library of the JTS of America (ibid.; cf. also supra n. 67a).
- 77) Loeb p. 31. The concluding date is there April 1567. Some of these salutations are also to be found in the Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin Cat. ibid.)
- 78) BM. Cat. ibid. This copy finishes with the words:  
 חם ונשלם היום יום ב' כ'ב מרחשון של'ז על ידי אני יוסף  
 הכהן ....
- 78a) Register, ibid.
- 79) Ibidem. Consequently Joseph was still alive in 1577.
- 80) Zinberg speaks of an "other geographical work" (p. 87) besides these two. His mistake comes probably from the fact that Sachs (p. 88 n. 1) lists these mss. under the title "גלילות ארץ", which is either his own or a copyist's, but not Joseph's.
- ~~80a)~~ Kirchheim (in the mentioned review) says: "dass derselbe (Joseph) auch eine Geographie der 4 Welttheile und eine Geschichte der Entdeckung Amerikas geschrieben hat..."; this is incorrect.
- 81) Joannes Aubanus Boemus Suevus Teutonicus. His work was first published in Augsburg 1520 (Gallia, p. 12). For other editions see: BM. Gen. Cat. of



Printed Books, London 1938, Vol. XXI, p. 343 f.

- 81a) For a detailed description of this ms. see the article by Servi, (Vessillo Israelitico 1876, p. 347 and also the corrections on p. 412) who previously was its owner. He says:

"...Quest' opera dividesi in 3 parti: la prima in Cap. 51 si occupa del continente, narrando di ciascuna la configurazione geografica, i costumi, i fatti storici piu rilevanti ecc. La seconda (Cap. 203) s'intrattiene a lungo dell' America allora scoperta, descrivendo tutti i viaggi di Colombo, le produzioni del nuovo mondo ecc... La terza parte ch'ei chiama Supplementum cronice si dilunga sui viaggi di Fernando, di Pizzaro ed altri nelle Indie, nel Messico ecc.."

- 82) By Fauno, Venezia 1542. Other editions in Italian are of 1549, 1558, 1560, and 1566 (BM. Cat. *ibid.* p. 344).
- 83) Uebersetzungen II, p. 948 f. The date of completion given by Steinschneider (1555) contradicts this of Joseph in Annals III, 39.
- 84) About the purpose of making this translation the

author says: כל החפץ לדעת כל כוננות חבלי יקרא ספרי...  
אמר יוסף הכהן... את הספר הזה אנה אלהים לידו וייתב בטינוי,  
ואתנה את לבי להעתיקו לשוננו הקדושה, להודיע את בני עמנו,  
דברים לא שמעה אזנם עד היום, למען ידעו דבר מכל משה האלהים  
אשר עשה בהיותם בין העמים / קטלון ברלין, צד 18 /

85) A comparison between a part of the original Latin and the Hebrew translation is to be found in Gallia Judaica p. 13 (by Henry Gross, Paris 1897).

86) See the article of Gottheil, Columbus in Jewish literature, (Publ. of the Amer. Jewish Hist. Society, 1894, II, p. 130) and Loeb p. 29 f.

87) וְגַם אֲנִי הוֹסַפְתִּי עָלָיו לְהַשְׁלִים הַמְּלָאכָה. חֲפֹרָן הָרִאשׁוֹן כָּלֹו כְּחֻבּוֹב  
בְּחֹרֶת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד ה', וְעוֹד דְּבָרִים אֲחֵרִים מִפִּי רַז' ל' וּמִפִּי סוֹפְרִים  
אֲחֵרִים / שֶׁם / .

88) In the Annals (p. 67b) Joseph speaks of the discovery of America, but then (about 1553) he still had ~~an~~exact information about this matter, and he confounds Vespucci with Columbus. Several years later, when he received López de Gómara's book (see below), he got a true picture of the new discoveries (Gottheil *ibid.*).

89) REJ XVI, p. 31.

90) Francisco López de Gómara (1511-1560). His "Historia" was first published in 1552; an Italian translation appeared in 1557, and a French one in 1580.



אמר יוסף... שלחתי להביא את ספר האינדיאה החדשה הלזה, וישלחוהו (91)  
אלי ... ואתנה אל לבי להעתיקם כיד אליה הטובה עלי

... (Berlin Cat. ibid.). Cf.

also Gottheil ibid. p. 131, where: "seith Joseph  
son of Meir" should be corrected accordingly (the  
mistake can hardly be in the manuscript since that  
is in the author's own handwriting).

92) Cf. Gottheil, Berlin Cat., and Loeb ibidem.

92a) Joseph starts with the words: עמדו ואגידה דבר קורטז,

מקרינו, תלאותינו וקורותינו, האיש אשר נלחם במינושקו וילכדנו

עם מזמותינו / שם, צד 19 /

93) Fernando Cortez (1485-1547) wrote a report after  
having conquered Mexico. / "They (the reports) were  
masterpieces of clear and condensed description.."  
H. E. Barnes in "A History of historical writing",  
Norman 1938, p. 139. / The reason therefore why  
de Gomera called this book "The book of Fernando  
Cortez" may have been either that Gomora based his  
work on Cortez's Report (Stsch., Uebersetzungen II,  
p. 949 n. 9) or that Gomora named it in honor of  
the conqueror of Mexico.

93a) "... les traducteurs traitaient assez librement l'  
original" (Loeb, p. 31).

94) It contains the Matziv (translated in 1557), the

Sepher ha-India, and the Sepher Cortez (trans. in 1557). The ms. ends with the colophon: "Finished this copy by me Joseph Hacoen, author and copyist of the work, this day monday 22 of Ab, 5328". This ms. is an autograph and contains also (above p. 9) the Sepher ha-Peles, the manual of letter salutations, the anthology of poems, the compilation of letters (p. 10), and the Mekitz Nirdamim (cf. Rab. Cat. 10 n. 129 and Manuscripts et Incunables Hébreux by M. Schwab, REJ XL, p. 85; also Loeb pp. 29-32).

95) This is the fifth copy and was finished in 1564. It contains all the minor works of Joseph except the letters collection, the Peles, and the Mekitz (the mentioned article by Prof. Gottheil).

96) Some scholars thought that this ms. was only of the Matziv. This error is probably based on the fact, that Servi calls his review (cf. n. 81a) on the entire manuscript Matziv Gebulot Amim. After the Berlin library bought this ms. (from Fischl Hirsch), and Steinschneider published his Catalogue, it is evident that also this ms. contains all the minor works, except the compilation of letters. This copy was finished in 1567 (cf. also: Medizinische Handschriften in Magazin X, p. 169 and Kirchheim ibid. p. 158).



97) ... להאיר עיני החלמידים ולהדריכם במלאכה רחבת ידיים הלזו, כדי שיוכלו לצאת ולבא מאליהם. תן לחכם ויחכם עוד. וראיתי להוסיף עליו כהנה וכהנה; ולבסוף, אם ירצה ה', אכתוב תרופות הנהוגות לעת כזאת בחולי צרפתי, להיותם דברים לא שגורם אבותינו ואבות אבותינו, למען עשות כיום הזה להחיות עם רב, ולמען יודע בשערים שם החבור הלזה קראתיו: מקיץ נרדמים... הקדמה לספר מציב./

98) Meir Alguadez, physician to the Castilian kings, chief-rabbi and chief-judge for the Castilian Jews, was active about 1390 - 1410; he also translated the Ethics of Aristotle into Spanish (cf. E p. 93 f. and Wiener's correction in note 223, according to Jost VII p. 56). Julien Sée (French trans.) erroneously speaks of Joseph Alguadez. Also his affirmation that Alguadez's work was called "secreta medicine" is incorrect. Also Graetz makes the same mistake. This error probably originates in Wolf (IV. p. 854). (p. 321 n. 1; in the same note the title "His. Gen. de los Judios" should be corrected with "las Indias".) About the position and later execution of Alguadez cf. A. A. Neuman, The Jews in Spain, II, 218 f.; 260 f. Joseph's translations of Alguadez's prescriptions are the only ones preserved. (Fritz Baer in EJ II, p. 308 f.) For more details about Alguadez and his works vide Bodl. Cat. p. 1691 f.

99) Steinschneider suggests that this is Joseph Lorki  
(Magasin X, p. 168; also Uebersetzungen p. 775).

חמו דברי ר' מאיר אלנואדיש וחלימיו ר' יוסף ז'ל / פירוש צד 126.

100) Prescriptions are still written in Latin in most  
countries of the world.

101) "ועתה אחתיל לדבר ברפואות הנהוגות בזמננו בחולי הצרפתי"  
/הקדמה/

102) "Codices Hebraici manu exarati Regiae Bibliothecae quae in Taurinensi Athenaeo asservatur"; recensuit, illustravit Bernardinus Peyron, Taurini 1880; Codex 130 pp. 125-127.

103) Uebersetzungen and Magazin ibidem.



### C A P T E R III.

("The Chronicler").

### III. JOSEPH HACOEN, THE MAN AND THE CHRONICLER

#### 1. An Italian Jew

Il Giudaismo italiano fu sempre ortodossso, e sempre più o meno illuminato. Non ebbe, come lo spagnuolo, il suo periodo di predominio d'una cultura esotica, e quindi di eterodossia; ne tampoco ebbe mai, come il settentrionale, un periodo di rozzezza e mancanza d'ogni civile cultura.

(S. D. Luzatto, Il Giudaismo etc., Padua, 1848, I, 29)

Italian Jewry had always its own physiognomy. Its peculiar history and geographical position created a type of Jew who distinguished himself in many regards from his coreligionist of other countries. The Italian Jew held to the traditions of his forefathers but also considered life with its daily vanities worthwhile. He had a Sabbath but also weekdays. He studied the Bible and the Talmud, but also medicine, philosophy, and literature. Jewish traditions reigned in his house, but liberal ideas as well. Even the devoted Talmudists and Halachists - Isaia da Trani, for example - had a vivid sense for the scientific explorations of the day and dared to express free and original criticism.<sup>1)</sup> The pious mystic, Menahem Recanati of the 13th century - to be sure, an exception in the wordliness of Italian Jewry - knew the Moreh of Maimonides and quoted him, although chiefly to assail the work.<sup>2)</sup> And this juxtaposition of the religious



and the profane, of ritualism and the enjoyment of life was in Italy viewed not as a cleavage, but - despite, naturally, some encountered opposition - as a synthesis of things necessarily complementing each other. <sup>3)</sup> Furthermore, Italy as a transit country between the Orient and Occident, between the diverse Jewish communities of Europe and those in the Near East and North Africa, was the meeting ground of the various types of Jewries and the most divergent ideas. How could the Italian Jew remain the one-sided devotee of a narrow, extremist Judaism under the impact of so many other forms of it converging upon the peninsula from outside its boundaries? And so they united the sacred and the mundane with the breadth and literality of views of cosmopolitan life during the middle ages and more so later on, at the culmination of the Italian Renaissance.

The expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian peninsula brought new spiritual vigor into Italian Jewry. Nevertheless the Sephardic customs and observances, at first scarcely tolerated but eventually predominating, merged with the dual modus vivendi of Italian Jewry.

Joseph Hacoheh was an Italian Jew, not by birth but by reason of the characteristic combination of wordly and religious culture. As a child of five, he arrived in the beginning of the sixteenth century (1501-2) <sup>to</sup> ~~at~~ Italy - then at the height of the Renaissance - where he grew up in the traditionally Jewish home. For his parents, refugees from the cruelties of Spain, religious practices were not a matter of habit, but

of deep conviction. For if tolerance may generate complacency and indifference, oppression stirred the energies and the will to resist, even "to die and not to transgress."

Joseph imbibed this fervor and piety, for in every event of his life he beheld the "finger of the Lord", and when in his later years he was to suffer the hard blows of fate, he would not question the righteousness of God. <sup>4)</sup> In his efforts to ransom Jewish captives held at Naples, he was anxious not merely for their freedom and the betterment of their lot, but also for the opportunity of their observing the Sabbath and kashruth. <sup>5)</sup>

Living in Italy when the Renaissance was in its fullest bloom, his education could not but be liberal and all-inclusive. He studied medicine, history, and cosmography. (Books were rare and expensive in those days and it was no small matter to obtain all of those which could serve his purposes.) He read them in half a dozen languages, which he knew more or less well. Spanish, upon which he was first nursed, almost at the mother's breast, was the language spoken in his father's house. <sup>6)</sup> He was not much less fluent with Portuguese. <sup>7)</sup> Latin was a matter of course, especially for a physician in that time. Italian, naturally, was his everyday tongue. He probably knew also French. <sup>8)</sup> In Hebrew, we shall see, Joseph was a master of style. <sup>9)</sup>

The sober discipline of Joseph Hachohen as a man of the book and as an observant Jew did not interfere, however, with his attention to life's amenities. Speaking of the Emek, he expresses the hope that his chronicle of the



sufferings of Israel will be read in the Synagogues on Tishah be'Ab. 10) Yet to the manuscript of the same work he subjoined an expertise on feminine pulchritude, enumerating the qualities a woman must possess to be acknowledged a perfect beauty. 11)

A proud Sephardi, Joseph Hacoen had also some of his prejudices against the Ashkenazim. 12) If this must be regarded as a flaw in the character of a man who had an unbounded and even self-sacrificing love for his people, it should be remembered that the soul which is capable of passionate <sup>love</sup> is also stirred by violent antipathies.

## 2. A reliable chronicler

Joseph Hacoen's mental activities transcended ~~far~~ ~~beyond~~ his professional interests as a physician. He was a born lover of history. The prehensile quality of his mind enabled him to absorb the events of the past and of his own day. His interest extended to all peoples, but more so to his own. And he succeeded in making others share that interest with him because he was prompted to record the vast knowledge he gathered of ancient and contemporary deeds.

He has sometimes been called the greatest historian of his <sup>people</sup> ~~nation~~ since Josephus Flavius, or, owing to the coincidence of their names: Josephus the second. 13) But this is perhaps more <sup>flattering</sup> ~~appreciative~~ than accurate, for some

reservations must be made after a careful scrutiny of his writings. Nevertheless he remains the most reliable chronicler of his time.

He drew upon a wide range of diversified sources, Jewish and non-Jewish, and his bare statements, though usually unaccompanied by critical remarks, are cautious and accurate. <sup>14)</sup> He is intimate with the political and dynastic conflicts of his period, but he frequently fails to distinguish between the essential and the accidental. He lacks the historic sense and misses the drama of movements and events extending through epochs and climes. Nor do they suggest to him problems troubling the modern student of history, obviously.

He ~~notes down~~ <sup>gathers</sup> his accumulated data in chronological order, without the organic cohesion and the sense of life, growth, and decline which alone convert the dry chronicle into vital history.

But among the Jewish chroniclers of the 16th century - and, for that matter, of earlier centuries too - Joseph Hachon ranks first. In contrast to most of them, he reports only established facts and rigorously refrains from legends or stories open to doubt or question. <sup>15)</sup> His love of truth made him objective even when he treated of matters pertaining to his enemies, lest he should overlook their positive achievements or their merits of character. <sup>16)</sup>

His contribution as a chronicler is at its best when



he reports the scene in which he moved. Thus, he is able to tell about Genoa and its surroundings on which his contemporaries are less informative or altogether silent. His account, for example, of the Fiesco Rebellion is remarkable for its narrative interest, its intimate and behind-the-scenes knowledge of the characters involved, and a lively entry into the passions and motives of the contending parties.<sup>17</sup> He was not less successful with his chronicling of other Italian cities although his information lacked the breath of personal contact.<sup>18)</sup>

The chronicler ever sought first-hand information. He interviewed sojourners passing his way.<sup>19)</sup> He carried on an extensive correspondence with many people throughout Italy and thus gleaned much in the contemporary life that was of interest to him as an annalist.<sup>20)</sup> He may have had some correspondents outside of Italy, too.<sup>21)</sup> The further, however, a country was from him geographically, the less precise information was he able to obtain and the less can he, consequently, be relied upon.<sup>22)</sup>

### 3. The Annals

Joseph Hacoheh was the first Jew to write in Hebrew a general history of world events covering a period of about a thousand years (roughly from the 7th to the 16th centuries). He was 57 years old when he brought the Annals of the Kings of France and the Kings of the House of Othman, the Turk to Adelkind, the printer of Venice, for publication.<sup>23)</sup>

17) The Annals was divided into two parts. The first deals with the period extending from the decline of the Roman Empire until the year 1520. It treats of the Kings of the Franks, Heraclius of Bizantium, the rise of Mohammed in the seventh century, Islam and Christianity in their struggle for world power, the Crusades, the spread of the Ottoman<sup>1</sup>/<sub>1</sub> rule over Christian Europe, and the papal crisis with the appearance of Martin Luther. The chronicle concludes with the death of Selim I (succeeded by Solyman) and the death of ~~Emperor~~ Maximilian (succeeded by Charles V).

The second part of the Annals, although more voluminous, covers only a period of 33 years (1520-1553). Here the material concerns historic occurrences of which the chronicler was a contemporary and sometimes <sup>an eye-</sup> ~~a~~ witness. He tells of the discoveries of the new world, then turns to the wars between Francis I and Charles V, and of the latter against Solyman I. Most of his attention is given to these conflicts, and he goes into great detail as to the fate, during these struggles, of the various Italian republics and principalities and their leaders, especially of Andreas Doria, the doge of Genoa and admiral <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ Charles V's fleet ~~service~~. Then follows the account of the liberal popes, Leo X, Hadrian IV, Clement VII, Paul III; and the beginnings of the Catholic reaction under Julius III. The book closes with a brief note on the burning of the Talmud, thus presaging the mournful era of the second half of the 16th century, which the author was to take up in



the third (ms.) part of the Annals and in the Emek.

The Annals is devoted to general history and touches upon the Jews, now and then, only <sup>Casually</sup> ~~scantly~~. More extensive and particular he becomes in reference to the Jewish sufferings during the Crusades and when he speaks of the appearance and tragic end of Solomon Molcho. For the rest, the passages upon the Jews, some eighty-odd in number, occupy less <sup>7</sup>prominence - in fact, are almost lost sight of - in the general narrative. They are furthermore a part--thus dwelling upon the misfortunes or the persecutions of the Jews--incorporated and elaborated in greater detail in the Emek.<sup>24)</sup> Not without interest are the remaining allusions to Jewish happenings, of a more sanguine nature, and which we do not encounter anywhere else in Joseph's writings.<sup>25)</sup>

#### 4. The Emek

The Emek Habacha, the second book of Joseph Hacoen (never printed in his life time), is devoted exclusively to the chronicling of Jewish sufferings following the destruction of the Second Temple until the year 1575. Here the apposite details scattered in the Annals are brought together, expanded, and cojoined with others to form the main burden of the Valley of Tears.<sup>26)</sup>

M. Mohr and Z. Bonhard have made an attempt to discredit Joseph Hacoen as the author of the Emek.<sup>27)</sup> Their reasons for this contention is based mainly, according to their views, upon internal evidence:-<sup>27a)</sup>

- a. The passage in the Annals (p. 49a), "Said Joseph the priest: 'The expulsion from France, and this expulsion [i. e. from Spain] have induced me to compose this book...' " would not have been incorporated into the Emek (pp. 102-103) if its author were Joseph Hacoen, for it is irrelevant to the context there.
- b. All additions to the Emek after 1553 bear signs of forgery; similarly the chronicler's letter written to Joseph Ottolenghi.
- c. It is incredible that such a prolific writer as Joseph Hacoen should not have added to the Emek during the last ten years before its final redaction (1564-1575) any more than barely four leaves to the text.
- d. The style of the Emek differs from that of the Annals.
- e. And finally, it is to be wondered why the author should have affixed his signature twice to the Emek (pp. 144 and 154).<sup>27)</sup>

Without entering, however, into any detailed refutation, one may point directly to the existence of the ms. portion of the Annals containing the printed parts - a fact which confirms the generally accepted view that the Annals and the Emek were undoubtedly composed by one and the same hand. The manuscript is Joseph Hacoen's autograph. It records word for word particulars about events subsequent to the year of the publication of the Annals text (1553) up to the stage of completion it was then brought to; it contains also the epistle to J. Ottolenghi.

## 5. Style

Joseph Hacoen achieved such mastery over Hebrew--



Biblical Hebrew - that he brought to it fresh vitality - an example, though not unique, which in the Diaspora, ~~though not unique~~, was as amazing as the sight of an uprooted plant flourishing once again in a remote and alien soil. He knew the Scriptures thoroughly, and everything that he wrote was couched in its language. His affection for the Bible was so deep and abiding that vocabulary, sentence structure, the very rhythm and his mode of thought were borrowed from its treasury.

sdg 12/12/12  
sdg 12/12/12  
But sometimes he carried Biblical borrowing to the point of wholesale appropriation; so that with the exception of names and localities we believe at times that we are once again in the world of our ancient forefathers and prophets, witnesses of tragedies described, as it were, in a hitherto forgotten or newly discovered book of the Holy Writ.<sup>28)</sup>

Ordinary conversation, letters, and addresses are built up with Scriptural verses or fragments of them and pieced together with the ease and dexterity of an overflowing memory for the purpose at hand. Wishing to ransom a Jewish prisoner, he pleads with Gianettino Doria as follows :

And Gianettino said unto me at that time :

"I will not give the lad except..."

And I said : "Oh, not so, my lord, for the power is gone."

And he said: "Speak no more unto me of this matter."

And I said : "Thou hast spoken well; only look, my lord,  
and see that the end of goldpieces is flies,  
and they are a vain thing for safety."

And he said : "... and I will not let the lad go." (Annals, 129b)\*

Or, when Pope Paul III convoked the Council at Nizza to  
urge unity among the Catholic rulers in order to combat the  
Lutherans and the Turks, our annalist reports the Pontiff as  
saying :

Turn ye from your evil ways,

And nation shall not lift up sword against nation;

For the eyes of the remnant of the uncircumcised are upon you.

Know ye not yet that our faith is destroyed ?

Me have the men of Marthin Lutner bereaved of my children.

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ויאמר אלי זאניטין בעת ההיא: לא אתן את הנער כי אם... \*

ואמר: אל נא אדוני, כי אזלח יד; (1)

ויאמר: אל תוסף דבר אלי עוד בדבר הזה. (2)

ואומר: בן דברת (3) אך הביטת אדוני וראת, (4)

כי כוף דבר הזהובים זבובים (5)

ושקר הם לחשוט; (6)

ויאמר: ... ואת הנער לא אשלח! (7)

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1) Deut. 32,36;  
2) Deut. 3,26;  
3) Ex. 10,29;

7) Ex. 5,2:

4) Isa. 63,15; Job 35,5.  
5) ספר בתיבות שולח, דף 5  
6) Psalms 33,17;



The King of England is also joined with them;  
 And they drew away many from me, as on this day.  
 And no man layeth it to heart. (Annals, 110b). \* \*

In the free and, albeit, adroit adaptation of Biblical verses, however, there lay a hindrance to the spontaneous and organic adjustment of the holy tongue to the homeless conditions of a later day and a foreign locale, not to speak of the danger of <sup>ie</sup> sacrificing historic accuracy to Scriptural phraseology. <sup>28a)</sup>  
 Despite this passion, the chronicler nonetheless achieved a certain independence of expression. Though quaint, his style, nearly always easy and fluent, captured the ancient charm and naturalness of the original. He consistently strove for the simple and elegant phrase, and he would forego quoting an author <sup>29)</sup> whose language was turgid or heavy.

The chronicler apparently <sup>quoted</sup> often from memory, which would account for his occasional deviations from the text. Once at least he also confounds two authors, Obadiah with Isaiah. <sup>30)</sup>

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\* \* \* שובו מדרככם הרעה <sup>(1)</sup> ולא ישא נוי אל נוי הרב <sup>(2)</sup>  
 כי יינו פליטת הערלים \* עליכם <sup>(3)</sup> הפרם חרעו כי אברה אמונתנו <sup>(4)</sup>  
 אותי שכלו <sup>(5)</sup> אנשי מארמין לוטרי; גם סלך אינו לאסירה, ולזה אחם <sup>(6)</sup>  
 וידיתו רבים מאחרי <sup>(7)</sup> כיום הזה, ואין איש שם של לב <sup>(8)</sup>.

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1) II Kings 17, 13; 2) Isaiah 2, 4; 3) Cf. I Kings 1, 20; 4) Cf. Ex. 10.  
 5) Cf. Gen. 42, 36; 6) Cf. Psalms 83, 9; 7) Cf. Deut. 13, 11; 8) Isa. 57, 1.  
 \* Cf. Isa. 45, 20.

Joseph Hacothen's knowledge of the Talmud appears to have been far less conspicuous, if a lack of its content and idiom in his writings may be at all indicative of such a deficiency. It may, however, well be that he deliberately avoided Talmudic terminology for the sake of maintaining a pure and consistent Biblical style.<sup>31)</sup> He is, however, not entirely free from Talmudic influence.<sup>32)</sup>

Now and then one may discern traces, too, of the neo-Hebrew literature of the Spanish epoch.<sup>33)</sup> He quotes also the Provençal poet, Yedayah Penini.<sup>34)</sup>

While everything that issued from the pen of Joseph Hacothen was in the tongue of his ancient forbears, yet one may readily perceive that it was the pen of an Italian Jew. Thus, he pluralizes proper names according to Italian usage.<sup>35)</sup> Proper names, titles, and even common words are often permitted to stand, untranslated, in the Italian vernacular.<sup>36)</sup> Spelling of geographical and proper names is not consistently maintained.<sup>37)</sup>

*Syllables vocalized with qames holuph*  
~~Words containing a kamatz katan~~ are often written with ~~cholam~~ <sup>e</sup> to safeguard against Sephardic mispronunciation.<sup>38)</sup>

The chronicler designates foreign words and all non-Hebrew names by a ~~double superior~~ <sup>supralinear</sup> mark resembling our quotes (") inserted between any two syllables, the position being quite arbitrary.



## 6. Sources

The material used by our author in the third part of his Annals could hardly have been gleaned from written records, for here he presents important contemporary events based on life's realities that either he himself experienced or learned of them from reliable accounts. Nevertheless, to complete our historical perspective, the sources which Joseph employs in the Emek as well as in the first two parts of his Annals will be briefly annotated. Some of them are specified by the author himself while others were brought to light by modern investigators.

There is still considerable question concerning Joseph's use of the Massaoth of Benjamin of Tudela. To be sure, the account of the pseudo-messiah David el Rai as described in the Emek<sup>39)</sup> bears striking marks of similarity with that given by Benjamin. Wiener entertains no doubt that our chronicler had before him a copy of the Massaoth and copied therefrom the details in question.<sup>40)</sup> Loeb<sup>41)</sup> and Baer,<sup>42)</sup> however, maintain that he derived his information from another version based upon Benjamin's book, and not from the Massaoth itself, out of which he would otherwise have drawn more copiously.

The details regarding the riot in Granada<sup>43)</sup> and the conquest of Calatrava<sup>44)</sup> are taken from Ibn Daud's Sepher



Haccabalah.<sup>45)</sup>

For the story of the Crusades, Joseph depended chiefly upon Eliezer ben Nathan Halevi, Eleazar of Worms<sup>46)</sup> and Ephraim ben Jacob.<sup>47)</sup>

He also drew upon Menahem ben Zerach,<sup>48)</sup> the author of Zedah Laderech; Jacob ben Meir of Orleans;<sup>48)</sup> the Eben Bochan<sup>50)</sup> of Kalonymos; Chaim Galipapa's Emek Rephaim;<sup>51)</sup> and a selichah by Abigdor Kara.<sup>52)</sup>

The most important of the records, indeed, the basic work which Joseph Hacoheh consulted in preparation of the Emek was the Consolacem by Samuel Usque,<sup>53)</sup> on which Wiener<sup>54)</sup> and especially Loeb<sup>55)</sup> have done much careful research. Our chronicler mentions him twice.<sup>56)</sup> But he does not always copy him slavishly. It is to our chronicler's credit that sometimes he scrutinized statements or dates, and his analysis of the facts led him, though not always, to make happy corrections.<sup>57)</sup> Usque embellished his narrative with poetic flights or hyperboles of sentiment which sometimes aroused the suspicion of his more sober-minded debtor as to the accuracy of the main points. Our author went then directly to Alphonso de Spina's  Fortalitium Fidei, the main source, in turn, of the Consolacem.<sup>58)</sup>

Joseph Hacoheh refers also to two anonymous manuscripts, although that much is clear - that they came from Jewish pens.<sup>59)</sup>



As for the non-Jewish sources, our annalist mentions only Sebastian Münster.<sup>60)</sup> He alludes, however, to many other books without giving us their titles or the names of the authors.<sup>61)</sup> The tracing and collation of these unknown volumes would no doubt throw much light on the work of our chronicler.

#### 7. Views.

Joseph Hacoen expressed himself with the words of the Bible, but what animated them was a heart beating for his people with the passion of the prophets. Indeed, from the manner of his unfolding the story of Israel we are again and again brought to realize that somehow he kept alive the tradition of their calling - not to upbraid or to reprove,<sup>62)</sup> but to comfort and to take refuge in a just and merciful God. His account moves us, for what he wrote of his own and by-gone generations he felt in his heart and saw before his mind's eye with the clarity and anguish of the seer's vision. "Said Joseph the priest: Woe unto me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, for evil impends from France and destruction is in Blois..."; thus he relates about Jewish martyrdom in 1171.<sup>63)</sup> The sufferings he related of others he suffered himself: he ascended with his martyr-brethren the auto-da-fé for the sanctification of the Name; he leaped with their wives from the tower to destruction to escape the ravage; and with them was ready to slaughter his own children to save them from baptism. His pen, dipping, as it were, in the blood of countless massacres, halts

to moan at the endless misery or to cry out against unbearable pain.

Small wonder that he lashes out then with such virulence and withering contempt at those malignant hypocrites who preach the gospel of love in order to torment and to slay. With biting satire he writes of Vincent Ferrer: "And this base fellow was in their eyes a saint, and Pope Calixtus inscribed his memory among the saints, and they kept a feast in his name....!" <sup>64)</sup> Apropos a papal council held at Lyon, the dispassion of the chronicler gives soon way to the rage of a prophet: "... there they spoke to take counsel about their faith; for they walk in darkness, and with darkness shall their name be covered; they grope for the wall like the blind..." <sup>65)</sup>

Yet he was not the man to hold prejudices against people or to entertain a priori ideas about their doings. He was quick to see the good side in a character, and he diligently searched after it, for it was that in which he placed his trust. He found an infallible guide to men's conduct in the measure or degree of humanity they manifested towards the Jew, the most innocent and defenceless among the nations of the earth. Every case in which a Gentile showed the least sign of mercy to the hapless children of Israel is duly and painstakingly recorded. He immortalizes a woman who took pity upon a Jewess and saved her life; <sup>66)</sup> a nobleman who acted as generously for a Jew; <sup>67)</sup> an English priest



who in compassion for the forcedly baptized led them from England into France "not for money, nor for reward...remember it unto him for good, oh, Lord!" <sup>68)</sup> He praises similarly the intervention of St. Bernard of Clairvaux in behalf of the persecuted race, "who took no reward of the Jews, for he spoke well of Israel from his heart." <sup>69)</sup> He does not pass over the protection the Jews received from Henry II of England against the Crusaders, <sup>70)</sup> and he finds reason to invoke divine remembrance for Frederic Barbarossa, emperor of Germany. <sup>71)</sup> If he poured forth the bitterest invective against Christian cruelty he was, however, generous in his praise of Mohammedan tolerance. <sup>72)</sup> He found the St. Bernards or Clairvaux as rare in the Christian world as the inhuman Ibrahim Pashas in the Islamic. <sup>73)</sup> We understand, too, why his sympathies were on the side of Francis I in his war against Charles V; when the latter drove the Jews from Naples in 1541, the French King saved them. <sup>74)</sup>

Thus, whether he blesses the friends of Israel or inveighs against its foes, he was moved to speak with the same love of justice and ~~the~~ passion for righteousness which inspired the prophets of old. He took up their cry not from presumption but from affinity of spirit. Humbly and in sore distress he narrates the woeful epic of persecution and massacre, and, like an advocate for the departed and a spokesman for the still surviving but suffering, he pleads before the Almighty for paying attention to the incomparable sufferings of Israel. <sup>75)</sup> He prays for the punishment of guilt and

the destruction of the destroyer. 76) In reviewing the career of the evil-doer and the sinner he is at pains to discover for us the downfall that finally overtook them. It is not from the mere desire to be a thorough-going chronicler that he tells us, for instance, of the fate that in the end overwhelmed the Crusaders themselves after their bloody outrages upon the defenseless Jewish communities:

"You have seen this great distress which befell the children of our people in those days...And now I commence to write what happened unto our enemies along all the way they went; so that the children of Israel may know that the Lord is jealous to avenge the spilled blood of his servants and that they also died on the road by the sword, by famine and pestilence, by thousands and tens of thousands, and there was only a small number left..." 77)

Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453; the churches were despoiled, the monks taken captive, and "then did the Lord fulfil that which he spoke by the prophet Jeremiah: the cup ~~also~~ shall pass <sup>over</sup> ~~through~~ <sup>also</sup> unto thee; thou shalt be drunken, and shalt make thyself naked." \* 78) After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella lost their daughter and son, and the queen, consumed by a cancer, died, too. 79) Ottavio Fregoso, the notorious oppressor of the Jews, was led away in chains by the Spaniards, after their conquest of Genoa, and he "died in prison by the vengeance of the Lord." 80) Rome suffered a great flood in 1530 - according to our chronicler, in retribution for its sins. 81) When Doria's men took Coron and Patras and sold the Jewish inhabitants into slavery, about

\* Lamentations, 4, 21.



three hundred of the soldiers were slain shortly thereafter, "for the Lord is a God of vengeance." <sup>82)</sup> Margaret, the mother of the duke of Mantua, presented a cemetery confiscated from the Jews as a gift to the monks, and soon afterwards she was bereaved of her son. <sup>83)</sup>

On the other hand Saladin defeated the Crusaders because "the Lord delivered his enemies into his hand. <sup>84)</sup> Spanish Jewry escaped utter extermination only through the intervention of the Almighty. "And were it not that the Lord was with us, there would not have been left of the Jews in the Kingdoms of Aragon and Catalone one that remained or escaped," concludes the annalist his comment upon the persecutions following the Black Death epidemic. <sup>85)</sup>

In 1541, Charles V ordered Admiral Doria to assemble a mighty fleet - some 400 ships - at Genoa to make war on Algiers. The Jews there were thrown into mortal panic, for they knew what was in store for them. But the emperor sustained a great naval defeat, with the loss of many ships and their crews in a stormy sea. At the same time there was also an earthquake at Genoa, the port of their ill-omened departure. Now in all these catastrophes the chronicler perceived the hand of God, who heard the cry of His children and remembered them "according to the multitude of his mercies."

Our modern sense of history rebels, of course, at this free interpretation of the ways of God and this arbitrary explanation of events as the reward or punishment for the good or evil treatment accorded to the Jews. And this objection is

apparently further strengthened when we read on, for example, the chronicler's further remarks respecting the doom of Doria's fleet. For many days little was known in Italy of its ultimate fate, but Joseph Hacoen had a dream, which he interpreted to signify that the emperor and the admiral bore a complete disaster, and so it turned out to be. 87) But this dream which we might hastily dismiss or explain away by the accident of chance or coincidence gives us but another clue to the soul of the man, for it reveals again the prophetic trait in the chronicler. What son of Israel is disturbed in his sleep by the fortunes of his people? Only he who carries <sup>heavy</sup> upon his shoulders the tragedy of a nation could be burdened by a dream involving the public weal. The auspicious realization of it solaced the chronicler, just as Jeremiah, awaking once from a vision declared: "And my sleep was sweet unto me." \*

Dreams were the instrument of the prophets. Like them, however, Joseph Hacoen also enjoyed some of their wakeful prescience because, with the truly sensitive perception of a national sufferer, he was keenly alive to what was in the wind and, as the historian of his people, he was ever conscious of the changing currents of their fortunes. The first decades of the sixteenth century showed signs of a marked improvement for the Jewish plight. After the persecutions of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewries, culminating in their final expulsion, a new star seemed in the ascendant. Martin Luther assaulted the papacy, shaking the

\* Jeremiah, 31, 25.



## NOTES

- 1) See Guedemann, pp. 185-188. Cf. also ibid. pp. 107-8, 111-114, 145 158-161.
- 2) Ibidem, pp. 180-182.
- 3) Cf. ibid. p. 208.
- 4) See his attitude after the loss of his children (Biography p. 3, footnote).
- 5) REJ, XVI, p. 46.
- 6) Joshua, his father, was already 50 years old when he came to Italy (Biography p. 2 and note 5), --an age at which he could hardly have given up his mother tongue.
- 7) Our chronicler drew freely from the Portuguese Consolacão (cf. Paragraph 6 of this chapter). Cf., however, Luzzatto's note to Emek, 76; and Usque, pp. 32, note 10; 67, note 9; and 93, note 15.
- 8) Genoa, was, during Joseph's stay, for ... years under French domination.
- 9) See paragraph 5 of this chapter.
- 10) In his introductory poem to the Emek.
- 11) This poem, entitled "חנני יופי האשה שלש ושלישים וסמוך" "ל עליהרפת" was written by Joseph in Voltaggio, and it is preserved in his autograph at the end of the Emek ms. in the possession of the Alliance Israélite, and also in other ms. Verses by Joseph Halevi, the chronicler's brother-in-law, and Abraham of Pisa, his friend, follow on the same sub-

ject. Joseph Hacoen continues, again in rhymes, in honor of Abraham's wife, Fiametta (REJ, XVI, 29, 5-8).

The poems are printed in Joseph Sabara's Sepher Shaashuim (see Works, p. 9 and note 75). Cf. also Seelinger in Zeitschrift für Hebr. Bibl., VII, 26, where instead of "...seinem Schwiegersohne Josef Halevi" it should read Schwager, and לרשע is a misprint for לאשה in ... ושיר סדרים הצריכין לרשע כרי שתקרא יפה...."

(On Abraham of Pisa, see Shalsheleth Haccabalah and Cassuto Firenze, pp. 48-49. His poems were published by Kaufmann in the REJ, XXVI, 238, and XXXI, 62 ff.)

- 12) Cf. Biography, end of note 36. See also Emek, pp. 129, 143, 148 and Annals III, 81.
- 13) The first to have given such an allusion was our chronicler himself (in his preface to the Annals, printed only in the Venice edition and reproduced in English in Bial., XIX); the "Corrector" of the Emek repeats the chronicler's soldisant title in the Emek, 155, and later on Basnage, Histoire des Juifs (vol. IX, 737), Sambari (in Neubauer's M. J. CH. p.146) a. o. followed suit.
- 14) In a letter to his brother Meier, who resided at that time (1545) probably in Salonica, our chronicler asks him for general information concerning the situation in the Orient and for more details about a certain case (related in Emek, 121-122). He writes, in part, as follows: "... so that I can put them in my note-book, as I am used to; but take good heed



to give me authentic information and, particularly, let me know in full the story of this persecution of a young man,... and let me know the names of the victims, the names of those who accused, the places where this sad event happened, and how justice was dealt there, for it is a thing worthy to remember". (as quoted in REJ, XVI, 44-45, note 1)

Our chronicler's sense<sup>l</sup> of accuracy and his attention to essentials are here quite apparent.

Joseph Hacoen, it also may be noted, always took great pains to give exact dates in accordance with both the Jewish and Gentile calendars.

- 15) Thus are the words "Nullas etiam fabulas occurrere" (Biblioteca Teológica, Sel. Part XXVII, 188 in Wolf, IV, 853) properly fitting.

How different were the other Jewish chroniclers of Joseph's <sup>period</sup> ~~epoch~~! Ibn Verga, with his fictive religious disputations, Usque whose poetical soul soared in the "9 heavens" (Consolation, 49; cf. Quellen, 84) and Ibn Yahya with whom flagrant anachronisms and legendary tales were the rule!

- 16) Cf., for instance, our chronicler's remarks about the head of the crusaders, Godfrey of Bouillon (Annals, 12a) or about King Baldwin (*ibid.*, 14a).

17) See Auswahl, pp. 105-112, notes 2, 3, and 9.

18) About Florence, see Firenze, 95, note 2; 99, note 2; 210, note 7, and others; however, in one instance (*ibid.*, 100, note 3) it is apparent that the unknown "Corrector" of the Emek is more reliable than Joseph.

About Northern Italy, especially Monferrato, cf. Foà, 8, note 3; 10, note 8; 11 note 12.

About Southern Italy cf. Cassuto's review of Ferrelli's Gli Ebrei nell' Italia Meridionale (Torino, 1915), appended to this book, on p. 5.

19) כאשר העיר אחד מיושבי פאביאה כתבתי עד הנה, כי לא מלבי.  
(Emek, 143; Annals III, 60)

ואני כאשר העיר עליו חיים הכהן ברבי שמואל  
מאליסאנוריאה כתבתי כל אלה...  
(Annals, 88a) ... כאשר הוגד לי

20) אשר כתב אלי מרומה בימים  
ההם הנדתי אליכם.  
(Annals, III, 59; Emek, 142)

...מפי מנורי אחת פסחים שלש (ibid. 52)

As if to reward his correspondents, Joseph reciprocated in his private letters with interesting details about events of the day. Thus in a letter to Isaak Cohen he informs him that the High priest (i. e., the pope), the lion (the Venetian Republic) and the cook (France) made an alliance against the eagle (the empire of Charles V). (REJ, XVI, 44 note 1). (Now the same expressions, designating the divers political powers, were used by others,



see Archivio Storico Italiano, vol. XI, 22, note 1 Firenze, 1893).

21) Cf. note 14.

22) Cf. Bial. (pref., XII): "But of England and other northern countries his (i. e. Joseph's) knowledge was confused and imperfect; and sometimes, in reference to these, he seems to have relied upon vague reports."

Or consider his description of the discovery of America (Annals, 67b-68a), which Gottheil in his article "Columbus in Jewish literature" (Publ. of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc., No. 2, 1894, pp. 129-130) rightly considers as "vague and poor", since Joseph still (in 1553) confounds Amerigo Vespucci with Columbus, although the Genoa Psalter of 1516 contains already a trustworthy account. It may also be wondered why Joseph fails to be more precise about the date of the discovery, merely placing it among the events of 1520.

23) For the genesis and bibliography of the Annals cf. Works, 1-3.

24) They are, in substance, as follows:

1. In the year 632, Heraclius, emperor of Byzantium, decreed that all Jews in his dominions refusing conversion should be put to death. He advised Dagobert of France to act likewise. Many chose death and others became Christians (Annals p. 2a).

2. In 1064 Joseph, the son of Samuel Halevi, was killed in Granada, Spain ( p. 5a).
3. In 1096 the Jews were persecuted by the Crusaders in Spyer, Worms, Mayence, Rinconah (?), Cologne, Neuss, Wibling (Wevelinghoven (?)), Ilnidah (?), Santen, Meurs, Kerpen, Geldern, Trier, Metz, Regensburg and Prague (pp. 5b - 8a).
4. In 1142 the Jews were persecuted by Ben Tamurt in Spain (p. 17 ab).
5. In 1146 new persecutions occurred in Cologne, Spyer, Wolkenburg, Metz, Worms, Bacharach, Augsburg, Würzburg; also in Bohemia and Carinthia. Persecutions also took place in Ramer~~re~~, France. In England the Jews were unmolested, thanks to King Henry II (pp. 18a--19b).
6. In 1171 the Jews of Blois, France, suffered martyrdom (p. 25 ab).
7. In the same year (1171), two Jews at Cologne stood in imminent danger of execution, but were finally saved (pp. 25b-26a).
8. In 1180 the Jews of Cologne, traveling on the Rhine, were thrown by force into the river near Boppard (p. 27a).
- 9) In 1186 the Jews were plundered and driven from France by Philipp August (p. 29a).
10. In 1190, at the coronation of Richard at London, Jews were despoiled and murdered (p. 29b).



11. In 1190 eighty Jews were burnt at Bray, France (p. 29b).

12. In 1191 one hundred and fifty Jews were slain at York, England, and their possessions and rare books were brought to Cologne and sold to the Jews. In another city twenty Jews were slain (p. 30a).

13. The Crusaders slew in Vienna Solomon, the duke's treasurer, and about fifteen others in 1196 (p. 33a).

14. In 1197 the Jews were massacred at Reuss, Germany. The chronicler, Ephraim ben Jacob, narrowly escaped a like fate by happening to be away from the town where he usually lived (p. 33a).

15. An accusation of well-poisoning led to the persecution of the Jews of France during the year 1202 (p. 33b).

16. In 1313 Ludwig X of France allowed the Jews to settle in France (p. 35b).

17. In 1348, during the Black Death, many hundreds of Jews were killed in Aragon, Catalone and in the Provence. Also in Germany, where the Jews were accused of poisoning the wells, many of them were burnt at the stake (p. 36 ab).

