Samuel Usque: A Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel, Third Dialogue

Gershon Gelbart
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Abstract
The closing decade of the fifteenth century, which opened up new continents and new horizons for humanity in general, produced in the narrower circle of the Jewish world a series of cataclysmic upheavals which convulsed the entire body of Israel with the agony of imminent extinction. This trumpet call of fate, though crushing the body, aroused the spirit from the lethargy of wretched smugness, veering it violently from the rut of a present, that led nowhere, into the unfamiliar road linking the past with the future. There arose the desire to examine into the forgotten nooks of the past while the eye seeking the future lost itself in the mystic vapors of a yet unborn sunrise. Thus historical interest and national mysticism came to the forefront of the Jewish consciousness.

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Dr. Cyrus Adler,
President, The Dropsie College,
Broad and York Streets,

Dear Doctor Adler: I wish to submit my thesis for a Doctor's Degree at the Dropsie College, and at the same time I want to thank you for the extensions granted to me. However, I must say that the translation of the latter part of the Third Dialogue I have been unable to include in this volume. I will have it ready in a few days. This is rather unfortunate, since it is that part that contains the consolation. I trust, however, that in the meantime the Professors will be quite busy going through the Tribulations. Also missing, as yet, is a list of abbreviations and a map, both promised on the title page.

I believe that no excuse will be necessary after you weigh the present volume in your hand. I regret the bulk. In my future years of scholarship, I hope to acquire the gift of brevity.

Sincerely yours,

G. Gelbart

4559 N. Marvine Street,
SAMUEL USQUE:
A CONSOLATION FOR THE TRIBULATIONS
OF ISRAEL
THIRD DIALOGUE

TRANSLATION, NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

by

GERSHON GELBART

A Thesis submitted April 9, 1936,
in partial fulfillment of the re-
quirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Dropsie
College for Hebrew and Cognate
Learning.
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PART TWO: "A CONSOLATION FOR THE TRIBULATIONS OF ISRAEL", THIRD DIALOGUE (Translation and Notes)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A -- Isaac Abravanel, , ed. Karlsruhe 1828,

B -- The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, ed. M.N. Adler,
    London 1907; citations refer to marginal pagination.

Cardoso -- Yehac Cardoso, Las excellencias de los Hebreos,
    Amsterdam 1679.

E -- Joseph Hacohen, , ed. Letteris, Vienna 1852.

Wiener E -- Emek Habacha, German Translation by M. Wiener,
    Leipzig 1858.

FF -- Alfonso de Spina, Portalicium Fidei, ed. Nuremberg
    1494; citations refer to the Third Book; Roman numerals
    indicate "Consideratio", Arabic - the section; page numbers
    are enclosed in parentheses.

Graetz -- H. Graetz, Gesch. der Juden, 4th ed.

Kayserling -- M. Kayserling, Gesch. der Juden in Spanien und
    Portugal, 2 vols., Berlin 1861-7; I: Spanien, II: Portugal.

Loeb -- Isidore Loeb, "Joseph Hacohen et les chroniqueurs
    juifs", REJ, XVI(1888), 211-23.

Nomologia -- Imanuel Abca1b, Nomologia, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1727.

Quellen -- Fritz Baer, Untersuchungen ueber Quellen und Kom-
    position des Schebet Jehuda, Berlin 1923.
(List of Abbreviations - 2)


Remedios -- J. Mendes dos Remedios, Os Judeus em Portugal, I, Coimbra 1895.


S -- Gedaliah Ibn Yahya, __________, ed. Amsterdam 1697.

U -- Samuel Usque, Consolacam, ed. Coimbra 1906-8; Roman numerals I, II, III, indicate Dialogue; Arabic numerals/following U immediately indicate "Calamity" or chapter, when following "U," refer to page; Unless specified otherwise, citation refers to Dial.III.

V -- Solomon Ibn Verga, __________, ed. Wiener, Hannover 1855; numbers indicate , unless otherwise specified.

Wiener V -- Das Buch Schevet Jehuda, German Translation by M. Wiener, Hannover 1856.
(List of Abbreviations - 3)

Vara -- Vara de Juda, Amsterdam 1640.

Wiener E. -- see E.

Wiener V -- see V.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION


2) D. Barbosa Machado, Bibliotheca Legenda, 5.
   Lisbon 1741-50, VII, 637, s.v. Samuel Vazquez.

3) J. B. de Rosa, Acta diocesana Romana, Romae 1707, v, s.v.vro De Messia, Pense 1772, 447.

4) idem, De Typographia Hebraica, Legenda, Parma 1780, 64ff.

5) idem, Bibliotheca jud. - antichristiana, Parma 1800, 116.
   No.176.

6) idem, Dizionario storico degli autori Ebrei e della loro opera, 2 vols., Parma 1802; II,162ff.


8) D. Joseph Rodriguez de Castro, Bibliotheca Espanola, 2 vols.,
   Madrid 1781-6; (not available to me.)

9) A. Ribeiro dos Santos, "Memorias da Literatura na vida dos Judeus Portugueses na Seculo XVI", in Memorias da Literatura Portuguesa, 1792; II,360,406ff. (not available to me)


11) Innocencio P. da Silva, Dicionario Bibliografico Portuguez,
    22 vols., Lisbon 1856-1938; VII,196.

12) Rios, III,845ff.

13) J. Kayserling, Seuhardim, Leipzig 1859,96ff.

14) idem, II,287ff.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


3) J. B. DE Rossi, Della vanaspettazione degli Ebrei del loro Re Messia, Parma 1773, 41f.

4) idem, De Typographia Hebraeo-Ferrariensi, Parma 1780, 64ff.

5) idem, Bibliotheca jud. - antichristiana, Parma 1800, 125, No.176.

6) idem, Dizionario storico degli autori Ebrei e delle loro opere, 2 vols., Parma 1802; II,163f.


8) D. Joseph Rodriguez de Castro, Biblioteca Espanola, 2 vols., Madrid 1781-6; (not available to me.)

9) A. Ribeiro dos Santos, "Memorias da Litteratur Sagrada dos Judeos Portuguezes no Seculo XVI", in Memorias de Litteratura Portugueza, 1792; II,360, 406ff. (not available to me)


12) Rios, III,643ff.

13) M. Kayserling, Sephardim, Leipzig 1859, 96f.

14) idem, II,267f.
15) idem, Bibliotheca Esp. - Portu. - Judaica, Strasburg 1890, 107, s.vv. Usque.
17) Graetz, V, 426 ff.; VII, 393 (Note 1); IX, 306 ff.-379, 538 (Note 7).
19) Isidore Loeb, "Comparaison d Usque et de l Emek habbakha", REJ, XVI (1888), 212-23; XVII, 269.
22) Fidelino de Figueiredo, Historia de Litteratura Classica, 2 vols., Lisbon 1922 (1st ed. 1917), I, 297 ff. (Contains an excellent discussion of the literary phase.)
24) Aubrey F. Bell, Portuguese Literature, Oxford 1922,
25) Fritz Baer, Quellen, 2-37. ("Schebet Jehuda und Usque")
26) idem, Eshkol (Hebr. Encycl.), Berlin 192 - II, 25.
27) Sigmund Seeligmann, Bibliographie en Historie, Amsterdam 1927, 57ff.


29) H. M. King Manuel, Early Portuguese Books 1489-1600 in the Library of His Majesty the King of Portugal, (in Portug. and English), 3 vols. London 1929-35; II, No.75, 302ff., and No.536ff. (See the review by Cecil Roth in REJ, XCVII (1934), 169ff., esp. 171ff.)

The lethargy of wretched sameness, wearying it violently
from the rut of a present, that led nowhere, into the unfamiliar
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Another outgrowth of this elemental tragedy consisted of
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Samuel Usque, poet, historian, mystic, was a
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A modern biographer of Usque has aptly remarked that
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A modern biographer of Usque has aptly remarked that
"beginning with the ancients down to the moderns, what we find—about Usque,—among the few meager facts of a general nature, is the same lacunae, the same obscurities, the same question marks." 1) Indeed, not even the oldest authorities contribute towards our knowledge of the man; a single fact other than such as may be inferred from his writings. About his family we know virtually nothing. Several other persons bearing the name of Usque are known to us from this period, but their relationship to each other cannot be definitely established. 2)

The name Usque is most likely derived from the city of Huesca (the ancient Osca, Hebrew ), in Aragon. 3) Indeed, Samuel tells us that his ancestors ("pasados") had come from Spain, having left it at the time of the expulsion of 1492. 4) There seems to be no doubt that he was born in Portugal 5); he declares that he had suckled the Portuguese language with his mother's milk 6). His description of conditions in Portugal is too vivid and too realistic to have been derived from a source other than the author's own experience. Since he was not born earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century 7), the conclusion is inevitable that he was born a Marrano 8). There is nothing in the ideas expressed in the "Consolation" that militates against this assumption 9), nor does the fact that his Christian name is unknown to us constitute a valid objection. 10)

As a Marrano, or New Christian (to call him by the designation common in Portugal), he suckled from infancy that zeal for Judaism which thrives so miraculously in an atmosphere of
secrecy and suppression. He must have applied himself, with all the energy of a persecuted idealist, to the study of Hebrew and particularly of the Bible, in which he acquired an unusual mastery. It is doubtful whether he had equal access to the rabbinical literature, but he certainly was familiar with the Haggadic lore. As Baer puts it, his views and his knowledge were those of most Marranos of his time.

He received a good general education; he studied Latin, perhaps also Greek, and knew Spanish well. It seems likely that he also studied medicine, for he often has recourse to illustrations borrowed from that field. He was alert to the world about him, and shows a familiarity with world politics. That was the age of Columbus, Vasco de Gama, Magellan, Vespucci, when the earth was being rediscovered, and Usque's readings in travel literature are reflected in his writings. No weight can be attached, however, to the statement by Imanuel Aboab praising his scholarship and eminence, since it is not based on a personal knowledge of the man, but is derived from an appreciation of his work.

Endowed as he was with literary propensities, he devoted himself to the study of Portuguese literature and acquired a style that is considered by modern critics as brilliant and masterful. He moved in the literary circles of the capital and even may have known personally some of the leaders of contemporary letters. Whether or not he was personally
acquainted with the famous Bernardim Ribeiro ( ), the creator of the pastoral genre in Portuguese literature, he certainly read his work "Menina e Moca" when still in manuscript. For much of the "Consolation" is patterned after that masterpiece which did not appear, however, in print until after 1553.21)

There lived at the time in Lisbon two other Marranos by that same name. Solomon Usque, who was later known by his nom-de-plume as Salusque Lusitano, (born ca. 1510) lived his part as a Christian under the name of Duarte Gomes.22) Abraham Usque wore the cloak of Christianity as Duarte Pinhel.23) What family relationship, if any, existed among these Usques is a matter of surmise.24) The one conclusion that can be drawn with any degree of certainty is that all three could not have been brothers, since Abraham's father bore the name of Solomon.25) The three have been often confused with each other.26) However, this may be, the significant thing about them is that all engaged in literary activity in the tongues of the gentiles.27) Solomon fathered a celebrated translation of Petrarcha's sonnets into Spanish (published in Venice in 1567), also collaborated on a play entitled "Esther", which is considered the first Jewish play.28) Abraham published in Lisbon, as late as 1543, a Latin grammar and a treatise on the calendar.29) Like Samuel, he cherished a deep admiration for Bernardim Ribeiro, for it was he who later, in exile in Ferrara, published for the first time
"Menina e Moca". It has been suggested that he may have taken a manuscript of the work with him when he left Portugal. As the work contained numerous references to the amorous escapades of members of the royal household, it was not feasible to have it printed during the author's lifetime. But no sooner did the great poet close his eyes - he died in 1552 - than Abraham Usque hastened to give to the world this great masterpiece. It was truly an act of piety towards the dead poet, financially unprofitable, and was "prompted by a motive of heart and intellect, and not of business."

Another significant circumstance which unites the three Usques is their position with regard to Dona Gracia Mendes Nasi, that great benefactress of Portuguese Jewry. In dedicating his work to her, calls himself the "creature of your Ladyship, whom I wish to please with my labors, writings and deeds, and to show myself, in some way, grateful for the many kindnesses which I have received from your generous hand." Abraham likewise dedicates to her his Spanish Bible. Solomon acted, for many years, as her financial agent. At what point she entered their lives is not possible to ascertain. Perhaps she knew them when still in Lisbon and, recognizing the literary possibilities latent in that family, if indeed a family they were, encouraged them with financial and other aid. It is not unreasonable to assume that she was instrumental in effecting their departure from Portugal.
certainly. Graetz \cite{Graetz35} maintains that he was "singed by the flames of the Inquisition". If this be so, and evidence in favor is found in the realistic tone of his description of the ravages inflicted by the Portuguese Inquisition \cite{U30}, he could have left no earlier than 1540, when the "Monster" was first installed in Portugal. \cite{36} It was after the first executions had been carried out by the Holy Office that there was consternation and a sudden rush among the Marranos, who prior to that had been content to live in Portugal, to flee the country. Many among them were poor and had no means for undertaking the journey, a journey that had no definite destination, and their lot would have been a hopeless one but for the unselfish assistance rendered to them by the wealthy and generous Gracia Nasi. \cite{37} Among those whose escape from "the hell of Portugal" was financed by that noble lady may have also been the Usques. \cite{38} Since the Latin Grammar did not appear until 1543, it seems natural to conclude that in that year they were still in Lisbon, or at least that Abraham was still there. They may have left together, perhaps fleeing from the clutches of a pursuing official of the tribunal. \cite{39} Like all the rest of them that joined in that long trek to nowhere, indeed as Gracia herself, they may have gone first to Flanders, then a Spanish possession, and thence, always with the assistance of their patroness, made their way through Germany, across the Alps, probably through the canton of Grisons, \cite{40} into Italy. Solomon, who was possessed of commercial as well as poetic ability, is known to have resided in Venice and Ancona, as late as 1564, in
the capacity of a trusted financial agent of Gracia and Joseph Nasi.41)

Samuel must have lived in Italy for some time prior to the writing of the "Consolation" in 1553, long enough to learn Italian, for in his work he makes extensive use of Italian sources.42) By 1551 both he and Abraham were settled in Ferrara, the magnificent capital of the ducal house of Este, to which no doubt they had been attracted not only by its fame as one of the greatest literary and artistic centers of the time,43) as well as by the goodwill and tolerance accorded to Judaism by Duke Ercole II, "the most sublime and generous" prince of a "beauteous and plenteous people". They then threw off the hateful mask of Christianity and lived openly as Jews.44) They may have had access to the ducal court, as Ercole was a prince with literary tastes. It is significant that Gracia, who had meanwhile quitted Antwerp and gone to Venice, where she first was received with hospitality and then underwent persecution, also came to stay in Ferrara.45) It is possible that while there she helped Abraham Usque to establish his famed printing press which brought out its first Spanish publication in 1553, thus making Ferrara "the earliest home of Marrano literature".46) Samuel may have been associated with Abraham in this enterprise. Work was started toward the production of a Jewish version of the Bible in Spanish, to be followed later by a series of prayer books for use among the Marrano communities in Europe.47)

This idyllic situation was soon marred, however, by the outbreak of a deadly epidemic in Ferrara. Naturally, the Jewish
refugees from Portugal, who continued to pour into the hospitable city, were at once accused of having brought the infection with them. Much against his will, and yielding only to the vociferous demands of the population, Ercole decreed the expulsion of all the Portuguese Jews from the city. Usque gives a most lifelike description of the suffering caused by this "most hazardous and momentous emergency", and paints an unforgettable scene of the last night, as the deadline for the departure was nearing. But the guardian angel of the Portuguese exiles, Gracia Nasi, came once more to their rescue, supplying them with shiploads of food and finally effecting the transportation of many of them to Turkey, whither she led them in person. Others found refuge in Pesaro, through the efforts of the Marrano Manuel Bichacho. Apparently not all Portuguese Jews left Ferrara as a result of the edict, which may have applied only to the more recent arrivals. The city continued to be a haven of refuge for Marranos as long as the white eagle of the house of Este hovered over it.

That the Usques remained in Ferrara is certain. Perhaps they enjoyed the favor of the Duke and were granted permission to stay. At any rate, in 1552 or 1553 (5313 A.M.) Abraham Usque's publishing house completed work on the first book and shortly after the great Spanish Bible, called the Ferrara Bible, made its appearance. Within that same year, two days before Rosh Hashanah, it presented the world with another masterpiece, the work of Samuel Usque. The manuscript had been completed shortly before, since it contained a reference to an event
that occurred that year. It bore the title "Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel" and was dedicated "to the Most Illustrious Lady Dona Gracia Nasi".

The book gained immediate acclaim and spread far and wide among the Portuguese speaking Marranos. Within a few months after its publication, copies of it already reached England and were avidly read and zealously copied by the Christians living there. The historian Joseph received his copy in Voltaggio, where he was residing at the time, and although his great work on "The Chronicles of the Kings of France and of the House of Ottoman," which was then in press, contained many references to Jewish history, he was inspired by Usque's work and set out to compose a martyrlogy based largely on it.

In spite of the great popularity achieved by the book, its author seems to have remained a relatively obscure figure. At any rate, no statement concerning him, with reference to the period after 1553, has come down. It is improbable that he continued to stay in Ferrara. His violent denunciation of the Inquisition and of Christendom in general, which eventually caused its being placed on the Index, must have made it dangerous for him to stay in a Christian country. It required a high degree of courage on the part of a Jew, especially of one who was regarded by the Church as a heretic, to fling those passionate accusations in the teeth of a hostile world. Moreover, he openly called on the New Christians to apostatise to Judaism. The benevolent Duke, though himself
elaborately flattered by Usque,\textsuperscript{58} may have been forced to yield to pressure from without and counseled Samuel Usque to quit his territory, and perhaps Christendom altogether. The Catholic Reaction had just broken loose. On Rosh Hashanah (the Talmud was burnt in Rome, and later in the year also in Ferrara.\textsuperscript{53} At any rate, Abraham Usque continued to operate his printing establishment, at least, until 1558.\textsuperscript{60})

In 1565 we hear of a certain Samuel acting as an agent of Gracia Nasi in Turkey. Galante\textsuperscript{61} sees in him our poet who must have then followed his patroness to Turkey and, like Solomon Usque, entered her employ in a business capacity. The suggestion, it must be admitted, is not without merit, though based on a rather flimsy foundation.

Another possible reference to the author of the "Consolation" was pointed out by Graetz.\textsuperscript{62} It is found in the highly interesting pamphlet of Isaac Akrish, Constantinople 1577. Akrish relates that in 1545 ( ) a certain mystic in Safed, by the name of Judah Angelo, announced that he had seen the ten tribes marching in military array in the neighborhood of Safed. Then he proceeds:
Graetz thinks that Gracia is to be identified with our author. The date, somewhere between 1545 and 1577, fits the circumstances. He may have gone to Palestine after the death of Gracia which occurred before 1569. 63) Graetz cites further certain passages in the "Consolation" as proof that Usque was imbued with mysticism and Cabala. In that he is correct, 64) even though this proof is superfluous, since at the time "Cabala was in the air; the greatest men of Israel were committed to it". 65) The problem does not revolve, however, about the mystical leanings of Samuel Usque. Of Akrish’s account is merely said to have believed that he had spoken with a traveler who had come from the land of the Ten Tribes. In this connection it may be noticed that in 1553 Usque did not believe in the return of the Ten Tribes. 66) Similarly, at that time he was unequivocally opposed to Messianic pretenders. 67) Certainly, the intervening years, which witnessed the destruction of all his hopes for a speedy deliverance of Israel, may have changed his attitude in such matters.