18. In 1389 the Jews were massacred at Prague (p. 38b).

19. In 1430 nine Jews were killed and seventy-four converted to christianity at Aix, Provence (pp. 39b--40a).

20. "In those days", instigated by the dominican Vincent Ferrer, persecutions and forced baptisms took place in Spain. The Jews of Savoy also endured great suffering (p. 40a).
21. In 1492 the Jews were expelled from Spain (pp. 48b--49a).
22. In 1492 a priest of Lisbon incited the population to slaughter the Jews when the king happened to be absent. On the latter's return, the priest and his accomplices were executed (p. 49a).
23. Many Jews left Portugal for Turkey in order to regain their freedom of worship (p. 49a).
24. The king of Navarre did not expel the Jews under his domination and permitted the emigrants from Aragon to stay within his boundaries until their voluntary departure (p. 49 ab).
25. In 1501 the pseudo-messiah Lemlein arose in Istria, near Venice (p. 53b).
26. In 1509 Ferdinand of Spain conquered Bugia (in Barbary), and the Jews, along with others, became his captives (p. 54b).
27. In 1510 Ferdinand of Spain, after capturing Tripoli, took the Jews prisoners and brought them to Naples. Whereas many died on the way, some were ransomed by Roman Jews (p. 56ab).



28. In 1516 Ottaviano Fregoso drove the Jews forth from Genoa (p. 63a).

29. In 1521 Lautrec, the Viceroy of Francis I, persecuted the Jews at Milan. He ordered them, among other things, to put on yellow hats (p. 70b).

30. In 1523 the vizier of Sultan Solyman, Achmed Pasha, wanted to exterminate all the Jews of Egypt unless they would surrender to him all of their properties. But he was slain by his Turkish opponents before he could execute his plans (p. 72).

31. Solyman sent at that time (1523) some of the Jews to Rhodes to settle there (p. 72).

32. In 1524, when the Adorni regained power over the city, the Jews were allowed to return to Genoa (p. 73a).

33. In 1530, when Charles V was crowned by Clement VII in Bologna, the Jews were in danger of being given up to mob pillage "had it not been for the mercies of the Lord" which spared them that plight (p. 85a).

34. On David Reubeni (p. 90b).

35. On Solomon Molcho (pp. 90b--91a).

36. In 1535 Hercules, the Duke of Ferrara, permitted the Portuguese Marranos to settle in his territory (p. 99b).

37. In 1535, when Charles V captured Tunis, the Jews suffered the same misfortunes with the other inhabitants (p. 102a).

38. In 1536 Ibrahim Pasha, the vizier of Solyman and an oppressor of the Jews, was executed by Solyman after having conspired against the Sultan (p. 103a).

39. In 1536 the Jews of Casale Monferrato, in Northern Italy, were plundered by the French and later retaken by their opponents, the Spanish, ~~when~~ they were sacked for a second time (p. 105<sup>1</sup><sub>6</sub>).

40. In 1541 Charles V drove the Jews out of the province of Naples. Wandering about homeless, many of them perished or were sold into captivity at Marseilles. Francis I graciously returned to them their freedom (p. 114b).

41. In 1542 the Jews of Germany were maliciously accused for the great fires in its cities, and great numbers of them were burned at the stake (p. 117a).

42. In 1542 the Jews were expelled from the province of Bohemia and from its capital, Prague. They migrated to Poland (p. 117a).

43. After the passage of some time when King Ferdinand regained his power, many were allowed to return (p. 117b).

44. In 1543 the Jews of Barbary were plundered and sold into slavery. While many were redeemed in Oran and Fez, others went to Spain, where they were baptized (p. 119b).



45. In 1545 a great fire broke out in Salonica, from which the Jewish community suffered much. Abraham Catalan, the incendiary, was put into prison, where he died (p. 127ab).

46. In 1548 Henry II, King of France, granted the Jewish merchants of Mantua the right of entry into his kingdom with exemptions from tribute (p. 133b).

47. In 1550 Margaret, the mother of the Duke, Franz of Mantua, presented the monks with the Jewish cemetery confiscated from the Jews (p. 135a).

48. The Jewish physicians were expelled from Genoa in the year 1550 (p. 135ab).

49. In 1551 the Jews of Bohemia were accused of causing fires, but after an investigation their innocence was established (p. 137b).

50. Moses Hamon was the physician of Sultan Solyman (p. 141a).

51. The monks of Malta (in 1552) captured a Turkish ship coming from Salonica with about seventy Jews on board, who were later freed by other Jews (p. 141a).

52. In 1553 Jewish renegades condemned the Talmud before Pope Julius III, declaring that it contained anti-Christian remarks. A decree was issued for the burning of the Talmud at Rome, Bologna and Venice (p. 143b).

25) Here they follow in substance:

1. In 1193 Philipp of France allowed the Jews to live again in Paris against the will of the populace. But soon they were driven forth a second time (p. 33a).
2. In 1509 the Jews and the other followers of Emperor Maximilian were plundered at Padua (p. 55a).
3. In 1522 a baptized Jew of Rhodes was murdered by the monks for attempting to bring aid to Sultan Solyman, who at that time was besieging the city (p. 71b).
4. The Jews were especially well treated when Solyman captured Buda, in 1526 (p. 76a).
5. In 1527, when Rome was sacked by the Germans, the Jews also suffered (p. 78a).
6. In 1530 Rome had a flood, during which many perished. Of the Jews only an old woman died (p. 88a).
7. When Adrea Doria captured Coron and Patras in 1532, he despoiled the Jews and sold them as slaves (p. 90a).
8. Solomon Molcho's letter to his friends (pp. 91a-95b).
9. Among the captives on Doria's ships returning to Italy there was a Jewish woman who saved her honor by jumping into the sea (p. 96a).
10. In 1535 Barbarossa captured Antonogita (?) in Calabria. Among his victims there was also a Jew, whose family



was slain and he himself was sold into slavery. The Jews of Ponti suffered a similar fate (p. 99a).

11. Andrea Doria captured Castelnuovo in 1538. He made a captive of the only Jew living there, who was later ransomed in Italy (p. 112a).

12. Jews were not permitted to live in Kairwan (p. 114a).

13. Solyman rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem in 1540 and improved the water supply of the city (p. 114b).

14. In the year 1541 Samuel Abrabanel and his family came (from Naples) to settle in Ferrara (p. 114b).

15. When Charles V besieged Algiers in 1541, the Jews within the city trembled for their lives; but when the Emperor had to lift the siege, they were greatly relieved (p. 115b).

16. In 1541 the Jews of the dukedom of Milan went to appear before Doria, who, in the name of the emperor renewed their grant of stay another eight years. In reward for his generosity they presented him with a gift (p. 117a).

17. In 1543 when the prince of Tunis rebelled against his father and made him a captive, he imprisoned also his father's Jewish administrator. After a plea on the part of his former protector, in which the usefulness of the Jew was urged, he was released (p. 123a).

18. In 1547 Joseph Hacoen ransomed one of the two Jews.

held captive by Gianettino Doria. The release of the other he was able to obtain only after the rebellion of Fiesco (pp. 129b, 130b).

19. In 1547 the Viceroy of Charles V wanted to introduce into Naples the restrictive laws against the local Marranos, but the inhabitants refused to cooperate (p.131ab).

20. In 1550 the two brothers, Achmed and Mohammed, arose in Arabia to seek power for themselves. A Jew, Massaod Matzliah ben Goasash (?) foretold them a great career, which was indeed realized (p. 134b).

21. Andrea Doria's victory in Barbary in 1550, and the suffering of its inhabitants, including the Jewish (p.135b).

22. In praise of Tobias Foa for establishing a printing house in Sabionetta (p. 136ab).

23. The monks of Malta went into Barbary to deprive the Jews and Mohammedans of their fortunes and to take them into captivity (p. 141a).

24. In 1552 Henry II of France took Elba and the Jews were despoiled (p. 141b).

25. A priest of the Franciscan order, Corneglio of Montalcino, was converted to Judaism in 1553. He preached on the streets of Rome against Christianity and was burned at the stake (p. 143b).

26) For more details about the Emek cf. Works, 4-8.



27) Mohr in a letter to Bonhard (Annals L.19, note 17) wrote :

"...הס' ע"ה אפאקריף הוא, משנה היצונית, וכל האומר כי ר' הכהן כתב שני ספרים ד'ה ועמק הבכא אינו אלא טועה... והנה שני עדים נאמנים... בסוף גירוש ספרד כתב בד'ה: אמר יוסף הכהן גירוש צרפת והגירוש הזה העירוני וכו', והנה בד'ה אשר רובו הוא ספורי מלכי העמים הטיב לדבר, כי בכל הספורים היתה מחשבתו רק בייגור קורות בני עמו ונהלתו, אולם בס'ה אשר כולו הוא רק מוצאות בני ישראל הדברים האלה אך שיה תפל חמה, מזה נראה כי XX המעתיק העתיק את כל אשר מצא לפיו בלי שום בחינה אם נכונים הדברים או לא. כל הנוספות בס' עמק הבכא משנה שי' ב והלאה זיופים נראה על פניהם, וגם המכתב להנאון ר' איטלנו מורה בעליל כי יד מאוחר הוא. וגם הנוספות אחר הסיום הראשון אינם מעשה ידי ר' הכהן, כי לא יאמן כי הסופר הגדול אשר ידיו רב לו לא יכתוב במשך עשר שנים /שכ'ד - של'ה/ רק XXX ארבעה דפים קטנים."

So far Mohr's letter, to which also Bonhard added his consent :

"...ואחרי ראיתי כי בכל מקום אשר נמצא בס' עמק הבכא דבר או ספור חדש אשר לא נזכר בס' דה'י, בשפה אחרת ידבר אלינו, ומה גם עמדותי כמשתומם מבלי דעת למה בספר אחד חתם המחבר את שמו שני פעמים כאשר תראה בע'ה. ע"כ גם אני נוטה לדעת מאחר."

28) Cf., for example : "קארלו תם וישה היה."

(Annals, 4a) .....בדורותיו, וירא אלהים וסר מרע.

הנה עם יצא מפרס, הנה כסה את עין הארץ, והוא יושב ממולכם (ibid., 10a)

28a) Thus in the phrase supposedly used by Paul III (cf. p. 12, footnote) is an example par excellence of the sacrifice of historical - worse, of psychological - correctness to Scriptural wording. What an expression in the mouth of a non-Jew, a pope !

29) ויקונו גם עליהם אלעזר בעת ההיא ולהיותו כבר לשון השבתיו לזר ולא הביאותיו הנה (Annals, 6a)

- 30) Annals, 39a; corrected in Bial. I, 259 note. Cf. also in Cassel's foreword to the Meor Enayim of de Rossi (Vilno, 1866) note 1 on p. XII.
- 31) It is to be noted that even for such a common expression as קדוש ה' we find regularly קדוש היוצר (Annals, 29b, 33a) or קדוש קדוש ישראל (Annals, 5b, 30a) substituted, probably because ה' in the sense of the name of God is of postbiblical origin.
- 32) There occur Talmudic expressions such as the following:
- (Annals, 6a)..... כי נתן רשות למשה
  - (ibid.)..... נחמסנו בטליחות
  - (ibid. 6b)..... אוי לענים שכך ראו
  - (ibid. 7a)..... וגם הם נשחטו בקנה וחיו
  - (ibid. 26a)..... נומר דינו
  - (ibid. 33b)..... לקדש אביהם שבשמים
  - (Annals III, 53)..... מאן דלא קפיד, לא קפדינן ליה

The chronicler also resorts now and then to the Midrash. The verse in Chronicles (I, 4, 23) <sup>המה היוצרים ויושבי נסעים</sup> עם המלך במלכותו ישבו שם, is quoted in the Annals (8a) and in the Emek (34) according to its Midrashic interpretation (Bereshith Rabba, chapter 8). Thus, too, Joseph Hachohen uses regularly the expression <sup>עם לשחוק</sup> (Annals, 20b, 114b) as it is interpreted in the Talmud, "to war" ( ) and after the manner of the Midrash and Targum Jonathan he uses for a church <sup>בית טעות</sup> (Annals 5b, 19a).



33) In expressions such as:

(Annals, 31b)..... ואצא מתחבולות הזמן הסוער.  
(ibid. 33b)..... מלבד כבד הגלות.  
(ibid. 37a)..... הביא הזמן הצי תלאותיו בכליותיו.  
(Annals III, 65)..... כי עותהו ככבי שמיו.

34) Annals, 113b, 133b - 134a; Emek, 119, note \*\*\*, 124,  
note \*.

35) Veneziani=ויניציאני (ibid., 99a); Ungari=אונגרי (ibid.)  
Giannizzeri=גיניצארי (ibid., 47b).

36) Gran maestro=גראן מאיסטרו (Annals, 71b), Gran conde-  
stabile=קונדישטאבלי (Annals, 111a), Conte=קונטי  
(ibid., 128b); Parco=פארקו (ibid., 69b), arcipelago=  
ארציפילאגו (ibid., 110b).

37) פלורינוצה (ibid.); פירינוציאה (Annals, 87a);  
(ibid. 88a); אלישאנדריאה (Annals III, 10);  
(ibid. 19); אלישאנדריאה (ibid. 18);  
(ibid.); לייוא (ibid. 73b); לייוא (Annals, 73); לייבה

38) For instance, זכרה (Annals, 90a, 114b) instead of זכרה  
instead of אניות (Annals, 58a). Cf. Auswahl, 79, note  
3.

39) pp. 47-48.

40) Wiener E, note 117.

41) REJ XVI, 215 f.

42) Quellen 14 note 2; cf. also Graetz VIII, note 1, 397.

- 43) Annals, 5a; Emek, 23 - 24. Cf. also Wiener E, note 21 and REJ, XVI, 222.
- 44) Annals, 17 ab; Emek, 38 - 39.
- 45) Wiener E, note 73; REJ, *ibid.*; Auswahl, 53, note 6; see also notes \* and \*\* in Emek, 15.

Ibn Daud and his chronicle are mentioned in Emek, 47.

- 46) They were alternatively called by the author אֵלֶּעוֹר, אֵלֶּעוֹר or אֵלֶּעוֹר in Annals, 5b, 6a, 8a, 18b and in Emek, 35, 43 and sometimes confounded; cf. Wiener E, note 86.

- 47) Annals, 26a, 33a; Emek, 54, 61.

- 48) Emek, 79.

- 48 49) Annals, 125b; Emek, 52. He is also mentioned in Emek, 58.

- 49 50) Annals, 29a, 33b; Emek, 57, 61 (see, however, Wiener E, notes 150, 165).

- 51) Annals, 36a; Emek, 81.

- 52) Annals, 38b; Emek, 84.

- 53) About the Consolaçam cf. Works, 3f and note 22.

- 54) Wiener E, notes 170, 173, 174, 194 and 238.

- 55) REJ, XVI, 212-223.

- 56) Emek, 78, 81. Usque, who came to Italy from Portugal and wrote in Portuguese, is referred to by Joseph as



57) See, for instance, REJ, *ibid.* 217 (concerning Jewish persecutions in Vienna after the disappearance of three Christian children, in Emek, 56); 218-220 (persecutions of shepherds in Spain and France, in Emek, 72-75); 220 (lepers and Jews accused of poisoning wells, in Emek, 77-78); and others.

Cf. Usque, 3 notes 1, 2; 4 note 13; 11 notes 1, 2; 67 note 1; 78 note 1. Cf. also Quellen, 18 note 2.

58) Wiener E, note 174a; REJ, *ibid.*, 214 (eighty Jews burnt at Paris, in Emek, 56-57), 217 (Expulsion of Jews from France, in Emek, 57).

59) Emek, 86 וכן מצתיה כתוב בלשון הקדש... ועוד מצאתי בלשון הקודש

60) Emek, 69, 70, 78, 81, 82.

- 61) 1. (Annals, 1b) ויתר דבריהם הלא הם כתובים על ספר ד'ה למלכי ארץ ישמעאל.  
 2. (*ibid.*, 8a; Emek, 35) ... בספר דברי הימים למלכי אשכנז.  
 3. (*ibid.*, 29b) ... ובספריהם מצאתי.  
 4. ויתר דברי הארצות ההם הלא הם כתובים על ספר ד'ה למלכי ספרד אשר חשבתי להעתיקו אם יגזור יי' בהיים. (*ibid.*, 68b).....

Perhaps this allusion is to de Gomora's "La historia general de las Indias, which our chronicler indeed translated into Hebrew (cf. Works, 11, 3)

5. (*ibid.*, 83) ויתר פרטי התנאים הלא הם כתובים על ספר ד'ה למלכי רומי

6. (*ibid.* 98b, 113a). ושאר פרטי המלחמה הלא הם כתובים על ספר דברי הימים למלכי פרס ומדי.  
 7. כתוב בספרי אשכנז בלאסין. (Emek, 69).....

- 62) Our chronicler does not seek to give even a semblance of justification to the persecutors, as does Ibn Verga, for instance (cf. No. 7, pp. 7-24; No. 8, pp. 25-28; No. 63, p. 95).
- 63) Annals 25a.
- 64) Ibid. 40a.
- 65) Ibid. 35a.
- 66) Ibid. 19a; Emek 44f.
- 67) Annals 19ab; Emek 45f.
- 68) Annals <sup>196</sup>~~28a~~; Emek <sup>46</sup>~~55~~.
- 69) Annals 18a; Emek 41. "Amidst the inhuman cries of that slaughter (i.e. the second Crusade) the voice of a saint was heard asking for mercy on the Jews. It was the voice of a giant of the Christian Church: St. Bernard of Clairvaux! Luigi Luzzatti in God in Freedom (New York, 1930) p. 9. Luzzatti, who drew some details from our chronicler, has also other interesting information about this very human ecclesiastic (cf. p. 110ff., l.c.).
- 70) Annals 19b; Emek 46.
- 71) Annals 28a; Emek 55.
- 72) See, e.g., Joseph's remarks on Omar ben Knittab and the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Annals 2b); Saladin, who honors the ruined Temple (ibid. 28a); Selim (ibid. 64a; 66b) and especially Solyman (ibid. 117) or Annals 141a: והמלך סולימאן הליזה איש חי רב פעלים, חכם כמלאך אלהים.



73) About Ibrahim Pasha cf.note 24,No 38.

74) Annals 114b.

75) (Annals 5a).....'ראה יי' והביטה וריבה את ריבם

(Ibid. 6a).....? 'העל אלה תחאפק יי'?

(Ibidem)..... הביטו וראו כל עוברי דרך אם יש מכאוב כמכאובם

(Ibid.6b)..... 'העל אלה לא יפקוד יי' צבאות, שופט צדק ?

לכן עתה קדוש ישראל רם ונשא הביטה וראה את מכאובינו כי עליך

הורגנו כל היום נחשבנו כצאן טבחה, וריבה ריבנו בעבור שמך הגדול

והנורא, למה יאמרו הגויים..... (Annals 33b)

76) (Annals 2a). ....'ה' ינקום דם עבדיו ונקם ישיב לצריו

(Ibid 6b). 'ועתה אל נקמות ה', המאחז אל חממה, בעת אפך עשה בהם.

אל נקמות הופיע, נקום דם עבדיך השפוך, על חמם לא עשו (Ibid.33b)

Joseph's satisfaction of retribution is expressed with :

ברוך הנותן נקמות !.... (Annals 29b)

77) Annals 8a; also ibid.19b, and 28a.

78) Annals 42a.

79) Ibid. 49a.

80) Ibid. 71b.

81) Ibid. 88a.

82) Ibid. 90a.

83) Annals 135a. For other examples where violence committed against Jews is retributed by divine justice, see Annals 97b; 98a; 103a; Annals III 63f.; 111f.; Emek 144.

84) Annals 27b f. Cf. also <sup>(h)</sup> ibid. 5a and 16a.

85) Annals 36a.

86) „וייראו היהודים אשר בתוכה יראה גדולה ויזעקו ותעל שועתם אל האלהים, ולא אבה השמים. בלילה ההוא נרדה שנת המלך יי' צבאות וימצא כתוב: ואף גם זאת בהיותם בארץ אויביהם לא מאסתי, ואומר: אך עמי המה בנים לא ישקרו ואהי להם למושיע; ויזכור להם בריתו וינחם כרוב חסדיו. וירד יי' בענן וילחם בעמים ההם, כיום הלחמו ביום קרב...“ (Annals 115b, 116)

87) Annals 116b.

88) Annals 49a; Emek 102f.

89) Annals 115a.

90) Annals 112b.

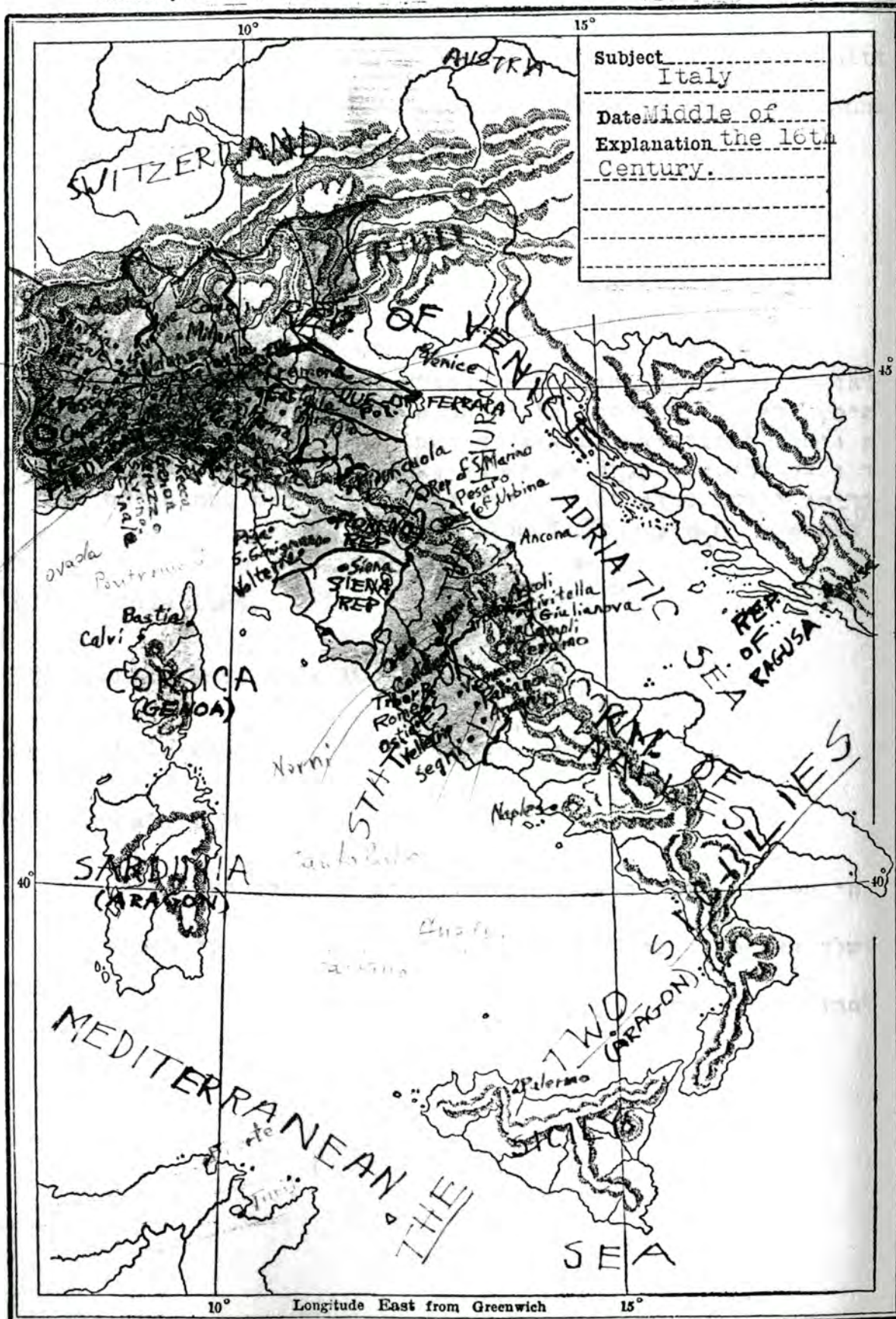
91) „ותהי המלחמה חזקה באשכנז על המהזיקים בלוסירו בעת ההיא; וישלח האפיפיור כסף לתת לאנשי המלחמה, ולא ידע כי משמים נלחמו, ויי' ישחק לו.“ (Annals 128a).



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TRANSLATION







Now,<sup>1)</sup> all the thoughts of Pope<sup>2)</sup> Paul (IV) the Thea -  
tine<sup>3)</sup> concerning the Jews were to do them evil and not  
good.<sup>4)</sup> Thus was he wont to do always.<sup>5)</sup> The chiefs of the  
congregation went unto him, but he spoke roughly with them<sup>a)</sup>  
and considered them as the mire of the streets<sup>b)</sup>, and<sup>did</sup> not  
even turn his face unto them. Moreover, he also stretched  
out a line<sup>c)</sup> upon the Marranos who came from Turkey to An-  
cona, put them into prison and sent his hand forth unto all  
their possessions at that time.<sup>6)</sup>

In Constantinople there lived (then) a noble woman, a  
scion of the Marranos, Beatrice by name,<sup>7)</sup> She betook her-  
self unto Solyman and besought him<sup>8)</sup>, and he sent (word) to  
Paul - may the name of the wicked rot - <sup>d)</sup> saying: "send my  
people forth". And he hearkened unto his voice.<sup>9)</sup> But the  
Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - poured out his  
wrath upon the Marranos who lived in Ancona.<sup>10)</sup> Four and  
twenty men and one old woman<sup>11)</sup> (of them) were burnt at An-  
cona in the month of Sivan,<sup>12)</sup> and when their souls depart-  
ed, they said "Hear, O Israel!"<sup>13)</sup> and their souls went up  
heavenward with the flame of fire<sup>14)</sup>. The rest of them he  
caused to withdraw from the Lord, God of Israel, and he took  
hold of all their possessions.<sup>15)</sup> Such an evil thing had  
not been done in Italy to this day.<sup>16)</sup> Ye daughters of Israel,

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a) Gen. 42, 7  
b) Mic. 7, 10  
c) Lam. 2, 8  
d) Pr. 10, 7



weep over these<sup>a)</sup>; do not don silk garments, do not put on scarlet, for glory has departed from Israel<sup>b)</sup>. My bowels, my bowels (are moved) because of their slain<sup>c)</sup> and because of those who drew away (from God) my soul refuses to be comforted.<sup>d)</sup> See, O Lord and consider<sup>e)</sup> and plead Thou their cause.<sup>f)</sup> Thirty eight of them he sent bound unto the galleys in Malta, but they escaped on the way and God saved them, and thereupon they returned to serve God as heretofore, and He was their savior.<sup>17)</sup>

And this wicked Theatine issued another command and it was proclaimed<sup>g)</sup> in Rome saying: "Every Hebrew man who does not profit the general community shall leave the city, and if he be found therein from that day on, he shall surely be put to death."<sup>18)</sup> So their hands became slack,<sup>h)</sup> and all Israel became affrighted. And they inquired of him, saying: What does it mean? And he said to them: Know it, you men, and when the time appointed shall have passed, I shall then know what to do unto you.<sup>i)</sup> And when they perceived that he was seeking an occasion<sup>k)</sup>, many more continued to leave<sup>19)</sup> and they were at that time as a driven roe, and many of those who were of little faith<sup>l)</sup> were drawn away<sup>m)</sup>

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a) II Sam. 1, 24  
b) I Sam. 4, 21, 22  
c) Jer. 4, 19  
d) Ps. 77, 3  
e) Lam. 1; 2  
f) Ps. 74, 22

g) Ex. 34, 6  
h) Is. 13, 7  
i) Ex. 33, 5  
k) Jud. 14, 4  
l) Sota 48B  
m) i. e. converted



from the Lord God of Israel.<sup>20)</sup> May the Lord requite the doer of evil according to his wickedness<sup>a)</sup> Amen and Amen.

And it happened on the twenty fourth day of the month of May, at their festival of Pentecost, that the crew of the ships of Andrea di Oria found seven Turkish ships in the waters of Puglie and two of them escaped and five were caught in their snares,<sup>b)</sup> and there was none to help them, in the day that the wrath of the Lord was enkindled. From among the uncircumcised about forty men were slain in that battle. And other Turkish ships went out that year to take spoil in the lands of their enemies, and God delivered them into the hands of the crews of the ships of the uncircumcised, and they captured about twenty five more Turkish ships, thus the Turks went here and there, in that year.<sup>21)</sup>

And the tillers of the ground with an iron plough found that year a quarry (mine) of silver in Spain, at Guadalacanal, which is fifteen parsangs distant from Seville. They revealed it to Martin Gonzalez, their lord, and they took some of the sand of that parcel of ground, and they smelted it in a crucible, and this silver came out. And the report thereof was heard<sup>c)</sup> in the house of the King on the seventeenth day of the month of January in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty six. So they set watchmen over it. And they sent thither men that blow the fire of coal<sup>d)</sup>, Spaniards and Germans. They ~~digged~~ <sup>dug</sup>  there and brought out silver

a) II Sam. 3, 39

b) Lam. 4, 20

c) Gen. 45, 16

d) Is. 54, 16



in abundance, of which three silver talents used to be brought to the emperor every day. They built there houses and furnaces to smelt ~~there~~ the silver and as dwelling-places for the King's servants who bore rule over the people<sup>a)</sup> that wrought in the work<sup>b)</sup>. Moreover other mines were found at that time in which, however, they have not dug until this day.<sup>22)</sup>

And the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - waged war against the cities of the Colonna<sup>c)</sup> 23) and he took Paliano and the villages thereof and he gave them to his kinsmen,<sup>24)</sup> Thereupon the viceroy of Naples went out to rescue them, by force, out of his hand.<sup>25)</sup> And the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - gathered together foot soldiers and horsemen and he went up to Paliano and strengthened it and placed a garrison in it.<sup>26)</sup>

And in the seventh month Maximilian, King of Bohemia, with his wife, the daughter of the emperor, went to Brussels to bow down before the emperor: and they rejoiced together.<sup>27)</sup> And the emperor gave them gifts and blessed them and they departed from him in peace.<sup>d)</sup>

And Ferdinand, King of Hungary, was afraid lest Solyman the Turk should wage war against him, so he strengthen-

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a) I Kings 5, 30  
b) I Kings 9, 23

c) Italian: Terre Colonesi  
d) Gen. 26, 31



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**box**

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Chapter I.

( Biography )

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VI  
to the Cardinal

ed Vienna and set a garrison in it.<sup>28)</sup>

In these days I, Joseph the priest, saw a certain man, here in Voltaggio, who had six fingers in each of his feet and hands, twentyfour in number, altogether.

And in Venice a pestilence broke out and about twenty-eight thousand fell in that plague. But all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings<sup>a)</sup>, for the Lord passed over them,<sup>29)</sup> Therefore I will give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, among the Nations, and will sing praises unto Thy name.<sup>b)</sup>

And when Paul the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - saw that war was facing him, he sent Carlo, the Cardinal, his brother's son, into France,<sup>30)</sup> and King Henry (II) was at that time at Fontainebleau.<sup>31)</sup> Moreover he<sup>c)</sup> sent to the King a golden sword as a gift, and the King did him<sup>d)</sup> great honor.<sup>32)</sup> Then he asked of him, saying: "Give me help against the adversary".<sup>e)</sup> And he accepted his plea<sup>f)</sup> <sup>33)</sup> and he gathered together about four thousand men, and he sent them by way of the sea in the fifth month.<sup>34)</sup>

And Salah Reis, governor of Algiers, went out and waged war at Oran which is in Barb<sup>e</sup>baries, and they laid siege to it for many days, and cast up a mound against it.<sup>g)</sup> And when they saw that they could not prevail over it, they went away

a) Ex. 10, 23

b) Ps. 18, 5; II Sam. 22, 50

c) Paul IV

d) to the Cardinal

e) Ps. 40, 13

f) Lit: He lifted up his face

g) cf. Ez. 4, 2



from it and each man returned to his house. In those days they sent from Spain a large ship into Oran. There were on it about six hundred men and food in abundance, but they did not have battering rams: So two Turkish ships approached it, and they fell upon it of a sudden and they captured it, and led it <sup>a</sup>way into their land.<sup>35)</sup>

Then did the Viceroy of Naples fight against the cities of the Church and took <sup>some</sup> of them away with a mighty hand. And the men of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - were turned away backward.<sup>a)</sup> And he ~~made a count~~ <sup>ed</sup> of his hosts and all of them were not found, for they were scattered away from him.<sup>36)</sup> He was afraid <sup>d</sup> and greatly distressed<sup>b)</sup>. The walls of Rome were strengthened, and the houses broken down to fortify the walls,<sup>c)</sup> so that many buildings were destroyed and every tree that is good for food was cut down, ~~from~~ within and ~~from~~ without the city. Their value was a million ducates. And the famine was sore in the city, and the people cried for bread, and Rome became greatly impoverished.<sup>37)</sup> Also the Jews he caused to work with rigor around the walls, and the children of Israel were beaten at that time:<sup>38)</sup> And those who sold their houses were accused daily, saying: "You did not sell them in perpetuity, and the scribes wrote with iniquity", and in the cities of this wicked Theatine they were put in the ward;

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a) cf. Is. 1, 4

b) cf. Gen. 22, 8

c) cf. Is. 22, 10



and they condemned them as it pleased them and they devoured Israel with open mouth. a) 39)

And the Viceroy assembled an army. And they sent unto him one thousand Spaniards, besides the Germans, in ships in the month of Bul (i. e. Marsheshvan), which is the eighth month. They were many days on their journey. And they were wearied because of the famine, and most of them died by the sword ~~not~~ <sup>inhuman beings</sup> of ~~men~~ on their way. 40)

And the Emperor went to Spain by way of the sea in ships in the seventh month, and King Philip (II) his son was stationed in Ghent at that time. 41)

And there was a great earthquake in Iskiskopa which is in the land of Turkey in the month of Heshvan in the year three hundred and seventeen<sup>b)</sup> and the Turkish highplaces<sup>c)</sup> fell to the ground as well as many other houses. And many were astounded. 42)

And Ottavio, Duke of Parma, made peace with Emperor Charles, his father-in-law, at that time. His wife went to Milan and they honored her greatly there: And from thence she went unto Flanders to see her brother Philip, King of England, and her two sons also went with her at that time. Then did the Governor of Milan return Placentia to Duke Ottavio, according to the word of the Emperor and King Philip. Only the fortress ~~alone~~ remained in the hands of the Emperor's

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a) Is. 9, 11

b) Heshvan (5) 317-1557



servants. And he went thither in the eighth month, and all the inhabitants went out to meet him and did him honor and he granted them a release (i. e. amnesty)<sup>a)</sup> and forgave the people who were among the disturbers of his power and made <sup>with</sup> them a covenant. And his wife requested from Philip (II) also the fortress, but he would not hearken. And he spoke soothingly unto her<sup>b)</sup> and gave her and her sons gifts, and they returned unto their land and the inhabitants of Placentia showed her great honor.<sup>43)</sup>

And the servants of the Emperor laid siege on Ostia which is upon the Tiber river and they took it in the ninth month, and they set a garrison in its midst and also made a fortress there, in order not to let anyone go to and from Rome by way of the river.<sup>44)</sup> And the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - was exceedingly pained; and he made peace with them craftily for forty days.<sup>45)</sup>

He then incited the King of France for a second time to come and wage war against the Kingdom of Naples, and he sent him<sup>c)</sup> counsels from a distance, and he hearkened unto his voice.<sup>46)</sup> And the King gathered together about twelve thousand footmen (infantry) and three thousand horsemen (cavalry)<sup>47)</sup> and Monseigneur de Guise<sup>48)</sup> was their chief at that time. And he sent them to Italy in the month of January, in the year

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a) cf. Est. 2. 18

b) Lit. "Talked upon her heart" cf. Jud. 19, 3

c) Is. 25, 1



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c) Is. 25, 1



(49)

one thousand five hundred and fiftyseven, so that Lombardy was exceedingly upset.<sup>50)</sup> When the Marquis del Guasto, Captain of the hosts of the Emperor,<sup>51)</sup> heard of this, he set a garrison in the fortified cities. Also the people of Genoa were in great fear,<sup>52)</sup> and their hearts<sup>t</sup> melted and became as water.<sup>a)</sup> Had the captains of the King been wise, all of Lombardy would have been taken at that time.<sup>53)</sup> But Monseigneur de Guise sent a messenger to the Viceroy of Milan,<sup>54)</sup> saying: "Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy land to go to Rome, we will not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy border".<sup>b)</sup> But he coaxed him by saying: "Let us send to tell it to King Philip, and whatsoever he answers we will tell you,<sup>c)</sup> within twelve days."<sup>55)</sup> And it came to pass on the fifteenth day of the month of January (1558), that the servants of the King came out in companies and took captives in the lands of the Emperor. Thus they transgressed the law, broke the covenant of peace<sup>d)</sup>, at that time.<sup>56)</sup> And there was no peace to him that went out<sup>t</sup> nor to him that came in<sup>e)</sup> from that day and thenceforth. And their heart was like the heart of a woman in her pangs.<sup>f)</sup>

And Guise, the captain of the French King's host drew nigh to Valenza which was within the boundaries of the Emperor.<sup>57)</sup> He begged to enter the city but no one would hearken unto him. There were in it, at that time, about four

a) Jos. 7, 5  
b) Num. 20, 17

d) cf. Is. 24, 5  
e) II Chr. 15, 5  
f) cf. Jer. 48.41: 49.22



hundred men, both Spaniards and Germans.<sup>58)</sup> Some of the men of the city went out into the field, and were set upon there, of a sudden and wared there.<sup>59)</sup> And Guise said: "Wherefore have you dealt ill to break the statute of the covenant that was between the Emperor and the King?" And he commanded, and they have erected seven (battering) rams round about, on the nineteenth day of the month of January, and they cast up a mound against it, and threw down its walls. And it came to pass on the morrow, they came into the city, for the Germans that were within, did not put up a fight, but gave it up as spoil. Now when the captain of the hosts saw that they were in a bad state, he strengthened the fortress with the Spaniards and Italians who were with him and they hastened to flee. Then was the fortress brought under siege. And they delivered up also the fortress, on the twenty second day of the month, and they went away free. But when they came into Pavia, the Marquis commanded and twelve men of their number were hanged upon the gallows and fifteen were sent to the galleys, while the captain of the army they brought down in blood into the grave.<sup>60)</sup>

And it came to pass one day that Guise and his force journeyed from there, and he went on his journeys in the direction of Rome. Valenza remained then in the hands of the servants of the King, so they strengthened it and they put a garrison in it, and they took also the unwallled cities<sup>a)</sup>

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a) cf. Est 9, 19

which were round about it.<sup>61)</sup> And there was no peace to him that went out nor to him that came in<sup>a)</sup> at that time. And Guise and all the people that followed him went in the direction of Placentia,<sup>62)</sup> and they pitched in Fiorenzuola<sup>63)</sup> for a few days.

And it came to pass on the twentieth day of the month that Zucca<sup>64)</sup> the captain of the hosts of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - went out of Velletri,<sup>65)</sup> and there were men with him, to go and war against the servants of the King. And it came to pass that when they marched that those in ambush fell upon them of a sudden, and slew them by the edge of the sword, but Zucca fled ~~away on his~~ <sup>on</sup> feet. And his life was unto him for a prey.<sup>b)</sup> And it came to pass on the morrow that eighteen more standard-bearers, men of war, came out from Velletri to go to the city of Ostia,<sup>66)</sup> and the servants of the Emperor came out to meet them in the ~~blackness~~ <sup>darkness</sup> of ~~the~~ night,<sup>c)</sup> fell upon them suddenly and struck them with the edge of the sword, while those remaining escaped for their life. And it came to pass on that day, when Strozzi<sup>67)</sup> and his people were besieging Ostia, and cast a mound, that he broke a tooth with gravel stones<sup>d)</sup> and split his lip, so he went to be healed. The armies of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot -

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a) Vide supra; II Chr. 15, 5

b) cf. Jer. 16, 9; i. e. he saved his life.

c) Pro. 7, 9

d) Thr. 3, 16



continued to lay siege to Ostia, and they conquered it, and also the fortress that the officers of the Emperor had made there. For the Spaniards delivered it for a bribe of money,<sup>a)</sup> and proceeded on their way.<sup>68)</sup>

And Sigismondo di Asti, the Lord of San Martin rebelled against the Duke of Ferrara, his master, who was related to him. So he plotted with his second son Louis. This enkindled the Duke's wrath greatly. He thereupon sent messengers to bring him. And he escaped from him to his cities, that were within the borders of Milan, for he feared for his life. The Duke, then, gathered together the army, footmen and horsemen, and he took with him about twelve battering rams, and he went up against him with a strong force. They captured San Martin and beat the walls of the fortress until it came down and they took it, and the man who commanded the fortress<sup>b)</sup> they hanged upon a gallows; then was the Duke's wrath assuaged.<sup>c)</sup> Then did he call the officers of Coreggio and they went to him and gave him security to hearken to his voice and to cleave unto him.<sup>d)</sup> Two of them ~~then~~ dwelt with in Ferrara as ~~a~~ hostage.<sup>e)</sup> And it came to pass that their uncle came from Rome, and he was a priest to his god. He went to Coreggio and fifty horsemen were with him, so they conquered the city in the name of the Emperor and those two nobles escaped, for the Duke had

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a) Jud. 5, 19  
b) staying guard  
c) cf. Est. 7, 10

d) Deut. 30, 20  
e) i. e. hostages



not guarded (set his heart on) them, and it grieved him immensely.<sup>69)</sup>

And it came to pass when Guise came into the boundaries of Reggio,<sup>70)</sup> that the Duke of Ferrara came out to meet him and he embraced him, and delivered into his hands the armies that were with him, and they became as one at that time.<sup>a)</sup> 71) And Guise continued on his journeys. They passed through the whole of Romagna<sup>72)</sup> and they destroyed every good piece of ground.<sup>b)</sup>

And the <sup>sea</sup> ~~men of the boats~~ of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - found one boat, Marashi (?) near the island of Ponza<sup>73)</sup> and they sank it into the depth of the seas, but its men went out on the dry land, and their life was to them as a prey.<sup>c)</sup>

And it came to pass after Guise had passed, that the Marquis, the chief captain of the Emperor, gathered together his forces and arrived at Castelnuovo and Sale on the fourteenth day of the month of February, and there was no peace to him that went out nor to him that came in<sup>d)</sup>, at that time. And the servants of the King, who were in Valenza, on the shores of the river Tanaro, came out and arrayed themselves opposite them, as they passed, and they threw upon them the stones of the battering rams. And they proceeded on their

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a) cf. Ez. 37, 17  
b) cf. II King 3, 25

c) Jer. 21, 9; 38, 2; 39, 18  
d) II Chr. 15, 5



way, and reached till Alessandria; and passed there and went near to Valenza, and encamped there.<sup>74)</sup> And one Spaniard fought with a German for a piece of meat, and all of them rioted. Within a moment, about two hundred men fell dead to the ground ~~at that time~~. And all the camp trembled,<sup>a)</sup> and the Marquis was sore grieved. And when inquiry was made (it was found) that only about thirty Spaniards died in that slaughter. And the Marquis was content to go to Casale, for he was called there, while being in San Salvatore. And the Germans did not wish to obey him (~~hearken unto his voice~~), for their soul was embittered against the Spanish and they wished to swallow them alive. And the people ~~were scattered~~ <sup>departed</sup> from him,<sup>b)</sup> and each returned unto his house.<sup>75)</sup> And when Brissak<sup>76)</sup> heard the tidings about the Marquis he went to Casale. And about fifty men from the servants of the King went to the gates of Ovada which was in the boundaries of Genoa, on the twenty first day of the same (month), and Bonisasso Justinian (?) was their chief at that time. And they fought at the entrance of the gate, and they made a sortie against them, and they pursued after them till Tresivio,<sup>77)</sup> and their captain was hit in his arm. And he bore his shame. Thereupon came from Germany about five thousand men, and all the officers of the Emperor were very glad. And the French strengthened Valenza from day to day.

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a) cf. Ex. 19, 16

b) cf. I Sam. 13, 8

And the King of France continued to send soldiers into Italy, and they took all the unwallled cities in Lomellina<sup>78)</sup> and made them (the people of the cities) tributary. And the servants of the Emperor saw that they were in <sup>trouble</sup> ~~an evil~~ (condi-  
tion), so they strengthened Sale which was seven miles' distance from Valenza and they placed a garrison in it. And they prepared two galleys upon the River Po to watch the way.<sup>79)</sup> And there was no peace to him that went out nor to him that came in at that time.<sup>a)</sup>

And it came to pass<sup>80)</sup> in the month of March that the servants of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - fought in the cities of the (Papal) states, and they threw down the walls of Vicovaro with their rams and they conquered it (the city) with a mighty hand. There were about six hundred people in its midst at that time, and about one hundred and fifty people from among them fell by the edge of the sword. And the remaining of them did Strozzi, the commander-in-chief, send to Rome. And they were made to swear not to serve the Emperor anymore, until a full year shall have passed. And they went to Florence<sup>81)</sup> and they remained quiet there.