If Graetz’s suggestion is allowed to stand, 68) one is tempted to venture an identification of his fellow mystic. Assuming that an emendation to is not unreasonable, it is possible to equate him with Samuel Gallus or "Zarfadi", the publisher of Ferrara, who no doubt knew Usque in his Ferrara days, and may have later gone to Palestine. It is significant that the first book published by him was Abravanel’s eschatological work, in 1551. 69)
The last days of Samuel Usque, like his first days, remain thus shrouded in obscurity. Truly it can be said of him that, although his presence in the world is well attested by a significant work of his, yet we know not "from whence he had come nor whither he went." He was one of the most illustrious figures of Portuguese Jewry. Endowed with a sensitive heart and a seeking soul, his was the fate of witnessing one of the greatest catastrophes in the whole of Jewish history. He lived at a time when a large portion of Jewry had their very soil snatched from under their feet, when they were fleeing from the clutches of the Inquisition and in doing so, "fell into the ruthless hands of other nations, so that some were consumed, and still are being consumed, by the sea, while others perished, and do still perish, in inhabited and desert lands alike." Stirred by the sight of his eyes, he lifted his voice in protest and in prayer, but with the full realization that the primary need was for words of solace and comfort. To this end he caused the long procession of Jewish history to file past the tearful eyes of his contemporaries, in all its sublime glory and abysmal tragedy. He, "the deft painter of Jewish suffering", was, as Graetz justly states, "more of a poet than a historian". "Yet although no historian, nevertheless no one has ever succeeded in drawing the main outlines of Jewish history from the earliest times down to his own in such a vivid and illuminating manner." Unlike Ibn Verga who was bent on discovering the "whys and wherefores", unlike Joseph Hazohen who called down the vengeance of Heaven upon the persecutors, Usque turned for consolation to the innermost recesses of the
heart, where the calm of steadfast faith rules beneath the more exposed strata, ravaged by pain and disbelief. His soothing words fell on listening ears. No doubt his rousing appeal "contributed largely towards strengthening the Marranos in their newly achieved conversion, and towards inspiring them to suffer persecution of all sorts, even unto death, for the sake of preserving it." With his historical poem he contributed far more towards the strengthening of faith in Israel "than many an over-pious rabbi of his time."77)

Yet his was a pathetic figure. A Jew and an outcast from his own land, he remained more loyal to Portugal than many a Portuguese of good standing. For while so many of the Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century, wishing for a larger audience, preferred to compose their works in Spanish, he did not forsake the language which he had "suckled with his mother's milk for another, a borrowed one".78) Yet because of this very loyalty, his memory fared ill at the hands of posterity. The Portuguese, on one hand, had little appreciation and less gratitude for the Jew who branded them "a cruel and half-barbarous nation",79) even though he did contribute a noteworthy masterpiece to their literature.80) On the other hand, his own people, while distinctly sympathetic to his aims and tendencies, was kept at a distance by the linguistic barrier. For centuries, whatever was known about him or about his work was derived not so much from a direct study of the "Consolation", as from the references to him in the works of Joseph Hatzen,81) Gedaliah Ibn Yahya,82)
Imanuel Aboab, \(^{83}\) and Isaac Cardoso, \(^{84}\) Even modern scholars have done their duty by him in a haphazard and scattered fashion. Even the knowledge of the language is largely lost, and the unwilling to take the pains of learning Portuguese, they contented themselves with quoting second and third hand references, seeing their scientific conscience with the additional excuse that copies of the "Consolation" were rare and not easily accessible. \(^{85}\)


5) There is no ground for maintaining, with Remedios (Pref., XTV) and others, that "he was certainly born in Lisbon".

6) "a lingua que mesmo". Prologue, 5a.

7) His "Consolation" was written in 1387.

8) After 1497 no Jew could live in Portugal without the clear of Christianity. Sam 0 22.

9) Julius Steinschneider (12, 34) claims that since Uque wrote his work to prevent the falling away from Judaism of many Marranos who were succumbing to misery and persecution, he could not have been one himself. But Uque was addressing to the Marranos who had managed to flee Portugal, and not to those who were still there. Also, when he wrote his book, he was no longer a Marrano, but had openly declared his Judaism, and was urging his brethren of lesser courage to do likewise.
1) Remedios, Pref., XLI.

2) Joseph de Moseh Usque copied in 1481 the Novellae of Nahmanides to Baba Me'asía (Kayserling, Bibl. Esp., 107). Solomon Usque was a printer in Constantinople in 1561 (ibid.)

3) Kayserling, JE, XLI, 387. S (91a and 92b) refers to our author as 'JOX'. Wolf (l.c.) likewise spells the name 'JOX'. De Rossi (Typ. Heb. Ferr., 7) mentions "Oski" or "Uski", no doubt a transcription of the Hebrew form.


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I (2)

10) Steinschneider, ibid. Vasconcelos, l.c., 37, n. 13 claims that he was known in Portugal under the name of Manuel Gomes. (!?)

11) He has nothing to say about the Talmudic period of Jewish history. (Cf. Quellen, 37, n. 3) In Dialogue II, 33a, there is a reference to the "Book of Sanhedrin which begins with Bisheloshah Perakim." It is common for Usque's Portuguese biographers to speak highly of his Talmudic scholarship. (See e.g. Remedios, Pref., XLV.)

12) Cf. Baer in Eshkol l.c. In Dial. II, 34b, a marginal note refers to "Ekah Rabbati" (see I, 2a).

13) ibid.

14) His high praise of Socrates and the Athenians in the Prologue marks him as the child of his age. Latin he must have known, for he used Latin sources. Several times he cites classical Latin poets: Lucan (II, 40b), and Ovid (II, 41a and 42b). The reference to Samuel Abravanel as "Tremegisto" (U 32), and other passages, may indicate some knowledge of Greek on his part.

15) Cf. Graetz, IX, 312. He was urged by his friends to write his book in Spanish. The assertion of Antonio (l.c.) that he actually wrote in Spanish is based on a misunderstanding. (See below, p. 24, n. 34) Portuguese literary critics find Usque's style and vocabulary considerably influenced by the Spanish idiom.)
16) See Dial. III.

17) Cf. his allusions to the wars of the Reformation ( ), the Ottoman threat in Europe ( ), the reign of Henry VIII (U 13), etc.

18) See below, p. 63f.

19) Homologia, 292: "un hombre dotado de buenas letras humanas, y versado en las historias."

20) Vasconcelos (l.c., 91) describes him as a "cultured and respectable person, judging by the noble and courageous tone maintained in the 'Consolation'."

21) Vasconcelos, l.c., 8 and 45. See below, p. 8.

22) See Graetz, IX, 539. Cf. also Kayserling, Bibl. Esp., 107, s.v.


24) Graetz §IX, 538; thinks they were related with each other. Kayserling, after juggling all the possible combinations of kinship, gives up all such claims in JE (l.c.) where he makes Samuel "a near kinsman (but not a brother) of Abraham". D. Carolina Vasconcelos asserts repeatedly that Abraham and Samuel were brothers.
25) Cf. n.23. J. Lucio d'Azevedo (História dos Christãos Novos Portugueses, Lisbon 1921,366) suggests the Constantinople printer, Solomon Usque, (see above,n.2) is to be identified with Abraham's father.


27) Cf. King Manuel's opinion about them: "The Usques - as was so often the case with Portuguese Jews - were ... learned men, it may even be said that they were scholars, artists and true men of letters." (op.cit. II,536.)


29) "Eduardi Pinelli Latinæ grammaticæ compendium. Ejusdem tractatus de Calendis. Ulyssip. 1543". (After Graetz IX,540f.)

30) Vasconcelos, op.cit.,45.

31) Ibid.,43. A king of Portugal pays this eloquent tribute to the Jewish publishers of "Menina e Moca": (In spite of the) "tribulations of Israel, these two Jews (Abraham and Samuel
I (5)

Usque) surely had a great love for Portugal and many regrets must have been born of this love: one can perfectly understand their desire to publish the works of Bernardim Ribeiro...

In publishing his works, the two learned Portuguese Jews, with their homesick love for Portugal, wished to pay a tribute of gratitude to the author of the *Menina e Moça* - the 'Livio de Saudôdes!' - and at the same time to render service to their country's literature". (Manuel, op.cit., II, 545)

32) For a general discussion of her career see Graetz, lx, 329ff., and 533, note 61.

33) It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Portuguese Alonso Núñez published in Venice, in 1552, a collection of Spanish poems in imitation of Bernardim Ribeiro, and dedicated it to João Micas, or Miqueś, that is Joseph Nasi, Gracia's nephew. (Vasconcelos, op.cit., 104) The house of Nasi thus appears as a patron of Hispanic literature.

34) See below, p. 9


36) See U 30, n. 2.

37) See u, 52ab.

38) Cf. Graetz, lx, 534.

39) Steinschneider (l.c., 32) marvels that the Usques, especially
Abraham and Samuel, who were aggressive and outspoken natures, had not incurred the suspicion and the flames of the Holy Office.

40) Cf. U 36: "the road which led us from Spain and Portugal" to Ferrara "passed that region (the land of Grisons)."

41) Kayserling, II, 268; and idem, Bibl. Esp., l.c. Graetz (IX, 540) asserts that Gracia set him up in the banking business in Ferrara.

42) See below, p. 63.


45) Graetz IX, 534.

46) Cf. Graetz IX, 365; and Roth, Marranos, 324. See also D.W. Amram, The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy, Philadelphia 1909, 279f. Vasconcelos (op.cit., 265 and passim) insists that the Usques were well-to-do people ("gente de bem"), and conjectures (ibid., 40) that Samuel must have helped Abraham in Ferrara with both money and learning.

47) Graetz (IX, 310) suggests that Samuel was the author of the Spanish translations of the Hebrew prayers published by Abraham.

48) U 36, and fol. 52b. This expulsion from Ferrara in 1551 and
the part taken in it by Gracia have been entirely overlooked by
investigators. All the students of the "Consolation". For a discussion see
U 36, n. 1, and fol. 52b, n.

49) In 1579 Ferrara was annexed to the Papal States.


51) March 1, 1553. Cf. De Rossi, Typ.Heb.Ferr., 92; Graetz, IX, 540f.;

52) See below, pp. 21, n. 13, and U 37, n. 2.

53) See Lucien Wolf, "Jews in Tudor England", in Essays in Jewish
History, London 1934, 88. The author's statement (ibid.) that
Gracia encouraged Usque to circulate his book among the Marrano
communities of Europe, has, to my knowledge, no foundation in the
sources.

London 1835-6.

55) Cf. Luzzatto, Introd. to E, p.X; Wiener E, Introd., p.XI; and
See, Vallee, VI.

56) When Kayserling II, 267, asserts that his work "dem Verfasser
die Achtung und Anerkennung seiner Glaubensgenossen in hoeher
Masse verschaffte", that is pure conjecture.

57) See below, p. 22.
58) U 36, and fol. 53a.

59) On September 16, 1553, a number of Cardinals addressed a letter to the Duke of Ferrara inciting him to expurgate the in Hebrew books, as they had found them "manifest impiety and a horrible abomination". (Cf. Andrea Balletti, Gli Ebrei e gli Estensi, Reggio-Emilia 1930, 90) The date of the letter - nine days after the publication of the "Consolation" - is significant.

60) The last book was printed by him was מ"ססוכ in 1558. (De Rossi, Typ.Heb.Ferr., 9 and 44)

61) Abraham Galante ("Deux nouveaux documents sur Dona Gracia Nassy", REJ, LXV (1913), 151ff.) reproduces an order of the Sultan, dated January 20, 1565 (p.153, piece II) addressed to the Bey of Naxos, directing him to pay certain moneys due to "Señora Gracia Nasi", to her representative whose name is Samuel.

62) IX, 543 (III).

63) Cf. Graetz, IX, 535.

64) Graetz maintains that, being a Marrano, Usque was peculiarly susceptible to the influence of mysticism. This is disputed by Steinschneider (l.c., 34) who argues that "Samuel Usque wurde als Marrane schwerlich nationale Agitationen mit der geschilderten Offenheit betrieben haben." But comp. Molkó!

"Had the Lord ... removed you into one corner of the world, as He did to your brethren, the other ten tribes, ... you would have been exterminated by the wrath of one single people to whom you might have been subjected." (50a)

Cf. U 8.

Dubnow (VI, 154) terms it "eine schwer zu überprüfende Nachricht."

See De Rossi, Typ.Heb.Ferr., 7; cf. also Amram, op.cit., 278f.

U 31.

Kayserling, Sephardim, 96.

VIII, 393.

IX, 312.

Quellen, 78ff.

E 87:

Cf. also his ed. Amsterdam 1733, 49a.

Graetz, IX, 316.

Kayserling, II, 267.

Prologue, fol.Iva. Cf. Vasconcelos, l.c., 36. From the Jewish angle, Kayserling (Sephardim, 135) states that "kaum findet sich mehr als ein jüdischer Dichter, der die lusitanische Muse erhoben!"
79) fol. 39b.

80) For his possible influence on the great national poet of Portugal, Luis Camoéns, see Remedios, Notas, 4ff.

81) , ed. M. Letteris, Vienna 1852. Cf. also the German translation by M. Wiener, Leipzig 1858; and the French translation, "La vallée des pleurs", by Julien Sée, Paris 1881. E refers to Usque as (E 67). and to his work as (E 64).

82) , ed. Amsterdam 1697. S refers to Usque as (S 91a and 92b).

83) Nomologia, Amsterdam 1629.

84) Las Excellencias de los Hebreos, Amsterdam 1679.

85) See below, pp. 20ff. Cf. Remedios, Pref., p. XVII.
THE "CONSOLATION"

1. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The masterpiece and only known work of Samuel Usque, entitled "A Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel" was published in Ferrara by the printing house of "Abraham ben Usque" on September 7, 1553. The quarto volume was printed in Gothic characters and contained 292 leaves. Copies of this edition were very rare already in De Rossi's time. A royal bibliophile of our own time terms it "a book which may be numbered among the rarest of the rare". It may be considered as one of the rarest of Judaica. Rarely four copies of it are known to exist.

The precise "fatum libelli" is not known. That its anti-Christian tone must have caused the Inquisition to act, no doubt tried to suppress it, can easily be imagined. What is amazing, however, is the temerity on the part of both author and publisher in clearly affixing their names to a book of this nature, instead of publishing it anonymously. Unlike the Spanish Bible which had appeared in the same year, it had not obtained the requisite "Imprimatur" from the Christian censors. Yet strangely enough, this edition of the book does not appear on any of the Indices Expurgatorii. Remedios tries to account for this fact by the rarity of the volume. A large part of the edition may have had the misfortune of falling into the hands of the Inquisition, with the inevitable consequence of its destruction.
by an auto-de-fe. At any rate, copies must have been far from plentiful and to meet the situation, another edition was published subsequently. It differed from the first edition in many respects, yet the title page retained the original place and date of publication. The only material change on that page, from September 7 to September 27, was not a deliberate one. The volume, in 120, containing 272 leaves and printed in round characters, is essentially a faithful reproduction of the first edition, embodying all the misprints and mistakes found in the prototype, in addition to a very large number of new ones.

Where, when, and by whom was this edition printed? Why was the original indication of date and publisher retained? No definite answer can be given to these questions. Obviously, it had not received the loving and meticulous care of its author. De Rossi states, probably conjecturally, that it was printed in Amsterdam, and hence it has been called the Amsterdam edition, or reprint. Seeligm ann suggests, on typographical grounds, that it was printed in Dordrecht. As for the date, the hypothesis of Remedios, fixing it in the year 1599, seems plausible. This number appears in the Amsterdam edition only, in the Prologue, on the margin of fol. 5a, opposite the paragraph: "Algus senores quiserom dizer...que tenha agora conta com o presente e mayor cantidade". In the forty six years that elapsed since the first printing, the first edition could well have become exhausted even without the services of the Inquisitorial pyre. Samuel Usque was then no
longer among the living. No doubt, the publishers of this second edition were anxious to avoid the hazards incurred so recklessly by Abraham Usque and failed to indicate their own identity, but used the original date and place of printing as a blind to escape possible persecution. That it was a wise measure of precaution on their part is evident from the fact that the book eventually found its way into the Index. The "Librorum Expurgandorum...Novissimus Index", compiled by Antonio a Sotto Major, Madrid 1640, lists on p. 903: "Samuel Usque. Su libro intitulado Consolacion a las tribulaciones de Israel, en Castellano, o en Portugues, o en qualquer lengua. Impreso en Ferrara, en casa de Aben usque 5313. de la creacion del Mundo 27. de Setiembre, se prohibe." And a little further: "Consolacion a las tribulaciones de Israel, impreso en Ferrara etc. se prohibe." De Rossi believes that the specific reason for its condemnation was its outspoken criticism of St. Vincent Ferrer and the Inquisition. As a result, the Amsterdam edition soon became as rare as the original. Already Wolf calls it "liber rarissimus". At present no more than eleven or twelve copies are known to exist. It is this edition that was mentioned by bibliographers since Wolf and taken by them for the editio princeps.

Rodriguez de Castro, in reporting Usque's book, states that it bears the title . Now, this title is not found in either edition. The existence of another edition in the eighteenth century is improbable since it is not mentioned by any of the bibliographers. Furthermore, the date and certain
peculiarities of spelling in the title page quoted by Castro (as reproduced in Remedios, Pref., p. XXII) point unmistakably to the Amsterdam edition. It is permissible to conjecture that the Hebrew title, mentioned by Castro, was nothing more than a superscription inserted on the title page of his copy of the Amsterdam edition by some previous Jewish owner of the volume. 26)

In 1906, Jose Mendes dos Remedios, the historian of the Jews of Portugal, 27) in the belief that the book, "because of its highest linguistic and literary merit", deserved to be made more accessible, undertook to publish a reprint of the editio princeps. 28) It appeared in three instalments, as volumes 8-10 of the series of "Subsidios para o Estudo da Historia da Litteratura Portuguesa", Coimbra 1906-8. 30) In his endeavor to give an exact reproduction of the author's text, 31) he did not venture to correct even the most glaring misprints, but appended a table of errata at the end of the last volume. The only conscious innovation was dictated by the circumstances of publication. The table of contents was divided into three parts and each part printed at the end of its respective Dialogue, as it appeared. In spite of the editor's painstaking efforts to produce a faithful copy, the edition is not free from typographical errors. Among other omissions, a whole paragraph is missing in Dialogue III, 48b. 32)

The Portuguese language has never been a widely diffused language, and a translation of the "Consolation" into Hebrew or into one of the better known European languages has long been a desideratum. That there was an early Spanish translation, as
is maintained by Kayserling,\textsuperscript{33} cannot be proven and indeed, is very doubtful. When the Index prohibited the reading of the work "in Spanish, in Portuguese, or in any other language", it meant to extend the prohibition of the book in the original or in any language into which it might be rendered. A Spanish version has been seen by no one.\textsuperscript{34} Likewise unfounded is also the conjecture of Benoliel\textsuperscript{35} that the book has been translated, in toto or in part, into Hebrew. The fact that a passage from U 32 is quoted in Kalman Schulman's work \textsuperscript{36} scarcely warrants it. Kayserling contemplated making a French translation of the "Conciliation".\textsuperscript{37} Remedios\textsuperscript{33}, writing in 1908, mentions having read of a proposed English translation, \textsuperscript{38} but his account is dispersed.

A German translation of the complete work was prepared some forty years ago by the Bibliographisches Bureau of Berlin.\textsuperscript{39} Julius Steinschneider, in his quoted article, speaks of "diese mir vorliegende Uebersetzung", which was soon to appear in book-form, supplied with a discussion of the work and its sources. It has never been published.\textsuperscript{40}

An English translation of the Third Dialogue, that is, of that part of the book which is of the greatest historical interest, forms a part of this thesis. As conditions in the world of scholarship have not changed appreciably since the end of the preceding century, it is altogether fitting that Julius Steinschneider's words be quoted in explanation of my own motives:

"What prompted me to undertake the translation of this work was, in the first place, the circumstance that, though I have found..."
it cited by Graetz, D. Casriel and others, I soon convinced myself that only the fewest of the few have known it with any degree of accuracy."41)

The author proceeds to expound "the manner and motive of the book" in a dialogue addressed "to the people of the Portuguese exile". "Socrates...was wont to say that when people find themselves in trouble, they should compare the evils which they have left behind them with those of the present time, and would easily find solace for themselves...Certainly, if we wished to view the matter closely and did not allow to abandon ourselves to the passion of our soul, there is no suffering however great afflicting us now, that our ancestors have not seen and borne a greater one than it". In comparison with the past, the grave tribulations suffered "by our afflicted and weary nation" must be regarded as small, whether because this people having shrunk so considerably, the evils because of their magnitude find no object against which to direct their forces; or
2. CONTENTS

The book opens with a magnificent dedication addressed to Dona Gracia Nasi. "As my primary intention was to serve, with this tiny branch of fresh fruit, our Portuguese nation, it was appropriate that I should offer it to your Excellency, as to the heart of that body, since...you felt and still do feel its pains more keenly than anyone else...I beg you, being as you are accustomed to doing me kindnesses, graciously accept this small offering, so that the breath of your favor may lend it that authority and that respect which are commanded by everything that enjoys the support of Your Excellency".