And about six thousand Germans were sent to Genoa in the month of March; they went down to sea in twenty eight galleys,

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a) cf. II Chr. 15, 5



to go to Naples, on the last day of the month. And they proceeded on their way eastward. And it came to pass on the morrow that thirty galleys belonging to the King,<sup>82)</sup> carrying soldiers, passed them. And they, too, were going eastward at that time; and two of them which came from Spain bearing skins, cane-honey and wool they took away, and sent them to their land.<sup>83)</sup> Afterwards they also seized two ships from the people of Genoa and sent them unto their land. The people of the city were very grieved. And Guise's men became the masters of Romagna at that time.<sup>84)</sup>

And it came to pass in the month of April that Brissak gathered an army and they besieged Villavernia<sup>85)</sup> and cast about it a mound and fought over it eleven times, and they could not prevail. But many people died. And it came to pass on the day of their most bitter lamentation<sup>a)</sup> on the sixteenth day of the month, that the Germans, who were in their midst brought them in through the walls, and the Spaniards and Italians knew nothing of it. And they were affrighted and ran for their life. And Brissak commanded and they broke down its walls and it became a heap for ever unto this day.<sup>b)</sup>

And the men turned from thence and laid siege to Cherasco<sup>36)</sup> and cast a mound upon it; and it came to pass on

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a) cf. Jer. 6, 26; i. e.

b) cf. Jos. 8, 28

the twenty ninth day of the month that they fought against it. And there were within its midst about four hundred Germans and seventy Spaniards and they seized it with a strong hand, and they slew about two hundred men with the edge of the sword and gave the city as a prey. And also from the dwellers of the city and from its priests there were many who died at that time.

And it came to pass, on the morrow, that there arrived in Genoa twenty eight galleys from Spain and there were upon them about two thousand five hundred men. There were, however, many who died on their way, and they went towards Naples as at first, and the Viceroy was exceedingly glad.<sup>87)</sup>

And Guise with all his flanks and the servants of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - went to Tronto, which was within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>88)</sup> And they remained in the cities of the Marches for many days.<sup>89)</sup> And they crossed the river and laid siege to Civitella<sup>a)</sup> for about a month and a half and they cast a mound against it.<sup>90)</sup> And about two thousand Swiss, that belonged to Guise, fought against Cantalice; but the civilians (dwellers of the city) saved it from their hands, thus they went away from it and returned to the camp. And when the Viceroy of Naples heard of it, he made a release to them<sup>b)</sup> because they have done

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a) Civitella del Tronto  
b) cf. Est. 2, 13



great things.<sup>a)</sup> 91)

And the French burnt two cities in Abruzzo. And they took Teramo and many other great cities.<sup>92)</sup> And the war was strong in the Kingdom (of Naples) at that time.

And the Viceroy was exceedingly pained,<sup>b)</sup> and he gave command and there were gathered all the officers of the Kingdom (of Naples), none was exempted.<sup>c)</sup> And he gathered both soldiers (footmen) and horsemen and he sent them to Pescara<sup>93)</sup> and he strengthened the cities of the frontiers. And they journeyed thence. And it came to pass one day that they went to Giulianova in the darkness of the night of a sudden, and they entered the city and took captive there about three hundred French horsemen and all their possessions, and the remaining ones ran away for their life. And the armies of the Viceroy continued their journeyings until they reached Civitella; and they encamped at a distance from the camp of Guise. Suddenly, they slew many of them by the edge of the sword, and they entered to the city. And the French came away from it. And they went to the side of Ascoli<sup>d)</sup> and placed a garrison in Ancarano. And the men of the Viceroy went up against it and conquered it and they smote every male thereof with the edge of the sword,<sup>e)</sup> and burnt them by fire and many have stumbled under the wood<sup>f)</sup>

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a) Joel 2, 20

b) cf. Est. 4, 4

c) I Kings, 15, 22

d) Ascoli - Piceno

e) Deut. 20, 13

f) Lam. 5, 13; were hung

at that time. And Guise saw that he was in a bad (condition) and he turned back (retreated). But the hosts of the Viceroy (reached) as far as Ascoli which belonged to the Theatine. And Guise sent to help them and they made war there.<sup>94)</sup> And Guise went on his way and he sent his troops to the side of Ancona, as well as the battering rams. And they decreased continually, because many of them died by a sword not of men,<sup>a)</sup> while the sword of war consumed a great many at that time.<sup>95)</sup>

And Guise went to Rome, and he went (afterwards) by way of the sea in ships towards France at that time. And the hosts of the Viceroy went and laid siege on Ascoli for a month's time and they could not prevail over it, so they came away from it.<sup>96)</sup> Then they went to Anagni and Marcantonio Colonna was at their head. - Now the time (was) the time of the first ripe grapes -. <sup>b)</sup> And they journeyed from thence and laid siege against Segni, the fortified city that was upon the hill. And they led there the battering rams through byways,<sup>c)</sup> and they smote its walls and seized it and burnt it by fire, and the smoke thereof ascended heavenward. And the soldiers that were therein went out through the walls every man straight before him<sup>d)</sup> and many fell by the sword.<sup>97)</sup> And as to Jews, some escaped for their life

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a) cf. Is. 31, 8  
b) Nu. 13, 20

c) Jud. 5,6  
d) Jos. 6,5



and some went into captivity before the adversary<sup>a)</sup> at that time.

And all the soldiers hastened to go to Rome and they approached the wall. And the Viceroy did not wish to destroy it and he had compassion upon it, and he returned unto his garrison.<sup>98)</sup> And when the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - saw that he was in a bad situation, he sent messengers to the Viceroy. And they made peace between them in the ninth month.<sup>99)</sup> And all the soldiers returned to Paliano. And they gave back to Marcantonio Colonna all the cities that the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - took away from him, just as they were, together with the rams that were found in them. And the walls of the cities of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - did they break down, and returned them unto him.<sup>b)</sup> And the land had rest.<sup>100)</sup> And the hosts of Guise and those that remained went through byways unto France, because they heard a rumor of war.<sup>101)</sup>

And Brissak gathered together his host and he went to Cuneo which is in Piedmont on the first day of the month of May and they laid siege to it for many days.<sup>102)</sup> And the number of his hosts was fourteen thousand footmen: Italians, Frenchmen, Gascons, and Swiss, and three hundred horsemen. And in it<sup>c)</sup> were about one thousand men, all of them from among the refugees from the cities of Piedmont which was in

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a) Lam. 1, 5

b) to Marcantonio Colonna  
(see note 100)

c) in the city

the hand of the King,<sup>103)</sup> They strengthened themselves therein. And Brissak sent to call them to make peace, but they did not hearken unto his voice. And they went out to fight against the servants of the King, for three days, day after day<sup>a)</sup> and many slain were fallen to the ground in those days; but they returned into the city with a high hand.<sup>b)</sup> And Carlo Brissak commanded and they digged beneath it round about, and they placed barrels (filled) with inflammable powder in abundance, in the sand caverns, in order to cast down the wall. And it came to pass on the eighteenth day of the same month, that Brissak sent again to see what was in their heart. And they said unto him: "We will not go out of this place". And they strengthened themselves within at that time. And it was on the morrow, that men were sent from Fossano to aid them (the besieged city). And they (the Spanish) passed with a high hand through the French camp, in the middle, and they (the French) paid no attention to them (the reinforcements) till they had passed. And it came to pass after they had passed that their (French) camp howled like a dog.<sup>c)</sup> They caught about thirty men and the rest hastened to flee. And they approached the wall, but were not allowed to enter the city because they (within) feared. And they showed them the sealed letter, and they received them

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a) cf. II Kings, 25, 30. Lit.: Every day a portion  
b) Ex. 14, 8  
c) Ps. 59, 7



joyfully.<sup>104)</sup> And Brissak was content to hang those who had been captured. The captains of the armies, however, took counsel and hanged only those who were found among them, who rebelled against the King and none of them save one, for whom Monseigneur De Bene (?) interceded; and they set him free (without money). And the besieged, who were in the city, heard of this, and they took an oath one with the other rather to die in battle, than to surrender themselves into the hands of enemies, such as these. And they (the French) struck the walls of the city and threw down about twenty cubits (of it) unto the ground. The earth was rent at the sound of the battering rams.<sup>a)</sup> And three of the captains of the army together with about two thousand men went to see the breach in the wall, and they saw behold that those inside had fortified themselves. And they, that guard the wall, smote many of them, and they turned back with guile.<sup>b)</sup>

And it came to pass on the first day of the month of June, that the son of the (French) Grand master disguised himself in the clothes of a drummer, and he went into the city to see (it) and to call it to make peace. And they (the people of the city) said unto him: "Ere we would deliver the city into thy hands we will rather die in battle." And he said unto them: "When you will want it (peace) we shall not

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a) cf. I Kings 1, 40

b) Gen. 27, 34

want it any more." Thereupon they recognized him, and the marksmen shot from the wall,<sup>a)</sup> and they smote him that he died. And Brissak took an oath not to go away from it (the city) until it fell.<sup>b)</sup> And they cast a mound about it, and they razed many houses to the ground, and many women fell to their knees (in childbirth) and lost the fruit of their wombs, and they died at that time.

And it came to pass on the fifth day,<sup>105)</sup> that they (the French) captured one man whom they (the defenders of the city) sent to Fossano saying: "We lack nothing save some water and gun-powder."<sup>c)</sup> And on the twenty second day of the same month a man was captured who was going into the city, and a letter (was) in his hand, saying: "Do not fear, for the Marquis is approaching<sup>106)</sup> and with him there are eight thousand footmen and five hundred horsemen, and also the Friulians<sup>107)</sup> are coming behind them, and those that were numbered of them<sup>d)</sup> are one thousand and five hundred." And Brissak was sore afraid and he intended to fight against it<sup>e)</sup> (the city) before they<sup>f)</sup> reached it. And it came to pass on the morrow that they waged war against it. And they threw down one wall, the only one that was left. Then did a soldier come out, with a flag in his hand

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a) II Sam. 11, 24

b) Deut. 20, 20

c) Lit.: inflammable sand

d) Num. II, in many verses.

e) the city

f) reinforcements



and called out with a loud voice: "Emperor, Emperor and Savoy," 108) at that time. And he continued to call: Make haste and come to drink with us today, for that is what we desire.<sup>a)</sup> And they raised a cruse of wine<sup>b)</sup> upon a spear.<sup>109)</sup> But the French put fire to one of the ditches. And they did not succeed. Then eight Italian standard bearers (regiments) fought over it at that time. And they (the Spanish) said to them (Italians): "Go up away from it (the city) and let those slow of tongue,<sup>c)</sup> 110) come and we shall see what will become of their dream.<sup>d)</sup> Thereupon they all (defenders of the city) fought as one man and they cast stones upon them (the French).<sup>e)</sup> And both the priests and the women and the tillers of the ground supported them<sup>f)</sup> and their voice was heard from afar. And they (attackers) turned back and were brought to confusion,<sup>g)</sup> and many of them were smitten and a half of them fell to the ground. Also Bonivet, the general,<sup>111)</sup> and the Pastor of Mondovi<sup>112)</sup> died in that slaughter. And the dwellers of the city raised a cat on a standard and shouted: O Duke! O Duke and Emanuel!<sup>113)</sup> And the servants of the King (Henry II) put fire to the remaining ditches but did not succeed, thus they were greatly astonished.

And the Baron Espiga (?) with the Gascons that followed him came thither and approached the wall with a high hand.

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a) cf. Ex. 10, 11  
b) cf. I Sam. 26, 11.12.16  
c) Ex. 4, 10

d) cf. Gen. 37, 20  
e) Lam. 3, 53  
f) Lit.: filled their hand  
g) cf. Ps. 35, 7



And they put fire in the remaining ditch. And the earth opened her mouth<sup>a)</sup> and did quake,<sup>b)</sup> and covered the army of the Gascons, who were found there. And Baron Espiga and two of his captains of the army died as well as two standard bearers. And there was none to save them<sup>c)</sup> on the day when God's anger was kindled. The city, thereupon, strengthened itself greatly by the valley (i.e. a moat?) that was made (about it), besides the ditches and the forts which they made.

And Monseigneur di Vitelli,<sup>114)</sup> too, approached to fight, and six French standard bearers (companies) were with him, and he fought against the wall with a mighty hand. And Lorenzo di Nizza (?), the general, went out against him. And he did fight against those nations (Italians, Frenchmen, Gascons, and Swiss) as when he fighteth in the day of battle.<sup>d)</sup> And the French strengthened themselves and entered within, and the people of the city ran against them, and pots of fire filled with gun powder (were hoisted) upon their spears, and they cast them into the midst of those Frenchmen. Many of them (the French) were slain, indeed, and those that remained turned away backward. And in their haste one did fall upon the other, passed over them, and trod them down as the mire of the streets,<sup>e)</sup> at that time of misfortune. And they

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a) Nu. 16,32; 20,10  
b) II Sam. 22,8; 18, 8

c) cf. Deut. 20, 27  
d) Zech. 14, 3; i.e.  
e) Mic. 7, 10



threw upon them big stones abundantly, all the inhabitants of the city like one man, even the priests<sup>115)</sup> and the women lent a hand at that time. And they threw upon them the mounds on one side and on the other. And they called with a loud voice: "Hurrah, hurra, come nearer, if you desire to take this cat." Then did Brissak see that the Baron, the general of the army, was killed, and that many slain were fallen to the ground, and he gave command and they gave a sign and they (the French) went up away from it, and did return to the camp; and he (Brissak) did not allow the Swiss to fight, for he was sore afraid of the Marquis.<sup>a)</sup> And about two thousand men of his men were slain on that day, besides those who were wounded,<sup>b)</sup> whose number was very great. And of the army of Cuneo fifty men were killed and about twenty wounded in battle. And from the inhabitants of the city, men, women and children to the number of one hundred seventy seven were wounded. And in the city there were found thirty five stones from the battering rams, which were thrown upon it in that battle. And Brissak commanded, and many of his people went to the cities of the frontiers, for they heard the voice of war.<sup>116)</sup> And the horsemen together with the one thousand and five hundred men he sent to Zervieri<sup>117)</sup> and they remained there.

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a) Del Vasto, cf. note 51

b) Lit.: beaten

And the Marquis went to Fossano and from thence he went to Cuneo with a high hand, and he placed there soldiers and a great amount of gunpowder. And as he turned aside to Fossano, his horsemen ran throughout all unwalled cities in Piedmont to take the spoil<sup>a)</sup> in the lands of their enemies. And Brissak was exceedingly pained. And Brissak commanded and more soldiers in great numbers were gathered, and his camp increased exceedingly.<sup>b)</sup> And they dwelt in the cities which were round about Fossano and they (the French) inclosed the Marquis round about. They hunted his steps that he could not move<sup>c)</sup> at that time.<sup>118)</sup>

And the French left Algezir<sup>119)</sup> in boats in the month of May, and they went to take spoil in the lands of their enemies. And it came to pass on the night of the nineteenth day of the same month, that in the morning (watch) they came upon Recco, which was near Genoa, with eleven boats, and they gave it as a spoil. They did unto it (Recco) deeds that ought not to be done.<sup>d)</sup> About sixty men (inhabitants) were caught in their <sup>nets</sup> pits<sup>e)</sup> in that <sup>occasion</sup> ~~precipitate~~ time; but two Turks fell by the sword and three were seized. Then the inhabitants of the open cities<sup>f)</sup> gathered together and fell upon them (the attackers) of a sudden with arrows and muskets. And they went back to their boats, and <sup>departed</sup> ~~went away~~. And

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a) Is. 10, 6  
b) Gen. 30, 30; 43

c) cf. Lam. 4, 18  
d) cf. Lam. 20, 29  
e) cf. Lam. 4, 20  
f) i. e. the coastal cities



also to Varese, which was near Savona, the men went and took some of them (inhabitants) captive. And they (the attackers) went and they <sup>set</sup> ~~sat~~ fire in one house of the Marquifate of Finale and they set there an ambush on the way, and the boats turned back and stood at a distance. Thereupon some people came out from Finale to extinguish the blaze. Then the ambush fell upon them and seized twenty six of them in a short while, and went back to their ships. The Marquis redeemed them, the <sup>ransom</sup> price ~~for their redemption (ransom)~~ <sup>being</sup> ~~was~~ one thousand and two hundred (scudi).<sup>120)</sup>

And many of the servants of the Duke of Ferrara made a conspiracy against him, and they lifted up their eyes to Louis his second son to make him King over them. And when this matter became known, forty men were seized and the city of Ferrara was in turmoil.<sup>a)</sup> The hand of the Marquis, the captain of the (Spanish) army, was also with them, and he sent thither horsemen to talk with them but it was of no avail, and they escaped for their life. Also his son, Louis, ran away for his life at that time.<sup>121)</sup>

And about six thousand Germans were sent from Germany a second time,<sup>122)</sup> And they (the Germans) desecrated their (the catholic) churches and their statues. Four of the priests of Pontremoli they had imprisoned, and they did unto them deeds that ought not to be done.<sup>b)</sup> And they went

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a) cf. Est. 3, 15  
b) cf. Gen. 20, 9

down to the sea in the galleys which were at Spezia, and they carried them to Naples and the camp of the Viceroy increased very much.<sup>123)</sup>

Salah Reis, the governor of Algiers, became sick and died, so Solyman sent in his stead Cortoglia. Since he made very heavy his yoke<sup>a)</sup> upon all the people, thus his servants made a conspiracy against him and smote him with the edge of the sword that he became weary and died.<sup>124)</sup>

And the men of the Emperor strengthened Guastalla which is on the river Po, thus the Duke of Ferrara was exceedingly wroth. And he gathered a great number of soldiers and laid siege to the city on the month of June. They cast mounds round about. But the servants of the Emperor saved it from his hands, and they (the Duke's army) went up from it and returned everyone to his house.<sup>125)</sup>

In the same month some wicked Spaniards<sup>b)</sup> wanted to deliver Alessandria into the hands of the servants of the (French) King, and three of them were placed in ward.<sup>c)</sup><sup>126)</sup>

And the servants of the King<sup>d)</sup> and of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - could not stand before army of the Viceroy of Naples; and though they (Alva's troops) did not do anything to them (Guise's army), they turned backwards and bore their shame.<sup>127)</sup> The (battering) rams they sent to Ferrara. And they became continually less and less

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a) cf. I Kings 12, 10  
b) Lit. Sons of Bélial

c) cf. Num. 15, 34  
d) Henry II of France



and many of them died of the sword not of man. And Guise went by way of the sea in boats to France at that time.<sup>128)</sup>

Now, John Battista (della) Tolfa and one hundred and forty men that followed him went to Castellazzo which is near Alessandria and they encamped there. And it came to pass on the night of the twenty seventh in the month of June that the French went there as robbers by night.<sup>a)</sup> And they slew five of them (Spanish) by the sword. But John Baptista was wounded in his hand, and they seized him and sent him to Casale. The remaining ones (attackers) ran for their life so that two of them were not found together. And of the French no more than four were killed at that time.<sup>129)</sup>

And when the Marquis was yet at Fossano there came from the land of the Germans seven hundred Burgundian horsemen and eight hundred Friulians. And they went as far as Asti, within the boundaries of Piedmont, to be of the helpers of the Marquis, and they remained there.<sup>130).</sup>

And the servants of the Emperor who were at Siena went to fight against Pienza, wherein were about five hundred men of the servants of the (French) King. These left the city as it was and ran for their life. Thereupon the servants of the Emperor came into the city and placed a garrison in it. And it came to pass in the month of June that

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a) Obad. 1, 5

many of the French who went to (the Kingdom of) Naples returned, and Monseigneur Malucco (?) was at their head, and he turned unto Montalcino at that time. But from the servants of the Emperor who went to Pienza remained but a few from many. Thus the servants of the King went up against it (Pienza) on the twentyninth day of the month of June and they attacked it twice but turned backwards and bore their shame. Thereupon Monseigneur di Malucco wanted to kill the captains of his army if they would not return to fight against it; and they returned and attacked the wall again. And it came to pass as they were fighting that wicked people broke down one gate that they had built and the foe entered within. They had made a noise in the streets of Pienza as in the day of a solemn assembly,<sup>a)</sup> And the (Spanish) soldiers who were in there turned unto the castle and fought against them. And they (the French) slew many of them by the edge of the sword, and the remaining ones were captured and they made them eat bread of sorrow<sup>b)</sup> in the prison house.<sup>131)</sup>

Then was Siena given to the Duke of Florence by the command of the Emperor and he came into the city and raised a standard on the top of the wall.<sup>132)</sup> Since the people of the city were sore grieved, so he wrote to the general of the (French) King's army saying: "Let my people go, according to our rules of war." And he did set them free, without

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a) Lam. 2, 7

b) Ps.127, 2



money.<sup>133)</sup>

And the Marquis could not come into Asti for they harassed his steps so that he was unable to go,<sup>a)</sup> neither by a mighty hand.<sup>b)</sup> And he stationed the horsemen at Fossano and went with the Spaniards that followed him and set his face towards Mt. Apenino.<sup>c)</sup> And they went towards the (Ligurian) sea and came to the shore of Genoa. They returned unto Lombardy on the twenty seventh day of the month of July and they encamped there.<sup>134)</sup>

Now, Philip the son of the Emperor gathered a great number of footmen and horsemen, and Emanuel Philibert, the Duke of Savoy, was made chief over them.<sup>135)</sup> And he journeyed from Brussels on the thirteenth day of the month of July and all the men of valor gathered about him. And they numbered thirty five thousand footmen, and fourteen thousand horsemen, and eight thousand peasants.<sup>136)</sup> And they came into France,<sup>137)</sup> and the French were afraid lest they would go unto the city of Guise, so they (the French) sent thither warriors and equipment of war from the rest of the cities. Emanuel, thereupon, allowed them to pass in order that they (his troops) might despoil the rest of the cities and Saint Quentin which is at the entrance to Flanders, and it is the land of France.<sup>138)</sup>

And it came to pass after these things that he (Emanuel

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a) It is a paraphrase  
on Lam. 4, 18, changing  
b) Ex. 3, 19;

c) Appennino Ligure  
17x to 17x .



hastened to cross to the side of St. Quentin through byways, in the dark of the night, and he encamped about it and the city was brought into siege. And it came to pass on the third day of the month of August that the Admiral<sup>139)</sup> and men, few in number<sup>a)</sup> were with him,<sup>140)</sup> traveled all night long, came into the city, and no one knew. And they continued to send reinforcements which approached the city on the fifth day. And there were with him (leaders of the reinforcements: D'Andelot) about two thousand five hundred men at that time besides the horsemen. And they (The French) found there the Spaniards and they waged war against them. The French were beaten before them so they turned their backs and ran for their life.<sup>b)</sup> And a multitude of people were slain on that day. And of D'Andelot, the captain of the army, nothing has been heard till this day.<sup>141)</sup> And when Emanuel saw what they had done twice,<sup>142)</sup> he commanded and they (his troops) erected the battering rams and they attacked the walls of the outskirts<sup>c)</sup> of the city and the French set fire to their homes and came into the city. And Emanuel's men entered within and they extinguished the fire and dwelt there until the rest of the warriors crossed the river.<sup>143)</sup> Now the French King was fifteen <sup>a</sup>parangs distance from there, and there were with him about twenty thousand footmen.<sup>144)</sup> And they decided to go to save the city out of their hand, and the King was content to go with them. But

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a) Gen. 34, 30  
c) lit.: squares

b) i. e. retreated



the French captains would not allow him. They moreover appointed Monseigneur Montmorency the Constable<sup>a)</sup> as chief over the army at that time.<sup>144)</sup> On the eighth day<sup>b)</sup> he journeyed with all his army and took with him ten of the battering rams, and he sent two thousand horsemen before him. And it came to pass one day that they<sup>c)</sup> came (crossed) from the other side of the river Somme; that they were approaching the city and the camp that was about it, and some of them went down to see whether they could cross. So Emanuel sent thereunto musket bearers to watch lest they<sup>e)</sup> cross there. The people of the city, however, cast mounds upon them, therefore the French did nothing at that time. And it came to pass on the tenth day<sup>d)</sup> that the servants of the King approached, and they brought boats in their wagons wherewith to cross the river, and the battering rams. And they fell upon the people of Emanuel of a sudden. And they lowered down the boats into the water and they crossed upon them.<sup>145)</sup> But as they crossed the Spaniards struck at them. Emanuel, thereupon, sent thither four hundred men carrying muskets, and he set his heart to cross the river from the other side where the foe was. And he gave command and Monseigneur de Egmont crossed, and after him crossed also many captains. And the number of them that crossed was seven thousand horsemen. And it was told to the Constable saying: Emanuel sent forth his horsemen hither and thither. And he streng-

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a) Italian: Contestabile Momoransi c) the French

b) of August



thened his heard at that time.

And it came to pass after three hundred men had crossed,<sup>145a)</sup> and after they had come into the city, that they saw that the horsemen of Emanuel crossed the river and those that walk by foot were also hurrying to cross after them. Then the French stopped and arrayed their battle lines. But the horsemen of Emanuel fell upon them like the wolves of the evening.<sup>a)</sup> And the horsemen of the King were defeated before them, and they returned back unto the place wherein were those who went on foot, and they pursued them till that place, and they engaged there in battle<sup>b)</sup> before the army on foot, who were behind them, came. And the men of the French King were defeated by the horsemen and many of them fell by the edge of the sword, and they did not do the work of the Lord deceitfully,<sup>c)</sup> at that time. And then came also those who went by foot and filled their hands too until they had utterly destroyed them. And there fell in that slaughter of the camp of the French twelve thousand men, but from the men of Emanuel died two hundred men and three officers.<sup>146)</sup> Two other officers were wounded in that battle. The Constable and his young son and eighteen other officers were seized alive, and they were put in prison.<sup>147)</sup> And one general of his generals fell down dead<sup>d)</sup> in that battle.<sup>147a)</sup> Also about two thousands of the noblemen of

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a) cf. Jer. 5, 6  
b) cf. Gen. 14, 8

c) cf. Jer. 48, 10  
d) Jud. 5, 27



France were taken captive and amongst them were one thousand and two hundred knights of those who sat first in the Kingdom.<sup>a)</sup> And about four thousand footmen and all the captains of the army and their standard-bearers were captured, there were only left about eight hundred men who ran for their life. And they took three hundred wagons, which carried provisions, and the battering-rams and nineteen flags of the horsemen, also fifty two other flags,<sup>148)</sup> and they took great booty, and the King was exceedingly pained at that time.

And King Philip was at Cambrai on the day of the battle, and he journeyed thence on the eleventh day of the month to go to the camp,<sup>148a)</sup> and there were with him one general of the Germans, and one general of the Walloons and eight thousand men of Galicia and two thousand horsemen. And he came into the camp and Emanuel talked with him and they both offered thanks to God. And it happened when Emanuel's people were in a suburb of San Quentin that they had captured one fortress and they attacked from it the houses of the city and they threw one tower down to the ground, and they digged round about it and they struck its walls with the battering-rams. And there were found within it none, save the Admiral, and the son of the Constable, who came in the city on the day of the slaughter,<sup>b)</sup> and with him were at that time one thousand men. And they approached to fight against it on the twenty-

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a) Est. 1, 4

b) August 10, 1557

sixth day of the month of August. But they did not fight for they strengthened themselves from within.<sup>149)</sup> And many of them (the attackers) were struck at that time. Thereupon they erected two more battering-rams, but they removed the rams that night from the place wherein they strengthened themselves. And it came to pass on the morrow that all the soldiers came near and they divided the wall between them. And they made eight ditches to reach unto the valley which was round about. And they gave a signal and each man fought from his corner, also the people of the city fought with them. But they could not stand and they returned back, unto the place wherein were (stationed) the Spaniards and the Germans.<sup>150)</sup> Then Emanuel came to talk to the heart of (encourage) his men, and a breach was made in the city<sup>a)</sup> and he came with them within and he went unto the great (cathedral) church, and all the city was astir against them,<sup>b)</sup> He then returned to the camp and put a red cloak upon the spear and raised it. And when the soldiers saw it, each of them came from his corner and no man could withstand them<sup>c)</sup>, at that precipitate time. And King Philip stood on the opposite side (to see) and he beheld that the French were reinforced from the side of the English,<sup>d)</sup> and two of his captains were hurt and they turned backward, for they were afrightened at their presence.<sup>e)</sup>

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a) cf. Jer. 52, 7  
b) Ruth 1, 19

c) Est. 9, 2  
d) Italian: Inglesi  
e) cf. Ex. 64, 3



They made a noise in San Quentin as on the day of a solemn assembly.<sup>a)</sup> And they ran to the place wherein there were one thousand armed for war<sup>b)</sup> and many of the inhabitants of the city. And they went out to meet them with a mighty hand and gave battle there. And the Admiral saw that it was not in the power of his hand,<sup>c)</sup> and so he fled and fell from the wall, and the Spanish seized him. And both his brother D'Andalot<sup>(151)</sup> and the son of the Constable<sup>(153)</sup> were taken in their snares<sup>d)</sup> and they put them in prison. And they slew within the city four hundred men by the edge of the sword, and some of the inhabitants of the city, and among them three hundred knights, the heads of families<sup>e)</sup> of France. But women and children and churches were saved, for thus had the king commanded, and he who would act presumptuously,<sup>f)</sup> would be put to death. And he divided them amongst the captains of the army, lest they do them injury until it would become known what would be done unto them. And Philip gave the city for prey, for one night and one day, and he did not permit to enter into the city only those people who fought on that day. And in the camp of Philip there were slain and killed about one hundred men in that battle. Also about two thousand Germans, who had been seized, were set free. And Philip commanded and they gave to each one of them a shield, a buckler, and a sword. And they took an oath not to fight

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a) See above  
 b) Num. 31, 5  
 c) cf. Gen. 31, 13

d) cf. Lam. 4, 20  
 e) cf. Num. 1, 16; i.e. the chiefs  
 f) Deut. 17, 12



against him until after that year would pass. And there was no limit and no counting to the booty which they took, for the city of San Quentin was full and good. And gone from it (the city) was all its splendor,<sup>a)</sup> at that time. And the captains of Philip dwelt in the midst thereof and they raised their standard over the wall.<sup>152a)</sup>

Also in England many people gathered, footmen and horsemen and they made war on Scotland and many were slain by the edge of the sword, and many were seized, and they captured many strongholds,<sup>b)</sup> at that time.<sup>153)</sup> And people from Spain and England went in ships on the sea, and captured many ships from the French which carried spices and wares from the Moluccas Islands and they brought<sup>c)</sup> them into their land. Eight other ships bearing soldiers which were with them, were also captured. They took all their booty and went away.

That year, my book, which I called by name Mazib Gebulot 'Amim (He sets the borders of the people<sup>d)</sup>) was completed in the month of Ab, that is the fifth month of the year seventeen, three hundred and five thousand (5317=1557).<sup>154)</sup>

And it came to pass on the third day of September in the year eighteen, three hundred and five thousand (Sept. 5318=1557) that the men of Philip went up against (Le) Catelet, which was between Cambrai and San Quentin, and they took

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a) cf. Lam. 1, 6

b) cf. Ecc. 7, 26;

lit.: snares

c) Lit.: and they led them

d) Deut. 32, 8



it and put a garrison therein.<sup>155)</sup> And the King of France was exceedingly pained and he was full of wrath against<sup>a)</sup> the Constable and wanted to destroy him; thus he took all that belonged to him, and he took out from his house and his treasures ~~a~~ great wealth, at that time. The captains of Paris and the (other) provinces consoled him, and they spoke comfortingly<sup>b)</sup> unto him, and they brought to him of their silver and of their gold at that time. And he commanded and they assembled valiant men in all the cities of his Kingdom, none was exempted.<sup>c)</sup> And he returned to his duties.<sup>d)</sup> Also the residue of that which was escaped<sup>e)</sup> of his camp which he had sent to Naples returned unto France through byways, at that time. And he was unto them for eyes.<sup>f)</sup> <sup>156)</sup>

And the servants of Ferdinand, King of the Romans went by way of Burgundy<sup>g)</sup> also, to fight against the French, and they remained in Constance. But the inhabitants of Lyon were affrighted; they were in great dread,<sup>h)</sup> and their hearts\* melted and became as water.<sup>i)</sup> <sup>157)</sup>

And the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - and the Duke of Alva made peace on the seventh month, and they delivered the cities of the Colonnas unto Marc' Antonio, as they were,<sup>j)</sup> and the land had rest.<sup>k)</sup> The city of

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a) cf. Est. 5, 9  
b) cf. Gen. 37, 3  
c) cf. IKings, 15, 22  
d) cf. Hab. 2, 1; i.e. he stood guard  
e) cf. Ex.

f) cf. Num. 10, 31  
g) French: Bourgogne  
h) Ps. 14, 5, 54, 3  
i) cf. Jos. 7, 5; \*lit.: their heart.  
j) II Kings 7, 10  
k) Jud. 5, 31



Rome shouted and was glad.<sup>a) 158/</sup> But when the messengers of the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - returned to the city on the fourteenth day of the same month,<sup>159/</sup> their rejoicing was turned into mourning, for God had poured His wrath upon the city to destroy it, at that time. The windows of the heaven were opened<sup>b) 160/</sup> and the waters of the river Tiber prevailed<sup>c)</sup> all that day and all the night.<sup>d) 161/</sup> And it overflowed all the places near to it.<sup>162/</sup> And all the people trembled very much.<sup>e)</sup> And it came to pass on the morrow that its waters penetrated into the city and they prevailed in the merchant's depot and in the Via Nagona<sup>163/</sup> and in the Panteon,<sup>164/</sup> to the height of a man, and they swept away all that they found. The whole city was astir because of them. What then have they (the waters) done in the other streets of the city!<sup>f)</sup> The river was swelling continually until the end of the first watch (of the night). And the city of Rome was perplexed.<sup>g)</sup> And (the river) overflowed a half of one bridge and the church which was upon it,<sup>165/</sup> and it threw down to the ground some of the marble stone of the Sant' Angelo bridge as well as the many fortresses that the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - erected to fortify the tower; and also a part of the road by which one goes to court, and a part of the church upon the Tiberine Isle it (the river) brought down to the ground. It

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a) ) cf. Est. 8, 15  
b) Gen. 7, 11  
c) Ibid. 24  
d) Ex. 10, 13

e) Ex. 19, 16  
f) cf. Est. 9, 12  
g) Est. 3, 15



destroyed and broke<sup>a)</sup> also the houses of the priests that were there<sup>166)</sup> as well as all mills that were on the river. The city was sore famished for bread.<sup>167)</sup> They (the waters) had brought down many homes to the ground, in the house (within the city) and in the field. And about one thousand persons perished because of the flood of those cruel waters,<sup>b)</sup> and also much cattle.<sup>c)</sup> And there was no number to the corn, the must, and the fresh oil, and the clothes which the water destroyed. It would not be believed if it were told.<sup>d)</sup><sup>168)</sup> They destroyed every good piece of land;<sup>e)</sup> and all the houses, stores and churches were filled with mire and dirt<sup>f)</sup><sup>169)</sup> and all the highways were rooted up. And whithersoever a man lifted up his eyes, was mourning and lamentation.<sup>g)</sup>

Also in Orte and Narni they destroyed and corrupted.<sup>h)</sup><sup>170)</sup> And from the children of Israel none was missing even at that disaster, and the Lord saved them.<sup>171)</sup>

Also in Florence did they drink the dregs of the cup of the Lord's fury<sup>i)</sup> in those days, and the waters of the flood were upon the earth.<sup>j)</sup> It came to pass on the night of the fourteenth day of the month of September, that the waters of the Arno<sup>k)</sup> River, which passes through it (the

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|----|--------------------------------------|----|-----------------|
| a) | Lam. 2, 9                            | h) | cf. Ps. 53, 1   |
| b) | cf. Ps. 124, 5; i. e. fierce waters. | i) | cf. Isa. 51, 22 |
| c) | Jonah 4, 11                          | j) | Gen. 7, 11      |
| d) | cf. Hab. 1, 5                        | k) | Italian: l'Arno |
| e) | cf. II Kings 3, 25                   |    |                 |
| f) | Isa. 57, 20                          |    |                 |
| g) | Isa. 29, 2; Lam. 2, 2                |    |                 |



city) prevailed all of a sudden and in many places they reached even unto the second story. And the whole city was astir concerning them. And women who were at ease,<sup>a)</sup> and their children, went naked in the streets of the city<sup>b)</sup> and they were not ashamed. And they cleaned the streets of Florence with torches (in their hands)<sup>c)</sup>, in that precipitate time. And it came to pass that he who fled from the voice of the fear fell into the pit<sup>d)</sup> and the proud waters<sup>e)</sup> swept him away. Those that died therein were about four hundred human souls, and in the vicinity there died about five thousand people and much cattle. And there was none who could help them in the day of God's wrath; and many buildings were cast down to the ground, and three big bridges were broken at that time, and store-houses of wares, and corn, and must, and fresh oil were filled up with water, and the wine houses were filled with mire and dirt. And there was a great cry in Florence and its vicinity on that precipitate night, such as had not been since it became a nation.<sup>f)</sup> Also in Pisa and its environs did the waters of the Arno corrupt and do abominably.<sup>172)</sup>

a) Isa. 32, 9

b) Lam. 2, 11

c) Here, I think, the author uses a play on the word כָּבֵד which means to glorify, and in later Mishnaic Hebrew to clean. He uses the verse in Isa. 24, 15 כָּבֵד בְּאֵשׁ עַל כֵּן בְּאֵשׁ

‘כָּבֵדוּ (Therefore glorify ye the Lord in fires); hence, here, with torches in the hands they cleaned the streets etc.

d) cf. Isa. 24, 18

e) Ps. 124, 5, i.e. The stormy waters.

f) cf. Ex. 9, 24



And it came to pass on the twenty ninth day of the month that the Duke of Alva came into Rome in the darkness of the night,<sup>173)</sup> and the earth was rent<sup>a)</sup> at the sound of the battering rams and they honored him greatly.<sup>174)</sup> And he talked with the Theatine - may the name of the wicked rot - concerning (various) matters, and they took council together, and he turned away into the room.<sup>175)</sup> And the Theatine together with his cardinals took council together on the day of meeting. And they chose two cardinals to make peace with the King Philip (II). And Trivulzio was sent to Henry, and those who were seized in war as prisoners they set free. And the Duke left them in peace.<sup>176)</sup>

And King Philip removed the cardinal Trento<sup>177)</sup> from being the governor of Milan and he sent Giovanni Figueroa<sup>178)</sup> in his stead in the seventh month.

Also in Palermo, Sicily, was the hand of God to confuse them and to destroy them (the people). The Lord caused it to rain upon them for ten days and for ten nights. And it came to pass on the twenty seventh day of the month of September, that the waters prevailed very much and the wall fell and they (the waters) penetrated in the city, and caused about four hundred houses to tumble down. About five thousand human beings died at that time. See, was there ever such a thing!<sup>b)</sup>

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a) I Kings 1, 40

b) Jer. 2, 10

And some men desired to deliver Casale in the hands of the servants of the Emperor,<sup>179)</sup> but the matter became known, and they brought them down with blood unto the grave.<sup>a)</sup>

And Ottavio, the Duke of Placentia, gathered about ten thousand footmen and horsemen in the eighth month, and they seized from the unwalled cities, which belonged to the Duke of Ferrara within the boundaries of Pisa, and he reinforced Montego and he placed therein a garrison. And the Duke of Ferrara was affrighted greatly, and he reinforced L'Astilda (?) which was upon the Po river to guard the way. And the war was strong between them at that time.<sup>179a)</sup>

And the people of Genoa sent warriors unto Corsica to see whether they could wage war against the servants of the French King who were there, for they were few (in number) at that time.<sup>180)</sup>

And there gathered unto the French who were at Ponzone (?) everyone who was in distress, and everyone who was embittered, and that was in debt,<sup>b)</sup> and they went out to take spoil all day. And all the open cities which were round about served under tribute, and the cry of the oppressed reached heavenward. And the servants of the Emperor gathered together and laid siege against it, and they cast a mound against it, on the day of Sabbath, sixth of

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a) cf. I Kings 2, 9

b) cf. I Sam. 22, 2



November, and there were within it about three hundred and fifty Frenchmen and Italians, at that time.

And it came to pass as they went up into the city, they fell into the camp of the Italians, and they saved them; only their silver and their arms did they take away as booty, but they sent them away on their way free. But the French mayor of the city and his people which were gathered into the fortress were delivered unto the will of their enemies,<sup>a)</sup> the Spaniards, at that time. They (the Spaniards) put them into the guard-house. And about ten men were killed in that battle, and a few of them were captured and two of them fell under the wood (were hanged),<sup>b)</sup> and they bore their shame. And the city was given as prey and they took all they found. They left not even some grapes, stray leavings.<sup>c)</sup> And they led the French officer to Alessandria and they put a guard over him. And one Israelitish man was found there and he, too, was gone into captivity before the enemy<sup>d)</sup> at that time.

And John<sup>e)</sup> Portugal died and Sebastian, his grandson, whom the Emperor's daughter bore to him, reigned in his stead. He was fourteen years old, at that time.<sup>181)</sup>

And the people of Genoa threw down the walls of Urbag-  
nia in the tenth month, for the land was barren,<sup>e)</sup> so they

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a) cf. Ps. 27, 13; 41, 3 Ezek. 16-27

b) cf. Lam. 5, 13

c) cf. Obadiah 1, 5

d) Lam. 1, 5

e) cf. II Kings 2, 19 ארץ חסידים  
may also mean, a land that bereaves its people,

wearied themselves<sup>a)</sup> to send there a guard.

And Don Fernando, the Duke of Alva, came with boats into Genoa,<sup>182)</sup> and he went from there to be seen<sup>b)</sup> by Philip, the King, the son of the Emperor, in the month of January in the year one thousand five hundred fifty eight. One of his galleys that followed him was wrecked at Port Ercolo, and many were killed, at that precipitate time.

And Scipio, Count of Fiesco, captain of the army of King Henry (II), took a ship that came from the Isles of the sea, which carried spices and wares, and he brought it into Marseilles. And he did eat of the spoil of his enemies,<sup>c)</sup> at that time.<sup>183)</sup>

And King Henry (II) gathered together his army to wage war against Saint Quentin;<sup>184)</sup> and Emanuel Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, heard (of it) and he sent some of his men to the side of Bresse to guard the road. And Guise, the general of the King's army, had been at Lyon at that time. And he sent some of his men against them. And the men of Emanuel were smitten before them.<sup>d)</sup> And those that remained returned with disgrace and bore their shame.<sup>185)</sup>

- 
- a) cf. Gen. 29, 11. Here: They were unable  
b) i. e. to visit  
c) cf. Deut. 20, 14  
d) a frequent biblical expression



And while the armies of the King lingered<sup>a)</sup> to go to Saint Quentin, the captains of Philip reinforced it greatly,<sup>b)</sup> and when Henry's officers saw that their hope was in vain,<sup>c)</sup> they went to Calais on the first day of the month of January in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty eight, and one of the fortresses was delivered into their hand in but a moment. And they came near to the second fortress which was on the bridge, Nieullay, to see, and they cast upon them balls of the battering rams (i. e. cannon-balls). And Guise, the general, went to see the city from the opposite side, at night, as well as the fortress of Risbank which was upon the coast. And they drew very near it. And it came to pass on the third day that they stationed over them the battering rams round about in the beginning of the third (night) watch. And they attacked the walls and threw them down to the ground, and they waged war with them round about. And the people of the Risbank fortress left it to Guise at that time, and the French entered inside, and raised their standard over the walls. Then did the captains of the King cause some of the men of the army to cross over to the other side of the bridge Nieully, lest the men of Philip be able to save the city from their hands, and they encamped round about it.<sup>186)</sup> And it came

a) cf. Gen. 14, 11

b) Here is a fine play on the verse in Gen. 19, 16:   
 וַיִּחַמְּסָהּ, וַיְחַזְּקוּהָ. Here וַיְחַזְּקוּהָ is changed to   
 וַיְחַזְּקוּהָ and he reinforced it.

c) cf. Job 41, 1 (41-9)

to pass on the fourth day that they placed twenty four cannons<sup>a)</sup> over against the entrance to the water, because it was from there that the men of the city waged battle. And they fought there all that day. And when the waters of the sea decreased, Guise transported some of his men in order to prepare a place to encamp to go as far as the wall. And seeing that he could not prevail, they directed the cannons at the remaining fortress,<sup>187)</sup> and they attacked its walls (of the city) on the sixth of the month at the light of the morning<sup>b)</sup> with the thirty three battering-rams. And it came to pass on the morrow that they waged war against it with mighty arm, and many were slain by the edge of the sword, and the remaining ones fled at their cry<sup>c)</sup> into the city. And they stopped there at that night. And when the men of the city saw that the ships would not be able any longer to arrive into it (the city), they appointed a captain,<sup>d)</sup> and returned to make war against it. And then they approached the gate of the fortress, and behold, it was open, so they fought there, but they could not prevail (over it), and they turned away backwards. And they returned to fight again and they brought with them two battering-rams and they cast a mound over it. Also from another fortress which was opposite it, they waged war against them, at that time. And they returned to fight again, and the French rose and drove them away, and

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a) Lit. brazen-rams  
b) II Sam. 23, 3

c) cf. Num. 16, 34  
d) cf. Neh. 9, 17



many fell to the ground, and the remaining ones fled for their lives. And the French seized two hundred men, at that time, and they brought them into the fortress and locked the door. Thereupon when the people of Calais saw that their condition was bad, they sent two men to talk (negotiate) with Guise. And he made with them a treaty of peace. The terms of the covenant (were) to deliver into his hands fifty men of whomsoever will find favor in his eyes from the warriors, and the rest of them should go out free (without money). The rest of the army should cross over into England; only that they should leave there all the arms found there, and the gun-powder and the cannon, and as for the silver and the gold and clothes, Guise should do with them as it would seem good in his own eyes. And it came to pass upon the eighth day and the ninth day, that all the inhabitants of Calais were cast out outside, and the city was given over to booty, at that time.