The author proceeds to expound "the manner and motive of the book" in a Prologue addressed "to the people of the Portuguese exile". "Socrates...was wont to say that when people find themselves in trouble, they should compare the evils which they have left behind them with those of the present time, and so would easily find solace for themselves...Certainly, if we wished to view the matter closely and did not allow ourselves to the passion of our soul, there is no suffering, however great, afflicting us now, that our ancestors have not seen and borne a greater one than it". In comparison with the past, the grave tribulations suffered "by our afflicted and weary nation" must be regarded as small, whether because this people, having shrunk so considerably, the evils because of their magnitude, find no object against which to direct their forces; or
whether because, as I hope and pray, this storm which till now has persecuted us and still does persecute us is beginning to abate, and the longed-for dawn is about to break after this tempestuous winter night...I have seen that this our nation, which is now pursued and driven from the Kingdom of Portugal, is wavering and submitting to the afflictions, more than is necessary, and allowing itself to be crushed by them. Some from poverty, others from fear, and the most of them because of the scant constancy inherent in our souls. Therefore I propose to relate the tribulations and the woes that have befallen our people, together with the causes that brought about each calamity...And since it was not right to remain with the cruel wounds thus gaping open, I decided to close them with the consolations offered by Our Lord, and to give, in writing, the happy conclusion which we hope to receive in reality". Usque admits that he wrote the book in the hope that it would serve as an incentive to "some noble minds, of whom there are not a few in our nation, to say more fully and more felicitously that which I have barely hinted in this small volume".

The book was written in Portuguese for a carefully considered reason. "Some people were pleased to say, before they knew of my reason, that it would have been better to have composed it in the Spanish tongue. I believe, however, that I was not wrong in this because as my chief intention was to address myself to the Portuguese, and in presenting an account of this our exile, to seek by many means and a long and roundabout way some easement
for the pains which we have endured in it, it would not have been fitting to desert the language which I suckled with my mother's milk and to seek another, a borrowed one, in which to address my compatriots. And even though at one time there were many of the expulsion from Spain, whence also my ancestors had come, yet it seems to me proper that I should now consider those that are in the majority at present."

The book itself is written in the form of a "pastoral dialogue" in three parts. As said before, this literary form had been introduced into Portugal by Bernadim Ribeiro, with whose works Usque was thoroughly familiar. The three "interlocutors" are the shepherds I c a b o, N u m e o, and Z i c a r e o. These stand for Jacob, Nahum, and Zechariah respectively, whose "names are slightly altered, after the manner of the ancient writers." Icabo represents both the patriarch who bewails the fate of his children, as well as the entire body of Israel. Numeo performs the function of the comforter, according to the meaning of his name, and Zicareo recalls the past benefits enjoyed by Israel. Moreover, Icabo, which anagrammatically represents "Iacob", is meant also to allude to Ichabod, "the glory is departed from Israel". (I Sam. 4:21)

The scene opens on a meadow far removed from human habitation, whither Icabo has repaired to lament his woes. In a language worthy of a Jeremiah, he draws a comparison between the wealth and magnificence of the world at large and his own
forsaken estate, the land that once was the princess among lands. Despairing of human sympathy, he turns to inanimate beings for an answer to his question: When will that condition come to an end? Thus he is found by Numeeo and Zicareo who are amazed at his appearance. "His eyes are heavy and without sparkle, his hair disheveled, his hands cold, his fingernails dull and colorless, lying prostrate on the ground under a tree, showing no feeling, and having lost along with all other capacities also the sense of fear."47) Numeeo and Zicareo urge him to reveal his sufferings, "since pains are soothed by the telling of them", and Icabo yields to their request. He begins with the golden age, "when himself and his twelve robust sons led a quiet pastoral life, tending the flocks under the eye of the Supreme Shepherd whose sheep graze throughout the universe". Green pastures, shady groves, babbling brooks, glorious sunsets, rustic repasts, homely games, form the background of this ideal age. This allegory, Icabo explains to his listeners, is descriptive of the life of the Israelites until the days of Solomon, a life spent in the pursuit of divine knowledge. Then there rose a band of evil and cruel shepherds who neglected the flocks and took to hunting rabbits and deer, an occupation contrary to the shepherd's nature. Twelve or fifteen of them pursued a "royal and graceful heron" and finally succeeded in killing it. Now, the wicked shepherds represent the period of the kings, when his children, in imitation of the people of Ishmael and Edom, chose for themselves the ways of rapine and chase. The noble heron, beset by blood-thirsty hawks, represents the divine
Law which the people of Judah hunted down by means of idolatry
and evildoing. After this brief compendium of Israel's history,
"enclosing the ocean in a tiny vessel", Icabo recounts the facts
and miracles that took place down to the heroic defence of Masada.
The Dialogue ends with Numeo and Zicareo consoling Icabo for the
misfortunes which he admits to have been occasioned by the sin-
ful life of his children. Among other things, the Dialogue con-
tains an excursus on the origin of idolatry, based on "Berossus
the Chaldee of the Antiquities."

The Second Dialogue takes place on the following day. After
complaining that the glory of the Second Temple was very far
from complete, he goes into a detailed account of the vicissi-
tudes during that period, paying particular attention to the
Maccabean struggle. When relating the heroic resistance offered
by Cleazar, Hannah's sons, and others, Usque remarks on the
margin: "Nowadays we have examples of the contrary". Having
given a description of the First Temple in the First Dialogue,
Icabo now furnishes a similar description of Herod's edifice.
The last War is minutely discussed. Icabo's heart-rending lam-
entation is answered by his listeners with a story of the evil
fate that has always befallen the persecutors of Israel, tracing
this act of retribution down to the last emperors of Rome. Then
all three retire for the night. (The above is admittedly a
sketchy and incomplete treatment of the first two Dialogues. I
expect to give them some day more adequate attention.)

The Dialogue is resumed in the morning. Icabo has had a rest-
ful night, so effective was the medicine of the words which Zicareo administered to his wound. He then proceeds to narrate the vicissitudes of his children since the dispersion by the Romans. In thirty seven chapters he brings down the account to the year 1553. They contain stories of persecutions caused by false accusations, such as desecration of the host, ritual murder, poisoning of the wells; accounts of expulsions, forcible conversions, plagues and epidemics - a veritable panorama of the Middle Ages. 

The last calamity in the series, which occurred shortly before the publication of the book, consists of the desecration of the synagogues of Pesaro.

Icabo then launches his Last Lament, pointing out the anomalous existence of Israel in the world. In spite of the universal law of change, Israel lives forever "in a melancholy winter." (40a) He goes on and on "dragging behind him his years of toil". The passage of time, which even to a slave or a prisoner brings freedom in the end, only forges fresh chains for Israel. Moreover, Palestine is suffering disgrace, but since the land could not have sinned, what stands in the way of its restoration? The whole world is united against Israel. "O world, why didst thou create in thee that which thou create in thee that which thou wast bound to abhor and despise so utterly?" (41b) Israel, it is true, is different from all other people, but only in a way that makes him more sensitive to pain. His own nature runs counter to the general course of nature. Icabo appeals to the heavens, the earth, the mortal creatures, demanding a hearing for "the slave whose plea has not been heard", to
dispute the reason which they offer in justification of the evils which they inflict upon him. (42a) Every element in the world despises Israel and repudiates him. His suffering is said to be a display of God's limitless power. But unflattered by this mark of distinction, Icabo inquires why it was Israel had to be chosen for an example. Israel's captors were worse sinners, and at present likewise there are nations steeped in abomination. A series of illustrations follows, drawn from travelers' accounts of natives of Asia and Africa who practice patricide, devil-worship, cannibalism, banditry, and other bestialities. Yet they, who have no conception of the First Cause, rule the earth! (45b) However, since God has willed it otherwise, Icabo pleads that it is time for the misfortunes to end. "Peace, peace, O Lord, unto this mighty strife!" (ibid.) "Now that I have suffered all Thy indignations, it might be high time, O Lord, that a haven be found where this battered body should find rest from this terrible storm. Shouldst Thou, however, wish to cleanse me further, see, O Merciful One, that I am but a frail subject for the mighty fire of Thy wrath". (46a) God should act towards Israel as of old, as there is no one else to help. "Thou art the truest of our fathers, for Abraham does not know us, of this generation, nor has Israel any cognizance of us." (ibid.) Israel and the Holy Land lie both in ruins, and they moan and lament in unison, hoping for divine compassion.

The divine messengers attempt to console the afflicted
shepherd. 49) "Now that we have bewailed your wounds, and have let them bleed freely, just as surgeon desires the wound to bleed that he might apply his medicine to it, it is time that we endeavor to find the cure and consolation for them all, since it is for this purpose that we have come here, and with the mercy of God we hope to offer it to you in a number of ways". (47b) First, Icabo is reminded that punishment, like reward, is a natural and immediate consequence of the act, and that this law applies not only to him but to the whole world. Further it is argued that the highest degree of perfection can be attained only by subjecting oneself to "the grinding wheel of many afflictions". (48a) The full beauty of the diamond can be brought out, in this way only. This process is necessary to Israel, that he might become worthy of being the recipient of all the inconceivable benefits in store for him. Furthermore, physical punishment is really the lesser of two necessary evils, as the body perishes soon, but the soul endures forever. Salvation can be achieved, of course, by answering constancy, but failing that, also by means of "purification in the fires of this world... They that suffer for their sins in this world in the garb of Judaism, cleaving unto the Lord and His Law, have a portion in the world to come... This does not apply, however, to those that have severed themselves from the body of Israel by passing over the laws of other nations". (49b) Greatly perturbed, Icabo inquires concerning the fate of those who having been forced to forsake the Law, died in that condition, "of whom there was, and still is at
present, so great a multitude". He is assured that by a special act of divine mercy their souls are given the opportunity to achieve purification through subsequent reincarnations.