And the men on the ships of Henry (II) went and captured Ham<sup>188)</sup> and those cities belonged to the King of France till this day. And they found in those cities battering-rams and provisions in abundance to provide for the armies of the King, to eat and to leave thereof.<sup>a)</sup>

And boats were also sent from Normandy to fight against

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a) II Kings, 6, 43, i. e. to eat more than enough.

Calais. And they seized three boats that came from England carrying all that was good, and they filled their dens with booty.<sup>a)</sup> And it came to pass, as they were fighting, that many people fled from the port of Calais for they were afraid lest the evil overtake them.<sup>b)</sup> And six boats were found there carrying wool, and they were a prey, at that time.

And the armies of Henry went and arrayed<sup>c)</sup> themselves against the fortified city of Guiness, and they called to it for peace. In it were about five hundred men and Mylord, the Englishman (was) at their head, at that time. But they hearkened not unto Guise. So forty battering-rams were erected against the city, and they struck its walls for three days and they threw upon it eight thousand sling-stones,<sup>d)</sup> so that their noise (voice) was heard afar off.<sup>e)</sup> They fought against it on the twentieth of the month and they could not prevail over it, and many fell to the ground. And Guise was standing upon the hill and he became very wroth. So he descended and spoke encouraging words unto his army.<sup>f)</sup> He then went with them and, drawing near the wall, they raised a great shout and fought as at other times, and the people of the

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a) cf. Nah. 2, 13 i.e. "with booty"

b) cf. Gen. 19, 19

c) The word here used is: וַיִּצְבְּאוּ which means, of course, warred (like Num. 31, 7; וַיִּצְבְּאוּ לַיהוָה). The other meaning is: to do service, like אֲשֶׁר צִבְּאוּ (Ex. 38, 8). But from content here it seems to mean: "arrayed"

d) Zech. 9, 15; Job. 41, 20, i.e. cannon-balls

e) cf. Es. 3, 12

f) cf. Gen. 35, 3. Here: He encouraged



city were beaten.<sup>a)</sup> The French strengthened themselves (waxed mighty in power<sup>b)</sup>) and entered the city with raised arm.<sup>c)</sup> They slew all the soldiers with the edge of the sword. Only Mylord and his captains escaped into a certain tower until the terror would pass.<sup>d)</sup> But he too was delivered to his enemies, at that time. And it came to pass on the morrow that three hundred horsemen of Philip's people came to see what was being done there? And they discomfited them with the edge of the sword<sup>e)</sup> and the remainder were seized alive. Then other horsemen came behind them and they were all but destroyed (their foot was almost gone),<sup>f)</sup> at that time.

And unto ~~the~~ Gravelines did Guise, the commander, send word, saying: Come ye out unto me and live, or else, evil is determined for you.<sup>g)</sup><sup>189)</sup> And into Amiens did he send warriors and six rams (cannons) for it remained fortified, at that time. His armies encamped and fortified St. Omer, because it was the key to the French kingdom.<sup>190)</sup>

And it came to pass, when they were fighting against Calais that the King called together the heads of the priests and the governors of the provinces and the judges of the people and the merchants, and he went into the palace and spoke

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a) i. e. defeated  
b) Job. 21, 7  
c) i. e. triumphantly  
d) cf. Isa. 27, 20

e) cf. Ex. 17, 13  
f) cf. Ps. 73, 2, i.e. slipped, fallen  
g) cf. I Sam. 15, 7, 9

in their ears, saying: "You have seen that which Philip (II) and the Duke of Savoy have been doing, just as they had planned to do; I spent my money which I laid up in store, and which my fathers laid up in store,<sup>a)</sup> in order to save my land from their hand, to this day. I called to them, for peace, but they hearkened not. And while I spoke peaceably unto them,<sup>b)</sup> they were for war.<sup>c)</sup> Behold, your own eyes see today that dogs have encompassed me.<sup>d)</sup> The children are come to the birth and there is not strength to bring forth.<sup>e)</sup> These are days of wrath and rebuke now, therefore I said I would pour my complaint<sup>f)</sup> out before you, saying: Have pity upon me, O my friends<sup>g)</sup> in order that I might deliver you out of their hand." And all of them answered even as one man, saying: "all that which belongs to thy servants is thine, moreover, we shall sell our sons and our daughters for men-servants and maid-servants in order to aid thee, only be strong and of good courage."<sup>h)</sup> And the King was glad as they spoke. And he spoke comfortingly with them, and they returned to eat bread. While the bread was yet between their teeth<sup>i)</sup> he was told, saying: "The fortress of <sup>Risbank</sup> ~~Bootham~~ which is at

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a) II Kings 20, 16;  
Isa. 39, 6  
b) cf. Gen. 37, 4  
c) cf. Ps. 120, 7  
d) cf. Ps. 22, 17

e) Isa. 37, 3  
f) cf. Ps. 142, 3  
g) Job 19, 21  
h) Jos. 1, 18  
i) cf. Num. 11, 33



Calais, as well as the bridge that is there, has been conquered." And the King and his officers rejoiced and exulted very much.<sup>191)</sup>

Now there was a great earthquake in Flanders<sup>a)</sup> in the month of January; and in the city of Antwerp,<sup>b)</sup> it caused a great number of buildings and belfries to tumble down to the ground. Everyone feared greatly. Also upon the ships of the sea was God's hand, many of them going down into the depths like a stone.<sup>c)</sup> And a great number of people died, at that time.<sup>192)</sup> And the crews of the King's ships captured one ship which carried wheat near Piombino, coming to Genoa in the month of spring. One ship, manned by Ragusans,<sup>193)</sup> filled with all that was good, coming from Spain, sank in the Mediterranean sea, not one man escaped.<sup>d)</sup>

In that month did Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, and Ottavio, Duke of Placentia, make peace<sup>e)</sup> for forty days. Each of them sent his people away; and the land had rest.<sup>194)</sup>

And about sixty ships left the port of Ancona. The wind drove them hither and thither, and they went down to the depths of the sea and many died at that time.<sup>195)</sup>

And there was an earthquake in Siena on the thirteenth day of April, and all the people feared very much. And it (the earthquake) increased continuously and many buildings

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a) It.: Fiandra  
b) Fr.: Anvers  
c) cf. Ex. 15, 5

d) cf. I Sam. 30, 17  
e) i. e. a truce

fell to the ground and many (people) were killed. All the people ran hither and thither, for they said: "We are all dead men."<sup>a)</sup> And when it grew more violent again, the people fled into the broad streets of the city. All the houses of the (main) street of the city were breached and the tower that was there almost fell to the ground, they all put their hands on their loins. Now the Jews who were there, seeing that the arch of the house opened its mouth without measure,<sup>b)</sup> ran all of them together to get out; and they were unable. And as they lingered there, the house that stood opposite fell to the ground, and thus God saved them. And in Siena was heard nothing other than a cry in the morning and a wailing at noontide<sup>c)</sup> (that came out) from the sighing of the wounded who were struck in that disaster. They searched, each man for his brother, son or friend, and all the city was in turmoil. Even the confusion of war was accounted as nought and vanity<sup>d)</sup> in their eyes in that precipitate time.<sup>196)</sup>

And in Como, too, was the earthquake and many buildings fell to the ground, and the bells sounded their voices<sup>e)</sup> though no one touched them. And in all its environs the earth was quaking: In San Gimignano, and Lucignano, and Pisa, and Castello, and Volterra, and in many other places

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a) Ex. 12, 33  
b) cf. Isa. 5, 14  
c) cf. Jer. 20, 16

d) Isa. 40, 17  
e) were ringing



whose names I do not mention.<sup>a)</sup> Some unfortified cities there were in which stone was not left upon stone. See, if ever there hath been such a thing!<sup>b)</sup> And the great Cathedral at Siena and the church of St. Augustine were nearly destroyed, as for the breached houses the mouths of which gaped without measure,<sup>c)</sup> they were without number, Afterwards the earth quaked<sup>d)</sup> again; however, not with such strength. And many fled to the fields and to the vineyards until the indignation passed,<sup>e)</sup> for they feared for their life. But the Jews, God being merciful unto them,<sup>f)</sup> had light.<sup>g)</sup> None of them was slain in that disaster. Therefore will I give thanks unto thee, o Lord, among the nations, and will sing praises unto thy name.\*)

In those days<sup>197)</sup> did Guido Ubaldo, Duke of Urbino, completely thrust out<sup>h)</sup> from his land all the Marranos who lived at Pesaro. And one ship left Pesaro on the thirteenth day of Nissan (April 1, 1558) upon which there were about seventy persons,<sup>i)</sup> and they journeyed towards the east. And it came to pass when they were in Ragusa that about fifteen of them left the ship (landed there), and the remaining ones continued on their journey. And it happened, when they were near Castelnuovo, that villainous and vain fellows came out upon them on the ship, for the ship's captain had betrayed them, and they captured them and they sold them for men-

a) cf. Ps. 16, 4  
b) Jer. 2, 15  
c) Isa. 5, 14  
d) cf. Jer. 50, 46  
e) Isa. 26, 20

f) Gen. 19, 16  
g) Est. 8, 16  
h) cf. Ex. 11, 1  
i) cf. Deut. 10, 22  
\*) II Sam. 22, 50. Ps. 18, 50



servants and maid-servants into the land of Apulia.<sup>a)</sup> See, o Lord, and consider<sup>b)</sup> and plead thou their case.<sup>c)</sup> Now another vessel full of human sheep left Ancona on the twenty seventh day of April, while I was at Ferrara. And when the report thereof was heard in Ancona they were pursued. But the thing became known,<sup>d)</sup> and the Jews besought the ship's captain, so he led them into Istria, which belonged to the Venetians, and the Lord saved them.<sup>e)</sup> 198)

And it came to pass, at the time when kings go out to battle,<sup>f)</sup> that the Spanish and the ~~French~~<sup>Germans</sup> who were at Lombardy gathered and set <sup>out</sup> the battle in array against <sup>in Monferrato</sup> Casale (?). The city was besieged<sup>g)</sup> and its walls were struck on the twenty fourth day of the month of April. They warred against it and came into the city with a mighty hand. They smote all the servants of the King of France with the edge of the sword, and none escaped save the commander and three of his servants, at that precipitate time. Also from the inhabitants of the city they slew about thirty men and four women, and there was no one to save them in the day of the Lord's wrath. They gave the city for spoil and the best of its houses they set on fire and they broke down the citadel, that it shall (would) not be built again. Also the unfortified cities God deliver-

a) It.: Puglie  
b) Lam. 1, 11; 2, 20  
c) Ps. 119, 154  
d) Est. 2, 22

e) Wiener's translation: "dass er sie nach Istrien führen möhhte"(p.96) is not true to the text.  
f) II Sam. 11, 1  
g) II Kings 25,2; Jer. 48, 5



ed into their hand, and whithersoever they turned, they dealt wickedly<sup>a)</sup> and they waxed very mighty.<sup>b)</sup>

And it came to pass, when the Emperor Charles grew old<sup>c)</sup> and he saw that resting was good,<sup>d)</sup> that he gave the office of Emperor<sup>e)</sup> to Ferdinand his brother, King of Hungary. Then nations hearkened unto him.<sup>f)</sup>

And it came to pass on the night of the twenty fourth of May, that Louis Birone the chief of the army of the King of France sent about two thousand footmen and horsemen unto San Germain, secretly, and they brought with them one of the battering-rams. Then they erected the ladders and they sealed its walls of a sudden, and the whole city was astir concerning them.<sup>g)</sup> And the soldiers gathered into the church and into the citadel, in but a moment, and they fortified themselves there. And the servants of the King Philip also gathered to go there. And the French took their cannons and the other (battering) rams that were found in the city, and they gave the city to spoil, and then went on their way. But horsemen of King Philip overtook them and they fell upon them suddenly and they smote many with the edge of the sword. Many were taken alive, and those who were left fled for their life.

a) cf. I Sam. 14, 47

b) Ex. 1, 20

c) Gen. 27, 1

d) cf. Gen. 49, 15 ~~lit. xx~~

e) Lit. Emperorship

f) cf. Ez. 19, 4

g) Ruth 1, 19

~~And saw a resting place that was good.~~

And they forsook the cannon in their haste, and also the spoil they cast to the ground. And the slothful man roasted not that which he took in hunting<sup>a)</sup> at that time. And the servants of Philip took the Oxen (?) and the rams they left there, and each man returned unto his house. But the French came back at night and took the rams and came into Santenil and remained there,<sup>b)</sup> And St. Germain remained in the hands of King Philip's men as at first. And they placed a garrison therein.

And it came to pass after Calais was captured that Henry, King of France, sent thither corn, and bread and victual<sup>c)</sup> and weapons of war.<sup>d)</sup> And the servants of King Philip went out against them on the road with a mighty hand, and they slew many with the edge of the sword. And about eight hundred horses laden with all good things they captured and took as spoil. They then went on their way.

And the men of Genoa sent messengers unto Solyman, the Turk, at that time, and in their hand was a present, to find favor in his eyes and to beseech him to make a covenant with them.

And the ships of Solyman, the Turk, came to the seas of Italy, at the request of King Henry, in the month of June,

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a) Prov. 12<sup>15</sup>, Acc. to King James translation  
b) Lit.: silenced there  
c) Gen. 45, 23  
d) Jud. 18, 11 ~~et al.~~



their number being thirty and one hundred. And they went to the cities of the Kingdom suddenly. They landed in the city of Sorrento about five thousand men, and then they departed on their way. And about four hundred monasteries were caught in their snare<sup>a)</sup> in that city which the Lord overthrew in his anger.<sup>b)</sup> And they asked forty thousands (scudi) for their ransom,<sup>c)</sup> but they would not hear them. And they in all the cities of the sea feared greatly; they were in great fear.<sup>d)</sup> And garrisons were placed there, for the fear of the Turks was fallen upon them.<sup>e)</sup>

And they (the boats) came to Bonifacio.<sup>f)</sup> The men of Genoa thereupon sent a present to the commander, by a man named Francesco Costa, to find favor in his eyes, and he showed him the sealed (letter) that was in his hand from the Turk, his master, and he said: "I am a hierling<sup>g)</sup> of the French King; and my master commanded me, saying: All that he will tell you shall you do and wherever he will send you shall you go. But I will not do according to that which I am able to, because you found favor in my eyes." And he asked him, saying: "Did the messengers go to my Lord?" And he said to him: "The men did go with a present in their hand, for we are confederate with the great Sultan your lord."

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a) cf. Lam. 4, 20  
b) Deut. 29, 22  
c) Lit.: redemption of their soul, Ps. 49, 9  
d) Ps. 14, 5

e) cf. Est. 8, 17  
f) Straits of Bonifacio, in Corsica  
g) hierling - רִכָּלִי, here it means a mercenary, a soldier

The Turkish commander rejoiced exceedingly, as he spoke, and he honored Francesco, and he sent him away from him in peace.

And they (the ships) cruised to the seas of Spain, and they came to the island of Minorea and they besieged Ciudadela, and they took it and they burnt it with fire, and they took both the persons and the wealth,<sup>a)</sup>

And the Turks returned to the side of Provence and they saw that, behold, the King had not prepared the soldiers as he had promised. And they were very wroth. And they journeyed from thence and they went to the Ligurian Sea.<sup>b)</sup>

And they passed four miles distance from Genoa, and they proceeded on their way eastward. And the men of Genoa once more sent them a present. They pursued them but could not find them, so they returned into the city.

And it came to pass on the fifth day of the month of June that one of the servants of Ferdinand, King of Hungary, delivered the city of ~~Thatla~~, which is in Hungary, unto Solyman, the Turk. And the Turks came into the city and they raised a banner over the wall and they exulted very much. But it came to pass afterward that that scoundrel was delivered into the hands of his master's servants, and he bore his reproach.

And the King of France assembled arriors round about

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a) cf. Gen. 14, 21

b) Lit.: to the waters of Liguria



(Thionville<sup>1)</sup>) and they cast mounds against it, and they warred against it on the seventeenth day of the month of June, but they could not prevail over it. And Pietro Strozzi fell dead<sup>a)</sup> to the ground in that battle. And they fought against it for a second time, on the twenty third day thereof. And when the servants of Philip saw that it was not in their power to save it, they delivered it into the hands of King Henry, and they came into the city and raised a banner upon (its) wall. And the French captured also other cities from roundabout and set them on fire. And the smoke thereof ascended heavenward.

And about twelve thousand Bohemians became enemies of Philip at that time. And they fell unto the King of France and he gave them their hire.

Monseigneur de Thermes, the commander of the French King, was in Calais at that time. Day after day he would go to take spoil in the cities of King Philip, and he filled his dens with ravin.<sup>b)</sup> But Monseigneur de Egmont, lieutenant<sup>c)</sup> to Philibert, Duke of Savoy, could not stand in the breach, he therefore wrote to his lord. And Emanuel Philibert said (replied) to him: Fear not, for I am with thee, go out against them into the (battle) field, only be strong and of good courage.<sup>d)</sup> And it came to pass on the thirteenth day of the month of July, that Monseigneur de Thermes went out as at other times.<sup>e)</sup> Half of his vanguard

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a) Jud. 5, 27

b) Nah. 2, 13

c) in command

d) Jos. 1, 18



passed the river, and the river was overflowing all its banks.<sup>a)</sup> (In the meantime) about two thousand Bohemian horsemen had come into the camp of Monseigneur de Egmont, and his camp increased greatly. He now fell upon the remaining camp of Thermes on the bank of the river, and Thermes was smitten before them, and many fell slain to the ground, at that time. And it came to pass when the battle was on, that the remaining men of the camp wanted to cross (the river) to his (Thermes') help; but the rushing waters swept them away in their rapid flow. Many died in that precipitate time. And the number of them who died in that slaughter was about seven thousand men and about five hundred from the French horsemen. They passed away like smoke, in that slaughter. Thermes himself was wounded as he fought and he was seized alive. Also many important captains<sup>b)</sup> were captured, at that time, and were cast into prison. And Henry (II) strengthened himself once more, and he assembled both (foot) soldiers and horsemen. And King Philip came out against him with a strong hand.<sup>c)</sup> And the battle was fierce between them at that time.

And Borgogno (?), the Genoan, that base fellow<sup>d)</sup> came out to take spoil in the waters of Barbary.<sup>e)</sup> He seized one ship in which three Jews were, and he tortured them greatly. Thereupon did the Jews of Italy ransom two of them for three hundred

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a) cf. Jos. 3, 15  
b) cf. Num. 22, 15  
c) cf. Num. 20, 20

d) II Sam. 16, 7  
e) It. Barbaria



ducates, but the third one was sent to Algiers, and we know not what is become of him.<sup>a)</sup> And it came to pass after many more days, that he met<sup>b)</sup> another ship, in the beginning of the fifth month, that is the month of Ab, that he captured it. There were ten Jews upon it, and three of them died in that war. He also seized one galley of the Turkish ships as they were returning to Turkey. Solyman's wrath was greatly enkindled against them. So, as he (Bergen) continued to come out, he fell in the pits of the Turks, and the archers<sup>c)</sup> smote him that he died,<sup>d)</sup> and strangers made spoil of his labor,<sup>e)</sup> at that time. The Lord is righteous!

Now King Philip sent Gonzaga Fernandez, Duke of Cesi, in place of Don Juan Figueroa as his second. The nations hearkened unto him. And it came to pass when he arrived at Milan that he assembled both (foot) soldiers and horsemen and he gave them their hire. So they proceeded upon their journeyings, even till they reached Asti. - Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes -<sup>f)</sup>. And the servants of King Henry gathered themselves against the fortified cities, because they were few,<sup>g)</sup> and they strengthened themselves there. And it came to pass as they journeyed from Asti on

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|----|-----------------------------|----|------------------------------------|
| a) | Ex. 32, 1                   | e) | cf. Ps. 109, 11, i.e.              |
| b) | Ruth 2, 3; i.e. it happened |    | all his wealth was taken as spoil. |
| c) | here shooters               | f) | Num. 13, 20                        |
| d) | cf. I Sam. 31, 3            | g) | Ecc. 12, 3                         |

the seventeenth day of the month of August, that the French set an ambush<sup>a)</sup> on the way between Asti and Cuneo and they sat on their watch. When the Duke of Cesi heard of it he also set an ambush against them and no one knew of it. And it came to pass, when the servants of the Duke went on their way, that the ambush fell upon them and fought there. Then the ambush which the Duke had set up, came out and fell upon them of a sudden. And the French were beaten before them; and in the net which they hid was their foot taken.<sup>b)</sup> And many fell with the edge of the sword, and those that were left of them turned backward. And they pursued them till Cuneo. The French came into the city, but also the men of the Duke came in after them, and they smote them with the edge of the sword. And the city was given to spoil at that time.

And the Lord instigated the Count Martin Alcantette, from Oran, to go and fight against Algiers. And he went to Spain and they honored him greatly. He gathered together about twelve thousand men and returned to Oran, where they remained for a few days. And it came to pass in the month of August that they journeyed from thence to go to Algiers. They did not, however, prepare for themselves any victual.<sup>c)</sup> And when they were at Mostaganem,<sup>d)</sup> the people hungered for

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a) cf. Jud. 20, 29  
b) Ps. 9, 16

c) cf. Ex. 12, 39  
d) in Algiers



bread and were tired of hunger, so that the warriors murmured against him, saying: "Thou hast brought us hither to die of hunger in a strange land." And when the King of Algiers heard that they were hungry, he led forth his trained men<sup>a)</sup> and fell upon them of a sudden, and he discomfited them with the edge of the sword.<sup>b)</sup> About eight thousand Spaniards fell with the edge of the sword, and about four thousand were caught alive, not even one remained. He also took away the battering rams. The Count Martin fell by the sword, and they wounded his son very severely, and seized him alive, and they set a guard over him. And the Turks returned full with all the good things to Algiers and they offered thanks to God.

And about four thousand Spaniards were sent by boats in the direction of England, on the sixth month. And it came to pass as they were on their way, that they met some French ships on their way to Calais, and they arrayed themselves for war against them. And the men of the French King were smitten before them, and some were caught in their snares,<sup>c)</sup> and others sank like lead<sup>d)</sup> because of the wrath of the battering rams,

And Gonzaga Fernandez, the Duke of Cesi, and all his flanks passed (thence) and went to the side of Piedmont and besieged Centalla, and its walls were struck until (they)

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a) Gen. 14, 14  
b) cf. Ex. 17, 13

c) Lam. 4, 20  
d) Ex. 15, 10

came down,<sup>a)</sup> and they drew nigh to fight against it.<sup>b)</sup> And many people died. The city was greatly fortified; however, the Lord put a faintness in the heart<sup>c)</sup> of the servants of King Henry and they delivered it into their (the Duke's) hands, on the third day of the month of September. He set them (Henry's soldiers) free.<sup>d)</sup> And the Duke's servants came into the city and they found in it (those) battering rams and corn, bread and victual<sup>e)</sup> in abundance, and they stayed there for a few days. And it came to pass while they were there that they sent with them some of the soldiers, those who ride on swift steeds<sup>f)</sup> and there were gathered<sup>g)</sup> with (unto) them merchants and many an honored captain to go unto the camp.

And it came to pass on the eighth day of the month of September when they were in the plain of Ceresole that the servants of Brissak came out against them, on the way, with a strong hand, and they were very much affrighted at them. They fled as from before a sword, and they pursued after them and took much spoil.<sup>h)</sup> Also of the money that was sent to the Duke, they took their share at that time. And the Gascons smote the Spaniards that were found there by the edge of the sword, they left no soul alive.<sup>i)</sup> And the

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a) cf. Deut. 28, 52  
b) cf. Deut. 20, 10  
c) Lev. 26, 36  
d) Jer. 34, 16  
e) Gen. 45, 23

f) Est. 8, 10, 14  
g) Jud. 11, 3  
h) II Chr. 26, B  
i) cf. Deut. 20, 16



rest of the horsemen that carried the silver and the gold hastened to flee to Asti. And it came to pass, upon their return, that the horses beneath them died.

Also unto Roccavione did the Duke send warriors, and they cast a mound round about it. And it came to pass when the smoke of the cannons ascended, that the men of the Duke climbed the walls in the midst of the cloud and thick darkness<sup>a)</sup>, and every one that was found was thrust through with the sword.<sup>b)</sup> They raised then a banner upon the wall. About fifty men were slain by the edge of the sword, and the city was given for spoil, at that time. Then the Duke commanded and they broke down the walls of Centalla, and the forts of Roccavione. they cast down to the ground and the houses there of they set on fire, and they became a heap for ever<sup>c)</sup> until this day. Now the provisions that were found there he sent to Fossano; also Rocca Sparabira (?) they burned in fire, at that time, and the smoke thereof went up to the heaven. And it came to pass when the commander of Centalla returned to his master Brissak, that he gave command and they beheaded him,<sup>d)</sup> because Centalle had been fortified, and were it not for the faintness of his heart it would not have been captured, at that time.

And it came to pass in those days, that the Theatine - may the name of the wicked be destroyed - commanded the

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a) cf. Deut. 5, 19  
b) cf. Isa. 13, 15

c) Deut. 13, 17  
d) cf. II Sam. 4, 7

friar-priests, who had left their brethern, to return to live in their midst, under the whip, and he embittered their life and they hated him exceedingly and he became abhorrent to all flesh.<sup>a)</sup> Also the people of Florence, who were found in Rome, he diligently sought<sup>b)</sup> to burn with fire, but they fled for their life.

In those days did Salomon Romano, that base fellow, that is Philip,<sup>199)</sup> go in the command of the Theatine- may the name of the wicked rot - to all the synagogues in Romagna. He carried the cross with a high hand, and he placed it upon the pulpit and preached about it in the sight of the children of Israel.<sup>c)</sup> And it came to pass in the year three hundred and nineteen of the fifth thousand, that in the multitude of his wickedness he went to the synagogues of Recanati, on the Day of Atonement,<sup>200)</sup> with a high hand, and he placed the cross in the Holy Ark. And when the congregation became excited against him and cast him out, the wicked fellow shouted and the people of the city compassed the house round,<sup>d)</sup> and were it not for the mercies of the Lord which were not ended,<sup>e)</sup> their foot almost slipped<sup>f)</sup> at that dreadful time. But the mayor of the city commanded and they seized two members of the congregation, bound them and flogged them with whips in the broad streets of the city,<sup>g)</sup> like robbers by night.<sup>h)</sup> And there was none to help them in

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a) Isa. 66, 24  
b) Lev. 10, 16  
c) Deut. 34, 12  
d) cf. Gen. 19, 4

e) Lam. 3, 22  
f) cf. Ps. 73, 2  
g) Lam. 2, 11  
h) Ob. 1, 5



the day when the Lord's wrath was enkindled against them.

I pray thee, o Lord, look upon our sunken glory among the nations and the abomination in which we are held as of utter defilement. How long shall Thy strength remain in captivity, and Thy glory in the hand of the foe? Arouse Thy might and Thy zeal against Thine adversaries, and let all Thine enemies be cut off. Amen and Amen.<sup>a)</sup>

And Charles V slept with his fathers<sup>b)</sup> on the twenty-first day of the month of September in the monastery which was near Plasencia, Spain, whither he had come to serve his God, and they buried him in the royal sepulchres. And the days that that Charles V reigned<sup>c)</sup> on the Imperial Throne were twenty eight years, and they seemed unto him but a few days.<sup>d)</sup> This also is vanity and a striving after wind.<sup>e)</sup> And Ferdinand his brother, King of the Romans ruled after him on the Throne of the Empire. And nations hearkened unto him.

And the men of Genoa, the superb, sent messengers unto him (Ferdinand), to pay him homage in order that he make with them a covenant of peace, as did his brother.

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- a) Prayer "Hapoteach Jad"  
b) died  
c) I Kings 2,10  
d) Gen. 29, 20

- e) Eccles. 2, 26. According to the Jew. Pub. version; King James has it: "This also is vanity and vexation of Spirit"; Douay version: "--- and a fruitless Sollicitude of the mind;" Luther: "---Haschen nach Wind".

And it came to pass after the Duke had defeated Centalla, he commanded and they burned Ceresole with fire, on the twenty-first day of the month of September, because of what had occurred there to those who came into the camp. And the Lord brought forth the wind out of His treasures,<sup>a)</sup> and it was completely burned down in a short while, and it became a heap for ever to this day.

And the officers of the hosts (army)<sup>b)</sup> turned from there and besieged Mencilwo on the twenty sixth day of the seventh month. And about one hundred and fifty men came to their help, and the men of the Duke discomfited them with the edge of the sword, and the remaining ones fled for their life. And the walls thereof were attacked with twenty nine bronze cannons, in the month of Ethanim (Tishri) at the feast,<sup>c)</sup> while I was at Voghera; and the sound thereof was heard from afar. And it came to pass on the second day of the month of October, that the Italians and Spaniards came up against its fortified walls; and no man was able to stand before them, at that dreadful time. Many were slain with the edge of the sword, and those that were left of them escaped into the depth of the citadel, and their soul was to them for a prey.<sup>d)</sup> And Monseigneur de Pikini, their commander, was also pushed into the citadel and was saved therein. About one hundred men died

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a) cf. Jer. 10,13; 51,16  
b) Num. 31, 14

c) I Kings 8, 2  
d) Jer. 21,9; 38, 2



in that battle. And the city was given over for plunder, and their cry ascended<sup>a)</sup> heavenward. And it came to pass on the morrow that they brought near the cannons to attack the citadel and the Lord gave faintness in the heart of the men therein and they delivered it into the hands of the Duke, and they together with their weapons went out free without money.<sup>b)</sup> And the Spaniards entered into the citadel and they raised a standard upon the wall and rejoiced exceedingly; and nine hundred men, all attired with helmets and coats-of-mail went out thence, and they (the Spaniards) made them pass through the camp, and thus they bore their shame.

And it came to pass that Gonzaga journeyed thence, and about five hundred footmen and horsemen were sent to his aid on the eighth day of October. But the horsemen of the Duke discomfitted them by the edge of the sword, and those of them that were left ran away for their life.

And Monseigneur della Motta trembled exceedingly, and the people of the city (Casale) feared and their heart melted and became as water.<sup>c)</sup> But they talked encouragingly with him, and his spirit revived, and he restrained himself and he took the sum of his army, and their number was about one thousand besides the inhabitants of the city whose number was one thousand and five hundred. And they tolled the bells and all the people were encouraged and took up arms, and the whole city was astir. The weak one said "I am strong,"<sup>d)</sup>

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a) cf. Ex. 2, 33  
b) Ex. 21, 2

c) Jos. 7, 5, & above  
d) Joel 4, 10 (3, 10)

who would come up against us today?" And they strengthened themselves and erected iron rams round about and they sent gun-powder and balls to those who guarded the wall.

And it came to pass when the Duke's army approached the city, that the Lord rained upon them so that they could not stand on their feet and staggered like a drunken man.<sup>a)</sup> And the people of Casale came out against them and fell upon them suddenly, and the mounds of the walls were thrown upon them, and many slain fell to the ground at that time. And when the Duke saw that it was fortified and its fame went forth throughout all the provinces,<sup>b)</sup> he went one parsag's journey and came to San Martin and extended its boundaries and strengthened it and they stayed there for many days. And the people of Casale feared exceedingly and they ran hither and thither, day after day. But the Duke had mercy upon them and gave command and caused it to be proclaimed,<sup>c)</sup> not to touch them, but they shall go out safely, and none shall make them afraid.<sup>d)</sup> Also many of the Jews who were there went out safely at that time and they went to whithersoever their spirit was to go,<sup>e)</sup> and they settled there. And his (the Duke's) soldiers stayed in San Martin and in the cities near to Casale round about, and the city came under siege. And a man went and talked in the ears of the servants of the Duke

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a) Ps. 107, 27

b) Est. 9, 4

c) Ex. 36, 6

d) Ez. 34, 28

e) Ez. 1, 12



of Guise saying: Come into Casale quietly, for I will deliver it unto your hands at the appointed time that I will tell you." And they went thither on the night of the twenty sixth of the month of October, and they erected the ladders and scaled the walls. And it came to pass when they entered within, that the guardsmen fell upon them all of a sudden and they set fire on the gun-powder which they had prepared there. And many died in that precipitate time and the rest of them ran outside because of their shout, for they feared lest the evil overtake them, and they returned unto the camp. And the Duke's anger was greatly enkindled, at that time.

The servants of the Duke were called to San Damiano cunningly, and they went thither, and many of them died at that time and they bore their shame. Also unto Cherasco did Monseigneur della Trinita (?) go at night quietly, He entered the citadel, but had not enough strength<sup>a)</sup> to dwell there because of the wall of the oppressor,<sup>b)</sup> And when he saw that he was unable (to stay), he went outside before the evil was complete against him<sup>c)</sup> and he returned unto his place and unto his land. And Duke Cesare, the Viceroy, went alone to Milan and abode there for a few days. And Casale and also Valenza were straitly shut up in those days, and none went out and none went in.<sup>d)</sup>

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a) 2 Ch. 13, 20

b) This is a beautiful paraphrase in Isaiah 51,13 *פַּחַד הַבּוֹרֵן* "fury of the oppressor" is changed to read : *חֹמַת הַבּוֹרֵן* "wall of the oppressor".

c) cf. Est. 7,7

d) cf. Jos. 6, 1.

Alfonso, Marquis of Finale, turned aside, as was his wont, after lucre.<sup>a)</sup> And he made his people serve him with rigor and they hated him exceedingly. And it came to pass that Kapilo was jealous for his people<sup>b)</sup> and slew one of his master's servants, who was in charge of the tribute, and many people gathered about him, at that time. Then all the inhabitants of the open cities rose and placed him as head over them, and they laid siege to the citadel wherein the Marquis sat, and they fought over it for many days. And they sent messengers to the people of Genoa, saying: "Take away from us this death<sup>c)</sup> and we shall serve you all the time." And they accepted their plea and sent thither soldiers and battering rams and they smote the wall of the citadel round about, so that its foundations trembled<sup>d)</sup> and the Marquis was exceedingly troubled, at that time. And one of his servants went and gathered warriors and came to help his master, and about one thousand and five hundred men were with him. And when they came, the inhabitants of the unwall'd cities and the soldiers that followed them fell upon them like wolves of the wilderness, and they slew one hundred men of them, and the rest ran for their life; they did not look behind them. And the citadel was straitly shut; none came out, none came

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a) cf. I Sam. 8, 3  
b) cf. Joel 2, 18

c) cf. Ex. 10, 17  
d) cf. II Sam. 22, 8;  
Ps. 18, 18



in.<sup>a)</sup> And the relatives of the Marquis sent (word of it) to the King Philip and to his Viceroy, the Duke, but it was of no avail, because the stars in his heavens distorted him,<sup>b)</sup> but he knew it not. And when he saw that he could not prevail, he delivered the citadel in their hands, in accordance with the wishes of his master, King Philip, on the thirty first day of October in the year five thousand three hundred and nineteen (1558) and he went away from his house sullen and displeased<sup>c)</sup> journeying to Milan to speak with the Viceroy, and he stayed there for many days.

And the messengers, whom the people of Geneva sent to speak with Solyman at the island of Chios returned in disgrace, because he had not respected their present<sup>d)</sup> and drove them away from his land and they bore their shame.

And it came to pass in the month of November that Henry, King of the French, said: "The men of Genoa who are at Corsica are idle, indeed they are idle, let therefore the war be heavier upon them and let them not regard idle words."<sup>e)</sup> So he sent his servants thither with boats and they came unto

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a) cf. Jos. 6, 1

b) Abr. Ibn Ezra, poem GALGAL UMAZALOTH

c) II Kings 20, 16

d) cf. Gen. 4, 4

d) A clear paraphrase of Ex. V, 7-9

the lake which was near (the) Bastia<sup>a)</sup> and they captured the fort that was in the midst therein and all those that were found there they slew with the edge of the sword, and they raised a standard over the wall. And the men of Genoa worried over the inhabitants of (the) Bastia and they sent thither soldiers and they placed therein a garrison.

And Queen Mary, sister of the Emperor died, and Mary Queen of England became queen instead of Mary, her sister, at that time. And the princes of England honored her greatly and she sat in the throne of the kings.

And it came to pass on the twelfth month that the servants of the French Kings sailed in ships and they met a large Genoan ship on her way to Spain, and they shot upon her from the muskets and her masts trembled and the ship was like to be broken.<sup>b)</sup> And about twenty men fell dead upon her, in that battle, and the rest of them were captured<sup>c)</sup> at that precipitate time. And they took much spoil within her, silver and gold and clothes in abundance, besides the money of the ransom for the men that were found upon the ship. And they filled up their dens with ravin.<sup>d)</sup>

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a) Port in Corsica; Italian La Bastia, therefore the article "the" is used by the chronicler also in Hebrew.

b) Jonah I, 4

c) Lit. "taken in their pits" cf. Lam. 4, 20

d) i. e. They filled up their dwellings with booty. This phrase from NAHUM 2, 13 is used often by the author.



And about fifty Gascons stayed at Audi (?), which is in the mountains of Monferrato, and they used to go out to take spoil every day, so that their stench ascended heavenward.<sup>a)</sup> And Don Garcia, the chief of command of King Philip, went up against them on the second month, and three thousand men were with him. And they called unto them for peace. And it came to pass while they were talking that the soldiers suddenly scaled its walls and whomsoever they found there they slew with the edge of the sword. None but about twenty men from the Italian camp, escaped at that time; and the city was given over to plunder. The city of Camerino too, did they set fire, then everyone returned to his home.

And it came to pass after Queen Mary died that these two kings (Philip and Henry) made peace and the land had rest for many years. And they became allied by marriage: Philip, the King, took unto him Isabella, the daughter of King Henry, as a wife, and Margaret, sister of King Henry, was given (in marriage) to the Duke of Savoy, who loved her. And they made between them a treaty of peace, that shall not be broken.<sup>b)</sup> And they returned, every man of them, to his inheritance. And they returned the cities which had been taken in battle every-

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a) Here the author paraphrased the verse of Isa. 34, 4

וְיָשָׁבוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּ וְיִשְׁמְרוּ and means "their bad actions."

b) Isa. 56, 6, i. e. will not be broken.

one to his brother. And the Kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan remained, by the wish of King Henry, with Philip as dowry and gift. And Emanuel Philipert, Duke of Savoy, returned unto his land. To the men of Genoa was given Corsica, while Siena and all its environs were delivered into the hands of Cosimo, the Duke of Florence, as vassal states.<sup>a)</sup> And the decree was given out in Paris in the month of Spring. And the report (thereof) was spread in Italy, and the decree was issued in Milan<sup>b)</sup> on the twelfth of April. And the earth rent at the sound of the battering-rams. And the city of Milan shouted and was glad.<sup>c)</sup> And they caused it also to be known in Genoa by the blasting of the trumpets on the twentieth day of the month. And they celebrated for three days and they rejoiced very much.

And the monks were like thorns in the sides of<sup>d)</sup> the Jews of Cremona that year and they made their savor to be abhorred<sup>e)</sup> in the sight of the people.<sup>201)</sup> And at the time of their Passion Days two Dominican monks<sup>202)</sup> spoke evil against the Books of the Talmud with the Governor of Milan. And his word (in this matter) was given in a short time, before the heads of the communities could stand in the breach.<sup>f)</sup> And

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a) Jos. 16, 10; lit.: to  
serve under tribute  
b) cf. Est. 3, 15  
c) cf. Est. 8, 15

d) Num. 33, 35  
e) cf. Ex. 5, 21  
f) Ps. 106, 23; i.e. intervene



they burnt many volumes of the Talmud and Posekim (Codes) at that precipitate time.<sup>203)</sup> The quarrels of two striving German Hebrews<sup>a)</sup> caused all this: One of them was named Joseph Ottolenghi<sup>204)</sup> and the other Joshua ben-Heth.<sup>205)</sup> God rewarded them according to their righteousness.<sup>b)</sup> For it came to pass after some time that Joshua ben-Heth was murdered and it was not known who killed him; and they buried him in Cremona on a lonely spot, near the walls.

Since that (man) Ottolenghi was wroth with me for what I have (just) written, I wrote to him as follows:

Counsellor Cunning Charmer (Craftsman)<sup>c)</sup> Tower (Eminence) of our time and its splendour, God's mercy be upon him!

When it was told me that his honor is angry with me about what I wrote in my book, I was astounded for a while, and my reins instructed me<sup>d)</sup> and waked me as a man that is wakened from his sleep<sup>e)</sup> saying: What meanest thou that thou sleepest? Wherefore dost thou sit like a man overcome?<sup>f)</sup> Open your mouth, so that your words will shine forth! Answer him your words as follows: Look behind you, and ask now of the days past.<sup>g)</sup> Was it (not) written in a book that Cain slew Abel, that Lot lay

a) cf. Ex. 2, 13

b) cf. Lam. 1, 24; II Sam. 1, 22

c) cf. Is. 3, 3; cf. Is. 40, 29

d) cf. Ps. 16, 7, i.e. My conscience pricks me.

e) Lev. 4, 1

f) Jon. 1, 6

g) Jer. 14, 9

with his daughters and Jacob supplanted his brother, that Rachel stole the teraphim, and Reuben defiled his father's couch; that the brothers sold Joseph and Moses slew the Egyptian, and also burnt the calf that Aaron made; that Abimelech slew his brothers, the sons of Jerubaal, seventy persons; that Saul killed the priests of God, and that David diligently inquired after a woman and then sent messengers and took her and wrote: "set ye Uriah in the forefront of the battle that he may be smitten and die,"<sup>a)</sup> "that Solomon loved foreign women and that when he grew old he turned away his heart after other gods."<sup>b)</sup> And see, do see! Have the writers shown respect (i. e. withheld) not to write down on the books what those men and kings did or were they angry with them that they had uncovered their sins? If it is so, then, my worthy friend, after seeing all these and more like these which I do not care to mention<sup>c)</sup> wherefore has your face fallen and why does your anger smoke against me because I wrote that your quarrels caused all this? Especially, when I wrote what I wrote, after I heard it told twice and thrice from the mouth of truth tellers, and not from my own heart. Besides that which I wrote I did not write, God forbid, in order to make sport of you, but only because of the abundance of my complaint and my vexation,<sup>d)</sup> when I saw that the Scrolls of our Lord's Torah were for a burning,

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a) II Sam. 11, 15  
b) Vide: I Kings 11,  
1-7

c) cf. Ps. 16, 4  
d) cf. I, Sam. 1, 16



a fuel of fire<sup>a)</sup> and there is no one to say "Restore".<sup>b)</sup> However, I am astounded at you, Tower (Eminence) of our time, that you have not considered<sup>c)</sup> the verse in the bible "Fret not thyself because of the evildoers"<sup>d)</sup> and that from wicked ones like him<sup>e)</sup> come out wicked<sup>f)</sup> and out of the serpent's root shall come forth a basilisk.<sup>g)</sup> Surely, you must have heard what he has done in Germany, and that the name Jew does not befit him more than in a metaphorical sense, just as one calls a picture of a man on the wall, a man. Therefore was it necessary for me to write as it was reported (to me), that his quarrels were the cause, and in no wise, God forbid, to belittle your highness. For who could speak against a man like you and be accounted guiltless? But if, however, I did unwittingly offend your honor; do forgive, in the abundance of your graciousness, my transgression and my sin. And see and consider that even of Kings and counselors of the land I related all that happened to them, in the usual manner, be it good or evil, Therefore find consolation in all the examples that I cited here, that we are not inferior to them.<sup>h)</sup> Therewith will your name remain as a

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a) Isa. 9, 4

b) cf. Isa. 42, 22; i.e. stay your hand

c) cf. Job II, 3; Lit.: Taken unto heart

d) Ps. 37, 1

e) i. e. Joshua ben Hetn

f) cf. I Sam. 24, 13 (14)

g) Isa. 14, 29

h) Job 12, 3-13, 2.

memorial for all times in a book, and this is indeed something! And if in spite of all these (arguments), you are not becalmed, then my **Lord**, if you heard or knew that my quarrels or business caused evil as well as good, then, Tower of our Time, write it in a book with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond,<sup>a )</sup> For I do not mind such vain matters; and a person that does not take matters to heart we do not mind about him either.<sup>b)</sup> And as you are as wise as an angel of God, I shall not dilate but will prostrate myself before the splendid glory of your highness, from a distance, and to call out loud "Peace to you". Again I beg of your honor, that love should cover all transgressions and do forgive my sin and my transgression for the sake of your grace, and Peace. He who is bound to your wish and the servant of your love,

Joseph Hacoheh

And the Jews who were in the rest of the cities of Milan feared lest the plague spread in their cities. So they prostrated themselves before the Duke Sessa,<sup>206)</sup> the Viceroy, and before the Senators (Elders) that were with him in Milan. He promised them to write to the Pope good things concerning the Jews and to make him repent of his evil thought and allow them to print again the books of the Talmud.<sup>207)</sup> I pray Thee, O Lord, for the sake of Thy great Name, frustrate the counsel of those who rise against us and help us for the sake of your lovingkindness.

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a) cf. Jer. 17, 1

b) cf. Pesachim 110b.



Also against the books of the Christians<sup>a)</sup> did the wicked Theatine stretch forth his hands,<sup>208)</sup> and many books were burnt in Italy, in all the places where his hands reached, in the month of May.<sup>209)</sup> Therefore did his orders become odious in the sight of all the peoples. He also destroyed from the land all the books of wisdom which the German Lutherans had composed and written,<sup>210)</sup> as well as the Italian translation of Deuteronomy, the Books of the Prophets and the Hagiographas.<sup>211)</sup>

And King Solyman became old, advanced in years, and ~~Solyman~~ his younger son exalted himself, saying: "I will be king", and he made for himself chariots and horsemen<sup>b)</sup> and he warred against his older brother Selim, for many days. And it grieved Solyman and he commanded them, saying: "Return ye to your tents<sup>c)</sup> and do not fight any more." Thereupon did Selim hearken unto the voice of his father and the people were scattered from him,<sup>d)</sup> but Bajazet did not hearken unto him. Thus Solyman became very wroth and he gathered soldiers and horsemen and went to fight against him, and his first-born son Selim also went out with him with a mighty hand. And it was that when they arrayed for battle; and behold the men of Solyman turned backward, and Selim was greatly frightened, at that time. And it came to pass, when they were fighting, that there came into the army of Solyman about ten thousand horsemen to his aid. And when the battle spread<sup>e)</sup> (behold)

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a) The author uses מַלְכֵי  
b) cf. I Kings I, 5

c) Deut. 5, 27  
d) I Sam. 13, 8  
e) I Sam. 14, 2; I Sam. 2, 4

they that stumbled were girded with strength, and the men of Bajazet were tired, and many slain were fallen to the ground, at that time.

And the Emperor Ferdinand drove out the Jews from the Kingdom of Bohemia in the year five thousand three hundred and nineteen, corresponding to the year one thousand five hundred and fifty nine.<sup>213)</sup> But he left a remnant of them in the country, and they occupied about two hundred houses in Prague<sup>213)</sup> and the rest of them went on their journey.

And it came to pass on the seventeenth day of Tamuz<sup>a)</sup> that a fire broke out in the Jews' Street and burnt up about sixty houses in but a moment, and the flame of fire ascended heavenward and they trembled very much. And the whole city was astir and all the people broke through upon them like bears, like wolves of the desert<sup>b)</sup> and took their spoil, and the Jews ran away, as they feared for their life. Many of the women were cast into the flames in that troublesome time, and their cry went up heavenward. Thereupon, when Duke Ferdinand the son of the Emperor Ferdinand<sup>214)</sup> heard of this, he hastened (thither) and stood in the breach<sup>c)</sup> and the plague was stayed.<sup>d)</sup> And afterwards the Jews were permitted to stay in Prague for some days.<sup>215)</sup>

The men of Worms also expelled the Jews at that time from the city of Worms, and they departed to sojourn where they

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a) June 22, 1559  
b) cf. Hab. 1, 8

c) cf. Ps. 106, 23  
d) Nu. 17, 13



could find a place<sup>a)</sup> until this day.<sup>246)</sup>

One unworthy fellow, a German, whose name among Israel formerly was Jehudah Modena<sup>248)</sup> also betook himself thither<sup>247)</sup> and he spoke perversion (lies)<sup>b)</sup> against the Jews. Thereupon they took away all the holy books from them, and he also searched diligently for their prayer-books. They left no gleanings grapes.<sup>c)</sup> And they brought these (books) in wagons unto the court of the King in Vienna, at that time, for it had not been explained (declared) what should be done to them.<sup>d)</sup> And the Jews were greatly affrighted and their heart was like the heart of a woman in her pangs,<sup>e)</sup> They shouted unto the Lord, and the Lord caused them to be pitied<sup>f)</sup> in the eyes of the King and they returned the books to them, and they offered thanks to God and rejoiced very much.<sup>249)</sup>

And the Turks arrived in the Genoan waters in eleven boats on a Sabbath night, the third day in the month of June, and they landed on the main land in Aranzin at the end of the middle night watch, and the whole city was astir concerning them, and they hastened to run away. Only five of them (city's people) were taken, and two women fell slain by the sword. The city was given over to plunder, and they (the pirates) filled up their dens with ravin. Also from the

a) cf. Jud. 17, 8

b) cf. Deut. 13, 6

c) cf. Jer. 49, 9; Ob. 1, 5; i. e. they left nothing

d) cf. Num. 15, 34

e) cf. Jer. 48, 41, 49, 22

f) cf. Ps. 106, 47

fishermen they captured some in the midst of the sea in the night, and they went their way.

And it came to pass after the King of France and the King of Spain made peace between them, that Ferdinand, the Duke of Alva went by the command of his lord into France to take Isabelle, daughter of the French King to Philip, his lord, for a wife. And King Henry showed him great honor. And it came to pass, when their hearts became merry with wine<sup>a)</sup> that the King said: "Let the horsemen attire with coat-of-mail and helmet,<sup>b)</sup> come up and play before us."<sup>c)</sup> And they did according to the commandment of the King, and they ran before the King and his nobles daily, so that the earth was rent at their sound<sup>d)</sup> and they rejoiced very much.

And it came to pass on the second day of the month of July when the horsemen came out, that they ran with the spears one opposite the other, as was their custom, before the King, as though they were fighting in battle (tournament). The city of Paris was shouting and joyful. And King Henry also was pleased (wished) to take part in the tournament, not knowing that the day of his calamity was at hand,<sup>e)</sup> He was dressed in a coat of mail, made of burnished brass,<sup>f)</sup> in that precipitate time. And he ran against the son of

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a) cf. Est. I, 10  
b) I Sam. 17, 15  
c) II Sam. 2, 15

d) cf. I King I, 40  
e) cf. Deut. 32, 35; Jer. 48, 16  
f) Ez. I, 7



Monseigneur di Lordi, who was also participating in the tournament by the invitation of the King. He smote the King with the spear on his forehead and in his eye, and pierced him through so that the King fell to the ground, Thus did their joy turn into mourning, in a moment, and all were very much affrighted. And the King became very sick, so he set his house in order.<sup>a)</sup> He commended his son Francis, who sat on his throne, at that time, and who was sixteen years old, to the guardianship of Philip, King of Spain, and to the Duke of Savoy. And he gathered up his feet into the bed<sup>b)</sup> and he died on the eleventh day of the month of July. And the Queen and her son and daughter wept very much, and all the princes of France clothed themselves in blackness,<sup>c)</sup> for the grief was very great,<sup>d)</sup> and they embalmed him and he was put in a coffin<sup>e)</sup> and they buried him in the burial ground of the Kings.

And one post ran to meet another post<sup>f)</sup> and they told King Philip all that happened and it grieved him to his heart<sup>g)</sup> and he mourned over him and wept, and said: "My sire, my sire!" And he wrote to the King and to the Queen and he consoled them, and he said to her: Fear not, I too am to

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- a) This is rendition of *וַיַּעַשׂ לְפָנָיו*; however here it means "he made his last will"  
b) Gen. 49, 33  
c) cf. Isa. 50, 3  
d) Job. II, 13  
e) Gen. 50, 26  
f) Jer. 51, 31  
g) cf. Gen. 6, 6

you like a son until my turn should come.<sup>a)</sup> And to King Francis (II) he wrote: Be comforted and be a valiant man, fear not and be not dismayed for I am with you. I will not fail you, nor will I forsake you<sup>b)</sup> until my soul returns to God who gave it to me.<sup>c)</sup>

And King Philip took to his heart to go to Spain, and he sent and called Duke Ottavio, the Duke of Placentia, and his (Philip's) sister. Both went to the provinces of Flanders, at that time. Philip received them with gladness and with a kind heart and honored them greatly. And he gave to Duke Ottavio Farnese and to his sister all those provinces to be under them, and peoples hearkened to them. And King Philip went down to the sea in ships on the twelfth day of August and the sea and mainland were rent at the sound of the cannons. And he went on his way to Spain and all the princes of that land came out to meet him and they showed him great honor. Then were Casale and all the cities of Monferrato and Piedmont returned to their lords, and the Frenchmen who were there they sent to France, and the people of the country rejoiced exceedingly.

And the famine was sore in the land, at that time. And Francis sat on the throne of the Kings instead of his father Henry in France. And he sent one of his servants

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a) Job 14, 14 --till my dying day.  
b) cf. Jos. I, 5  
c) cf. Eccl. 12, 7



into Genoa in the month of August to speak with the elders of the city and to return to them all the cities of Corsica. And they honored him exceedingly, and he spoke with them according to all he (Francis) commanded him, and he went down to the sea and returned to his lord.

And the inquiring monk who was sent to the Jews of Alessandria by the commandment of the Theatine, stretched upon them a line of destruction<sup>a)</sup> in that year in the month of August,<sup>230)</sup> and he took the books away from them by force. And they shouted before the elders of Milan, and they wrote to the monk, to make him return from his evil thought. But he did not hearken to them. And he demanded from the Jews for their redemption a bribe of money,<sup>b)</sup> so they returned to Milan and entreated the governor Sessa: Woe! Woe! And he was favorable unto them. He wrote again to the monk and he gave those books in spite of himself into the hands of the mayor of the city, on the twenty-ninth of Elul, towards evening.<sup>c)</sup> And he bore his shame.<sup>d) 231)</sup>

And the Lord saw that the wickedness of the Theatine was great and that every thought of his heart was only evil continually,<sup>e)</sup> so he smote him on the eighteenth day of August<sup>232)</sup> and he died. The Lord is righteous:<sup>f)</sup> And all the people of the land rejoiced,<sup>g)</sup> for when the wicked perish there

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a) Isai. 34, 11

b) Jud. 5, 19

c) i. e. Erev Resh Hashanah

d) Lit.: he bore his disgrace

e) Gen. 6, 5

f) Lam. 1, 18

g) II Kings 11, 20

is joy.<sup>a) 23)</sup> Then was the statue of his likeness dragged through the main streets of the city of Rome, and it was thrown into the water and it was insulted, and he became a proverb and a byword among the peoples.<sup>b)</sup> And they caused it to be proclaimed by the decree of all the people that all his coats-of-arms (escutcheons) were destroyed and wiped out from under the heavens, and also the stones upon which they were engraved they exterminated. And his followers became then like unto a chased gazelle<sup>c)</sup> and like a vessel wherein there is no pleasure<sup>d)</sup> and they smote them and they beat them down,<sup>e)</sup> so that those that were left of them fled as one who flees from the sword,<sup>f)</sup> for even a stone from the wall cried<sup>g)</sup> after them. Such a thing had not occurred in Rome only this time.<sup>24)</sup> Thereupon did the citizens of Rome and its nobles (leaders) assemble, at that time, and they have decided together never more to allow the chiefs of the monks to rule over them, as they had done, and they placed a garrison therein.<sup>h) 25)</sup>

And Philip, the King of Spain, was pleased to fight against Tripoli, which had been taken from the monks in the days of his father in the year one thousand five hundred fifty one.

And the Island of Gilbi had been taken by the Turks in

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a) Prov. 11, 10  
b) I Kings 9, 7  
c) Isa. 13, 14  
d) Jer. 48, 38; Hos. 8, 8

e) Nu. 14, 15  
f) cf. Hab. 2, 11  
g) cf. Lev. 26, 36  
h) cf. Job 7, 12



those days and the Ishmaelitish sheikh ruled them (it) from his land. He transported in ships about ten thousand of men to the Sicilian side, in the month of Ethanim, which is the seventh month, on the festival (Succoth). And they went on their journeys to Malta, whither they came and where they remained quiet till the month of Spring. And King Philip laid a tribute upon the wheat that was exported from Sicily, and the people hungered for bread in all the provinces of Italy in that year.

And the princes of France and her elders met together and they placed the royal crown upon the head of Francis, their King, on the twentieth day of the month of September, and they all shouted: "Long live the King! May his Kingdom be established firmly!"<sup>a)</sup>

And Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, lay with his fathers in the seventh month, and Alfonso sat on his throne in his stead, and the people obeyed him. And it came to pass after some days longer that they brought the daughter of the Duke of Florence, his wife, into the city and all the people rejoiced, and they honored him greatly. And also the Jews filled their hand (supported them), at that time.

And it came to pass on the night of the twenty fifth<sup>226)</sup> of December in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty<sup>227)</sup> that the cardinals chose a Milanese cardinal,<sup>228)</sup> and they bow-

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a) cf. I Kings 2, 12

ed down unto him and they called him Pius<sup>229)</sup> and he, like the rest of his brethren, sat on the papal throne and nations hearkened unto him.<sup>230)</sup> Thereupon the Jews, the elders of the congregation went to bow down before him and they cried before him, Woe! Concerning all that the Theatine had done to them. And he consoled them and talked in friendly manner with them, and they left him in peace.<sup>231)</sup> I have reported to you what was written to me from Rome in those days.

And it came to pass in that year in the month of March that two monks set the teeth of the Jews in Pavia on edge<sup>a)</sup> and they caused their savor to be abhorred<sup>b)</sup> in the eyes of the citizens, and they intended to thrust them out from their land. And the Jews became weary of their life, at that time, because even a stone from the wall cried out<sup>c)</sup> after them,<sup>d)</sup> The people struck them and beat them<sup>e)</sup> in the broadways of the city and could not speak peaceably with them.<sup>f)</sup> And the heads of the congregations stood up in the breach, and cried Woe! before the elders of Milan. So they caused it to be proclaimed in Pavia, saying: "Whosoever will as much as gnash his teeth against the Jews will bear his iniquity;" and the land had rest. The wickedness of two German Jews who sat first<sup>g)</sup> at Pavia caused all this.<sup>232)</sup> All this

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a) cf. Jer. 31, 28; i.e. made things miserable for them  
b) cf. Ex. 5, 21  
c) Lit.: shall cry out  
d) Hab. 2, 11

e) Num. 14, 45  
f) Gen. 37, 4  
g) cf. Est. 1, 14; i.e. who played an important role



that I wrote so far was testified before me by a man from Pavia, and not of my own mind.<sup>a)</sup>

Also Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, decided to expel the Jews from all the land of Piedmont in that year. Thereupon they were exceedingly affrighted and they prostrated themselves before his feet and before the feet of his wife Margaret, the sister of King Henry, and they brought her a present. And she accepted them favorably, at that time and spoke encouragingly to them. Their time to stay there was then prolonged for four months.

But Negron de Negri from Genoa, a wicked fellow, became like thorns in their side and he instigated the Duke against them, to say: "Get ye out of my land, clear it<sup>b)</sup> within six days." And the Jews were greatly affrighted. And the Lord God prepared for them one physician who abode at the gate of the Duke, and he spoke in the ears of the Duke friendly words concerning the Jews, so he made a covenant with them, and they have dwelt there till this day.

Then did the ships of Algiers land at Corsica, and they subjected two of the unwallled cities to plunder, and they took both the persons and the goods, and all those that dwelt by the sea-shore were exceedingly affrighted.

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a) cf. Num. 16, 28; lit.: of my own heart  
b) i. e. leave it.

And it came to pass when Philip's ships were in the waters of Malta that they lifted up their eyes, and looked, and behold, a big ship<sup>a)</sup> was coming from the land of the East bearing provisions and soldiers, going to Tripoli. So they went to meet her and they captured her and filled up their boats with ravin. And many of them died by the sword, not of man,<sup>b)</sup> at that time. And it came to pass in the month of Spring that they went to the Island of Gilbi and chased out the Turks who were there and built there a fortified citadel, and the land became theirs. And they made a treaty with the inhabitants of that land, and returned the Ishmaelitish commander to his office, and they came to their aid, at that time.

And the ships of Algiers went on their journey and met with a big boat belonging to the people of Genoa, which was on her way to Tabarka,<sup>c)</sup> They captured her and found therein silver, gold, and clothes in abundance, and they filled up their boats with ravin. About one hundred and twenty people who were thereon died in battle, and the ship sank like lead because of the wrath of the battering-rams. And they reached Voltri, which was near Genoa, on the first of May as the morning shone, and the Turks landed upon the mainland

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a) cf. Gen. 37, 25

b) cf. Isa. 31, 8; the original reads: וְהָיָה לֵאמֹר while our text has: וְהָיָה לֵאמֹר

c) in Tunis



and fought against it and they came to the outskirts of the city and took some of it captives,<sup>a)</sup> and then proceeded on their journey. Thereupon some soldiers were sent thither from Genoa, at that time, but it was of no avail, thus they returned to the city. Then did the Turks march again against a small town, Cogoleto by name, and they captured about twenty two persons and continued on their way. And they passed on beyond Genoa, towards the east, against a small town Bugazora by name. And there, too, they took captive some of the people of the land and they returned to their country.

And it came to pass, before the servants of Philip, who were at Gilbi, completed the citadel, that it was said to them: "Hurry and turn on your way because the captains of the armies of Solyman are coming upon you in eighty galleys." Thereupon did Andrietto di Oria hasten on the tenth of the month of May to make ready the ships and hurry to escape. But the viceroy refused, at that time, saying: Nay, but tomorrow we will go. And Andrietto Doria sent away one big ship and some small boats, for he knew not what the day would bring forth.<sup>b)</sup> And to one of his captains he said: "You, too come out with seventeen galleys and it will be, that, if war befall us, you shall make a sign, and turn and go<sup>c)</sup> on your way. Towards evening he went outside and behold, the boats

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a) cf. Nu. 21, 1

b) cf. Prov. 27, 1

c) Deut. 16, 7

of the Turks came swooping down like a vulture<sup>a)</sup> upon them. So they made the sign and he hastened to flee. And when those that remained heard of it their heart was perturbed, and they, too, wished to flee but were unable, for the Turks hunted their step that they could not go<sup>b)</sup> and they stepped aside and left the ships as they were and came out upon the mainland. And one boat, upon which Andrietto was, and other boats gathered under the citadel. And the captains who were upon them went outside and came up upon the citadel and they sat there in silence. As the ships which stood outside saw that evil was determined against them, they, too, hastened to flee in terror and the Turks fell upon them and they could not prevail against them, because the wind tossed them around, so they fled for their life. Twenty big boats escaped free, but twelve were caught in the snares of the Turks, as well as eighteen galleys, and many captains and nobles were upon them. And their foot came into iron.<sup>c)</sup> Only the son of the Viceroy did they clothe,<sup>d)</sup> because he found favor in their eyes, and they allowed him to go about on the boat as a free person. But seven boats remained under the citadel and the Turks did not go upon them, as the fear of the muskets fell upon them. And it came to pass on the night of the eleventh of the same month that the Viceroy and Andrietto, and the captains who were with them, went down with

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a) Deut. 28, 49

b) cf. Lam. 4, 18, i.e. They made passage difficult for them.

c) cf. Ps. 105, 18

d) Probably in the sense of II Chr. 28, 15



sixty:  
small boats into the sea, and they went out on the way upon which Dragut escaped before Andrea Doria in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty one. But the Turks did not see them, and their life was unto them for prey.

And Don Alvaro remained in the citadel as a chief and ruler and he set free about seven hundred men of the captured Christians who were in the boats and he gave them arms and ammunition. And the number of the men who followed him was about six thousand. He then stationed detachments of the soldiers who were with him, outside, to guard the wells of water that were near to them, and they fortified themselves there. However, they did not stay there long,<sup>a)</sup> because the Turks came up on the mainland and they brought out the cannons. And six boats they sent to Tripoli to bring the powder and cannon-balls. Thereupon did they (the men of Alvaro) fight against them (the Turks) and most of them were slain by the edge of the sword, and those that were left escaped for their life. Thus they fought day after day, and many Turks fell to the ground in that battle.

And it came to pass after some days that four of the galleys left the citadel secretly one night, and they passed suddenly between the boats of the enemy, so that none of them found their hands<sup>b)</sup> at that time. And the one (boat) re-

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a) cf. Gen. 26, 8

b) cf. Ps. 76,6; i.e. they were confused

mained in the snare of the Turks, because the mast upon which the curtains (sails) were attached fell down suddenly, as they were in haste, so the Turks captured them, like one takes the lobe of an ear<sup>a)</sup> in that troublesome period.

And it came to pass that the Pasha, a captain in the army of Solyman, sent a Spaniard to Don Alvaro, and in his hands (was) a letter from his master, saying: "You have indeed seen the destruction of (your) boats, and now, upon whom do you still rely? Deliver into our hands the citadel and you may go on your way, and you will live and not die." But Don Alvaro did not (even) want to see the letter and he talked with the Spaniard hard words; thus he returned to his lord. Then the Pasha sent again four men to him saying: "Deliver the citadel in my hands." But Don Alvaro hardened his heart also, at that time. Thereupon he did with them deeds that ought not to be done;<sup>b)</sup> it will not be believed though it be told.<sup>c)</sup>

The Moorish Sheikh, whom the uncircumcised returned to his office, and the King of Kairwan and the son of the King of Tunis and five hundred horsemen with them met together, at that time. And they sent messengers to Don Alvaro saying: "Behold we are near you but two day's journey, and to whithersoever you will command us we will go; only be strong

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a) cf. Amos 3, 12; i. e. with ease  
b) cf. Gen. 20, 9  
c) cf. Hao. 1, 5

199, 18  
in the



and of good courage!" And he returned to them word, saying:  
"Arm from among you about two thousand horsemen more and  
come here and let us fight against the Turks, and we shall  
see what will become of their dreams.<sup>a)</sup>

And the famine was heavy in all the provinces of Italy,  
at that time, such as has never been before.

And nine Turkish boats cruised in the waters of Nice,  
and they came up upon the mainland to draw water, on the  
fourth month. So the inhabitants of the land fell upon  
them. But they continued to come out from the ships to give  
them aid. And they fought there on the water and the sound  
was heard from afar. And when Philibert, Duke of Savoy,  
heard of it, he, too, with the men that were with him went  
outside to fight. And when the fighting spread,<sup>b)</sup> many of  
his men fell down in that battle, and those that were left  
turned their back; and also Philibert fled away on his feet.<sup>c)</sup>  
And they pursued him to Villafranca, and about sixty of his  
men were captured, and his feet had almost<sup>d)</sup> slipped, at  
that time. And they ransomed the captives for the sum of  
eleven thousand ducats, and they all returned each to his  
own home.

Then came three small Turkish galleys in the waters of

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- a) cf. Gen. 36, 20  
b) I Sam. 4, 2 &  
c) cf. Jud. 4, 17  
d) cf. Ps. 73, 2

Piombino and many of them stepped ashore. And the men of the Duke of Florence fell upon them suddenly with two galleys and they seized them in a moment, and about one hundred Turks were caught in their pits, at that time; and they put them in prison.

And on the fifteenth night of the month of July one of the galley-boats, which belonged to the men of Genoa, was wrecked in the waters of Florence, so many of them came out on the mainland and many sank in the sea of flags<sup>a)</sup> in that precipitate time. And men came to it (the boat), repaired it and brought it into Genoa in the month of August, that is the sixth month.<sup>b)</sup>

And Bajazet went away from his father Solyman unto (the) Sofi the King to Prasta-Briza (?) and they both made a treaty of peace. And he sent one man unto Philip, King of Spain, and to Francis, King of France, to make with them a covenant, and to fight against Solyman. And the man came into Genoa on the seventeenth day of the month of July. And he went on his way.

And Andrietto Doria took some of the remaining boats to

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- a) Hebrew text reads *גליות* which is often used by our chronicler for the Mediterranean at large; cf. the printed Annals,  
b) August 1560 = Elul 5320



take booty in the land of the Turks. But he did not succeed, for the stars of his heaven turned away from their course.<sup>a)</sup> And he turned about.

Then arrived five cruising boats, belonging to Francis, King of France, into Genoa on the first of August, and two cardinals from Rome were aboard them; and the men of the city did them great honor.

Then arrived Turkish ships in the waters of Genoa, and when they lifted up their eyes they saw, and behold, small boats filled up with flocks of men, were on their way to Naples, to their House of Prayer. So they attacked them suddenly and seized them, for the day of their calamity came upon them, the time of their visitation.<sup>b)</sup>

And the servants of Solyman fought against the citadel that the servants of the Spanish King made in the island of Gilbi and they built a watch-tower about it and they cast up a mound. And the citadel was besieged, and many of the people fell sick for want of everything, and many of them died, at that time. And it came to pass on the twenty eighth day of July, that the Turks came near it, and surrounded it and captured it with a mighty hand. And as for them that were left within it, most of them were devoured by the sword, and those who were left were caught up in their pits, none

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a) Abraham Ibn Ezra, poem: Galgai u' Mazalo th.  
b) Jer. 46, 21

escaped. And Don Alvaro also was smitten in that battle, and he fell into the hands of those who sought his soul and there was none to save him in the day of the Lord's wrath.

And it came to pass in the month of Ethanim<sup>a)</sup> on the twenty fourth night of the same, in the year five thousand three hundred twenty one,<sup>b)</sup> that the Lord caused to rain upon Genoa and its environs a torrential rain,<sup>c)</sup> And the waters increased<sup>d)</sup> and many buildings were thrown down to the ground, and all were greatly affrighted.

In Roussilon<sup>e)</sup> too, was the hand of God to discomfit them, and many buildings fell down to the ground, and whosoever was found was caught by the overflow of the rain and those proud waters<sup>f)</sup> swept him away, And there was no one to help them in the day of the Lord's anger.

And the men of Genoa sent soldiers to the side of Corsica in the small boats (barges), at that time. And it was, when they were on the way, that the Turkish boats met them suddenly and they took from them about sixty men, as one takes the lobe of an ear,<sup>g)</sup> and they led them unto their land.

And also to the waters of Piombino did the Turks go

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a) i. e. Tishri  
b) 5321 = 1560  
c) Ez. 13, 11  
d) Lit.: prevailed

e) In old Provence  
f) that is, the torrents  
g) cf. Amos III, 12



and God delivered into their hands two cruisers which belonged to the Duke of Florence, and those that were left, left the boats as they were, and they hastened to escape from them, and they landed on the mainland.

And the officers of Solyman and Dragut with them returned unto Turkey, after they had smitten the citadel, together with the captives and the prey<sup>a)</sup> in the eighth month. Solyman rejoiced exceedingly, when he saw Don Alvaro and all the officers that were with him and the people that followed them, and he gave command and they put them in prison. And they gave them their daily portion from the food of the King.

And the King of Tunis rebelled against<sup>b)</sup> Philip, King of Spain, at that time.

And Andrea Doria died in the night of the twenty fifth of November, and Andrietto, his captain of the army, returned with the residue that escaped, into Genoa, and the sails of his ships gathered blackness<sup>c)</sup> and he wept much over him.

And Francis, King of France, became sick and he died in the month of December, and Charles, his brother, reigned in his stead, and he was but a mere youth, and he sat in the throne of the Kings.

And the Lutherans increased greatly, at that time, in France, and they waxed exceedingly mighty. The counsellors of the King met together and they let it be proclaimed,

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a) Nu. 31, 12  
b) II Kings I, 1

c) Joel II, 6; Neh. II, 11

saying: "Let every man do that which is right in his own eyes,<sup>a)</sup> only the throne would be greater."<sup>b)</sup> And the Lutherans dwelt in safety,<sup>c)</sup> instead of their being like a chased gazelle,<sup>d)</sup> and they rejoiced exceedingly.

And the monks of Malta caught two small cruisers belonging to the Turks, in the Corsican waters in the month of February. And they returned to their land.

And the servants of Philibert, the Duke of Savoy, that were in the valley of Anigronin were inclined after (the) Luther. The Duke talked with them (about it), but they would not hearken unto his voice. Thereupon he sent there soldiers and they built there a fort and they fought with them day by day, and they captured from them little children and women and they spoke to them concerning their dreams, but like a deaf asp<sup>e)</sup> they refused to hear;<sup>f)</sup> thus some of them were burnt by fire, and their cry ascended heavenward. And the men of Genoa sent them reinforcements about one thousand men, and all the people of the valley gathered and they seized the fort and hit the men of the Duke by the edge of the sword. Thereupon the Duke gathered about one thousand and two hundred men and they fought with the people of the valley

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a)	Jud. 17, 6; 21, 25	d)	Isa. 13, 14
b)	cf. Gen. 41, 40	e)	Ps. 58, 6
c)	Deut. 12, 10	f)	Jer. 11, 10



and many slain fell in that battle. And three of his captains of the armies were caught in their pits<sup>a)</sup> and the inhabitants of the valley rent them as one would rend a kid,<sup>b)</sup> and they abused them<sup>c)</sup> and they bore their shame. And when the Duke saw that he would not be able to prevail against them since they were (hiding) in the clefts of the rocks,<sup>d)</sup> in which one hundred can stand against one thousand, he made with them a treaty of peace according to all they asked for, and the land had rest. And they went in their paths, as they desired, but they gave him the tribute year by year.

And Carlo Caraffa, the cardinal,<sup>233)</sup> and his brother, (the) Duke of Paliano,<sup>234)</sup> did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord all the time<sup>235)</sup> and his foulness went up to heaven.<sup>e)</sup> And it came to pass one day that they made a conspiracy against the lord Marc Antonio Colonna to kill him,<sup>236)</sup> and Count Alife, the husband of their sister and Leonardo (di) Cardine joined them.<sup>237)</sup> Pope Pius (IV) commanded and they were put in prison, and then condemned them to death.<sup>238)</sup> And it came to pass, in the dark night<sup>f)</sup> on the fifth of March, that the officers went to the Cardinal, awakened him and let him know of the verdict. Thereupon he asked of them to allow him to put on his priestly garments, but they would not listen to him, and they tied a rope to strangle him, but the rope broke as they

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a) Lam. IV, 20

b) Jud. 14, 6

c) Jud. 19, 25

d) Isa. 7, 19; Jer. 16, 16

e) Joel 2, 20; Isa. 34, 3

f) Prov. 7, 9

pulled it. So this rash Cardinal became very exasperated and he cried with a loud and bitter cry,<sup>a)</sup> so they tied the rope about his neck a second time and he died like one of the worthless fellows.<sup>239)</sup> The Lord is just! And as for the three others they beheaded them and they threw their carcasses outside and placed them on the bridge, in the sight of the sun. And they bore their shame.<sup>240)</sup> This befell them, the House of Caraffa,<sup>241)</sup> for their pride, because they had become mighty and had spoken boastfully against the people of the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel.<sup>b)</sup>

And Viscount Cegala the Genoan was a mighty hunter in his generations, and he went all the time to take booty, and his fame (spread) in the land,<sup>c)</sup> Also the Jews who fell in his nets he treated very ill and made them do hard labor and some were ransomed from his hand for a hundred, and a hundred for a thousand. And he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord. And it came to pass in the second month, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty one that he went down to the sea at Naples, to go to Spain, in two small galleys. And many captains and nobles went with him, at that time, And they went on their way westward. But the stars of his heavens misled him, and he did not know it. And it came to pass one day that they met three small galleys of the Turks and they fell

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a) Est. 4, 1  
b) Zeph. 2, 10  
c) Jos. 7, 27



upon them like wolves of the desert and fought there. And as they were fighting, the Turks who were with them rebelled against them and struck many with the edge of the sword. So in but a moment the Viscount and one of his sons and all the captains that followed them fell into the hands of them that sought their life; into the very net which they hid was their foot caught,<sup>a)</sup> at that time. And the Turks returned to Algiers joyful and glad of heart<sup>b)</sup> and they put them in prison and gave thanks to God. Therefore I said, the Lord is just.

And it came to pass on the twenty second day of June that Turkish sailors<sup>c)</sup> met a large ship going towards Genoa bearing: perfume for the head, and cane honey and silk in abundance. They seized her and they filled their dens with ravin<sup>d)</sup> And the report thereof was brought to Genoa and they were sore grieved after her.

And it came to pass after a period of many more days that the Turks seized six cruising boats from Sicily and one galley upon which sailed the second son of Viscount Cegala, and they returned to their land and gave thanks to God.

And the Lutherans increased in the Kingdom of Naples. But the people that were seduced after them were burnt by fire ,

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a) cf. Ps. 9, 16

b) cf. Est. 5, 9

c) Lit.: They that go down to the sea in ships (Ps.107, 23)

d) Nah. 2, 13; This is a favorite phrase with the author, the meaning of which is obvious: they filled their sacks and boat with booty and prey from piracy.

and many of them were brought down unto the grave with blood in those days, and all the inhabitants of the Kingdom were exceedingly astounded.

And it came to pass on the last day of the month of July, as the sun was setting, that there was a great earth-quake in the Kingdom of Naples in the province of Calabria, and it threw down four of the unwallled cities, and many people died in that precipitate time. It also threw down to the ground the city of Boiano and about five hundred persons died therein, and it became a heap for ever<sup>a)</sup> to this day. And in Pula, too, there was a great confusion from the Lord and it fell to the ground and many went down unto the grave in the day of the wrath of the Lord. And the flowing water of the river, which was near Orizia sank into the earth, and its place is no longer known to this day. All this happened in Calabria. What did the earth-quake do in the rest of the cities of the Kingdom? - Such a thing did not happen to this day.

At that time there came out some Turks in two small sailing boats to take spoil. And it came to pass in the month of September that they met one small vessel bearing clothes, coming from Spain. So they seized her and they filled their boats with booty.<sup>b)</sup> And it came to pass, when they were in the Isles

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a) Deut. 13, 17

b) Lit.: ravin



of Hyères,<sup>a)</sup> that a French monk (?) fell upon them with two  
cruisers of a sudden and they fought there. One of the Turk-  
ish boats escaped from before them and the second one was  
caught in their snare.<sup>b)</sup> And about twenty five Turks fell  
slain in that battle. As to the remaining ones -- their  
foot was laid in iron.<sup>c)</sup> Thus, the deceitful man did not  
roast his prey, at that time.<sup>d)</sup>

And there was a great storm in the waters of Sicily in  
those days, so that six large ships were wrecked on the rocks  
and two of the cruisers of Philip, King of Spain, sank like  
lead. And many became food for the fishes of the sea in  
that troublesome time.

And Philibert, Duke of Savoy, ran after lucre, and so  
he made heavy his yoke upon all his servants and upon all the  
merchants who pass through his land. Such a thing was not  
done in all the Kingdom until this day.

And it came to pass, when the Lutherans began to multiply  
on the face of the earth,<sup>e)</sup> that the uncircumcised kings said:  
"How long halt we between two opinions?<sup>f)</sup> If truth be with  
the Pope<sup>g)</sup> we shall go after him, and if it be with Luther  
let us follow him, so that we might not be any more like two

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|----|-----------------------------|----|--------------------|
| a) | In Provencal Ieras or Eres; | e) | cf. Gen. 6, 1      |
|    | cf. e.g. p. 49              | f) | cf. I Kings 18, 21 |
| b) | Lam. 4, 20                  | g) | cf. Ps. 5, 10      |
| c) | cf. Ps. 105, 18             |    |                    |
| d) | cf. Prov. 12, 27            |    |                    |

kingdoms. <sup>a)</sup><sup>243)</sup> When Pope Pius heard of it, he sent many bishops and cardinals, Spanish and French, unto Trent, <sup>243)</sup> on the extreme of the boundary of Italy, to speak with the scholars of the Lutherans <sup>244)</sup> concerning their dreams and their works, <sup>b)</sup> and they stayed there for many days. <sup>245)</sup> And the envoy of King Philip of Spain went thither by the command of his master, at that time. <sup>246)</sup> And it came to pass, when they were there, that the French and Italian servants <sup>c)</sup> who were found there quarreled with the Spanish servants <sup>c)</sup> and every man's sword was against his fellow <sup>d)</sup> at that time. And the beginning of the strife (was caused by) a man of Piacenza, one of the servants of the Cardinal Sêripando, the envoy of the Pope, and many slain fell to the ground, most of them being Spanish, on the seventeenth day of the month of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty three. <sup>247)</sup> And the cardinals and bishops who were found there were greatly affrighted and they hired soldiers as watchmen that go about the city, in the streets and in the broad ways, <sup>e)</sup> lest they return to fight again. And it came to pass after eight days, <sup>248)</sup> that Cardinal Sêripando died, <sup>249)</sup> and also the Cardinal (of) Mantua slept with his fathers, at that time. <sup>250)</sup> But the Lutheran scholars did not go there, thus they had accomplished nothing, only they introduced some ordinances amongst them, and vain things and much talk. <sup>251)</sup> And they abode there for two years <sup>252)</sup> and then returned every man to his house.

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a) cf. Ez. 37, 22  
b) cf. Gen. 37, 8  
c) i. e. representatives

d) I Sam. 13, 20  
e) cf. S. of S. 3, 2, 3



And it came to pass on the thirteenth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty two that a sailing ship belonging to the family of Lumilini left the port of Genoa to go to Marseilles, and aboard were many Spanish captains and nobles and men of Genoa, and they went on their way. And it came to pass when they had only passed a little distance, that the Lord commanded a mighty wind from his treasuries, and the ship sank like lead, and her sailors did not find their hands in that terrible time. And about three hundred and fifty men died on her in a little moment<sup>a)</sup> and there was no one to save them in the day of the Lord's wrath. And from all the people that were aboard that ship were not saved more than seventeen men, and the report thereof was heard in Genoa and the people of the city were greatly affrighted. There fell down dead<sup>b)</sup> Don Eugene Mendoza, brother of Don Juan, captain of King Philip, and one Spanish woman and her three sons. And the grief was very great.<sup>c)</sup>

On that night there appeared a huge star over Genoa, that is called comet, and it gave light in the night.<sup>d)</sup> And the heart of the men of the city was greatly agitated, because the Gentiles are dismayed by them.<sup>e)</sup>

And it came to pass on the twenty fourth day of March

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a) Ezra 9, 8  
b) cf. Jud. 5, 37  
c) cf. Job II, 13

d) cf. Ex. 14, 20  
e) cf. Jer. 10, 2, i. e. Gentiles usually see a bad omen in this.

that Emperor Ferdinand sent one of his servants unto Genoa to speak with the elders of the city, concerning the Marquis Finale whom they drove out from his land. And when he entered the city, he made himself strange,<sup>a)</sup> and he went to the gate of the elders, and asked of the gate-keeper to come inside, and they said: "Let him come in!" And when the gate-keeper returned (to him) he looked and behold his servants put upon him a royal gold garment suddenly, and the eagle was upon his shoulder and breast and a royal helmet was upon his head, and gilded sceptre in his hand. And he was terrified and closed the door and told it to all the captains (officers) and they were exceedingly confounded, and they said: "He should not enter inside, bring him into the hotel." And it was done so, They then caused him to ride on a horse, and they sent men with him, those that ride swift horses, and they expelled him from their land. And it came to pass when he was at the end of their boundary that he put one foot on their boundary and the other on the boundary of the Emperor, and he said: "I will go and tell my lord all that was done to me here." And he returned to his master. And the Emperor was very wroth with them.

And it came to pass, after more days, that he sent again to them (a messenger) concerning the cities of the Count de Fiasko, and they mocked at his ambassador also this time.

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a) cf. Gen. 42-7; i. e. he disguised himself.



And he returned to his master and his anger was enkindled very much also at that time. And it came to pass, after many more days, that the men of Genoa considered saying: "What have we done?" And they sent thither one of the representatives of the city<sup>a)</sup> to talk before the Emperor, but Ferdinand did not receive him. And when he saw that he was in a bad situation, he fled away from him on a light horse; he did not look behind him until he was in Italy, and he returned to the city of Genoa sullen and displeased, and the elders of the city were exceedingly affrighted.

And the Lutherans increased in Languedoc and in Adalphina-ti\* and in the entire land of France, and the judges of the King dealt ill with them,<sup>b)</sup> Mota Gandini, second to the King, embittered their lives, and they brought down many of them unto the grave and many others were burnt with fire and they took away their possessions and their wealth, and their children went<sup>c)</sup> wandering and roving about, seeking bread and there was none to break it for them.<sup>d)</sup>

And it came to pass on the twenty sixth day of April that the Lutherans said: "How long will these vain and rash monks be to us as a snare."<sup>e)</sup> Come let us deal wisely with them<sup>f)</sup> and we shall see what will become of their dreams." And many of

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a) Talmudic expression, cf. Megila 27a; Lit: the best man of the city.

b) cf. Nu. 20, 15

c) Lam. 1, 11

\* ) Dauphiné ?

d) Lam. 4, 4

e) Ex. 10, 7; Jud. 9, 4

f) Ex. 1, 10; Gen. 37, 20

them were gathered to the Lord (Baron) di <sup>Adret(l)</sup>~~Madison~~ and to Monsieur ~~Bubrun~~, and their number was about three thousand men, all of them attired in coats of mail and wielding the sword. And they went unto Valenza<sup>d)</sup> in the darkness of the night, quietly, as a mighty people set in battle array.<sup>a)</sup> And they entered the city and they shouted with a loud voice; they made a noise in the house of the Lord as in the day of a solemn assembly.<sup>b)</sup> And all the city was astir concerning them<sup>c)</sup> and their heart melted and became like water.<sup>d)</sup> And Mota Gandini, the Viceroy of the King, trembled also very much, and his heart became as the heart of a woman in her pangs.<sup>e)</sup> And he thought in his heart to escape, for he feared for his life very much, and he could not do anything, because the stars of his heaven distorted him and he did not know it. And he commanded and they blew in the trumpets of the alarm,<sup>f)</sup> saying: O, ye riders on horses, take the implements of war, hurry (into safety!). And about sixty horsemen were with him at that time. And the Lutherans broke into his house like bears, like wolves of the desert, and they stabbed him through that he died and they hanged him on the window of his house, and he was destroyed<sup>g)</sup> and they threw

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a) Joel II, 5  
b) cf. Lam. II, 7  
c) Ruth I, 19  
d) cf. Jos. 7, 5

e) Jer. 43, 41; 49, 22  
f) Num. 31, 6  
g) It seems to be a paraphrase on Ecc. 7, 16 and the reading is ~~known~~ not



him down<sup>a)</sup> to the ground and he bore his shame. And in a little moment had strangers made spoil of his labor,<sup>b)</sup> and they also took the spoil of his men, and their horses they took captive and despoiled<sup>c)</sup> in that troublesome time. And all the holy altars (churches) they gave as spoil and their graven images they burnt with fire, and the priests escaped, and their soul was for them as spoil.<sup>d)</sup>

And the Lutherans increased also in Lyon, and they had given a hand, (to them) and brought them, quietly, into the city, and none knew of it, and it came to pass on the night of the last day of April that they jostled one another in the broad places,<sup>e)</sup> and they placed watchmen, and they went into the city hall, wherein lay the war vessels; and there were therein about sixty men, at that time. And they called out to them for peace but they did not want to listen, so they brought near them the battering rams (cannons), and then they delivered it into their hands, and they went outside, and only one man was killed, at that time.