The corporal punishment suffered by Israel has been made by God more endurable in a number of ways. Among others, it was accomplished by scattering Israel among all the nations, that the world might be powerless to destroy him. "For if a kingdom rises up against you in Europe, to inflict death upon you, another in Asia permits you to live; and if the Spaniards expel you and burn you in Spain, the Lord wills it that you find someone to receive you and allow you to live freely in Italy". (50a) Witness the fate of the other ten tribes who were removed into one corner of the world. "This is a mysterious and sublime favor...which heretofore you have deemed as being the reverse". (50b)

Another mitigating element in the hard lot of Israel are the cases of vengeance wrought upon their persecutors, "because of the wicked spirit in which they execute the punishment of your wrongdoings". (51a) Thus Sisbut, Philip IV of France, all meet with a miserable end. Likewise, the persecutor nations constantly harass each other. (51b)

Even the sufferings borne in Spain and Portugal, that is by the hand of the Inquisition, had a beneficial effect. As the disease of feigned Christianity was threatening the rest of the body, a surgical operation "with steel or fire" became
imperative to save the healthy limbs. (ibid.)

Then, also, it must be remembered that the wanderers from Portugal were not left altogether helpless, but have been assisted by "the blessed Jewess Masi" (52a) Also "the safe and quiet haven" of Ferrara, and its Duke who has embraced the outcasts and restored to them "that breath of life of which the fatigue of the long journey had robbed them." (53a) The most excellent of all consolations derives, however, from Turkey, "a vast and expansive sea, which our Lord has opened up with the rod of his compassion... that there might cease and perish therein... the great abundance of your present perils... Here the gates of liberty are wide open to you, without ever closing, for a perfect observance of Judaism". (53b)

In addition to all these manifest ways of deliverance, there are "many other secret ones which you cannot comprehend, for as your merits are small, (even so does) He communicate to you His mysteries in obscure terms." (54a)

As for the Holy Land, its barrenness and desolation express its grief over the exile of Israel and its own captivity. It is barren by choice, so as to withhold its abundance from the strange nations now inhabiting it. (54b)

To Tzabo's question regarding the time of deliverance, Naass answers with an argument which he "reached by conjecture". Spain and Portugal constitute the end of the earth, and the weary wanderer can proceed no further, and according to the "last curse" of Moses, that must be the end of Israel's wander-
ings. This proof, he adds, was unavailable to the ancients, because the return to Palestine, which forms a part of that prophecy, has begun only now, and we "are living in the midst of its realization." (57b)

His interlocutors inform Icabo that they have come to him from the celestial worlds. There, in the highest heavenly circle, the patriarchs reside in magnificent glory, and once every day pray for Israel's salvation. It is by means of this "intercession that the cries and laments of the Jews ascend to heaven, soaring ever upwards, from a lower to a higher circle." (59b) They then announce to him that through his chastisements Israel is attaining the ultimate condition requisite for his redemption. They quote chapters 61-62 of Isaiah to describe the great happiness awaiting him and the Holy Land. But Icabo fears that he is no longer capable of receiving all those promised favors. He needs a "new soul and new faculties" with which to receive the impress of these new blessings. (63a) He is assured that the miracle of transformation will take place.

Further prophecies are adduced to settle Icabo's doubts on a variety of subjects, but when he desires to know when all those blessings will come to pass, he is told only that "it is at hand to come," but nothing more definite. (68a)

Icabo is afraid that "as long as this good fortune is not yet come unto him", his enemies might continue persecuting him with new temptations, "in order to remove me further from my port, and to lengthen my voyage." (76a) He is reassured on
that score but is warned that he guard against himself, for "your affliction can effect a change in you and alter this divine disposition which you have at last attained." Unfailing faith in God will avert that danger. (77a)

Prophecies promising great and unending happiness for Israel and the Holy Land, and vengeance on their enemies are adduced to dispel the last effects of the poisonous doubts rankling in Icabo's breast.50)

The "vivid and sweet arguments" being over, the three retire. Zicareo suggests that Icabo sing "some sweet canticle, one of those that the maidens of your highlands were wont to sing of old, as they drove their flocks upon the hills of Zion". With Icabo singling Psalm 126, arranged in elaborate verse, the Third (and last) Dialogue comes to an end.

A table of contents is appended at the end of the book.51)
3. A LITERARY APPRECIATION

The "Consolation" is rightfully claimed by two literatures. The particular angle of interest of each derives, however, from a different point. The modern Portuguese see in the work what their ancestors saw in its author, namely its external form. They admire the language, the literary structure, and the fine eloquence of a poet in love with nature and the pastoral ideal.52) Its form to be sure, does not follow a Jewish pattern. This "stately prose poem"53) is strictly a product of its age and falls in line with other works composed by Spanish and Portuguese writers of the period.

Portuguese critics are in universal accord with regard to the high literary and linguistic merits of Usque's masterpiece. They point to the terse and elegant language, to the candid and eloquent style, to the originality and splendor of its imagery, to the sweep and brilliance of its conception, to its high artistic excellence. The work, "a noteworthy product of the Jewish genius", and at the same time "the most significant piece of work written by a Jew in Portuguese", is held to honor the language with its pages that are considered as being "not inferior to those of Bernardim".54)

Its influence on the contemporary generation of Portuguese readers must have been a potent one, despite its distasteful religious antagonism. In 1616, when Joao Baptista d'Este wrote his translation of the Psalms, he entitled it, in imitation of
Usque's work, "Consolacion Christam e Luz para o Povo Hebreo". At the present time it is being studied in the schools of the country from which the author had to flee for his life, as a classic on a par with Riberio, Camoes and Gil Vicente.

Jewish interest in the "Consolation", on the other hand, goes beneath the artistic surface of the book and derives from its all-pervading spirit of religious fervor and national consciousness, and more particularly from the martyrological character of the Third Dialogue.

Though usually termed a chronicle, the work stands out mainly as the record of a passionate poetic soul, with a marked philosophical bend, engaged in a survey of the entire range of Jewish history. In this respect, the "Consolation" stands unique in the annals of Jewish literature. Its purpose was not to furnish a running account of the vicissitudes experienced by his people, listing the various persecutions it had undergone, as was done by Joseph ben Chochmen, nor yet to examine into the underlying causes of the unquenchable hatred and disdain entertained by the world towards it, as was the case with Solomon Ibn Verga, nor, least of all, to prove the continuity of Jewish tradition throughout the ages. The author's avowed intention, as has been mentioned, was to provide "a medicine" for the ailing spirits of his scattered clan by recalling to their minds the purposeful nature of their sufferings. In a language vibrant with grief and compassion, yet also tingling with fervent hope, he barricaded the retreating forces of a sorely tried generation, in the
manner of the ancient masters of the Haggadah. In a truly 
Midrashic fashion he wove the past, the present and the future 
into one single pattern, thus emphasizing the thread of con-
tinuity running through them all.

The effects of such a presentation were heightened by his 
consummate artistic skill. The narrative is placed in the 
mouth of Icabo who recounts the succeeding episodes as an eye 
witness. The mortal agony of this hoary father, whose eyes 
behold the bleeding limbs of his children throughout the cen-
turies, adds appreciably to the dramatic force of the picture. 
The pulse of the narrative varies. The "rhythmical, luxuriant 
style" of the bucolic First Dialogue gives way in the subsequent 
pages, filled as they are with tragic accounts of persecution, to 
a more somber tone, and the style is shorn of its rhetoric. "The 
agony and awful glow of indignation at those recent events had a 
restraining influence on the style, which loses nothing by this 
simplicity."57) The peculiar artistry of the martyrological 
passages has long been recognized. De Rossi considered it the 
supreme literary expression of Jewish suffering.58) The highly 
imaginative description of the Inquisition (U 25 and 30) as the 
gigantic monster, the hyperbolic eulogy of Dorna Gracia, and others, 
are oft-quoted classics. Striking passages abound. Thus Israel 
is likened to "a ship on the high seas, battered and buffeted by 
different and violent gales, unable to turn her prow with safety 
to any of the four quarters". (III,39b) In spite of occasional 
wordiness, terseness is its characteristic feature. Usque 
knows how to paint a picture of abysmal grief with a few strokes.
Thus, when the children are snatched from the parents and sent away to a distant island, many of the parents contemplate suicide. "But the husbands were fearful of leaving their beloved wives widowed and forlorn in the midst of enemies, and the women were held back by a vague hope that they might yet see their children some day". (U 27)

Yet despite the subject and the general tone of somberness, the pages of the book are not wholly devoid of a touch of humor. Numeo assures Icabo that God has not forsaken him, and that the favors God is continually granting to him are numerous, though obscure and invisible. Icabo then expresses the hope that when the hour of salvation comes, the favors that he is to receive will be visible to the world and to myself as much as, or more so than, those that the Lord is bestowing upon me at present are obscure and hidden". (III,58a) However, his is usually a grim sort of irony. Thus, Icabo complains that as "at first, the fabric of my body was mingled in a mass of dust and earth, you should have left it in that state, to be trampled on by all other creatures, since they were all to do the same to me in my present form". (III,41b)

An important feature of the book is constituted by the numerous Biblical quotations. Usque himself states, in the Prologue, that "each tribulation is furnished in the end with a prophecy that seems to have been fulfilled therein, so that we should see that as those which foretold our misfortunes have come true, we must needs believe that those which prophesied happiness shall likewise come true, being that both were emanated from the same
source. This should not be understood that, in actual reality, that particular prophecy is the very one that had been pronounced for the calamity in question, since this secret is known to the Lord alone, and, in all likelihood, not even the prophet had a clear-cut idea in his imagination and mind by what means and in what place each particular thing was to be fulfilled. But as I am relating that which has befallen us, I only resort to confronting it with that which the prophecies had told us would happen." As a result, whole chapters found their way verbatim into the framework of the book, especially at the end of the Third Dialogue, along with a mass of shorter passages scattered throughout the volume. Usually, the reference is given on the margin, but there is frequent inaccuracy in the citation. On the whole, the translation follows faithfully the Hebrew original and contains some interesting instances of independent exegesis. Often the rendition is paraphrastic. The evidence points to the author's complete mastery of the Hebrew language. It also points to his skill in the Portuguese language, for at that time there was in existence no Portuguese version of the Bible which he might have followed. Thus it may be said that the numerous quotations embodied in the "Consolation" constitute the first translation of any portion of the Bible into Portuguese to be made from the Hebrew text.
Samuel Usque viewed the Jewish scene with the eye of a man born to the purple of a dignified, though hounded, Judaism. In temperament he was totally different from his contemporary apologete and polemicist, the author of "The Rod of Judah". Solomon Ibn Verga had, no doubt, a profound love for his people and was deeply dismayed at the never-ending wrath whose victims they were. Nevertheless, he took upon himself to flay his people unmercifully and pointed out that their own behavior was a contributing factor in the world's hatred of them. He assumed the role of a moralizer, (of an adviser) of one very wise, who had gained his worldliness from his contact with the Christian world. In this critical attitude toward the Jew and in this overhumility he was, no doubt, influenced by the current Jew-baiting of his time.