And in one great monastery which bore the name of St. Jean did the monks gather themselves together and stood for their lives<sup>f)</sup> before they came. Upon hearing the report of Valenza, there were assembled about three hundred men, and

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a) cf. II Kings 9, 33  
b) Ps. 109, 11  
c) cf. Gen. 34, 29

d) Lit: they saved themselves  
e) Nah. II, 5  
f) Est. 9, 16

they sat on their watch. Thither too, the Lutherans went with a raised hand like bears, like wolves of the desert, and they delivered it into their hands; and in that battle only one priest was killed. And they went throughout all the churches of the city and they broke down their altars and they smashed their images thoroughly, and they treaded on them as on the mire of the streets, and they burned them by fire, and there was none to deliver from their hands. And the monks and nuns were driven outside, everyone turned to his own way, and they became as a chased gazelle,<sup>a)</sup> and like a vessel wherein is no pleasure.<sup>b)</sup> And they took all the spoil of the churches, and all that they had in the house and in the field.

Also in Grenoble and Orleans and Rouen, and many other big cities, they did according to what they did in Lyon, and they plundered all their churches.

And about forty thousand more Lutherans were gathered together, all of them men, besides the horsemen, and Monseigneur de Condé, the brother of the King of Navarre, was their chief, and withersoever they turned to they acted wickedly. And many cities of them that inclined after the monks were set on fire, and they took their spoil and the spoil of their churches. And the priests became a proverb

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a) Isa. 13, 14

b) Jer. 48, 38; Hos. 8, 8



and byword,<sup>a)</sup> at that time. And King Charles and his counselors were greatly affrighted, saying: Now, Condé may ask for himself the Kingdom also. And they assembled both soldiers and horsemen, and they went out into the field with a mighty hand. And these two armies stood from afar off and they arrayed themselves in battle array. And also from Italy there were sent unto him about one thousand foot soldiers and his camp increased very much. But the King of Navarre did not turn away from the King, and he was friendly with him all the days.

And the servants of the King warred against<sup>b)</sup> Macon and they seized her with a mighty hand, and any one that was found was thrust through with the sword,<sup>c)</sup> for the Lord had a sacrifice in Macon and a great slaughter in the land of France.<sup>d)</sup> And into the other seduced cities the servants of the King went too, and they executed judgments against them.<sup>e)</sup> And many were killed, at that time.

Also unto Limas did the servants of the King go and they seized her and gave her to plunder, and they had caused many slain to fall, and they went on their way. And when the people of Lyon heard it, they were immensely affrighted and so

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- a) Deut. 28, 37
  - b) Num. 31, 7
  - c) cf. Isa. 13, 15
  - d) cf. Isa. 34, 6
  - e) cf. Ex. 12, 12

they brought into the city about five thousands Swiss soldiers and they reinforced her, and they sat on their watch; and as for the merchants, many of them fled everyone on his own way, because they feared for their life.

And the servants of the King warred against Uranni<sup>a)</sup> and within her there were about eight hundred Lutherans who had fortified her very much, and they fought against her, and anyone that was found was thrust through with the sword,<sup>a)</sup> be he a Lutheran or a non-Lutheran. See, if ever there had been such a thing!<sup>b)</sup> And they burnt therein many houses, and they gave the city for plunder. And gone was from Uranni all her splendor,<sup>c)</sup> at that time.

Also in Toulouse<sup>d)</sup> did the Lutherans multiply at that time, and they fought one another every man against his brother and every man against his companion,<sup>e)</sup> Such a thing did not happen in all the Kingdoms until this day. And the Lutherans captured the house with the war equipment (arsenal) and they fought from the sixth day of Sivan until the thirteenth thereof, and many slain fell to the ground, and the city of Toulouse was as perplexed.<sup>f)</sup> While they were yet fighting, came<sup>g)</sup> Monseigneur di Monluc the captain of the

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a) Isa. 13, 15  
b) cf. Jer. II, 10  
c) cf. Lam. I, 6  
d) Lit.: Tolosa

e) Ex. 32, 27; Esa. 19, 2  
f) cf. Est. 3, 15  
g) cf. Est. 6, 14



King's armies, and he entered the city and he fell upon them suddenly, and any one that was found was thrust through with the sword,<sup>a)</sup> and the slain of the Lord multiplied. And about six thousand men were slain by the edge of the sword, and the city was given over to plunder, and gone was from the city of Toulouse all her splendor<sup>b)</sup> at that precipitate time,

And the city of Sisteron, in Provence, was a very fortified city, and the Lutherans strengthened her and lived therein in safety. So did the servants of the King war against her, too, and at first the Italians fought against her, and many of them fell slain to the ground. And they returned to fight a second time, and the people of the city filled their hands with them also at that time, and many people died. And they returned again to fight against her but they found<sup>not</sup> there any one that pisseth against the wall (any male ~~child~~), because they all departed on their way in the darkness of the night and no man knew of it.

So the Lutherans, too, filled their hands and they went and captured many cities and burnt them by fire and they rendered them as booty and they caused many slain to fall in all the places wherein were the servants of the King.

In those days there was no justice and righteousness in

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a) cf. Isa. 13, 15  
b) cf. Lam. 1, 6

Notes to the text.



1) This paragraph, beginning in ~~xxxxxxx~~ in E. p. 133<sup>3</sup>, is a continuation of Joseph's description of the attitude towards and treatment of the Jews by Paul IV. This description, up to the words : ידני ידני on p. 3 is also recorded with slight changes in E., 135 f. (as indicated in the Hebrew version).

2) An interesting analysis about the origin of the word ידני is given by Berliner, Appendix to Vol. II, 192 f.; cf. also Wiener, note 176a.

3) In the beginning of his career Paul IV (1555-1559) was bishop of Theata (=Chieti) and was referred to in official papal documents as Episcopus Theatinus. The common people, not realizing that Theatinus is a Latin expression for "of Chieti", called him Theatino instead of Chietino (Bromato I, 58 f.). In 1524 Paul founded in Chieta the Order Clericorum Regularium whose members were called the Theatines (cf. Brown VI, nos. 139 (note), 117, 119, 124, 133, 661, and Wiener, note 285). They were zealous churchmen and therefore the favorites of Paul IV, who, after assuming his office as Pope appointed them to high offices in the church hierarchy. Paul's private name was Giovanni Pietro Caraffa. He called himself Paul IV in gratitude to Paul III (Farnese) for appointing him as cardinal and in gratitude to his nephew

*Not clear*



Cardinal A. Farnese for supporting him at the election for the Papacy (... "di mostar qual affetto egli portasse a Paolo III, che gli aveva dato il cappello, e al Cardinal Farnese, che gli aveva procacciata la corona, volle chiamarsi Paolo IV.", Pallavicino, III, 347; cf. also Pastor, XIV, 61 note 1).

Wiener (note 288) calls our attention to the forced interpretation of Letteris' note (E. 135) on Theatino without indicating, however, that the Ha-Zophe L'Ha-Magid (Vith year, n. 33) had preceded him in his criticism.

4) The bitterness of the contemporary Jewish writers against Paul IV was a result of the executions of Ancona (cf. infra) and of the issuance of the bull Con nimis absurdum of July 14, 1555 (published in the Bullarium, Vol. VI. Less than seven weeks after the assumption of his office!), whose aim was characterized by Berliner as follows: "Von allen Freiheiten, welche die Juden Roms durch das allgemeine Menschenrecht und gemäss alter Privilegien bisher besassen, liess man ihnen nur die Freiheit, leben zu dürfen, d.h. in verächtlicher, niedriger Knechtgestalt einherzuschleichen und das Gefühl der Menschenwürde in eigener Brust zu ersticken...." (II, 3; for a complete analysis of this bull cf. *ibid.*, pp. 4-9 and V-R p. 152 f.)

Besides Joseph Hacoen the Jewish contemporary



sources are: the very important scroll written by an anonymous author and published by I. Sonne in Jerusalem, 1930: דברי הימים של האספיקור פאוליו הרביעי, and Gedalya Ibn Jachya (p. 96 f.). Other sources, especially for the Ancona tragedy, are to be found in Bernfeld, II, pp. 320-350; see also Grätz, IX, 329, note.

5) It is hard to agree with Sonne (p. 7 f.) that Cardinal Caraffa, Paul IV's nephew, was responsible for the anti-Jewish policy of the Church. From all the available contemporary sources we gather that the Pope's nephew directed the diplomatic policy of the Church, but not its ecclesiastic policy, in which category the papal bull and the executions of the marranos must be considered. It is more plausible that a man like Cardinal Caraffa could be bought off with money (cf. e.g. Navagero's report in Brown VI, n.600). The zealous pope devoted himself to the ecclesiastic policy, attending meetings of the Inquisition - Council, even when he was seriously ill (Pastor XIV, 413). Although the cardinal exerted a great influence upon him, he did not succeed in changing the ecclesiastic policy of the Pope. From the manuscript published by Sonne (S. II, 16) we learn that Cardinal Caraffa wanted to extend the rights of the marranos (see the following note) but the anger of Paul IV prevented it. Added proof of the above thesis, accepted by modern historians, is to be found in



the incident that Joseph mentions about the Pope's advice to his nephew to burn Jewish houses (E, 137) and the latter's refusal to do so, after consultation with Cardinal Farnese.

6) This was apparently the second delegation that was sent to Rome to propitiate the Pope. The first one, mentioned in S. (p. 16) was received by Cardinal Caraffa who promised them to respect their rights and those of the marranos. (~~The~~ individual or group-deputations to Rome ~~seem to have been~~ <sup>were</sup> a usual occurrence. See e.g. De Pomis' successful mission to Pius IV, in Ghironi, 89). It seems, however, that the Pope did not approve the stand of his nephew and sent a papal delegation<sup>2</sup> to Ancona in the person of Fallangonius Neapolitano with the order to confiscate the property of the Italian Jews in Ancona and to investigate the marranos. /Stern, n. 109; S, 17; Yachya mentions this delegate (קומיסריון) but does not give his name. So do the Informationi (Grätz IX, 532). Joseph does not mention any delegate at all. We have continuous references to different papal delegates, sent from Rome to impose restrictions upon the Jews. Cf. the Cori letter, JQR II, 306; cf. also David de Pomis in the introduction to his Zemah David, published also in Ghironi pp. 86, 88-91,



from which I quote: ... בוסן ההוא עליה האפיפיור פאאולו רביעי. ויצא קומיסאריאי דהופים נודנו והלכו בטרדי ומכרו ושללו כל אשר מצאו בבתנו והשאירונו ערום ושולי. / שם, צד 86.

After the escape of Fallangonius a second delegate, Cesaro Della Nava, was sent to Ancona (Y. *ibid.*; S, 17). On February 4, 1556 the Archbishop of Ragusa, Portico, was delegated to establish a ghetto in Ancona (REJ, III, p. 95, 2). Then another deputation was sent from Ancona to Rome, without success (S, 19: ולא Also the offer of 40.000 scudi to the Pope was in vain. (See REJ, XX, 68; Pastor, 273).

7) Beatrice or Beatrice de Luna was the name of Doña Gracia Mendesia <sup>which she bore while</sup> ~~when she had been~~ a marrano. After her return to Judaism she called herself Hanna Gracia (Bernfeld II, 322). Her husband's name was Francisco Mendes (cf. Grätz, *ibid.* note 6, p. 533 f., where some mistakes of the Informationi are corrected, and her career is discussed.) For the great help Doña Gracia gave to the Portuguese marranos, see Usque (Dialogue III) who dedicated his Consolacao to her (*ibid.* 12). Cf. Cassel p. 203, note 95, where some additional sources are given; see also the anonymous letter of 1564 published in Kerem Hemed VIII, 12, Berlin, 1854.



8) Joseph seems to be the only contemporary historian who points out that Suliman's letter came as a result of Doña Gracia's representations. (Breger's statement in EJ, IX, 365, that it was due to Joseph Nassi's intervention, will not stand the test). In the Sultan's letter we read: "dovete sapere, che alcuni della generatione degli Hebrei hanno fatto notificare alla mia eccelsa..."

9) The letter of the Sultan Sulymān (pub. in part by Grätz IX, 535, from Lettere di Principi III, 171, Venezia 1581) dated March 9, 1556, to Paul IV pointed out that there were Turkish subjects (sudditi nostri) among the prisoners, and threatened reprisals on the Christians in Turkey. The threat was effective. (Cf. V-R II, 158 and Don Joseph Nasi Duc de Naxos by Abraham Galante, Constantinople 1913, p. 8; vide also Navagero's report in note 15, and Wiener, note 290; S is confused about this intervention, see *ibid.* note 17 on p. 38.)

After Wiener called the attention of Grätz (*ibid.*) that there is no need for emendation of: ...  
(Grätz, biography of Joseph Nasi, 12), Grätz emends the text (IX, 535) as: ... for which change there is no need either.



10) Ancona was the site of an ancient and renowned Jewish settlement. It was at this time one of the most flourishing Italian sea-ports, and its close relation with Turkey and the Levant added to its other attractions (cf. Roth, 205 ff.). The popes Paul III and Julius III encouraged the marranos to settle there and gave them privileges (Y. puts it: *ואפילו היה להם רשות מן פפה שברו* the third being, either Marcellus II, who officiated only 21 days, or Leo X; vide Bernfeld II, p. 323 and S. note 3 p. 31. About Paul III's treatment of the Jews see Brosch I, 218).

11) The non-Jewish sources speak only of 24, or of 12, having in mind the second execution of Tamuz, cf. note

12) ~~11~~ and Navagero's report in Brown VI, n. 463. Also S. has: "כ'ד מהם נכתבו ונחתמו שמם למוחתם בחוק ושרפה עם זקנה אחת עם"

but Yachya writes: *ואת אשר לא רצו להסיר היו כל אנשים חקנה אחת*

The <sup>statement</sup> point of view of the latter is the accepted one (see Grätz IX, 260; Zunz, Synagogale Poesie, 336, and others). Sonne, however, disagrees (REJ, LXXXIX, 361 f. and in S. note 7, p. 37) and <sup>Sachs</sup> wants to prove from a third source (Salomon Hazan's elegy, published in Ha-Lebanon, V, 343 and in Bernfeld's Sepher Ha-Demaot, II pp. 347-350) that E. and S. are correct. But if we do not make any emendations in the texts, all the sources that list the names of the martyrs of Ancona <sup>(1)</sup> Yachya, <sup>(2)</sup> S., <sup>(3)</sup> Hazan Hakedoshim I, <sup>(4)</sup> Hazan Hakedoshim II



/both pub. in the REJ XXXI and reprinted in Bernfeld II, 338-347/ and <sup>5)</sup>Hazan) have only 24, including Donna Majora. As far as the names of the martyrs are concerned they are given in the above-mentioned five sources with slight changes in the Hebrew spelling. Some family names are also slightly different in one version ~~than in the other~~ (cf. Kaufman in REJ IX, 151 ff.). The S. and Hazan list the names (chronologically) as they were executed, the others have no order in their listing.

12) The exact dates are given in S and Hazan; five were executed the third of Ijar (among them Majora), two on the fifth of the same month and six on the eighth. The other 12 were burned at the stake on the seventh and twelfth of Tamuz (the exact dates are not clear in S, but clear in Hazan). The date given by Joseph is incorrect (cf. also Bernfeld *ibid.*, 329 note 1).

13) In S. we read: וסדרי עזרם ללכת אל המקום המוכן לשרפתם.

the same source describes especially the death of one of the last twelve martyrs, Solomon Yahya, whose last words were the blessing:

אשר קדשנו במצוותיו וצונו על קדוש השם (ibid.; see also Sonne's note 28, p. 38 f.)

14) The victims were usually first hanged or choked and later burned. This will explain the many references במיתות חיים (Hazan, *ibid.*); or שמתהם



תלאום שם ונשרפו... (Emanuel Benvento);  
(Yachya, ibid.), Vide also S. note 6 p. 36.

15) The Y. makes it more clear and from it we learn that even though many became converted, they were still sent to the galleys: ויהי כמו כ' אנשים שהסירו, ואם כל זה לא שום להם כי שלהם אל הוליא...  
Our text gives the number sent to the galleys as 38; the Y. claims 60 (Yahya's number may be the total of those escaped from prison before the trial /30/ plus those who escaped on their way to the galleys /27/; S. p. 18 mentions 27 (cf. also REJ LXXXIX, 363 ff., where the matter is discussed). According to the Informationi "...fece mittere in Galera et abbrusciare piu di 80 persone", which approximate Y. On April 25, the Venetian Ambassador to Rome, Navagero, reports to the Doge and Senate: "Twelve marranos were burned lately at Ancona, and the others, 42 in number, have offered, should their lives be spared, additional 40,000, and are content to be sent to the galleys; so I understand that letters have been written (from Rome) to stay the execution until further orders; it being said that the report of the Turkish fleet's putting to sea in great force has caused this countermand, lest with this pretext it came to Ancona, and they regret having gone so far" (Brown VI, n. 463).

16) The author probably means that there is no <sup>earlier</sup> preceding case in Italy, where Jews were burned at the stake with the official consent of the Church.

17) Cf. note 14; Y. (ibid.) puts it: וישראלם אלהם אל הוליא: S. (20) writes: וישלחו אותם ע"י שופרים  
דרך מלכות נאפולי, להליכם אל מקום הוצאה. ויהי בדרך במלון, קמו כלם כאריות גברו, ויכום ויכתום וימלטו, כי נסעו למסעיהם דרך היראה וקצתם דרך ארץ תונרסה.

18) After the bull of July 14, 1555 had already been enforced with the relegation of the Jews to the Ghetto, after the enforced sale of their real estate for  $\frac{1}{5}$  of its real value, (V-R misunderstood the Y., which says that the real value of the property was worth 500,000 scudi, and not that this sum represented  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the value) with all their synagogues, but one or two, destroyed, and with the enforced wearing of the green hats and yellow veils (see the report in Reise in Italien, as quoted by Schudt, IV 237), the Pope had the audacity to ask the Jews' help when the armies of the victorious Spanish general, Alva, were approaching the holy city (V-R, 155. For the Spanish war against the Holy See, cf. p. 4 ff.).

19) Many Jews had already left Rome and the Papal possessions when the first bull was issued. More left after they were forced to participate in the fortification of the



city-walls (cf. note ). Also, many non-Jews left the eternal city because of the ruthless rulership of the Theatine, so that the general population of Rome decreased from 80,000 to about 50,000 (V-R, 152; Ranke, II, 202). S. (16) reports: גזירת הבולה סבבה יראה... ופחד על היהודים עד כי כל העשירים אשר היו במדינת למרקא ובמדינת לומברדיאה ומדינות אחרות, ממעלה האפיפיור, נסו להמלט על נפשם.

20) Mass conversions in other Papal cities like Benvento and Moro di Valle are also reported in S., *ibid.*: The letter of the Community of Cori also mentions these conversions (pub. by Kaufman in the JQR o. S., II, 306; cf. also Pastor, XIV, 274).

21) In 1528 the Genoese Admiral Andrea Doria, one of the greatest men of his century (1484-1560) went over to the Spanish, after having served the French. In 1535 Doria with the help of Charles V conquered Tunis, formerly held by the Corsairs. During the 16th Century we have repeated references to pirates raiding the Western Mediterranean coast under the command of Piali Pasha and Dorgut Reis.

With the help of the Spanish, Doria also expelled the French from Genoa and re-established the republic under Charles V<sup>th</sup> protection, During the entire XVI<sup>th</sup> Century the republic of Genoa remained under the



Spanish rule (see Brequigny II, 29-91; Duffy 400 f., 421, 432 and CMH, III, 111, 125, 131, 133).

The Turks were now the allies of the French and the Pope against the Spanish (Ranke I, 90, 217; Bromato II, 369).

22) About the discovery of the quicksilver mine in Guadalcanal (or Guadalacanal) in the Sierra Morena in 1555, see C. H. Haring, Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies, pp. 25, 47 and R. B. Herriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire, Vol. II, 225 note 1.

23) For clearer understanding of this struggle let us note the following: During his residence as nuncio in Spain

Paul IV, having won the esteem of Ferdinand the Catholic, had been admitted by him into the Council of state and had retained his position after the accession of the Emperor, Charles V. However, as a result of having expressed some unguarded sentiment against the Emperor in a consistory of Rome, Charles indicated his displeasure with him, by ordering his name to be deleted from the list of councillors.

Charles did not stop at this, he further opposed Paul IV's admission to the archbishopric of Naples which his papal predecessor, Paul III, had promised him. Later on Charles molested him in the exercise of his diocesan jurisdiction.

Finally, the Emperor exerted all his influence in the conclave to prevent Paul's advancement to the papal throne.



(See Nores, 8 f.; Giannone 202; Benrath p. 127; Prescott, 127.) Joseph Hacoen and S. give an additional reason for the ill-will between Paul IV and Spain, namely that the Pope's brother had been executed by order of Charles V (A,..., S. 21, Sonne overlooked this statement in A., *ibid.* note 12 on p. 42). This maltreatment made a deep impression on the sensitive and fiery temper of the pontiff and he did not hide his hatred against Charles V and his son Philip II. Paul's hatred for Spain influenced his later policy. The Pope's nephews, especially Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, also were prejudiced against Spain (cf. Brown, nos. 661, 755) and they encouraged the Pope to seize the territories of Ascanio Colonna and those of his son Marcantonio who were friends of Charles V and Philip II (Nores, 11; Müller, 3).

In the beginning of May 1556 the Cardinals were informed that the Colonna's were to be excommunicated and their estates forfeited. The official reason was given that the Colonnas opposed the orders of the Pope and entered into conspiracy with the enemies of the Holy See (cf. the report of the Venetian Ambassador to Rome of May 5, 1556 in Brown VI, n. 475; Rieß, 103 ff.)

On July 18 Navagero reported (*ibid.* n. 551) that "the printed bull depriving Ascanio and Marcantonio Colonna of their estates had been published". As early as October 20 the Pope informed the Cardinals that he had decided on war so that he would not be taken by surprise. Against the ob-



jection of Cardinal Medici, the Pope answered: "What business is it of the Emperor's (Charles V), if I punish one of my subjects" (Colonna). (Pastor XIV, 104).

24) Navagero reports on May 16 (Brown n. 484, and the note to n. 499 on p. 467) that the Pope had informed the Cardinals and the assembled ambassadors in the congregation that he decided to give the important fief of Paliano to his nephew, the Count of Montorio, who would certainly prove himself a true and obedient vassal of the Holy See. He further describes the whole ceremony in the Sistine Chapel. The Cardinals received the news with dissatisfaction but nobody dared to contradict the Pope (cf. also Nores p. 44; Cheney 7; Andrea 11).

25) The occupation of the above mentioned territories by the papal troops called forth a sharp protest of the Spanish Viceroy in Naples, the Duke of Alva (Don Ferrando Alvarez) who could not allow such impending events to happen at the very frontiers of the Kingdom of Naples (Navagero in Brown VI, n. 484). The return of these territories to the Colonnas was repeatedly demanded by Alva, Charles V and Philip II (See *ibid.* nos. 265, 279, 281, 290, 347, 666, 684. For subsequent military moves to recapture these territories see following narrative).

26) After the excommunication of the Colonnas the papal troops quietly occupied their territories. Paliano and



Rocca di Papa which had been transferred to the new Duke for protection were strongly fortified by these papal troops (Giannone, 203; S. 22; Rieß 107 ff.); Navagero (report of July 8, 1556) puts the number of troops that entered Paliano at 1300 infantry accompanied by 16 pieces of artillery (Brown VI, n. 539).

27) Maximilian (Ferdinand's son), King of Bohemia, was the nephew and son-in-law of Charles V by marriage to his daughter Mary. Before Charles' return to Spain following his abdication, Maximilian and Mary came to Brussels in July 1556 to see him: "When Maximilian and Mary arrived, Brussels became for a few days the scene of tourneys, banquets, and other sumptuous festivities", writes Stirling-Maxwell (p. 25 f.; cf. also Brown VI, n. and note 42).

28) Since the failure of the Turkish attack upon Vienna in 1529, there was continual warfare between them and Ferdinand I, king of Hungary and Bohemia. The Turks invaded Hungary thereby exposing Vienna to repeated threats of invasion which Ferdinand strongly fortified (vide CMH, III, pp. 104-123 and Weber, 341 ff.)

29) In E., 136, the same event is described in more de-

tail, namely: ותחילת המלחמה בין יצחק בשנת שש ישרה ושליש מאות  
וה' אלפים, היא שנת תקנ"ו וא"ף /1556/, ויפלו מהם כשמונה ועשרים  
אלף במלחמה ההיא; ולבני ישראל היה אור במושבותם ולא נפקד מהם איש.



30) On October 13, 1555 (acc. to Pastor, Oct. 14) the Pope and the Ambassador of the French King, Alanzone, signed a treaty, the most important articles of which are the following: The King of France is to take upon himself the protection of the Pope, and all the Family of Caraffa; the Pope is to furnish an army of 10,000 men, and Henry II is to supply an equivalent or a greater number, if necessary. The latter is to cooperate with the ecclesiastical forces, in restoring liberty to Tuscany, and in expelling the Spaniards from the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. If successful, the King was promised to compensate the Kingdom of Naples and Duchy of Milan for his younger son, for other privileges, which were to be given to the Pope's nephews. An interval of 40 days was allowed for the confirmation of this treaty by Henry II (cf. Nores p. 36 ff.; Giannone, 208; Du<sup>4</sup>ry 78 ff. About the Pope's attitude towards war with Spain see the characteristic conversation with the Venetian ambassador on October 12 in the Appendix to Pastor XIV, 435 f.). At the end of November the French Cardinals Guise and Tournon arrived in Rome with the authority to bring this alliance to a conclusion (cf. Brown VI, Appendix to Part III, n. 134). It was signed by them and the Pope on Dec. 15, 1555 (Vide, Archivio St<sup>o</sup>rico Italiano, Ser. II, Vol. XXV, p. 52 f.). The French auxiliary army was now fixed at 12,000 men and the Pope was to provide 10,000 infantry



and 1,000 cavalry. Other minor changes were also made in this treaty, which was concluded with the utmost secrecy. On Dec. 29, 1555 the Pope conferred the office of Captain-General of the Church to his eldest nephew, Giovanni Caraffa, and a few days later the bâton of commander-in-chief was given to him by the Pope in a solemn ceremony. On January 20, 1556 the Duke of Somma had been sent to France to beg Henry II to lose no time in carrying out the terms of the treaty of alliance (Pastor, *ibid.*, 108 ff.). On February 7 Paul IV in his conversation with Navagero made it clear that he "surpassed Job in patience", because he suffered many insults, plots and treacherous practices at the hands of the Imperialists. He also expressed deep fear of imminent war (Brown VI, n. 381). But Henry II forgot the obligations to which he had bound himself in the treaty with the Pope. Two months after he signed it, he violated its terms and agreed to the truce of Vaucelles on Dec. 15, 1555, with the Emperor (Watson, 20). Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, the nephew of the Pope to whom he entrusted inadvertently all the secular affairs of the Holy See, was the chief instigator of the papal war against Spain. This cardinal, who was later exiled by his own uncle and executed by order of Pius IV (cf. notes 237 f.) was prompted by selfish motives on his behalf and that of his family (cf. Müller, 2). "Caraffa knew well how to take advantage of the weaknesses of his uncle. Thanks to his cunning and



skill his most daring enterprises succeeded only too well". The armistice of Vaucelles was a great shock to him but he did not lose his head. He pretended to accept it as a fait accompli, but worked secretly with all his power to nullify it. Thus, although he might be unsuccessful in this attempt, he wanted to attain his principal aim: the acquisition of Siena for his family (Sienne, 11 f.). He felt that such a difficult task could only be accomplished by direct contact with Henry II, and he therefore asked for the Pope's permission to go to France as ambassador. The Pope readily granted his request. Peace negotiations between Spain and France was given as the official reason for his embassy. In reality the purpose for his mission was to receive assistance from the French against the Spanish /cf. Navagero's reports in Brown nos. 452, 459, 463, 468 and Badoer's (Venetian Ambassador to Charles V in Brussels) report of April 26, 1556: "He (Paul IV) had chosen to appoint legates to their Majesties (Charles V and Philip II) and to the most Christian King (Henry II) to negotiate the peace, but the chief ministers of this court say openly that the appointment of Cardinal Caraffa to France makes them suspect that it may be for the purpose of negotiating matters to break the truce (of Vaucelles) rather than to make the peace" (n. 464 ibid.)/. Also Andrea (p. 6) says: "Ora quest' andata del Cardinal Caraffa al Re di Francia si seppe subito per cosa certa, che fu per trattar seco lega a nostri danni, ed



inanimarlo alla impresa del Regno". On May 11 Caraffa received the cross from the Pope; on the 19th he left for Civitavecchia (Pastor, *ibid.*, 123) and on the 21st he set sail from there for France (see the report of Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador to France, from Morette of June 21 in Brown VI, n. 504).

31) In Fontainbleau was the Court of France, cf. Jackson II, 323; Cardinal Caraffa arrived in France on June 16, 1556 (Brown VI, n. 515). That Henry II was then in Fontainbleau is evident from the letter written by his own hand, dated: Fontainbleau, June, 1556 (in the App. to Norez, 390).

32) Cardinal Caraffa presented to the King of France a consecrated sword and cap, and to the Queen the Golden Rose; he also presented several other gifts among which were some pieces of antique sculpture (Pastor XIV, 124; Watson, 22. About the many personalities accompanying him cf. Brown VI, n. 453).

Soranzo reports on June 16, 1556 to the Venetian Doge and Senate from Morette: "Cardinal Caraffa came to the court today in his official habit, the King accompanied by the Constable (cf. note 144a) descended two steps of the stair to meet him. He is lodged at the court with as much honor and convenience as possible". (Brown, *ibid.* n. 515). Caraffa himself also told the Pope about the warm reception that he received in France (*ibid.* n. 607),



33) At first, Caraffa found bitter opposition in the French court, especially in the person of the Constable (cf. note <sup>144a</sup>). But after some time he succeeded in his mission with the help of the Strozzi's and Giuse's. After having produced from the Pope the authority to absolve Henry II from his oath and only after having given him the definite assurance that he would promote a certain number of French Cardinals and after having promised him Bologna, Ancona, Poliano, Civitavecchia and even the Castle of St. Angelo, he was successful in persuading the French King to break the truce of Vaucelles and to send troops to Italy to help the Pope (Watson 21 f.; Prescott, 133 ff.)

34) On July 15, 1556 eight French galleys with 600 Gascons arrived at the port of Civitavecchia (Pastor, 135). On August 15, 1200 more Gascons arrived in Rome (Brown, n. 577). Upon the return of the Cardinal from France on Sept. 7 he was accompanied by 20 galleys and "8 companies of Gascons said to be 1500 in number" (Navagero's report of Sept. 11 in Brown VI, n. 607). This gives us a total of 3300 troops. Andrea (p. 6, 21) mentions 1000 troops which Henry II dispatched from their stations in Corsica to guard Poliano, but I would not know whether they were included in the above mentioned numbers. Nores speaks of 1500 troops from Corsica (p. 121).



The date of the soldiers' arrival as given in our text is too early, even for the first group, because the Cardinal did not arrive in France before June 16th.

35) Salah Reiss was the Turkish governor of Algiers. When the great expedition of Charles V against Algiers in 1541 failed, the Spanish succeeded, however, in capturing the two important cities Oran and Mers-el-Kebir on the Algerian coast. The Spanish continued to pour food and reinforcements into these two cities, while the Turks bent all their efforts to recapture them and to prevent the arrival of the Spanish reinforcements. (See, Recherches historiques sur Maures et Histoire de l'empire de Maroc. Par M. de Chenier, (Paris, 1787) III, 318 ff.; EB article Oran; Annals II, 139a.)

36) After the accidental discovery of some compromising documents, the Pope ordered (on July 9, 1556) the arrest of Garcilasso de la Vega, the envoy of Charles V to Rome (Brown, n. 540; Nores, 72). Alva protested against this arrest in a letter to Rome in which he also gives voice to other complaints (Brown, n. 550). He also protested through the Count S. Valentino. On August 11 the Pope sent Domenico del Nero, a Roman clergyman with an answer denying all of Alva's accusations. In regard to the arrest of De la Vega, the Pope declared that the former, through his plotting against him, had violated the privilege of an



ambassador. (For instructions given to Del Nero, cf. Nores 394 ff. where the date 1554 must be corrected to 1556; Brown, n. 572). Alva considered this answer unsatisfactory and in reply he again pointed out all the injustices done to the Emperor and King of Spain. He concluded that the only cause for him to pursue was that which was permitted to every obedient son whose father attacks him with a naked weapon, namely, to snatch the weapon out of his father's hand /"che qualsivoglia obedientissimo figliuolo, che fusse appresso del suo proprio padre in questo modo e cosi maltratto, non postra lasciar di difendersi e di levargli le armi con le quali lo volesse offendere". The letter is published in Nores, 400 f.; for a similar letter of the same date (August 21, 1556) written by Alva to the Sacro Collegio, in Spanish, vide ibid., 403 f.; cf. also Brown n. 599./ Alva had received permission from Charles V and Philip II to declare war on the Pope yet in June (see Badoer's report from Brussels of June 14 in Brown, n. 513) but he hesitated, for which he was later blamed by his superiors (ibid. nos. 633 and 758). Now, not having received any answers to his ultimatum, he crossed the frontier with his troops on Sept. 1, entered San Germano Sept. 4th, and the following day invaded Pontecorvo (Andrea 13, Brown VI, n. 603); his force consisted of only 2000, but well-disciplined, men, and of 1500 horses. The troops were led by such generals as the deprived Marcantonio Colonna and the Count of Popoli, who



had been dismissed from the papal army, on account of his sympathies for Spain. After the occupation of Frosinone, Veroli and Banco, Alva marched toward Anagni, whereupon Piperno, Terracino, Acuto, Fumona, Ferentino, Alatro and many other places surrendered. (".... facessero /the papal troops/ in ogni caso quella resistenza, che potevano. Ma avuto quei di Frosinone avviso della venuta del nemico, che sporaggiunse, ne usciron di notte, e v'entrareno gli spagnuoli senza contrasto", Nores, 125; vide also the letter of the bishop of Ostia to Alva and his answer, *ibid.* p. 405 ff. Sept. 16, 1556; Andrea 12; *ibid.* 14 Giannone, 212 ff.)

37) When Cardinal Caraffa returned to Rome on Sept. 7, (Brown, n. 607) he found the city in a state of indescribable confusion. The Venetian Ambassador reports from Rome on Sept. 12, 1556: "Such a panic prevails in this city that everybody is endeavouring to escape, but great vigilance is used at the gates to prevent the departure of anyone" (Brown VI, n. 609).

Previously the Pope had ordered Camillo Orsini, one of his generals, to put Rome in a state of defense. He arrived in the capital on July 18 (see *ibid.* note to n. 551) and ordered a ruthless destruction of villas and vineyards lying within and without the city walls, which caused great dissatisfaction among the people. Another contemporary writes: "il che (Orsini) fu causa della rovina di quella



povera città (Rome), perciocché inanimato quei Cittadini, e comuciato a fortificare, e riparare le mura il meglio che poteva, gli sopraggiunse il Duca (of Pagliano) con l'esercito, e non ebbe tempo a farli forte in modo che avesse potuto resistere" (Andrea, 14). In one section of Rome (Pincio) about a hundred buildings were razed. (Pastor, 140 f.) All this was, however, not sufficient to resist a serious attack, not only because the fortifications were not finished on time, but also because the papal army was scattered all over the Campagna. (Brown, nos. 646, 685 and Riess, 146). The food shortage in Rome is not surprising since the city was now cut off from its supplies by land (cf. Nores, 125) and after the loss of Ostia also by sea (cf. S p. 22 and note 44).

38) Cf. also E, 137. To be fair to Paul IV, it may be said that the Jews were no exception in being put to work for the defense of the Eternal City. Clergymen of every rank had also to participate in fortifying the walls (Durny, 375).

39) In accordance with the bull of July 14 (Bullarium, par. 1; S par. 4; Y par. 6) the Jews had to sell all their real estate within 6 (~~according to Y-4~~) months. Thus, they were accused by the Church authorities of making false contracts (legal fictions) without having actually sold their properties. These accusations were the cause of many arrests (E *ibid*; V-R II, 155 f.).



40) Watson (p. 26) considers justly that Alva's difficulties in getting reinforcements was one of the reasons for his later truce of forty days (cf. infra p. 8 and note 45).

41) After the abdication of Charles V which Joseph mentions later (p. 70), he (Charles) left Brussels on June 29 for the castle of Sterrebeke, a few miles away, where he remained until the 15th of July. Because of some business, and also because he wanted to see his daughter Mary (cf. note 27), who was detained in Germany until July, he postponed his departure for Spain until August. The 13th of that month Charles V arrived at Ghent where he met Philip II who accompanied his father together with Mary and many other nobles to the coast. They spent a good many days at Flushing (Zuitburg), waiting for favorable weather. In his letter of Sept. 11, 1556 to Ferdinand, Charles writes: "I am all ready, waiting with the Queens my sisters, until it shall please God to send us a fair wind to set sail, being determined to let no opportunity slip, but to take the earliest occasion of proceeding on our voyage..." The next day the royal party embarked on the ship Bertendona which cast anchor in the port of Laredo on Sept. 28, whence Charles went to Valladolid (see Stirling-Maxwell, 25 ff. and 36 f.; and T. Juste L'Abdication de Charles V (Liège 1851) p. 30; Prescott, 19 ff.)

42)



43) Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, was the son of Pier Luigi, the brother of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and nephew of Pope Paul III (Prescott's statement /p.334/ that Ottavio was the grandson of Paul III is, of course, not correct). The duchies of Parma and Piacenza (Placentia) were originally given to Ottavio as dowry from his wife. After Charles V deprived Ottavio of the Duchy of Piacenza, Henry II, King of France, took the latter under his protection, in opposition both to the Pope and to the Emperor (1551). Ottavio's relation with the Pope improved after the latter became an ally of Henry II. The Duke of Parma even offered 3000 men as a bodyguard for Paul IV. After Alva invested the papal possessions, the Imperialists felt that another war with France was imminent. They may have also feared that the Duke of Parma would become an active ally of Henry II and Paul IV. The Spanish decided, therefore, to return Piacenza and Navara to Ottavio, with a reservation regarding the Spanish right of investiture (rimanendone agli Spagnuoli il Castello). At the same time they returned the Sicilian revenues to Cardinal Alessandro. Thus, the Farneses were won over to the side of the Imperialists. (For details see Pallavicino, 403-408; Sienne 30 f.; Watson, 15 f. and 146).

Ottavio's wife was Margaret of a noble Flemish house, and half-sister of Philip II (a natural daughter of Charles V), who was entrusted by her brother after the abdication of their father, with the regency of the Netherlands (vide Prescott, 333 ff.; about Margaret's trip to Flanders cf. Pallavicino, 407 f.).



44) Early in November Alva arrived at the outskirts of Ostia and took up a position on the banks of the Tiber. After bitter resistance offered by the papal troops, the Spaniards succeeded in capturing Ostia on November 18, 1556 and thereby severing Rome's connection with the sea (cf. Andrea, 61 f.; Pallavicino, III, XIII, 403; Brown VI, nos. 701, 711, 713; S, 22; Prescott, 148 ff.)

The date given in our text is incorrect. The last important place, taken by Alva's troops in September was Tivoli, to the north-east of Rome. The boats for the siege of Ostia were sent from Nettuno on the Mediterranean coast which Alva had captured only in October (Pastor XIV, 146).

45) After the capture of Ostia, Alva offered a ten day's armistice which Caraffa accepted. At the request of his uncle, Cardinal St. James, Alva consented to a conference with Caraffa on the Isola Sacra near Ostia. The negotiations took place on November 25 to 27. Since Caraffa offered to conclude certain transactions for which Alva had no authority, it was agreed that both parties send representatives to Philip II. In order to allow time for an answer, the armistice was prolonged for 40 days, i. e. until January 9, 1557.

Both sides had their reasons for the cessation of warfare. On October 18 definite promises of Henry II arrived in Rome. In fact, the French troops were already in Piedmont but could not arrive in Rome in time to save the city. Caraffa may have been honest this time when he informed the ambassadors of France,



Ferrara, and Venice that the armistice had been arranged in order to gain time for the arrival of help from France (this is how Joseph's expression ~~now~~ is to be understood). Alva was, no doubt, aware of Caraffa's intentions. However, his army was greatly diminished by quartering garrisons in the conquered towns, and his ships with provision had been detained (cf. p. 8 and note 40). Finally, Alva was anxious to return to Naples and put the city on the defensive before the arrival of the French troops under such an able leader, as the Duke of Guise. (For the armistice, vide Pallavicino, 409 f.; Nares, 410; for the other details cf. Sienne, 40 ff.; Watson 26; Pastor, 147 f.)

Later Alva was blamed by Charles V for not having given the enemy a decisive blow instead of allowing Guise time to combine with the Pope's troops (see Prescott's note 24 on p. 151).

46) At the same time when Giulio Orsini was delegated to Henry II (Dec. 1556) to allay his possible fears over the signing of the armistice and to convince the French King of the desirability of breaking with the Spanish, Cardinal Caraffa dispatched Federigo Fantuccio with the peace terms to Philip II. Orsini arrived at the French court on January 2, 1557, and finally succeeded in convincing Henry II to take decisive action. At the close of the ~~very~~ same month, the French broke off diplomatic relations with Philip II, making war preparations in Italy against the Spanish (vide Sienne



45 f., 49 f., and 55; Rieß 207 ff., 454 f.).

47) Also Nores (p. 161) reports of 12,000 infantry, seven of which were French and <sup>the</sup> remaining five were Gascons and Swiss. But the number of horsemen is given by Nores as 400 plus 800 light cavalry. S (p. 23) puts the number of infantry at 15,000 and horsemen at 4,000, which Sonne (ibid., note 33) justly considers as exaggerated. The numbers of Guise's army varies in different reports; Prescott (p. 152) speaks of 12,000 infantry "of which 5,000 were Swiss, and the rest French, including a considerable number of Gascons. His cavalry amounted to 2,000..."

48) Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, was the ablest French general at that time, It was he who directed the memorable siege against Metz thereby having foiled the attempts of the Imperial forces under Charles V and the Duke of Alva (vide Annals, 142<sup>9</sup>; Prescott 135; Stirling-Maxwell 81 f.).

49) The exact date of Guise's arrival in Italy is not indicated by the other available contemporary sources. According to S (p. 23) : *ויבואו באיטליה בחודש חשוון*. Pallavicino has it: "Nel principio dell' anno calò ... in Italia" (III, 3,412). Nores writes: "...giunse in Italia nei primi giorni dell' anno nuovo" (p. 161).

50) The Duke of Guise started his march through Piedmont, and the Spanish Duke of Milan had reason to fear that Guise might choose Lombardy as the object of his military drive.



His apprehension was all the more warranted by the fact that Philip II had ordered the Government of Milan to strengthen the garrisons but to offer no resistance to Guise unless he initiated hostilities (Prescott, 152).

51) Marquis del Guasto (or del Vasto) was an old Imperial general who had previously been waging many wars for Charles V. It is interesting that Cardinal Carlo Caraffa fought in his youth for the Imperialists in Piedmont under Vasto. (For Vasto's career and wars cf. Annals pp. 28 ff. ; Tytler II, 283; Pastor XIV, 82). In our text Vasto is usually referred to as "the Marquis".

52) Guise, who marched with his armies southward was also threatening Genoa which the Spanish used as a sea-outlet (cf. n. 21).

53) There was a difference of opinion where Guise's army should strike first. The Pope insisted upon first attacking the Kingdom of Naples in order to preclude a possible attack on Rome. Guise, on the other hand, wished to attack Tuscany first, while the Duke of Ferrara (cf. n. 71) insisted upon subduing Milan (Lombardy) first before penetrating to the south in order not to leave a dangerous enemy in the rear. Our author seems to think that the plan of the latter would have met with success. Some modern historians share the same view. In the words of Wright (I, 685): "If the combined armies (of Guise and the Duke of Ferrara) had immediately marched



upon Milan, the power of the Spaniards in Italy might have been shaken in its centre." (For the difference of opinion see Sienne 65 f.; 71 f.; Pastor 156 f.; Prescott 152, 154; Sonne 44, note 38.) Ranke's statement (I, 216) that "the French would rather have tried their strength in a direct attack on Milan" is not in consonance with the above sources.

54) The Spanish Governor in Milan was now the Marquis of Pescara (Pallavicino, III, 413, and for the rule of the Spanish governors in Milan see Reumont, 448 ff.).

55) Cf. note 50.

56) It seems that Guise refused to abide by the Duke of Milan's suggestion. Consequently his troops suddenly launched on their drive southeast towards Valenza. This act naturally constituted a violation of the peace treaty of Vaucelles which was not as yet abrogated indeed (cf. n. 32).

57) This is the most detailed account available of the resistance Guise encountered in Valenza. Pallavicino refers to this drive saying: "non trovò (the Duke of Guise) poi contrasto, se non più audace che vigoroso in Valenza" (p. 412). Cf. also Nores, 161 f.

58) German soldiers served not only the Spanish but also the Pope and the French against the Spanish (see Pastor XIV, 145; Ranke I, 216, 218).