Usque was by no means impervious to the virtues and achievements of the gentile world, but he sets the paramount fact of Israel's innocence high above all else. Not that he regards the sufferings as an undeserved punishment, and Israel as a Job who is the subject of a cruel heavenly wager. Quite to the contrary, "the sense of sin is weighing heavily on Usque". To him, Sin is a living and active agent, whose demands for chastisement must be granted. (U 4) It abets the enemies of Israel, it continually plots and conspires to humiliate the offender; (U 13). The claims of Sin are valid enough, but Usque protests vigorously against the choice of nations, who are themselves steeped in vice, as the tools
of the divine chastisement, and the odor of sanctity clinging to them in consequence of their "mission". This claims so bitter irony: "O cruel Englishmen! Such righteous and saintly people you were that it was impossible to presume those misfortunes to be a punishment of your own deeds?"

(U 13) True, the Jews are woefully remiss in their duty towards God, but in their dealings with their fellow men they are guilty of no sin. Yet "the whole world and the fulness thereof have formed a league and a conspiracy against me". (4lb)

Usque always defends his people. He disbelieves all charges brought against them, whatever their nature. Thus, the blacksmith's son may have committed some crime, but certainly did not deserve the death penalty. (47) The charge of coin clipping made against the Jews of England is termed a groundless libel, even though his Jewish sources held it to be otherwise. (U 12)

In his all-embracing compassion for the sufferer, he finds a good word even for those Jews who denounced the rich Marranos to the Inquisition, on the plea of poverty. (U 25)

The helpless condition of Israel is ever present in his mind. Being "the weakest and frailest spot of the entire body of humanity" (U 3), he serves as a scapegoat in all misfortune. In times of general disaster he shares the burden of suffering with the rest of the population, and then, in addition, bears the brunt of the popular fury as the alleged cause of that disaster. (U 3) He is the butt of all misfortune. "Howsoever far from me the blow be struck, yet in the end it is I who am
hurt." (U 13) The violence resulting from such an accusation finds swift execution, and even though vindication may follow, the fateful mistake cannot be undone (U 9).

Peace and calm may indeed come to Israel, but they are "not a natural but rather a false and borrowed affair". (U 12) It is "like a flower plucked out by its roots which soon fades and withers". (U 25) It lasts "as long as the light of a fire kindled with straw". (U 20) When the disaster comes, Israel is saved from complete annihilation only by the intervention of Divine Mercy. This agent of Providence "in times of greatest distress hastens to the rescue of...Israel". (U 4) It inspires the ruler's soul with reason and justice, and "removes the sword from the enemy's hand". (U 19)

Ranged on the opposite side is Israel's spiritual enemy, Satan, who loses no opportunity to hurt and crush him. He "swerves and wrenches our steps from the righteous path and is ever on the alert to make us stumble". (I, 44a) He appears at the royal council in human form to turn the scales against Israel. (U 11) He warns those anxious to return to Judaism against the hazards of life in Turkey. (U 33) That Satanic activity finds concrete expression in the attitude of the Christian neighbors towards the Jews. The primary cause of this hatred is envy. "Wealth is followed by envy, the more so the poorer and lowlier its possessor was before acquiring it". (U 6)

Not only large fortunes, but "paltry profits" likewise stir up the popular prejudice against the Jew. (U 6) These turbulent
sentiments, brewing in the secrecy of the human breast, must sooner or later boil over into action, and massacres follow. (U 7)

While Usque sees in the popular jealousy the cause of the economic persecution, the blame for the religious hatred he lays squarely upon the shoulders of the clergy. The "priests record...in their books" trumped-up charges "with the intention of inciting the people against me". (U 10) He calls on the princes to disbelieve those charges and to punish the instigators. (ibid.)

The kings and rulers are comparatively free from blame for the sufferings of Israel. Some of them, like Vitiza, or like the king of U 3, are kindly and loving and defend the Jews against the mob, though sometimes they are forced to yield to the mob. (U 7, 20, 36) Others are moved impulsively to act against Israel, but are dissuaded from their intention by Divine Mercy. But even those that actively institute a persecution or an expulsion, like the king of England (U 13), or Emperor Charles V (U 32), are usually led into this attitude by their wicked counselors, who are invariably ill-disposed towards the Jews. Usually, however, those princes receive their punishment swiftly. Thus Sisebut, Louis the Fair, João II, all meet with a miserable death, even though facts must be forced at times to fit in this scheme. (III, 51a) There is also another punishment in store for those that force the Jew into baptism, for the forcible convert and his descendants do not adjust themselves to their new religion completely, and become the leaven of unrest and cause
"Lutheran" movements to spring up and threaten the Christian structure with collapse. (U 14, 20) 66)

The paramount motive of the persecution is the religious. The hatred of the Jew springs ultimately from the fanatical hatred of Judaism, and conversion is the real underlying purpose, however disguised under false pretenses. It is in this driving force that Usque perceives the real enemy of his people. Baptism is "a calamity worse than violent death". (U 11) For even though at first the forcible convert remains a faithful Jew at heart, it nevertheless begets in time the danger of inertia, a tendency which increasingly enfeebles that inopportune loyalty to Judaism and eventually allows the baptism to take effect. This realization was uppermost in Usque's mind. He is grieved, with a pang that "exceeds all the others put together", by the sight of those "who abandoned their holy Law for the sake of life, and who continue even to this very day to persist in their error, still refusing, like recalcitrant members, to join themselves unto the body of Israel, but wander in pursuit of the deceitful luxuries of the gentiles". (III, 47a) Escaping from Spain and Portugal, they continue to dwell in Christian countries and make no attempt to remove to lands where a return to Judaism is possible. (III, 34a)

A return to Judaism was possible in Italy, and especially in Ferrara. Usque realized, however, that the only secure haven of refuge was that offered by Turkey. He grows enthusiastic over the complete freedom granted to the Jews in that country, 67)
whither twenty thousand Jews had gone from Europe "to assume the yoke of Judaism", although he is not unaware of the fact that "wretched poverty" and a "grievous captivity" await them there. (U 31)

But even Turkey fades into insignificance when compared to the sublime quality of the Holy Land. Even though today it is "so poor" that the Jews "refuse to go and live there because of its great misery, in which it surpasses all the other countries in the world", (67b) still "from all the corners of Europe, as well as from all the other parts of the world, there is flowing thither at present a larger number of them by far than has ever been seen in the past". (57b) In glowing terms Usque describes the essential beauty of Palestine, in passages scattered throughout the book. His passionate Zionism, unequaled in its poetic sweep since the "Zionide" of Judah Halevi, must have stirred the souls of his contemporaries. It may have begotten a dream in the heart of a certain Marrano, Joao Miques by name, who no doubt knew Usque personally, and who later, as the powerful Duke of Naxos and Lord of Tiberias, attempted to make that dream a reality.

The solution of the Jewish question consisted, to Usque's mind, in "cleaving unto the Lord" in spite of the greatest sacrifices required. Sooner or later, - Usque certainly thought sooner, - divine redemption would bring an end to the suffering of Israel. So far he stands on altogether orthodox ground. But the spirit of mysticism, then in the air, did not pass by Usque
without tinging strongly his poetic imagination. Thus he finds hope for the Marranos, that died in the Christian fold, in the Cabalistic theory of metempsychosis. The divine messengers, Numeo and Zicareo, describe the progress of Israel's prayers through the various heavenly circles, having arrived at the time in the ninth, which is the Heaven of the Pleiades. (III,59b)

But to his readers Usque reveals no more. To the inquisitive Icabo Numeo says: "I had not meant to touch upon this subject with you, as it is not food meet for every stomach. There is yet much to be said that you would have relished, had you been versed in divine contemplation to a degree sufficient for its sublime mysteries to find reception in your soul". (III,49b)

His Messianic hopes are, however, quite orthodox. He justifies the sufferings inflicted upon the Jews of Persia by the fact that they followed David Alduin's false leadership. (II 8)

He makes no mention of the Messianic aspirants of his own day, such as Laemmlein or Molko. But that his age was ready for Messianic movements is hinted in the passage where Icabo asks his interlocutors for their identity: "Which of those, whom we are expecting, are you?" To which he receives the reply that "we are not any of those whom you are awaiting". (I,42) Unlike Abravanel and some others of the "sober" men in Israel, Usque refused to indulge in mathematical eschatology of any sort. (70)

When Icabo demands to know the time of redemption, Numeo gives a cautious answer: "To a question of such moment (as this) we shall be unable to give you the sort of reply that you might desire."

(III,57a) And although Usque held firmly to the belief that
salvation was "near at hand", that belief was the confident conclusion drawn by him from his survey of actual conditions then in existence, rather than based on Cabalistic manipulations of numbers and passages.