59) It seems that in response to Guise's request to allow him to pass through Valenza, its garrison answered with an

attack on the French. Otherwise Guise's surprise later is unexplained.

60) The Spanish and Italians who gave over the fortification to the French were apparently as reward allowed to go to Pavia which was still in Spanish hands. But when del Vasto ("the Marquis" cf. note 51) learned of their treachery, they were punished, as in the narrative.

61) According to Pallavicino (III, 412) the French did not encounter any resistance in the conquests on their way to Rome except that of Valenza (cf. note 57).

62) For the attitude of the Duke of Placentia see note 43.

63) Fiorenzuola is between Piacenza and Parma, north-east of Reggio, Guise's next military quarter.

64) I could not establish the identity of  $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau$ ; he is mentioned only in this connection.

65) Velletri to the south-east of Rome which was previously besieged by the Spanish (Giannone, 213), but apparently not occupied, now served as a basis for a surprise attack and re-occupation of Ostia (see *ibid.* 224; Ranke 215, Giannone 154; Pastor 152 note 2).

66) For the siege and conquest of Ostia by the Spanish, see p. 8 and note 44.

67) Pietro Strozzi was one of the most famous French generals, now in exile in Rome, where he assumed the rank of Commander-in-chief of the Papal troops (*vide* Pastor, 124,



152. For <sup>the</sup> Strozzi's cf. C. Guati, Le Carte Strozziene, Firenze, 1885.

At this time Strozzi had at his disposal 6,000 Italian and Gascon infantry plus 600 light cavalry, and 6 pieces of artillery (Giannone, 154).

68) Re Strozzi's attack and reconquest of Ostia, see Pastor XIV, 152, especially note 2 where a rare engraving of Jan. 24, 1558 about the state of war at Ostia is quoted (cf. also p. 15 and notes 37, 44). Joseph's interpretation that Ostia was lost "for the Spanish had delivered it for <sup>a bribe</sup> ~~gain~~ of money" throws new light on this battle.

69) I have been unable to identify the persons involved in this revolt against the Duke of Ferrara (cf. n. 70) or to gather any other information about this or the other uprising against him of which Joseph relates on p. 28. There is no city San Martin, to my knowledge, in the province of Milan and it probably refers either to San Marino or, what is more plausible, to Mantua, since it is located near Correggio and it was at that time a separate province.

Pallavicino (p. 414 f.) mentions the attitude of the Duke of Ferrara to his son Louis. He does not give, however, any details to support our account.

70) The Duke of Guise arrived in Reggio on February 16, 1557. Here a war council was held in which Cardinal Carlo Caraffa participated. Since the high ranking officers could not reach an agreement on strategy (cf. note 53) it was de-

cided to refer this problem to Paul IV's decision. At this council the Duke of Ferrara, the father-in-law of Guise, was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied armies (for details see Nores 162 f.; Pallavicino, 413; Sienne 56 f., 61 f.; Durny 356 f.; Giannone 223 f.)

71) "Il duca di Guisa adunque senza contesa a' 16 di febbraio pervenne a Reggio; andatoli incontro il duca di Ferrara con sue milizie, a cui, dismontato da cavallo, consegnò rivertimente il bastone del general comando" (Pallavicino, ibid.).

The Duke of Ferrara first fully cooperated with Guise and placed at his disposal his 6,000 troops with some cavalry. But when the Duke of Ferrara learned that the Pope decided against his strategy (cf. notes 53 and 70), he was so disgusted that he quitted the camp and withdrew his soldiers declaring that he needed all he could marshal to protect his own possessions against the Imperialists, of Milan (Andrea, 165; Nores ibid.)

72) For details about Guise's march, cf. note

73) The Ponza Island on the Mediterranean Sea is situated slightly south-east of the Gulf of Gueta, and Spain possessed it.



74) As Guise continues his journey southward to the Papal possessions and the Kingdom of Naples, his garrison, that was stationed in Valenza, to defend the conquered city, had been exposed to the attacks by the troops of the Marquis (Del Vasto). But the Imperial troops that are approaching from the north (from the dukedom of Milan) chose to by-pass Valenza to the east although facing possible flank attack (from Valenza) by the French. This plan was executed, most probably in order to come first - via Castelnova and Sale - to Alessandria, to be in a position to besiege Valenza from the south.

75) Joseph's statement: הואילך עד קרוב לואלינציה made above now assumes meaning; namely, Vasto went from Alessandria to the north-west, i. e. to S. Salvatore. While camping here he was called to Casale (Monferrato), further north. Due to the difficulties encountered by the Spanish in Casale, their garrison was dismissed. When the French learned of this development they occupied this stronghold.

76) Carlo Brissak was a famous French general who later became the governor of Piedmont and Picardy. Joseph mentions him without the usual title of הואילך עד קרוב לואלינציה because his name appears many times in previous accounts in the printed Annals.

77) Tresivio is indicated in the Gr. Enc. Pop. Sonzogno, but the present writer could not locate it on the most reliable maps.

78) Lomellina is an Italian province, north of Valenza, between Ferrara and Mortara.

79) The Imperial troops are now stationed in S. Salvatore, south-west (cf. note 75) and in Sale south-east of Valenza. The Valenza garrison could attack these two cities only by effecting a crossing at the River Po, hence this extreme precaution.

80) This is a continuation of the report of Strozzi's attempt to reconquer some possessions in the Papal states (cf. p. 11 and notes 66 f.). Tivoli, Vicovaro, and Marittima were also recaptured after the conquest of Ostia (Pastor XIV, 152).

81) Florence was now under the rule of the Duke Cosimo (or Cosmo) de Medici who attained power with Spanish assistance. This fact accounts for his sending the captives to Florence that was now neutral with Spanish sympathies. (For Cosimo and his rule in Florence, see Duffy, 420 f.; Watson 15; Prescott 153; Ranke I, 220; Pastor 102, 161).

82) King Henry II of France.

83) The author's report probably refers first to German reinforcements sent to Genoa en route to Naples ("eastward") to assist the Duke of Alva. The other Spanish boats were apparently also heading for Naples. These boats never reached their destination for the French headed them off and seized



them after sailing from Genoa.

84) Besides the mentioned cities (cf. notes 68, 80) the Papal troops also occupied Tivoli (Ranke 215), Rocca, Marino, Frascati, Nettuno and others (Giannone, 224).

85) Villavernia is to the south of Alessandria. This name is not clear in the manuscript.

86) Cherasco is to the north-east of Fossano.

87) Cf. note 83.

88) Following the meeting in Reggio (cf. note 71), Guise and Cardinal Caraffa arrived in Rome in haste on Tuesday, March 2 (Pastor, 153). Rome gave Guise a magnificent reception "as if he had been already crowned with victory" (Watson, 26). Or in the words of Pallavicino (415): "...fu qui-vi accolto come angelo...". After a month's stay in the Vatican (till April 5, 1557), Guise learned what scanty preparations were made by the Holy See. He rejoined his Gesi garrison, the launching point of his attack, after the Pope had assured him of reinforcements (cf. the Avviso di Roma of April 10 in Pastor 156, note 3 and Prescott 155).

The Trento river was the approximate frontier between the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples, in the east (see map).

89) About Guise's initial steps there is a little disagreement among historians. The most plausible account seems to

be the one given by Giannone. This agrees with our own source and with that of Andrea, another contemporary. The Duke of Guise left Rome and returned to Gesi. He then took his troops and cut across north-east to the Adriatic sea, at the mouth of the Tronto river, situated at the frontier of the Kingdom of Naples. This camping place made it possible for him to wait for the promised reinforcements under the Marquis of Montebello, Antonio Caraffa, the Pope's nephew, and brother of the Cardinal.

Guise chose Ascoli to the north (since it was the nearest largest city in the Marches belonging to the Papal possessions) as his temporary quarters. Thus: וישנו בערי הסמוכה. This bidding for time caused some strain in the relations between Guise and the Marquis. ("Ma dalla banda del Tronto meditava il Duca di Guisa d'assediar Civitella, e tratenevasi in Ascoli per aspettare l'artiglieria, che dovea venire da lontano; dalla qual tardanza si doleva molto col Marchese di Montebello". Giannone VIII, 125 f.)

90) Before besieging Civitella, the heavily fortified frontier city by the Spanish, Guise succeeded in subduing Campoli and Teramo to the south, and Giulianova on the Adriatic coast, a little later. He took this precaution most probably to insure the possibility of retreat by sea in case of failure. In the meantime the papal reinforcements arrived and the combined troops laid siege to Civitella. The city was heroically defended by count Santa Fiore with his 1200 men and



with the aid of the city's population.

Civitella was besieged only for 22 days from April 24 until May 15, Guise was then forced to retreat under the pressure of Alva's troops. (About the whole account, especially the siege of Civitella, see Andrea 222 ff.; Giannone 225 f.; Pastor 158 f.; Prescott 155 ff., Pallavicino 420 f.; S, 23 and Ranke, 217.)

91) Cantalice is slightly to the north of Rieti in the Sattina region and located on the frontier of the kingdom of Naples and the Papal states. The 2000 Swiss soldiers who attacked Cantalice may be the same force that arrived in Rome on July 19. They were efficient soldiers; their failure may be explained by the fact that they were badly equipped (cf. Nores, 201; Andrea 273; Brown nos. 969, 972, 976; 978).

92) Cf. note 90.

93) In the meantime the Spanish Viceroy, Alva, gathered a force of 22,000 (according to some accounts: 25,000), consisting of Spaniards, Germans and Italians. He had besides 700 armed men and 1500 light horses. Alva left Naples on April 11, 1557 and made the Adriatic port Pescara (south of Giulianuova) his headquarters. Here he was reinforced by sea (see Watson 27; Prescott 161).

94) The Duke of Alva started from Pescara his march to the north. He sent a strong contingent and reoccupied Giulianuova (cf. n. 90), in order to prevent retreat of Guise's



troops by sea. After the French failed to defend Guillianova, they put forth their last effort to conquer the beleaguered Civitella. Also when this failed, Strozzi advised Guise to retreat due to the superior number of the Spanish army. Guise drew back to the north: to the valley of Nereto and Ancarano. Alva was close on Guise's heels but made no attempt to pursue his enemy, since he could gain his end without it. Upon the Spanish attack on Ancarano and Nereto, Guise retreated further north to Ascoli, already in the Papal States. Here the French made a stand (for details: Andrea 285 f.; Giannone 226, Prescott 163 f.).

95) Already early in June Guise received orders from Henry II to return to France since war with Spain on French soil seemed inevitable, whereupon Strozzi was delegated to France on June 15 (cf. Pastor 160, according to Secrete State Archives of Vienna). He returned on July 30 with orders that Guise comply with all the Pope's requests. As a counter-move to Marc' Antonio Colonna's drive against Rome (see infra) Paul IV ordered Guise to hasten to its defense (Giannone 227; Watson 27). The latter, no doubt, welcomed the Pope's request since it offered him a good pretext for his retreat. Consequently he fell back to Tivoli (Prescott, 164 f.).

The author's statement that Guise dispatched some of his troops to Ancona probably indicates that the allied army retreated by the Adriatic sea about which other sources are silent.



96) When Rome was in the greatest danger, on August 23, news arrived there of a great victory which the Spaniards had won against the French earlier in the month at St. Quentin. Guise received orders to return with his troops to France as soon as possible. Upon Strozzi's intervention with Guise he succeeded in getting only a promise that the French army under the command of the Duke d'Aumale would remain for about two weeks more in order to give Paul IV time to make peace with the Spanish (vide Sienne 87 f.; Brown n. 999; Nores 209. About the battle of St. Quentin cf. infra). When Guise insisted on carrying out the orders of the French King, the Pope became irritated and said: "Go then. You have done but little service for your king, less still for the Church, and nothing at all for your honor" (Jackson II, 337 f.).

Upon his retreat from the Adriatic coast, Guise seems to have left some troops there to protect Ascoli.

97) In the meantime Marc' Antonio Colonna, the leader of the armies in the Campagna region, defeated the papal troops taking one city after another. The siege of another important papal city, Segni, south-east of Rome, occupied him after the fall of Anagni. The withdrawal of Guise's troops from the eastern frontiers of the Kingdom of Naples allowed Alva to come to Colonna's aid. However, before contacting his ally, Alva learned of Colonna's capture of Segni, on August 15. (With regard to the occupation of Anagni and Segni,

see the detailed accounts in Andrea 134 ff.; Nores 206, and Prescott 165 ff.)

98) After the junction of Colonna's forces with those of Alva both jointly occupied some strategic points nearer to Rome. The night of the 26th of August, 1557, a contingent of Alva's troops launched his march to the Porta Maggiore, equipped with ladders to scale the walls adjacent to the gate of Rome. But as soon as the Italian-Spanish troops approached the capital, they were ordered to retreat to their camp (La Colonna).

There is a difference of opinion among historians in explaining Alva's retreat. Some assert that a spy reported Alva's move to the Cardinal Caraffa. He immediately dispatched messengers to Strozzi, who was then camping in Tivoli. The Viceroy, therefore, feared possible encirclement by the armies of Strozzi and those of Rome. The other opinion holds that religious and political considerations prompted Alva to spare Rome of the terrible fate of being looted, which in those days always accompanied military victories. (For the whole matter, see Nores 211f.; Andrea 138 f.; Giannone 227; Pastor 165 f.; Prescott 167 ff.)

99) On September 8 the Cardinals: Carlo Caraffa, Santa Fiora, and Vitellozzo Vitelli went to Cave (near Palestrina) where they met the Duke of Alva, and finally, on Sept. 12, reached an agreement (Nores 215 f.; Andrea 142 f.; Pastor 167 f.).



100) One of the greatest obstructions to consummate the peace treaty was the territories of the Colonna's whom the Pope considered as rebels. It was finally agreed upon that the Dukedom of Paliano which had been taken away from Marc'Antonio Colonna (cf. n. 26) should remain in neutral hands (Bernardino Carbone) until the problem would be settled by the parties concerned (cf. § VII of the peace treaty in Nores, 216). The artillery, ammunition, and property had to be returned to both parties (ibid. par. 4, 5, 6; and for more privileges granted to the Colonnas, see the amendment to the first draft which was signed only by Caraffa and Alva, ibid., 217).

Our author probably refers to the buildings which formerly belonged to the Colonnas and were destroyed by order of Paul IV; their material was used for the fortification of the walls of Rome (cf. n. 26). Now these had to be demolished and their material was probably returned to their original owners. (For further details see Giannone 229f., Pallavicino, 431; S, 23; "In any case the fortifications were to be demolished" /Pastor 168/).

101) Cf. n. 95; Guise was still waiting in Rome for the conclusion of the treaty which was also to provide a safe passage for the French army to their country (Prescott, 171). When the news of the Spanish victory over S. Quentin arrived in Rome on Sept. 11, Guise said that should the news be confirmed, then "all the chains in the world would not be strong

enough to keep him back" (Pastor, 167) and decided to leave the following day (Nores, 218) but was detained in Rome until Sept. 19, the day of Alva's visit to the Holy See (Pallavicini, 429).

For the continuation of these developments that are interrupted at this point with the French-Spanish War, see p. 29.

102) While the Duke of Guise's armies fought in the Campagna region, Brissak who remained in the south, now started his attack against the important city Cuneo (or Coni) in Piedmont, not far from the French border. None of the known accounts mentions this battle. The details given by our author are of great importance because they throw new light on the heroic defense of Cuneo by its inhabitants and the Spanish forces.

103) The northern parts of Piedmont were occupied earlier by the French at the time when Guise passed by on his way to the Papal States (cf. supra p. 9 f.). The refugees who fled these territories had all the more reason to fear the Spanish.

104) Fossano, north of Cuneo, was in Spanish hands. Reinforcements from Fossano are now brought to Cuneo in order to offer help to the city's defenses. The French apparently fear a frontal attack on these reinforcements. Therefore they attack from the rear and consequently captured 30 prisoners. The defenders of Cuneo would admit the Spanish to the city only after making sure that no treason is involved.



105) Most probably it refers to the 5th of May, 1557, since the later date of the 22nd has the word /P (in it). Because there is no definite mentioning of a month in the interval between the first and third date reference, it could be safely deduced that these historical developments must have occurred in the month of May.

106) Most probably the Marquis del Guasto (cf. note 51).

107) Friuli is a province situated in the extreme north-east of Italy and was a part of the Venetian Republic (see map). The Venetian neutrality probably did not prevent the engaging of Friulian soldiers since the former entertained deep sympathies toward France and the Church.

108) This is probably either a cry for help or of despair directed to the Emperor Charles V and to his nephew, the later regent of the Netherlands, the Duke Emanuel Philbert of Savoy.

109) This may have been a gesture for a peace offer which the French did not accept.

110) The French.

111) Bonnivet was an experienced French general who fought in earlier wars against the troops of Charles V (vide Tytler II, 280).

112) Mondovi is situated east of Cuneo. Since the French were the allies of the Pope, they enjoyed the help of the clergy, wherever needed.

- 113) Cf. note 108. The raising of a cat on a standard seems to have been customary to challenge the enemy to a show of arms, cf. p. 26.
- 114) This refers probably to Giulio Vitelli, an officer in the allied French-Papal armies (Nores 137 f.; for the Vitellis cf. Ranke I, 49).
- 115) Cf. note 112.
- 116) The French are now preparing for the decisive battles on their soil against the Spanish about which the author relates in detail starting p. 32.
- 117) I have been unable to identify: ציריכר .
- 118) When the French were convinced that Cuneo could not be taken, Brissak reorganized his forces and stationed them between Fossano and Cuneo in order to forestall any possible junction of the troops camping within these two cities (cf. note 134 and map).
- 119) Al-Jazir (Jaziratu Shariki), a city lying between Souse and Tunis on the north African coast, cf. Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch, Vol. II, 76, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1867. I am thankful to Dr. P. Wechter for having assisted me in identifying this locality.
- 120) Recco, Varese (or Varaggio), Savona, and the Marquisate of Finale were all cities belonging to Genoese Republic (cf. Brequigny III, 190 f.; II, 36 and 143; I, 112; II, 237).



Genoa was under constant threat of being raided by the French and Turks for it was now a full Spanish ally (cf. note 21). From the fact that Turks were among those captured, it could be deduced that they, too, participated in the French raids.

121) Cf. note 69. The Marquis (Del Vasto) who was the commander of the Spanish army in the Lommelina sector (cf. p.9) was naturally interested in fomenting disturbances in Ferrara to prevent the Duke of Ferrara to send help to his son-in-law and ally, Frances of Guise (cf. notes 53 and 71).

122) About the first 6000 German troops sent to Genoa as reinforcements for the Viceroy, the author reports on p. 16.

123) Here, the text lacks clarity. The following, however, seems to have been the case: The German troops, most probably, reached Spezia via Gibraltar and quartered here instead of Genoa, the usual military embarkation point. Its physical proximity to Naples must have influenced this choice. During their sojourn in Spezia, the German soldiers, who were mostly Lutheran, left their boats, and made their way to Pontremoli. They gave vent to their anti-catholic animosities by desecrating churches, smashing statues, and mistreating the clergy. Following this raid they returned to their ships, and sailed to Naples, where they joined the troops of Duke Alva.

124) For more details about the rule of Salah Reis, see

note 35 and the article by G. Yver in the Enzyklopädie des Islams, I, 280.

125) Guastalla on the western frontier of the Dukedom of Ferrara, was now threatened by the imperial troops.

126) Alessandria, under the French rule, was previously used by the Spanish as a launching point against Valenza. If Brissak succeeded in subduing Alessandria, he could spare Valenza from a possible attack in the south (cf. p. 13 f. and note 74).

127) Cf. note 94.

128) This is a reference to the above detailed account of the war and later peace treaty between Pope Paul IV and Henry II on one side, and Philip II, represented by his Viceroy of Naples, on the other (cf. pp. 4 - 20).

That Guise sent some of his soldiers equipped with ammunition to Ferrara is to be expected since the Duke of Ferrara was his father-in-law and military ally (see p. 13 and the notes there; cf. also Andrea 148).

Guise left Rome on Sept. 29 from the port of Civita-vecchia (Nores 219).

129) After the unsuccessful French attempt to subject Alessandria itself by treason (cf. pl9), they are now trying to



capture Castelazzo southwest of Alessandria on the Tanaro river.

John Battista della Telfa also participated in the defense of Ostia (Nores, 191).

130) The Marquis Del Guasto had his headquarters in Fossano while his troops attacked Cuneo (cf. p. 23). The 1500 Burgundian and Friulian reinforcements are also mentioned previously (ibid.; cf. also note 107). Asti was a large town occupied by the Spanish situated west and slightly south of Alessandria, in the Monferrato region.

131) This paragraph is probably to be taken thus: The imperial troops, stationed in the Republic of Siena (cf. the following note) attacked Pienza, near by, which was defended by 500 French troops. They abandoned the city without any resistance. The Spanish left behind only a small garrison to protect Pienza, the French tried twice to retake the city and failed in these attempts. But in the meantime a detachment of Giuse's army that fought in the Kingdom of Naples against Alva returned, after peace between the Pope and the Viceroy had been concluded (cf. p. 20 and notes 99, 100, 101). The date for the French attack on Pienza, as given by the author, may be correct. Maluccio's troops, however, did not return before September, when the peace treaty was signed). These troops, led by a certain Di Maluccio, first occupied Montalcino, also in the Republic of Siena, west of Pienza. Later they succeeded to reoccupy also Pienza and to annihilate its Spanish garrison in its last stand.



132) Cosimo I de Medici, Duke of Tuscany, was then one of the most powerful princes in Italy. The Spanish and the French carried favor with him. Since the "Duke of Florence" was deeply indebted to the Emperor for the political independence which he enjoyed (see Watson, 15 and note 81), Cosimo, in recognition of this, supported the Spanish. In return he was now offered Siena and thereby put an end to all the hopes that Cardinal Carlo Caraffa may have had to obtain this province for his family (Pastor 161 and note 30). On July 3, 1557 the territory of Siena was transmitted officially to Cosimo as a Spanish fief (Sienne 85; Ranke I, 220).

133) Most probably this is a reference to the French troops that were captured in their Pienza campaign on the Spanish behalf. Cosimo's official neutrality (cf. note 81) enabled him to request the repatriation of the French captives who automatically became his subjects.

134) After the Marquis' troops failed in their attempt to conquer Cuneo (p. 26) and after they lost Pienza (p. 31), Del Guasto probably decided to retreat northward to join his reinforcements that arrived in Asti a little earlier (p. 30). Since a considerable number of French troops were in the area between Fossano and Asti (cf. note 118) the Marquis could neither pass nor fight his way through ( ) to Asti. He therefore decided to retreat southward, to the Appennino mountains in the Ligurian province, from where he



later proceeded north-east, to the Spanish-held (note 53) Lombardy.

135) Henry II's violation of the truce of Vaucelles and the signing of a treaty with the Pope (cf. note 30) made war between the Spanish new king Philip II, and France unavoidable.

The Duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy had gained wide experience in military affairs and had been earlier entrusted with important commands by his uncle Charles V (Prescott, 184 f.) He had been deprived of his possessions and exiled together with his father by Francis I of France in 1536. The only way that Emanuel could recover his heritage was by rendering the Spanish faithful service in their military campaign. (Watson, 27; Mariéjol, 40).

136) There is some disagreement among historians as to the number of troops that served under the command of the Duke of Savoy. A contemporary of our chronicler, Thou (III, 148), speaks of 35,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and of "a good train of battering artillery". The latter may have been 2,000. Our author, most probably, includes this contingent among the 14,000 cavalry. The 8,000 "peasants" most likely refer to the 8,000 English reinforcements that Mary Tudor dispatched to swell the numbers of her husband's army (Tytler, 361).

137) Emanuel's army consisted of Spaniards, Germans, Dutch, and Flemings (Watson, 25f.) The junction of all these troops was Givet, near the northern French border (Wright, 685).

138) The Duke of Savoy launched his march by first besieging the fortress of Rocroy on the northern borders of Picardy. Its powerful fortifications made it inadvisable to storm it by direct assault; besides, the time this strategy would entail would hardly warrant its capture. Therefore, Emanuel now poised his forces for an attack against St. Quentin, the important border town of Picardy. He threw the enemy off guard, and prevented him from reinforcing St. Quentin by feigning attack against Guise (Wright, 685; Prescott 186f).

139) When the French learned of the Spanish military trick, Admiral Jaspard de Coligni, a nephew of the Constable, and one of the ablest French officers, was commanded to hasten to the defense of Saint Quentin (Thou III, 147).

140) Coligni, the governor of Picardy, felt himself duty-bound to throw all efforts to save St. Quentin. (Watson 29). The number of his troops are estimated between ten and twelve thousand cavalry and infantry. However, only 700 of these troops forced their way into the fortress before the enemy could complete its iron ring around it. (Prescott 188 f).

141) Admiral Coligni did everything in his power to strengthen its fortifications and to solve its civil problems. In the meantime, he notified the constable, his uncle, (see note 144 a) that the fortress would be forced to capitulate unless immediate help be sent. (Mémoires, XI, 252; Thou III. 151). His uncle, who was camping in La Fère and



Ham, adjacent to St. Quentin, dispatched relief under the command of D'Andelot, the Admiral's younger brother. These troops were crushed on the way, either because of treachery or misguidance. (Prescott 190 f.).

142) Referring probably to the sending of reinforcements to the garrison of St. Quentin: the first led by Admiral Coligni and the second one by his brother D'Andelot.

143) In view of the increasing danger that faced them the French seem to have retreated from the suburbs in the inner part of St. Quentin. The Spaniards followed their enemy, crossing the Somme. The non-Jewish accounts differ from our chronicler in their details (Watson, 29; Prescott, 189).

144) The King was probably with the armies of Montmorency which were stationed near St. Quentin (cf. note 141).

According to Thou, (p. 148) Henry II's army consisted of 18,000 cavalry, 5,000 infantry, and 16 guns. Garnier (Histoire de France, XXVII, 354) speaks of 6,000 cavalry. But all these numbers are approximate of course (Mariéjol, 40).

144a) The Constable Anne de Montmorency, who had served under Francis I, was now appointed commander-in-chief of Henry's armies (Watson 29). "He was a good courtier and a brave soldier, but an indifferent leader". (Mariéjol, *ibid*). For Montmorency and his career, see: Kitchin 246 f.; Loth, 108.

145) St. Quentin is protected on one side by marshes, through which flows the river Somme. On the same side the troops of Emanuel were stationed and beleaguered the city. On the other hand, in the neighboring villages stood Montmorency (cf. note 141), who watched the movements of the Spaniards, and looked for an opportunity to serve the besieged city. Coligni, on the other hand, attempted to throw up the earth in a part of the marshes and drove the water into a channel large enough to receive some small boats, which the French reinforcements had brought along. D'Andelot, who previously had failed, (cf. p. 33) succeeded now in crossing the Somme river with about four or five hundred reinforcements (Joseph has 300, see supra). When the Constable succeeded in this first attempt, he further decided to cross the river together with his entire army. The difficulties that the French encountered, as regards both the time element, and getting of boats made this task extremely difficult. Meanwhile Emanuel called a council of war, at which he decided not to allow the French, who were inferior in numbers, to escape without an open battle. In order not to lose time, so that all the Spanish battalions might reach the battlefield, the young Count Egmont, Lieutenant-General of the Cavalry, also began to cross the Somme accompanied by a considerable number of his troops. (For detailed accounts see: Mémoires, XI, 252 f.; Thou, III, 156 ff.; Watson 29 f. and Prescott, 191 ff. Rabutin, another contemporary,



gives valuable information about this phase of the war, in the Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires, Vol. VII, but was unaccessable to me).

145a) See the preciding note.

146) Historians disagree as to the number of slain, which for the French was a disastrous defeat (called the Battle of St. Lawrence because it took place on the 10th of August). While Wright (p. 658), Watson (p. 30), and Prescott (p. 201) list the number of casualties as 2,500, 3,000 and 3,000 - 6,000 respectively for the French, Mariéjol places the number at 14,000 (p. 41) which is the closest to our account. The price of the Spaniards' losses were slight. Their number of casualties commonly given being only 80. Although the numbers vary in various sources they do not surpass 1,000 in any one of them (Prescott, *ibid.* and note 26).

147) The younger son of Montmorency, the Duke of Montpensier, was taken prisoner with his father, while the elder son François de Montmorency succeeded in escaping, probably to the besieged city (see *infra* p. 36 and Wright 685 f.). Watson's report (p. 30) that both of the Constable's sons were taken prisoners together with their father, is not correct, because the elder son of the Constable ~~ix~~ later continued to wage the battle together with the Admiral (see p. 36).

- 147a) Refers probably to Jean de Bourbon, Count d'Enghien, who was mortally wounded in this battle, and shortly afterwards died (Prescott, 201).
- 148) The other sources speak of 80 standards (Thou, *ibid.*; *Mémoires*, *ibid.*; cf. also note 145).
- 148a) At the beginning of the war of St. Quentin King Philip left Brussels and moved his quarters to Cambray, in order to be nearer to the Duke of Savoy. On August 11, the next day after the battle, he visited the camp (Prescott, 202).
- 149) Coligny had no illusions about being able to hold St. Quentin, but his determined stand for 17 days after the defeat of the St. Lawrence Battle kept the entire Spanish army back, and gave the French time for preparation in defense of their capital (Kitchin, 277; Prescott, 206; Watson, 31).
- 150) This heroic repulse of the powerful Spanish army by the weakened remnants of the French garrison, is generally ascribed to the heroism and high spirits of its commander Coligni (Prescott, 209; Watson 31).
- 151) According to Wright (p. 686), D'Andelot with a small portion of the garrison, managed to flee across the marshes.
- 152) Refers to the elder son of the Constable (cf. note 147).
- 152a) After the remnants of the French garrison had been



annihilated, Philip entered St. Quentin and decreed that all ministers of church, all women<sub>x</sub> and children be taken to a place of safety, and be no longer molested; violation of his orders being punishable by death. As regards pillage of the city, - that, he could not prevent since that was considered a prerequisite of a soldier "on which he counted as regularly, as on his pay". (For a full account see: Thou, 164 ff.; Mémoires, 271 ff.).

153) In 1557 no serious wars were waged between England and Scotland, except for some skirmishes on the borders of both countries (Hume 136). Or shall "at that time" refer to the Battle of Pinkey of 1547 (ibid. 20)?

154) Cf. Works, p. 10 f. and note 83 ibidem.

155) With the conquering of Catelet and Ham the Spaniards concluded their campaign. Philip II returned to his residence at Brussels, in the middle of October; afterwards the army was dispersed (Wright, 686; Watson, 31).

156) Reference is made to the return of the remnants of the battalions of Guise from Italy, after the signing of the peace treaty between the Pope and the Duke of Alva. (Cf. notes 95, 101).

The new undertaking of the French to avenge the defeat of St. Quentin is continued by our chronicler on p. 47.

157) After the abdication of Charles V the relationship between Philip II and his uncle Ferdinand of Austria was not at its best, since each claimed his right to the throne as emperor. (cf. Stirling-Maxwell, 20 ff.). By now, however, the relations between the two improved, and Ferdinand was sending a detachment from the east, in order to divert the French army.

158) This is a continuation or rather a repetition of the peace-treaty between the Pope and the Spaniards (cf. p. 20).

159) Reference is here made to the return of Paul IV's messengers from Cave, where they had signed the peace-treaty with the Duke of Alva (cf. note 99). Cardinal Vitelli returned on September 12, but Cardinal Caraffa came back to Rome on September 14. (Nores 218; Pastor 168).

160) As a result of the autumnal rains, it was a usual occurrence for the Tiber "to rise above its banks, sweeping away houses and trees in its fury, drowning men and cattle" (Prescott 172; V-R II, 160). All the contemporary writers relate of these unusual forms the flood took in Rome on September 1557. The most detailed account of this incident has been described by Bacci (Del Tevere), but unfortunately it was not available to me. For other sources, vide Pastor 169 f., note 2.



161) After 24 hours, the water began to subside. According to Bacci the flood lasted from 4 to 5 days (see Sonne's note 48, p. 45 where <sup>ב'ר ש"ח</sup> should be corrected to : <sup>ב'ר ש"ח</sup> cf. Pastor, 169 and Nores 219) i.e. from September 14 until September 18-19.

162) Identical with the report in S, 23 which reads:

הציף נהר טיברו בכל קצי עיר רומא אשר סביבת הנהר...

163) Probably the Via Navona.

164) Probably the Pantheon, which is located not far from the eastern shores of the Tiber, between the Campus Martius and the Quirinalis (cf. The Museums and Ruins of Rome, H. Holzinger, Vol. II, New York 1906, Map, and pp. 141-143).

165) Refers probably to the Ponte S. Maria (Ponte Rotto) which "was completely destroyed" (Pastor 169).

166) In the words of Pastor (ibid.): "The Ponte Fabricio (Ponte S. Angelo), the passage leading from the Castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, and the new fortifications of the city had also suffered greatly; the Church and the monastery of S. Bartolomeo, on the island of the Tiber... were threatened with destruction." These details, taken from non-Jewish sources, are identical with ours. (The Sommario (in Nores p.219 n.1) reports: "... il Tevere crebbe all'altezza di ventiquattro piedi... ed aggeres qui ad Urbis defensionem constructi erant, funditus diruit..."

167) S gives the same account (ibid.) : ויהי רעב בארץ ימים :

ימים רבים, עד אשר הביא מארץ ממרחק דגן, שמן ויין ומיני  
מזונות, כי נתקלקלו גם הריחים בשטף מים רבים.

According to Bacci (Sonne, note 47) and Pastor (ibid) nine  
mills on the Tiber were completely destroyed.

168) The figures recounting the people who died is probably  
exaggerated by our author. According to S(ibid.) : וימותו

אנשים מתי מספר ובהמות לרוב.

An other historian (Orlandi) refers to this event as: " ...  
Diluvio che é stato in Roma, con le gran ruine dei ponti,  
chiese, palazzi, vigne et il numero delle gente morte et le  
perdite de fromenti, vini et olii.." (Pastor 169 f., note 2).

169) Cf. S ibid.: ..... ונחמלאו מים כל בתי השפלה ומרחפיהם.

See also the reports of the Venecian Ambassador to Rome in  
Brown VI, nos. 1036 and 1042.

170) Orta and Narni are located to the left, at the northern  
end of the Tiber, where it parts (cf. map).

171) Also S (ibid) reports: רק מבני ישראל ומקניהם לא חת אחד

Cf. the similar description of our chronicler, concerning the  
Jews at the time of the flood in Rome in 1530 (Annals, 68a,  
and The Chronicler, note 25,6).

172) In the quoted Sommario (cf. note 163) we read: " Arno si  
alzò venti piedi, e per ventiquattro ore continue da mezza di  
del 13 inondo tutta Firenze e gran parte del contado."



173) Most historians give the date of Alva's visit to Rome as September 19, which seems to be correct because we know that on September 20 a consistory was held, which was a result of Alva's visit; secondly, we know from another source that the Viceroy left Rome on September 22 (Pallavicino 433; Pastor 170). Prescott gives the date of Alva's entrance into Rome as ~~the~~ September 27, which is closer to our text, but his statement probably originates from the note in Nores (p. 219 n. 1) which must be erroneous, because it contradicts the text of the same author.

According to the first paragraph of the peace-treaty, Alva had to go to Rome and ask the Pope pardon for having waged war against him (Nores, 215). And indeed the Duke "fell on his knees before the Pope, and asked him pardon for the offense of bearing arms against the Church" (Vide Ranke I, 220; Prescott 123), to which however, he bitterly remarked: "If I had been in the King's place and the King in mine, it is Caraffa (the Cardinal) who would have gone to Flanders to make the same apology to His Majesty as I have just made to His Holiness" (Mariéjol, 39).

174) Another contemporary source, also reports of the great pomp with which Alva entered Rome, accompanied by Cardinal Caraffa. ("Domenica sera et quasi di notte entrò in Roma il s. duca d'Alba con mons. ill. Caraffa accompagnato da tutta Roma a lume con torcie"). Also "the heavy thunder of the cannon, such as had not been heard for years", and the reception by the Pope are mentioned there (cf. Pastor 170 f, note 2, from the Gonzaga Archives of Mantua).

175) The Duke of Alva was conducted through the Loggie of Raphael, to the Hall of Constantine, where the Pope, surrounded by 21 Cardinals received him (Pallavicino 433; Pastor ibid. According to Nores (p. 219); "...introdotta dal Cardinale Caraffa, si presentò al Papa, che lo ricevè nella sala dell'udienza, su le due ore di notte...").

176) The day after Alva's reception in the Vatican, the Pope called a secret consistory of the Cardinals at which he announced his intention to send legates to Philip II and to Henry II for the final peace arrangements. Cardinal Caraffa was sent to Philip and Cardinal Trivulzio, head of the diocese of Toulon, was delegated to Henry. The same day all the previously arrested Spanish diplomats and officers were released from their captivity in the Castel di S. Angelo. On September 22 Alva left Rome (Nores 220, n. 1; Pallavicino 434; Pastor 171; Giannone 231).

177) The Cardinal, Christopholo Madruzzi, was the governor of Milan<sup>v</sup> since 1555 (Emek 131; cf. Wiener E, footnote to p.92).

178) Figueroa formerly the governor of Casale Monferrato (Foa 11, note 12) was later (in 1558) designated by Philip II as his ambassador to the Holy See, but he was rejected by the Pope. Figueroa retired at Gaeta and died shortly afterwards (Pallavicino 452).



179) In March 1555 an officer of Marshal Brissac's troops in a surprise attack occupied Casale from the Imperials, which continually tried to reoccupy it (Foa 11, note 12; Emek 131).

179a) The Duke Ottavio Farnese was at an earlier date won over as an ally of the Imperialists in return for the restoration of his possessions by the latter (cf. p. 7 f. and note 43). The Duke of Ferrara, Ercole d'Este, the father-in-law of Guise, on the other hand, was an ally of the French. He was continually threatened with attacks of his neighbors and by local uprisings, instigated by the Spanish (cf. pp. 12, 13, and notes 53, 70, 71).

180) Corsica was a Genuese possession since the year 1299. The French under the command of Marquis de Termes tried to conquer it. The Corsican war filled out all the fiftieth years of the 16th century (see p. 77-78 and Brequigny 73 ff.

181) John III king of Portugal who died on June 1557, was a first cousin of Charles V and also the brother of his wife, the husband of his sister, and father-in-law of two of his children (Stirling-Maxwell, 208 f.).

182) Cf. p. 43 f., and note 176.

183)

184) The reaction of Henry II to St. Quentin interrupted on p. 40 is now continued.

After careful preparation the French were ready to avenge the defeat of St. Quentin. The Duke of Guise now naturally headed the army, since his rival Montmorency had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards. He proved worthy of handling the great task ahead.

185) Bresse situated between the Saone and the Rhone rivers, connecting Dauphiny with Burgundy was an important strategic point guarding the safety of Lyon (Kitchin 468). The other details are not mentioned in the sources which I found available.

186) The two forts Nieulley and Risbank protected the approach to Calais by land as well as sea. Being captured on the 3rd of January no help from England could reach the garrison of the town. The main hindrance to the capture of the town was now the fortified citadel (Wright, 686; Hume 132 f.; Prescott 118 f.)

187) The fortified citadel probably; see the preceeding note.

188) I could not identify to what locality Joseph referred here, the text reads ~~Ham~~ . Ham and Guines fell as the next objectives. For more details concerning Calais see pp. 59.

189) Reference is here made to the Battle of Gravelines, which report by our chronicler is continued on p. 62 f. Its account is as follows: In the beginning of May 1558, while Guise and



his brother planned to attack Artois and Flanders the marshal de Termes had the task to divert the attention of the enemy by an invasion of West Flanders. Through a delay by Guise to relieve him, de Termes found himself surrounded by an army led by Egmont, Governor of Flanders, and the strong garrison of Gravelines. A disastrous defeat followed for de Termes and his men (Wright 687). For the second time Egmont was victor over French arms (cf. p. 34 and note 145). "Although not so important for the amount of forces engaged, the victory of Gravelines was as complete as that of St. Quentin (Prescott, 227).

190) After the French defeat at Gravelines, the region of Picardy remained unprotected. To check a possible invasion of it, by Egmont, the Duke of Guise returned from Flanders, with his army, and encamped behind the Somme, before Amiens and St. Omer. (Prescott, 221 and Wright 687). The reference of Joseph Hacoen is merely a nebulous reflection of this event.

191) This report about the meeting of notables at Paris, during the siege of Calais, to raise a great loan for the purpose of carrying on the war, would naturally have been more on place immediately following the capture of Calais (cf. p. 50) or even before that.

192)

193) Ragusa, on the Adriatic sea, was an independent republic. (See map. Concerning Ragusa as a place of refuge for a part of the expelled Marranos from Pesaro cf. p. 56).

194) Concerning the war between the Dukes of Ferrara and Placetia cf. note 179 a.

195) Should this be a reference to the ships which evacuated some of the troops of Guise by way of Ancona, on their return to France (cf. note 95)?

196)



197 ) This paragraph up to : 'וּלְיָמָיו' occurs, with slight changes (as indicated in the Hebrew version, p. 42), also in E., 36.

198) The background for this expulsion is the following: After the Ancona tragedy (cf. supra p. 2) many marranos escaped to Pesaro, where they were received with open arms by order of the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo della Rovere, in the hope that the Jewish merchants, who controlled the trade of the Turkish Empire, would now boycott the port of Ancona and transfer their activities to the neighboring port of Pesaro. Joseph Nasi, who was already in Turkey, exerted all his influence to obtain for the port of Pesaro the privilege of exclusive commercial relations with Turkey (vide Kaufman JQR, II, 295; Roth 207 f.; Bernfeld II, 324 ff.).

The marranos sent a special representative, Judah Faradj, to the Jewish communities in Turkey for this purpose. The noble Donna Gracia and the then famous rabbi Joseph Lev, did everything in their power to excommunicate every Jew who did business with Ancona, in which attempt they succeeded only partially. The boycott of Ancona failed. The Duke of Urbino, seeing that he had no advantage from his good treatment of the marranos expelled them. (Paul IV, who had already requested the Duke of Urbino to hand over to the Inquisition these marranos made continuous representations to this effect, Pastor *ibid.* 275 f.) The reason for the failure of the boy-

cott was the disunity among the Jewish leaders. Before it failed, the inhabitants of Ancona, feeling the boycott heavily, had petitioned the Pope, complaining because of the loss of business ("... hanno indotto alcuni ebrei a far certe loro maledette scomuniche et scelerate maleditioni de' loro rabbini in una sinagoga di Salonicchio et publicare in molti luoghi, per le quale proibiscono il venire et mandare mercanzie et robe di ogni sorte in Ancona et hanno levato totalmente il traffico et commercio delle robe di Levane di questa città..."). See the article of Kaufman Les Marranes de Pesaro (REJ, XVI, 61-66) about the whole matter, where the letters of the Marranos of Pesaro are published for the first time (66-72). Vide also the Responsa of Moses of Trani (I, n. 237) and of Joshua Soncin (Nahlath Jeoshua, n. 40); Grätz IX, 374. For Guido Baldo see also Miscelanea di Storia dell' Arte, pp. 487-495, Firenze 1933.

Perhaps this petition would have been effective if the Jews of Ancona, headed by their rabbi Joshua Soncin and also affected by the boycott, had not begun a counter propaganda against Pesaro, amongst the Jews of Turkey. They argued that Pesaro had also mistreated the Jews before they had expected commercial privileges. (The story about the desecration of the Sepher Torah is also found in Usque's last Chapter of the third Dialogue, which escaped Kaufman's attention). Some of the other arguments, which they gave were



not exactly true.

Joshua Soncin foresaw that the Duke of Urbino would take revenge on the marranos if they would not be able to keep their promise of improving the trade of Pesaro. He therefore suggested that a sum of 20,000 soudi be collected to bribe Guido Ubaldo. The surrounding communities, however, rejected this proposal. Soncin's fears were justified since the expulsion of the marranos from Pesaro took place in March 1558 (ibidem).

199) Joseph Hacoen confuses two different converts, namely Solomon Romano (John Baptista Eliano, Bodl. Cat. 2066) and Philip (or Joseph) Moro. The first was a grandson of the Hebrew grammarian Elias Levita (V-R, ibid., 146, confuses him with his older brother <sup>V. Moro</sup> Victor Eliano, who was first censor in Cremona and later in Venice, cf. Censorship, p. 44-54 and note 31; see also Typographie, 26). Following the example of his brother, Solomon was baptised in 1551, assuming the name of John Baptista, and appeared before Julius III to denounce the Talmud (Grätz, IV ed., IX, 321; also note 2, 320 f.) The Almanzi version of the E., which Luzzatto usually follows (cf. Works note 43) also reads Solomon Romano (E., note on page 137). The other versions had Joseph Moro. In this case Luzzatto, like Grätz, accepted the latter readings. Moro, together with another convert, Sixtus Senensis, traveled through the Jewish communities of the Papal states and annoyed the Jews with their

conversionist sermons (ibid., III, 42; Berliner I, 107).

200) Yom Kippur 5320 was in 1559 and not as Grätz intimates (ibid.) in 1558.

)

201) While in other cities of Italy the Jews were in great fear of the Inquisition, Cremona was still a center of Jewish learning, where Joseph Ottolenghi had established his academy (see Grätz, IX, 343 and the note of the Corrector in E, 129). Here also many Hebrew books were published (for a list, see Amram, 319 f.). Cremona at that time was under the jurisdiction of the Senate of Milan and the entire Duchy was an appendage of the Spanish crown, ruled by a royal Governor, the appointee of Philip II. Cremona was the largest Jewish community in the Duchy, since Jews could not settle in Milan itself (see, Cenni storici sull' ex communita israelitica di Cremona in Vessillo Israelitico, XXX, 284, 302, 339). The Inquisitor General in Rome, Cardinal Ghislieri, wrote to the Senate of Milan on December 2, 1557, and charged that "in the city of Cremona there are some who have treated the authority of the holy Apostolic throne with contempt by printing certain works ... called Talmud, although those works have been condemned by the venerable college, ... and burned in Rome, Venice, and other places" (Censorship, 43) . After an investigation ordered by the Senate, Cardinal Ghislieri was notified, that the charges made by him were un-



founded and the Senate refused to obey his orders to confiscate and destroy the copies of the Talmud in use by the Jews of Cremona (Stern nos. 112-115, p. 117 ff.). This seems to have settled the matter for a short time and several books, among them the Zohar, were printed thereafter (De Rossi, Cremona, 12). But when the first Index of Prohibited Books appeared in 1559, which prohibited "the Talmud of the Hebrews - all its glosses, notes, interpretations, and expositions", Ghislieri ordered another burning of the Talmud in Rome (Index I, 259, note 2). As soon as a copy of the Index reached the Duchy of Milan, the Inquisitor General in Cremona, Baptista Clarius, ordered the Jews to deliver to him their Talmud copies. The latter protested, probably to the Governor of Milan, and urged that this was a violation of the privileges granted them by the Senate (Stern, n. 118, p. 126). The Governor and his Podestà of Cremona (Don Alvaro de Luna) tried their best to help the Jews (ibid. n. 120), but the Inquisition put pressure upon the Governor and incited the people against the Jews. Accordingly, "the monks became the thorns in the side of the Jews of Cremona, in that year, and brought them into evil repute with the inhabitants".

202) One of them was certainly Sixtus Senensis, a converted Jew who transferred from the Franciscans to the Dominicans (Grätz, *ibid.*, 343 note 2) and the second was identified by Popper (Censorship, 46) as Hieronimus of Vercelli, a com-

missioner, assisting the Inquisitor general of Cremona (Giovanni Vincentino).

203) The above-mentioned two monks agreed (April 17, 1559) to invite two experts (H. B., I, 131) Vittorio Eliano (cf. supra note <sup>199</sup>26) and Joshua dei Cantori (cf. note <sup>245</sup>33), who should determine which books were included in the Index. As a result of their decision, all the copies of the works in question, which had been confiscated, were stored in a room of a monastery, and the key was given to the Podestà of Cremona (see the letter from the Podestà to the Governor of Milan in Stern, nos. 123, 124). We do not know the exact reason, but the Governor suddenly changed his mind and ordered the local authorities of Cremona, including the Commander of the Spanish troops, quartered in that city, to confiscate and burn the Talmud. Once they started, the soldiers did not distinguish between Talmudical and other works. The Zohar which was then in print under the supervision of Eliano himself was saved by a miracle (in the Cremona edition of the Zohar we find at the end: "ועי' ויטו' ... () ותלם סלחם הקודש")  
ריאן אלינו נכדו של ראש המדקדקים, המכס אליהו.

The number of volumes burned in Cremona is estimated at ten or twelve thousand (Keren Hemed, V, 134; Censorship, 48; Typographie, 26. Sixtus of Siena boasts that he was himself responsible for the burning of 12,000 books in Cremona (Index, 48; Berliner, II, 11).



204) Joseph Ottling (Ottolengi or Ottolenghi) was a German immigrant in Italy, coming from the city Ettlingen. After a short stay in Italy he changed his name to Ottolenghi (Amram, 296). Joseph was the editor of 14 (Carmoly nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, and 22) of the total number of 34 books published in Riva di Trento (for a list *ibid.*, p. 15 f.; Steinschneider and Cassel, Typographie, 26, know only of 15 publications in Riva). His name appears first in Riva on the Alphas, which he edited and financed (Carmoly, n. 1) in 1558. Ottolenghi's patron was Cardinal C. Madrucci of Riva (the error in Typographie 26, that Madrucci was the printer was already corrected in H. B., I, 112, hence Carmoly's excitement ten years later (p. 4) is surprising) and his printer was Jacob Marcaria, Jewish physician in Riva, who also published some Hebrew books (Z. H. B., X, 94). Joseph Ottolenghi, as Carmoly indicates, did not publish any books in Cremona, where he was the head of the Academy (cf. note 29). This mistaken notion was made by Ghironi (n. 67, p. 164) whom Wiener (n. 283) follows.

The Corrector of the E. praises Ottolenghi as a man of learning אדם חכם ונאמן (E., 129). The date of his death seems to be obscure. Ottolenghi's name appears last in Riva (in the דקדוקי רש"י) the 20th of Sept., 1560 (n. 22). Yahya gives the date of his death as 1570 (p. 59) and so does Gans (I, ad. 1570: בשנת ה'א"ל Grätz, however, (IX, 343)

gives the date of his death as 1576 (blühte ..... bis 1576).

About Riva and Joseph Ottolenghi see also the article of J.

Bloch, especially pp. 1 - 7 ( עלים לביבליאוגרפיה וקורות ישראל ,  
ראל, שנה שניה, חוברת א', חרצ'ה.

205) We have a document in connection with the autodafé in Cremona, stating that two converts, Canonicus Victoria Eliano and Josue dei Cantori, testify on April 17, 1559 against the Talmud (HB, I, 131). Grätz (ibid. note 2) identifies ben-Heth with this Cantori and Steinschneider (HB, X X ibid. note 6) says that dei Cantori is identical with dei Cantarini (קנטרין), a well-known Jewish family in Italy. A second document, the previously mentioned letter of the Podestà of Cremona, (Stern, n. 124), agrees with Joseph Hachen, that ben-Heth was a Jew (Josue dei Cantori qual é Hebreo). The testimony of Cantori seems to have been an act of revenge against Ottolenghi with whom he was not on good terms. The rare name Heth occurs also later (cf. HB., I, 112).

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206) Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordua, Duke of Sessa, was one of the many Spaniards appointed Governors of the Duchy of Milan by Philip II. These appointments were made after the last ruler of Milan of the Sforza family, Francesco II, died in 1535 (vide A History of Milan under the Sforza, Cecilia M. Ady, London, 1907, pp. 312 ff.).



207 ) Besides this request, the Jews also complained to the Governor of the Duchy of Milan, that their Inquisitor did not return the permitted books, previously confiscated, to their owners, and that the two vicars, Hieronymus and Sixtus, were planning to deprive the Jews of their property and to ruin them. The Duke, reacting favorably, ordered the local Governors of Cremona and Lodi (Stern, nos. 125 and 126) to return the books and respect Jewish property.

208) Paul IV had already, before assuming office as pope, recommended in his memorial to Pope Clement VII a war of destruction on all books which he considered a source for heresy (Pastor, X, 421). About two years before the publication of this Index (Sept., 1557) Navagero reports to his Government that a long list of heretical books is being prepared by the Inquisition, which includes all the works of Erasmus and even those of Macchiavelli (Brown, VI, n. 1024), but this list was never published. A second list prepared by the same author (Bladus), despite the complaints against its severity, was published and later enforced. This list identified three types of books:

- 1) Books, whose authors have erred (e. g. Erasmus) are prohibited even though they contain nothing heretical about the faith.

- 2) Some books, by authors generally accepted to the Church and only condemned because of their heretical content.

3) Books, composed by anonymous heretics, which contain injurious doctrines (vide Index, I, 263 ff. and Archivio Storico Italiano, Ser. V, Vol. XXVIII, 288 f.).



209) Even though the Index had already been published, it took some time until it was enforced in different places. On Feb. 10, 1559 the Inquisitor-General Ghislieri instructed the Inquisitor of Genoa, Girelamo Franchi: "potra prefigerli uno over due mesi di tempo dalla publicatione dell' Indice, et spirato quello, propogarli poi anco di più quendici altri giorni..." (Pastor XIV, 280 note 2). In another letter of March 31 Ghislieri wrote to the same Inquisitor, among others, that Milan is obedient and has printed and published the Index; in Venice 10,000, maybe 12,000, books were publicly burned. Florence and Naples also were faithful. He advised Franchi to do everything in this direction ("governatevi secondo l'Indice et secondo l'istrutione, et non dubitate che 'l sig, Idio aiuta la causa sua". Idem. Appendix, p. 482 f. n. 54). It is interesting that as late as July 21 the Inquisitor-General wrote from Rome to the same Franchi about this matter and blamed his office for not having had any success ("Se c'è diffetto ... nascerà dalla poca sufficienza or diligenza de' ministri del santo officio").

210) Cf. note 208.

Also the permission to export the prohibited books from Italy to Lutheran cities, to ease the loss of the publishers, was turned down by the Holy Office with the explanation, "ch' non si concede il portare arme ad infideli" (Ibid.)

211) However, later in 1559 two licences were issued by the Inquisition for Italian translations of the Bible (Idem note 1 on p. 279 f. as stated in Romania, XXIII, 416).

212) Ferdinand I, elected in 1526 as King of Bohemia and crowned in 1527, was accepted also by the Jewish population with satisfaction. (Zur Geschichte der Juden in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien, Gottlieb Bondy, Vol. I, Prag 1906, n.375). The King from his side promised the Jews to reinvest them with all the privileges and rights which the previous Bohemian rulers had given them and assuring them especially that none of the Jewish correligionists would be expelled either from Prague or from the Bohemian kingdom, /...aby Zidé z Prahy a králorstvi tohoto Českého vytisknutí a vyhnání nebyli na věčné a budoucí časy (...dass die Juden aus Prag und diesem Königreiche Böhmen auf ewige und zukünftige Zeit nicht verdrängt noch verjagt werden sollen...) March 1527; ibid. N. 376/. Until 1541, the condition of the Jews was more or less tolerable. Many of them were engaged in business, and the professions. Moreover we often find Ferdinand intervening on behalf of the Jews against local representatives of the crown (e. g. Nos. 410, 426 etc.). However, things changed in 1541 when plans for the expulsion of the Jews were openly discussed in the legislative chamber ("Kammer"). It was not hard to convince Ferdinand that the Jews were spies for the Turks etc. (Nos. 459, 460, 461) and that therefore they ought to be expelled, including women and



children, if they would not be converted (n. 460). They were expelled first from other cities (463) and finally from Prague (April 1542; n. 468). Later a law was passed that no Jew should be allowed to settle or be tolerated in any of the cities of the Kingdom of Bohemia (n. 469). The date of this expulsion is given by Yachia as 1541 (I, ad 1541), by Joseph - 1542, but by Usque (III, Chap. 36, p. 113) as 1546 which is incorrect. Several months later, after representations in behalf of the Jews, one of them by Josselyn (Josselmann of Rosheim's Diary, REJ XVI, 93, n. 25) some Jews were permitted to return. Others fled to Turkey and Poland (Usque *ibid.*; about charters for individuals given by the King cf. Nos. 486, 487, 488, 489, 490 and others). Those who returned had to have special permission from the King. Those who didn't were expelled (Nos. 523, 524, 528, 529). In 1546 about 1,000 persons had already returned to Prague (for a list of names see n. 526). In 1551 Ferdinand, who seems to have disliked the Jews (Grätz) again considered a plan to have them wear a yellow ring on the left breast to distinguish them from Christians (Nos. 558, 559). This plan was put in effect in November of the same year (562, 564). Already in 1557 the Archduke Ferdinand had complained to his father, King Ferdinand, that the Jews, even though prohibited, dare "mit Münzenfälschung sich befassen und andere strafmässige Handlungen begehen". (579). This is followed by a request of the local authorities of Prague to the Duke Fer-

Ferdinand to intervene with his father to expel the Jews (581). In August 1557 the King ordered their expulsion within a year (582, 583). This term was prolonged until April 23, 1559 (589, 590, 592). The Jews of Prague still participated in the official reception for King Ferdinand (1550) who, after the abdication of his brother, Charles V, was crowned his successor in March 1558 (591). (For the causes of this expulsion see Grätz IX, 348).

213) In a letter from the Emperor to Archduke Ferdinand the latter is advised to allow 8 or 10 trustees to remain, in order to take care of the remaining Jewish property ("lass si nach irem gänzlichen Abzug aus unsern Kunigreichen und Landen ... zu ferrer Sollicitirung und Anmanung irer Schulden, auch Verkaufung irer Heuser und liegenden Grund acht oder zehn Personen als ire vollmechtige procuratores zu Richtigmachung irer ubrigen Händl hinter sich lassen mügen") (Ibid. n. 597). In a later order (March 4, 1559), the Jews were allowed to choose a Commission ("Ausschuss") of 10 to 12 persons for the afore-mentioned purpose (594). Gans (ibid.) also gives the number of those who remained as 12 ~~persons~~. But this does not necessarily contradict Joseph's statement, as Wiener (n. 293) thinks, since besides these 12 procurators, (trustees) pregnant women and sick persons were also permitted to remain (n. 597; March 21, 1559). These may have numbered 200. This will also explain Joseph's



and Gans' claims that 60 houses (Gans 72 homes) were burned in the Jewish quarter, and that the Jews were robbed by the mob and fled as late as June 22 (=17 Tamuz).

214) Archduke Ferdinand, (ruler of Bohemia) often intervened on behalf of the Jews (cf. e. g. Nos. 531, 532, 589, 604, 607 etc.). Like other local rulers he was also continuously advised by Ferdinand I that the Jews should not be disturbed or molested while leaving the Kingdom of Bohemia (see Nos. 588, 599, etc.).

215) We find also after April 23, 1559 references to the Jews in Prague and other Bohemian cities. The terms of stay, particularly for individuals, were continuously extended. Even after 1561 which is considered as the date of the final expulsion (Grätz 348), we still find Jews in the Kingdom of Bohemia .... (Nos. 629, 631, 635, 636, 637). The intervention of Mordechai Zemach (Gans 1559) must have been some time in 1562 when Jews actually returned to the Bohemian cities, under the protection of King Maximilian and with the permission of Ferdinand I, although with restrictions. Dworsky (Intr. to Bondy, XI) is right when he says: "Den Juden wurde mehrmals mit Verweisung aus dem Lande gedroht und dies auch teilweise ausgeführt; Böhmen war jedoch nie ihrer los".

216) In 1348 the Emperor Charles IV gave over the Jews to the citizens of Worms because of their devotion to the Holy Roman Empire (See Geschichte der Juden in Worms, G. Wolf,

Breslau 1862, Beilage II). This step caused much trouble to the later rulers of Worms (ibid. Beilagen VI, VII, IX, XVII, etc.) and of course to the Jews. A year later they were partly expelled and their property confiscated (Beilage III). This was repeated in 1378 by order of King Wenzel (Diplomatische Geschichte der Juden zu Mainz und dessen Umgebung, Mainz 1855, Schaab 105 ff.). In the 15th century the Jews enjoyed more or less protection of the Bishops (Wolf, p. 8). Not until 1557 do we find a new agreement between the Jews and the inhabitants of Worms. This agreement was to be in force 4 years. Even though it restricted Jewish rights and privileges to a minimum, it gave them protection and some religious freedom (Beilage IV and p. 8 f.). After this term expired, the citizens of Worms went to all lengths to expel the Jews. Bishop Dietrich offered resistance and the issue was presented to the Emperor for arbitration. The latter appointed a commission, headed by the Archbishop of Mainz, Daniel, who was unfriendly to the Jews (Schaab, p. 182; Jost II, 319). The commission had authority to decide (Wolf, ibid. Beilage V). The Emperor continuously advised the citizens of Worms to wait patiently for the decision (Beilagen VI and VII). It seems, however, that the commission failed to reach a verdict, and both parties were invited to settle the problem by themselves (Beilage VII). They also do not seem to have come to any decision. We find continuous complaints of the Jews and Bishops



against the citizens of Worms, even after the death of Ferdinand. Maximilian II answered the complaints by giving Jews some rights. At the same time, we find no more evidence of expulsions from Worms at that time.

217) Refers again to Prague. The connection between Worms and Prague is not surprising since both belonged to the German Empire under the Government of Ferdinand (Philip II).

218) Luzzatto amends the text as יהודה סמוריה (Wiener note 294), while Grätz speaks in this connection of the convert Asher of Udine (IX, 346).

219) According to Gans (loc. cit) the accusation against the Jews of Prague was that their prayers were against the rulers. As a result of this, 80 hundredweights ( ככרות ) of books, prayer-books included, were confiscated and sent to Vienna for censorship so that even the cantors had to pray by heart. The other statement by Gans that all the books were returned in 1559 may only be partially correct since we find that the Emperor Ferdinand gave permission in August 1560 to a Jew of Prague to bring back (on two wagons) Jewish books from Vienna to Prague (n. 619). Another permit was given in March 1561 (622). Actual censorship in Bohemia was not established until 1561 (n. 620; see also: Censorship, 50 note 1).

220) This paragraph follows in the E. the intervention by the Jews to Governor Sessa (p. 140), which was mentioned previously also in this ms. (p. 61). The facts are here very similar to those of Cremona (cf. above and notes 35 and 36) except that here the local Inquisitor demanded a large sum of money as ransom. (About the fate of the Jews in Alessandria, see Cassuto's article in the EJ, II, 186 f.)

221) We have a document written August 22, 1559, four days after the death of Paul IV, from the Duke of Sessa sharply rebuking both the Inquisitor and the Podestà of Alessandria, and expressing his astonishment that they had not yet heeded the Senate's decree. This letter seems to have had an immediate effect (cf. Stern, n. 127 p. 135). x

222) The sources agree upon the 18th of August, 1559 as the date of Paul IV's death. There is some discrepancy regarding the exact hour, however. Müller, for example, (p. 18) says: "Am Morgen ... hatte Paul die Kardinäle an sein Bett gerufen ... nachmittags gegen drei Uhr verschied er". An eyewitness (G. Aldrovandi) again reported on Aug. 18: x  
"... quest' ora, che sono le 12, nella quale ha fatto chiamare tutti gli cardinali a quali ha raccomandato, questa s. sede, la Inquisitione, fabrica di S. Pietro et altro". Still another letter, written at 2 o'clock on the morning of August 18, announces that the Pope died "fra le 21 et 22 ore".  
(See Pastor XIV, 414 note 3); Nares' comment (p. 276) that



the Pope could no more speak to the cardinals whom he had earlier called together, seems doubtful in view of the fact that we do have several reports by contemporaries, given independently of one another, where the exact wording of Paul's remarks is quoted. That he was unconscious for one hour, however, between 7 and 8, the preceding night, does seem authentic, according to his physician's report (see the report of the Pope's physician *ibid.*, Appendix n. 60; Pallavicino III, 470). Although the Pope had still participated in a sitting of the Inquisition at the end of July, and had been present at a meeting of the consistories on August 2nd (*Avvisi di Roma* *ibid.* 413 n. 3) and is believed to have lived to the ripe old age of his father ("... et dice che viverà sin'al età di suo padre, che con tal infirmità visse anni 120 et era di cent'anni quando morì"), the outside world nevertheless was cognizant of the seriousness of his physical condition. Even as early as July 10, 1559, Ferdinand advised his delegate in Venice, that he go to Rome, as soon as the notice of Paul's death might reach him. (Th. Sickel, Zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trient, Wien 1872, p. 1 ff.) And the cardinal Medici was already contemplating a trip to Rome, in July (Archives at Hohenems in Pastor 413, note 2). Paul was 83 years old, at the time of his death.

223 A Jewish contemporary, who chanced to be in Rome on the day of Paul's death, the afore-mentioned anonymous author of the "Chronicles of Pope Paul IV" does not attempt to



conceal either his own joy or the joy of Roman Jewry upon hearing the glad tidings and after quoting some Biblical

אלה הם תודות ושבתות לנואל ישראל כי (S, 60) לא עזבנו ביד אויבינו... כאשר ישנו גם אנחנו בשבת הקודש בבית הכנסת ברומא... ונברך לאלהינו בקול רנה וחנונו בפני קהל ויזה...

Another Jewish contemporary, of Modena, where the news about the Pope's death appeared on August 20, reports a similar reaction amongst the Jewish population there (published by Kaufman in REJ IV, 97).

224) The Pope was still alive, when the people of Rome revolted. From the Capitol, they issued a decree that the prisons be broken open, with arms; The masses spread over the town. First they stormed the prison of the Inquisition, wounded the guard, released all the prisoners, destroyed many valuable documents relating to trials, confiscated books, and set fire to the buildings. Later they went to other prisons and proceeded with similar activities. About 400 prisoners were set free on that day. The next day (August 19) the populace tore down the white marble statue, which only three months earlier had they themselves erected for Paul, shattered it to bits, while the magistrates and nobles of Rome looked on, laughing. Throughout the day, the head remained an object of scorn for the lowest of the rabble. Towards evening, some persons flung that into the Tiber. On the third day (August 20), by decree of the Roman people, all the coats-of-arms and inscriptions of the "tirannica famiglia Caraffa" were broken to pieces and destroy-



ed, and the populace resolved to seize Paul's nephews. (For a detailed account see the following sources: Diario scritto da un contemporaneo in V-R II, 423 note 15; Pallavicino 474 f.; Wahrhaftige Neue Zeitung in Müller, 18 f.; Nores pp. 276 ff.; Sickel p. 14 f.; Pastor *ibid.*, 414 ff.).

225) Grätz remarks (IX, 349): "Die Römer hatten ihren Plan, keinen geistlichen Fürsten mehr über sich zu dulden, nicht ausgeführt, und diese Unterlassungssünde rächte sich schwer an ihnen und an der Menschheit".

226) Many other writers besides Joseph have made this inaccurate remark, amongst them Yachia *ibid.*; Series Episcorum Ecclesiae Catholicae, P. P. B. Gans, Ratisbonae 1873, p.III; Reumont, 133, Popper (Censorship p. 50) has Dec. 16! eyewitnesses confirm that the election took place between 1 and 2 o'clock on the morning of Dec. 26; (cf. Müller, 226 and Pastor *ibid.*, 62 f.; also S. (p. 61) has " וביום כ'ו דיצימבר " וקמו עליהם פסיור...")

227) This word is not clear in the manuscript. The year given in the parallel report in E (142) is not correct.

228) The newly elected Pope was born in Milan on March 31, 1499, the son of Bernardino de' Medici and Cecilia Serbelloni (Panvinus, IV, 373 ff.). These Medicis were not related to the famous Florentine family that bore the same name (Pastor, XV, 66). They had originated from the province of Bergamo, and only the grandfather of the Pope had settled in

Milan (Müller 228 f.).

229) In answer to the question of Cardinal d'Este, Legate de France, the newly elected Pope relied, that he would take on the name Pius, his choice centering around the significance of that name and the ideals for which it stands (Wargas in Döllinger, I, 324). "Man sah in der Wahl dieses Namens einen Beweis, dass er das sein wollte, was man von dem Nachfolger Paulus IV erwartete: ein guter, frommer Mann, der durch Milde und Menschenfreundlichkeit die Wunden heile, die der Krieg und die Strenge Pauls IV geschlagen hatte" (Müller, 226 f.). In an Avviso di Roma of Dec. 30 (in Pastor, 83, note 1) we read: "S'ha speranza ch'el sarà Pio di fatti come ha assunto il nome. Ha detto di voler pace, giustitia et abundantia".

230) This conclave was one of the most intricate in papal history and lasted for more than four months (Aug. 18 - Dec. 25) because of the disagreements and intrigues of the three main parties (the Spanish, the French and the Caraffa's). Eventually the cardinals were so weary of the whole affair, that "they would have elected a piece of wood as Pope, if only to bring matters to an end" (Wargas, on Dec. 20, 1559 *ibid.* 317) (Dębiński, p. 260. About the policies of the different parties cf. Müller's careful treatise especially pp. 29-65. Pastor follows Müller in this matter, but offers (XV, pp. 1-65) many additional sources; concerning the whole election,



the serious contributions of Susta (Pius IV, Praha 1900) in the Czech language (not used by Müller) and of Dębiński (Wybór Piusa IV) in Polish, should be mentioned). The choice of Pius IV met with the approval of almost everybody. The parties were satisfied, since neither of them had suffered a complete defeat (Dębiński 298; Pastor XV, 83). The Roman populace which had continuously revolted, and had sent delegations to the Cardinal-Dean, du Bellay (cf. Avviso di Roma of Sept. 23, 1559 in Pastor, 31 note 1; Sp. 61; Dębiński, 260; Pastor 43), was also satisfied, particularly after the Pope had announced to the people, that he would exert himself to securing peace, justice and an ample supply of Provisions for the Eternal City (cf. note 57; Dębiński, 289 also Pastor XV, 83).

231) The date of this deputation on behalf of the Jews, is not mentioned in any of the non-Jewish sources.

S. reports (p. 62): " ויצעקו בני ישראל לפני האפיפיור " is identical with ours. Pius IV kept his promise, and on August 8, 1561 he issued a Bull, in which he reduced the restrictions put upon the Jews, by his predecessor (cf. notes 17, 18). For further discussion see: Berliner II, 14 f.; V-R II, 161 f. On February 27 of the following year, this bull was repeated, particularly for the benefit of the Jewish Community of Rome, and on March 12, 1562 it was published there (In Bullarium magnum Romanum, VII, 161; cf. also Grätz IX, 350 f.). These facili-

ities are also mentioned in S. ibid. and in Yachia (at the end) who says:

והחליש גזירות האפיפיור אשר נתן קום  
ליהודים להחיות את נפשם..."

232) In Pavia, which belonged to the Duchy of Milan, and was under the rule of the Governor Don Ferdinand Gonzaga, the Jews fared fairly well. Gonzaga, at an earlier date had also refused to obey Paul III's orders to burn the Talmud. The names of the monks, and those of the "two German Jews" are not known to me. In 1495 we find Bernardinus of Feltre preaching in Pavia and so inciting the local populace against the Jews. Bernardinus' activities fortunately were largely checked by the then ruling Duke Gian Galeazzo Sforza (cf. Cassuto in JE, IX, 564. For a detailed account of the Jews in the Duchy of Milan see Il Vessillo Israelitico, 1882 p. 302 ff. and Cassuto's articles: Alessandria and Cremona in the JE).



- 233) Concerning Cardinal Carlo Caraffa cf. notes 30, 31, 32. ✓
- 234) Both, Giovanni Caraffa, Duke of Paliano, and Carlo Caraffa, the Cardinal, were sons of Giovanni Alfonso Caraffa, Count of Mentorio, and brother of Pope Paul IV.
- 235) These all-powerful nephews of Paul IV fell into disgrace while their uncle was still alive. For after he had received authentic information concerning the undesirable immoral conduct as well as factual data disclosing the many hundreds of unjust sentences they had pronounced, Paul IV summoned all the Cardinals to a consistory in the Vatican (Jan. 27, 1559), where, in a long address he informed all persons present, about the crimes which his nephews were guilty in having committed. Afterwards, the Pope ordered his nephews exiled and revoked all their power. Carlo, however, retained his title of Cardinal. (For a detailed account of the trial and execution of the nephews under Pius IV, see the very fine study by Ancel, pp. 30 ff.; Pastor adds some new sources about this first arrest in Vol. XIV, 225 note 1.) The Caraffas were under guard until their uncle died. Immediately after that Cardinal Carlo, and later, the Duke of Poliano were freed. The role that Carlo played during the long conclave, was of tremendous importance. He changed his mind several times and went over from the French party to the Spanish, and vice versa. These intrigues during the

conclave were no doubt partly responsible for his execution later (cf. Müller: Einige Bemerkungen über den Sturz Caraffas mit Beziehung auf dessen Verhalten in Conclave, pp. 265-268). Panvinio, the biographer of Pius IV, reports that the elected Pope (Pius IV) had told him that "he was induced to exercise a severity in the present case ... for the purpose of example; he was willing to impress upon all the kinsmen of future Popes, that the day of retribution would come, and that neither rank nor riches would secure them against merited punishment" (Cheney, 13).

236 Carlo Caraffa was charged with the greatest number of accusations (no less than 22! cf. Ancel, p. 101 ff.), the gravest of which were: the consent or incitement, to the murder of Violante (cf. note 237), several other murders, and promotion of the unhappy war against Spain, by means of falsehood and deceit while he was responsible for the policy of Paul IV, etc. (Cheney points out, and rightly so, that this last accusation was not entirely fair - p. 12 - see also Müller p. 4 f.). Later (in July 1560) after the discovery of compromising documents concerning his relations with the Turks and the Lutherans, the case fell also under the category of heresy. But there is no evidence in any of the available sources (the original documents of the proceedings against the Caraffas were burned in the time of Pius V; for other sources see Pastor *ibid.*, 148 f. note 1) that any of



the tried persons were accused of a plot against Marcantonio Colonna as Joseph puts it. It is, of course, possible that such rumors had spread during the trial, especially since the Colonnas were considered bitter enemies of the Caraffas because of their ill treatment by Paul IV and especially because of the conflict over the Duchy of Poliano and other possessions. (Cheney p. 6 f.; cf. also notes 23, 26; and about the trial see Pastor *ibid.* pp. 142 - 178). It may also be that Joseph was misinformed about another event relating to the supposed poisoning of Colonna by the Duke of Poliano. The opposite was true. It was because the Duke of Poliano commenced a lawsuit against Marcantonio Colonna contending that the latter had attempted to poison him (cf. Ancel, 88).

237) The story was as follows: After the fall of the Caraffas, the Duke of Poliano betook himself with his wife Violante and their three children, to the castle of Gallese near Viterbo. In July 1559 tales reached the Duke, that his wife was carrying on illicit relations with Marcello Capace, one of the members of her household. Giovanni Caraffa, although he himself led an immoral life, seems to have loved and been extremely jealous of his beautiful wife. He consequently gave ear to the rumors and put Capace and Violante under guard. The Duke had been incited by his two brothers, the Cardinals Carlo and Alphonso (the latter was freed at the trial) and also by his wife's own brother, Ferrante,

the Count of Alife, who maintained standards of honor, namely that adultery of a wife could be washed away only in the blood of the guilty parties. The Duke of Poliano, considering himself the feudal lord of his subjects, set up a secret criminal court in the fortress of the Orsini, near Soriano. Members of this court included, of course, the Duke himself, the Count d'Alife, the Duchess' uncle, Lionardo di Cardine, and another relative Giovanni Antonio Toralto. The outcome of this trial was, that Giovanni himself murdered (on July 26, 1559) Capece and the Caraffas did not subside until Violante's own brother Ferrante, before the very eyes of Cardine murdered her also, even though (August 29, 1559) she was about to become a mother. The guilt of Violante was not definitely established, it still remains a matter of controversy. Riess e. g. states it as a fact (p. 378) whereas Ancel (61 note 1) is in doubt. (Concerning the matter see: Nores 279 ff.; Ancel, 59 ff.; Reumont, 131-133; Bromato II p. 176 f.

238) Since the murder of Capece and the execution of Violante occurred while Paul IV lay on his dying bed, - i. e. during the vacancy in the Papal throne, - no steps were immediately taken to punish the culprits. But the enemies of the Caraffas, the Colonnas and Gonzagas (Müller, 267 f.) saw to it that these incidents should not be forgotten. Right here, we might add that two other enemies of the Caraffas, Alessandro Pallantieri and De Federicis, who had



been suspended from their offices by Paul IV, were now re-instated by order of Pope Pius IV, the former was re-appointed Governor of Rome, and the latter once more assigned as Procurator-Fiscal (Ancel, 81). Later, these two men were entrusted with the legal proceedings against the Caraffas (ibid., 92; Pastor, 147). That Carlo felt the important role that these two men played in his trial, is evidenced by one of the few sentences he spoke before his death: "Ho-ra saranno contenti Alessandro Pallantieri et il Governatore di Roma" (Cheney, 17 f.). The two Cardinals, the Duke, the other accused, and a number of their friends were suddenly arrested on June 7, 1560. (For data concerning the secret consistory held on that day, in Rome, see the document in Pastor's Appendix n. 5 p. 393). After a long trial, the four persons mentioned were sentenced to die on March 4, 1561 (Ancel, 153; Ranke I, 237 f.)

239) The facts here given are in harmony with the contemporary non-Jewish sources: On the night of March 6, 1561 the chief of the military police, Casparino de Melis, came to the Castle of St. Angelo, where the Cardinal was imprisoned, woke him from his sleep (according to Cheney - p. 16 - "ancora non dormiva") and when he was informed that the final moment for him had come, the Cardinal cried out: "O, ungrateful Pius! O, King Philip, you have betrayed me!" His brother's last words were: "Alas! the nephew of a Pope, -

a general in the Church - a duke - one who has three royal quarterings in his arms, upon the rack!"

The refusal of the biretta, to Carlo, was a sign that he was deposed from his rank as Cardinal (Cheney, 18; Pallavicini<sup>o</sup> III, 527). He was strangled with a silk chord and therefore it probably tore (*si ruppe la corda*). This incident gave the humanist Nicolo Franco occasion to write the following epigram: "Extinxit laqueus vixte, Carafa, secundus; Tanto enim sceleris non satis unis erit." (For a description of these executions cf. besides the mentioned sources also the following: Norez 344 ff.; the authentic letter from the Gonzaga archives written by Francesco Tonino to the Duke of Mantua, dated March 8, 1561, published by Pastor, Appendix n. 17 p. 406 f., the *Avviso* di Roma of the same day *ibid.* n. 18 and the report of Mula to Venice of March 7, 1561; *ibid.* n. 16; Bromato II; 180 f.; Döllinger I, 354 f.; and Reumont 134 f. which contains a translation of the last letter written by the Duke to his son, and the anonymous report of an eye-witness (acc. to Cheney by Orsini, the attendant of the Cardinal) published for the first time by Cheney (pp. 15 - 23).

240) The Duke Giovanni Caraffa, the Count Ferrante d'Alife, and Lionardo di Cardine were imprisoned together in the Tor di Nona, where they were executed the same night, right after the Cardinal. On the morning of March 6 their bodies were



publicly exposed near the Ponte St. Angelo and not until the evening were they taken in and buried, like those of ordinary criminals (see Pallavicini III, 526; Pastor XV, 171).

241) About the orthography of the name Caraffa (also Carraffa and Carafa) see Cheney p. 3 note.

242) The great rise of Lutheranism in Europe, and the consequent loss, for the Church of Denmark, Sweden and England gave not only the Pope, but other good Catholics, such as Ferdinand I and Philip II, much to think about. France in particular insisted upon calling the Council ("denn um Frankreichs willen hatte der Papst ja das Konzil berufen"; Jedin II, 110). After the suspension of the sessions of the Tridentine Council, held under Paul III and Julius III in 1552, problems of tremendous importance had arisen. The zeal and formality with which Paul IV carried on his office, did much harm to the Church (Müller, 226 f.). Only a man as broad-minded as Pope Pius IV could attempt to counteract this harm. Negotiations with the Catholic rulers of Europe regarding the renewal of the Council of Trent took some time, great difficulties were encountered. (For Ferdinand I, see Sickel 40 f.; 55 ff.; Steinherz I, 40 f.; for Philip II vide Pastor XV, 201 f. About difficulties with Francis II cf. Dębiński, Rzym, I, 158 and Sickel, 88 f.; about the Pope's reply to the King of Poland and his advice to the Polish delegate Konarski, see Pastor *ibid.*, 181 and note 3). Efforts were also made to grant safe conduct for the Protestants to invite them to participate in the Council (see Hosius - papal nuncio in Vienna - letter to Borromeo in Steinherz Im 54, and another report to the same cardinal of June 10, 1561 *ibid.* X



395 f.). Finally when the Pope felt that the greatest obstacles had been removed, he issued a bull, dated Nov. 29, 1560 in which he gave a short account of the proceedings of the Council sessions held during the reign of his predecessors, who had been unable to bring matters to an end, owing to the difficulties of the times, and now "as the good and merciful God had again granted peace to Christendom, he - the Pope - now hoped to be able to put an end to the great evils of the Church, by means of the Council". The Pope also asked the princes that should it be impossible for them to attend the Council in person, they should send their envoys without delay (cf. Bullarium, Vol. VII, 90 f.; Pallavicini III, 537 f.) After the bull had been received by the princes, new difficulties arose (Pastor *ibid.* 241 f.) primarily the fact that Ferdinand I had to take into consideration, the demand of the Protestants who did not have much confidence in the promises made by the Church, since they well remembered negotiations of the previous sittings (see note 110). But the resoluteness of Pius IV to hold the Council at any price, overcame the "sea of difficulties" and it was finally opened in January 18, 1562. (For an account of the Pope's joy because of the opening, see his nephew's /Borromeo/ letter to Cardinal Simonetta in Susta II, 18).

243) The Pope appointed five Cardinals as legates to represent him at the Council of Trent, namely; Ercole Gonza-

ga, Cardinal of Mantua, and Giacomo Puteo on Feb. 14, 1561, - Girolamo Seripando, Stanislaus Hosius, and Lodovico Simonetta on March 10 (cf. Pastor *ibid.* 243 f.). Gonzaga headed the group, as president of the delegation. (For the bull of their appointment, see Sickel, 184). Among Bishops appointed we might mention the names Gian Tommaso Sanfelice as commissary (Susta I, 53 f.) and Angelo Massarelli as secretary of the Council (for both Jedin II, 112, *ibid.* I, 6). The Italian Bishops arrived in Trent first (Pastor XV, 255); later the Spanish group came, their first delegate being the Bishop of Vich (Susta I, 78 f.). As regards numbers we might mention, that in the procession in Trent, on the opening day of the Council, besides the four participants (Puteo did not go to Trent since "he was old and very much needed in Rome", cf. Avviso di Roma of Aug. 30, 1561 in Pastor XV, 257 note 4, but was represented by Car. Mark Sittich, Hohenems, nephew of Pius IV, on Jan. 30, see Susta II, 5 ff.) there were papal legates, ninety bishops, eleven archbishops, and two patriarchs (Pastor, 264). More and more delegates continued to arrive even when the Council was already in session (*ibid.* 271).

244) Joseph sees the importance of the Council in the settlement of the Lutheran problem, and considers that the primary aim of the delegates was to "talk with the wise men of the Lutherans". Since, however, the Lutherans did not appear,



the author considers all the other conclusions futile ("פ.פ.פ. ").

245) Cf. note 111

246) Philip II's envoy to Trent was Fernando Francisco de Avalos, Marquis of Pescara (Susta I, 313) who was received in the General Congregation on March 16, 1562 (Pastor, XV, 271). Pescara was succeeded in Trent by the Count di Luna on April 12, 1563 (ibid., 317, 331).

247) I could not establish the identity of the mentioned "servant of Seripado". None of his close friends were from Piacenza (cf. Freundschaft und Freunde in Jedin II, 290 ff.) if we are to understand Piaccentino as of Piacenza. It may<sup>also</sup> be that Piacentino was the name of his assistant. (The name Piacentino occurs in documents of 1554, cf. Buschbell, p. 323). As regards the date of these outbreaks, there seems to have been great difficulty, at an earlier date, when the problem of "residence" (the Spanish brought up the question whether the residence of bishops in their dioceses was of divine law or merely a matter of human regulation) came up; then in the words of Ranke (I, 244): "At times sundry crowds would collect on the streets under the cry of Spain, Italy saw bloodshed instead of peace". This took place after the death of the president of the Council, the Cardinal of Mantua (Mar. 2, 1563), and 15 days before the death of Seripando. "There now came ... the outbreak of bloody combats among the re-



tainers of the French, Spanish and Italian prelates in consequence of which the gathering of Congregations was altogether forbidden, from March 9th to the 15th" (Sickel, 468; see also Pastor, 311). But this and other decrees were agreed upon by an almost unanimous vote during the 23rd session of the Council (the 7th under Pius IV) which was held on July 15th (Pastor, XV, 334 f.). That, at least, for the time being, a complete understanding among the parties was effected, is evidenced by the Scrittura of the papal secret agent in Trent, Visconti, following his letter to Borromeo of July 15 (II, 180). His detailed epistle of July 19 mentions no physical abuses (Visconti II, 182 ff.; it is surprising that the historian of the Church par excellence - Pastor - <sup>1/</sup>we resorted to more first-hand archive material than did any other writer on this subject, should have failed to make use of the very interesting collection of letters by Visconti, which gives one a real insight into happenings at the Council).

248) If I am to follow the correction to the text given in the previous note, that the outbreaks started on March 9, י"ט כ"ט תרנ"ב would mean 8 days later, which is March 17, the date of the death of Seripando (cf. Visconti I, 146 where we read "ed hoggi (March 17, 1563) alle venti-trè hore e morto il povero Signore (Seripando) con infinite dispiacere di tutti").



249 ) Girolamo Seripando was born in Naples, in 1493 (Jedin I, 17 f.). In 1539 he was appointed General-Vicar of the Augustinians, by Pope Paul III (ibid. I, 151). In 1554 Seripando was made Archbishop of Salerno by Charles V and Paul IV (Jedin I, 490; II, 1 ff.). In February 1561 Seripando was one of the 18 new cardinals appointed by Pius IV (ibid. II, 108; Pastor XV, 162, especially note 3, where the Mantuan ambassador to Rome reports: "il Papa è stato in pensiero solo di quattro o sei al più poi di dieci et poi di tredici sino a questa mattina, et ultimamente se è risoluto de desdotto."). On March 10 of the same year he was appointed legate to the Council of Trent (cf. note 102). On the 17th, he was presented with the Legate's cross (Jedin II, 111), and on the 26th, he left for Trent (cf. Seripando's letter to his nephew Marcello in Susta I, 3). His work at the Council was of tremendous importance to Pius IV. Unfortunately, since he was a sick man, he did not live to attend the end of the Council meetings. He became seriously ill on March 9 (Visconti II, 26). His health improved slightly (ibid., 128, 132, 142) in the next few days, but he died on March 17, 1563, exactly two years after the Pope had handed to him his Legate's card of admission to the Council of Trent. (For details about Seripando's life and work, see the excellent work of Jedin; also Vol. XI and XII of Pastor's History.)

250) Ercole Gonzaga (Duke of Mantua) was the brother of Ferrante Gonzaga, the previously mentioned Governor of Milan and the uncle of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. He was one of the elder Cardinals (appointed in 1526 by Clement VII) and was seriously considered as candidate for Pope at the last conclave (cf. Müller, 126-165). Pius saw in him the right man to be the first president of the Council (note 102), although the other legates were greater theologians, and were far better experienced from previous sessions, and Jedin is right by saying (II, 121 f.): "Was Mantua an theologischem Wissen und an Erfahrung in Konzilsangelegenheiten abging, das ersetzten die reichen staatsmännischen Erfahrungen, die er als Regent des Herzogstums Mantua (1540 - 1556) gesammelt hatte ...". In Trent he rendered a very important service to the Church. Exhausted from the hard work, however, he became ill at the Council, in February 1563 (Pastor, 310). Later letters of Visconti advise of his prolonged illness (cf. II, 76, 86 f.: "Ha poca speranza della sua salute") and finally in a letter, dated March 3, mention is made of his death the previous day. "... la cui morte ha portato a tutti di qua grandissimo affanno..." (Visconti, II, lettera X, p. 90). He was succeeded that same month, by the very able Cardinal Giov. Girolamo Morone who brought the Council to a happy end (Döllinger I, 487; Sickel 452; Pastor 315 - 327).



251) It is true that all the effort exerted by the Emperor, Ferdinand I, (Susta II, 23 f.; Sickel 269) and princes, and even the Church (e. g. Steinherz I, 395 f.; especially Pastor XV, 366 f.) to induce the Protestants to participate in the Council, had failed, (as late as the 19th day of July, 1563 Visconti II, 194 still reports of such efforts made by princes. For discussion cf. Jedin II, 133 f.) for the very simple reason that "how could the free Protestants give their assent to a Council, by whose previous decrees, the most important articles of their creed had already been anathematized!" (Ranke I, 242) But the other decisions reached at the Council of Trent, concerning dogmatic theology and Church discipline, were also of great importance (ibid. 255 f.; Pastor, XXXIX; 366 ff. and for other account of the importance of this Council ibid., note 1).

252) To be more exact: The first session under Pius IV was opened on January 18, 1562, and the last session ended on December 4, 1563.

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