...with the desecration of the synagogues of Pisaaro in 1492 or early in 1583. The arrangement of the material is strictly along chronological lines. Thus the account of the assassination of Joseph ha-Nagid of Granada (U 24), dated by Seque in 1483, is placed immediately before the story of the expulsion from Spain in 1492. The dates, reckoned according to the era of creation, are placed in the beginning of each chapter, and occasionally also on the margin opposite the relevant episode. Only seven accounts lack dates altogether, but they too owe their places within the general framework to the author's conjecture with regard to the approximate period of their occurrence. Consequently, the emendation of dates in U, based on the assumption of misprints in the text of the "Consolation", must operate within this restricted range of possibilities. This fact does not exclude naturally, the validity of a criticism of Seque's chronology on the broader basis of misconstruction or misapplication of source data.

On the whole, in the matter of dating Seque follows his authorities blindly. Only in one instance (U 24) does he presume to correct a date on the strength of internal evidence, and there the result is a fatal blunder.
5. HISTORICAL METHOD.

The historical narrative of the Third Dialogue is divided into thirty seven chapters or "calamities". It opens with the persecution under Sisutut in 615 and ends with the desecration of the synagogues of Pesaro in 1552 or early in 1553. The arrangement of the material is strictly along chronological lines. Thus the account of the assassination of Joseph ha-Nagid of Granada (U 24), dated by Usque in 1488, is placed immediately before the story of the expulsion from Spain in 1492. The dates, reckoned according to the era of creation, are placed in the beginning of each chapter, and occasionally also on the margin opposite the relevant episode. Only seven accounts lack dates altogether but they too owe their places within the general framework to the author's conjecture with regard to the approximate period of their occurrence. Consequently, the emendation of dates in Usque's 'Consolation', must operate within this restricted range of possibilities. This fact does not exclude, naturally, the validity of a criticism of Usque's chronology on the broader basis of misconstruction or misapplication of source data.

On the whole, in the matter of dating Usque follows his authorities blindly. Only in one instance (U 24) does he presume to correct a date on the strength of internal evidence, and there the result is a fatal blunder. Where he has at
his disposal two accounts of the same event, one in Latin and one in Hebrew, or where he takes two such accounts to refer to the same event, he almost invariably follows the Hebrew one regardless of the merits of the case, and mindful of the inconsistencies this procedure occasionally entails. Accounts dealing with a longer period of time or with several incidents, are sometimes supplied with two dates. In the latter case, Usque resorts to shifting around those dates when faced with apparent or real conflicts. In several cases, where the account is left undated, this is due to the absence of a date in the source but at other times, it may be due to the fact that having combined two incidents of clearly different dates, Usque was careful to mention neither explicitly.

The geographic scope of the events recorded is rather wide. The Iberian peninsula, owing to the very purpose of the book, occupies the chief place and figures in sixteen chapters. French Jewry is dealt with in eight. Five chapters are devoted to Italy. Germany is represented by three numbers. Flanders and Bohemia appear in one event each. Four of the persecutions are laid in Mohammedan states.

With regard to subject matter, expulsions are the theme of nine out of the total of thirty seven chapters. In six instances persecution comes as a result of the ritual murder charge. There are four accounts of host desecration. In five cases the Jews are accused of conspiracy against the lives of their Christian neighbors. Eight of the persecutions are launched to bring about mass conversion to Christianity or to
Islam. Only one Messianic movement is reported.

This statistical survey of the thirty-seven chapters, though indicative of the wide sphere of the author's interest, at the same time reveals the utter lack of proportion among the various incidents recorded. By the side of events of national magnitude, such as the expulsion from England or the Black Death, detailed consideration is accorded to episodes affecting the fate of individual persons, such as the burning of a Jew in Paris (U 2), or the abortive attempt to pin the guilt of child murder on the Jews of Forkim. (U 15) This distorted perspective becomes more striking when it is remembered that the bloodiest and most crucial of all medieval persecutions, namely the massacres perpetrated during the first crusades, are missing from the picture completely. Likewise, the Talmudic centuries, for which there existed the available chronicle of Ibn Daud, receive no mention whatever. In this matter, however, Ibn Verga stands equally guilty with Usque. The inevitable conclusion must therefore be drawn that the sources that were at the disposal of both writers, for the period prior to the expulsion from Spain, were both limited and of a casual nature.

Usque informs his readers that he collected the accounts of the trials and tribulations "certainly not without much exertion and painstaking, from different and highly approved authors, as can be seen on the margins, while the accounts of the more recent sufferings derive their authenticity from the recollections of greybeards who lived through them themselves". The first
twenty four chapters are, indeed, provided with marginal notes indicating the source of the particular account or passage, but in a small number of cases such notations are missing. Only a few of those citations are expressed in a clear and unmistakable manner. The majority, by far, are indicated by means of cryptic abbreviations or even initials, which cannot be deciphered with any degree of conclusiveness.

As for the sources whose identity can be established, they represent Latin, Hebrew and Italian works. But while some of them are reproduced here almost verbatim, it can be demonstrated that others, although mentioned, were never consulted by Usque himself, but found their way into the marginal citations because they were mentioned in the secondary authorities actually used. Thus the mention of Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, or of the Book of Tradition of Abraham Ibn Daud, and of others, served merely to enhance the authoritative air so desirable for a historical work. When these "ostensible sources" are eliminated from the imposing array of authorities listed, what remains is a group of three, or strictly speaking, two sources for the post-Roman period. One of the two was written in Hebrew, apparently the same as was used by Ibn Verga. In spite of several attempts at identification, it remains hopelessly nameless, hiding under the tantalizing initials L.I.E.B. or L.Eb. Written from the Jewish viewpoint, it presented no special problem to Usque, who used it faithfully and uncritically, apparently without any effort.
at embellishment. Occasionally, however, he did allow himself to combine into a running account what appears to have been a mere series of separate items. 105)

His second source, and perhaps the more important of the two, was of a most peculiar character. It is startling to realize that the majority of the accounts prior to 1492 go back directly to the "Portalici um Fidei" of the Franciscan Alfonso de Spina. 106) This work, written at about 1460, 107) by one of the most inveterate enemies of the Jewish race, 108) achieved great vogue in those Christian circles whose whole religion consisted in an unbridled hatred of the Jew. The picture it presents is best described by Lea: 109) In it "he (Spina) rakes together, from the chronicles of all Europe, the stories of Jews slaying Christian children in their unholy rites, of their poisoning wells and fountains, of their starting conflagrations and of all the other horrors by which a healthy detestation of the unfortunate race was created and stimulated. The Jewish Law, he tells us, commands them to slay Christians and to despoil them whenever practicable and they obey it with quenchless hatred and insatiable revenge". 109) It has been aptly remarked that it was Spina who paved the way for the Inquisition of Spain. 110)

That from this poisoned source Usque was able to derive a considerable number of convincing accounts of Jewish heresism and martyrdom must be recognized in itself as a feat of an imaginative genius of the very first order. The vulgar, wicked, calculating Jew of Spina's mind, intent upon shedding Christian blood and upon a repetition of the Crucifixion at every opportunity, becomes in
Usque's adaptation the pitiable helpless victim of the most horrible slanders. The stories of the blood-curdling crimes, allegedly perpetrated by the Jewish nation, turn in the ingenious hand of the Jewish poet, whom fate has made so thoroughly familiar with the unscrupulous tactics of his enemies, into accounts of plots and libels designed to ruin the Jewish community.\(^{111}\) In this manner Usque reconstructs the Jewish version of numerous episodes that are otherwise unknown.\(^{112}\) That this treatment, accorded to the "Fortalicium", is an accomplishment admirable from the literary rather than from the historical viewpoint is, of course, quite another matter. Yet with data of Jewish history apparently at a premium, no other procedure was open to him. It is, therefore, not at all astonishing that he never discredits Spina's story completely. Each account is considered in itself as evidence for its historicity, and Usque's critical faculty confines itself merely to restoring the facts, distorted as they are by hatred, to their probable original relationship. The non-controversial elements, even such as involve belief in witchcraft,\(^{113}\) are retained without a change.\(^{114}\) Occasionally there is an outburst of a polemical nature, to disprove some fact of Spina's story.\(^{115}\)

At times Usque appears to be correcting Spina's account by another version of the same event, obtained from elsewhere. In all likelihood, however, this is but an illusion which has been cleverly and deliberately built up by himself.\(^{116}\) At other times he produces a version which is the result of combining two accounts of similar,\(^{117}\) or even totally unrelated incidents.\(^{118}\) When such
a case occurs, an effort is made to harmonize them and to bring them into a logical and chronological relationship with each other, an effort that seriously vitiates whatever trace of authenticity each of them may otherwise contain.114)

The different accounts of the Third Dialogue all bear the stamp of a definite mold; a schematicism that makes for a certain amount of monstony in the not too plentiful repertory of theme. The most common pattern develops its plot somewhat in the following manner. (Of course, it is always Icabo who is relating what he "saw".) The Jews of a certain country, or province, had been living, for a while, in comparative peace and prosperity. Sooner or later, envy stirs their enemies to bring about their ruin. A libelous charge is fabricated by some group of schemers and is proven to the satisfaction of the populace (or mere rarely, to that of the king). An uprising follows in which many Jews lose their lives (or a legal execution takes place). At last, when the Jews are faced with extermination, "the Divine Mercy" speeds to their aid, causing the ruler to act in their defense. Sometimes the criminal allegation is proven to have been false: The Jews are vindicated, but the guilty party seldom receives punishment.

The disaster is usually traced to an individual incident, rather than to a larger causal complex, as is occasionally done by Ibn Verga. In this respect Usque did not outgrow his Franciscan "tutor". In his scheme of things there is little room for economics, on which Ibn Verga places the accent,120) nor yet for a political and dynastic motivation, for which Joseph Hacohen
has such a peculiar predilection.

There is a sharp dividing line between the accounts relating to the period prior to 1492 and those subsequent to the expulsion. While the former, in spite of the poetic breath with which they are infused, lack the conviction of reality, the latter display a most lifelike quality. Obviously, their authority is derived from the reminiscences of eye-witnesses whom Usque knew in the course of his life, as well as from his own personal experiences. They concern themselves almost exclusively with the fate of the Spanish exiles who went to Portugal, were in turn driven out of there, and have since been wandering in bewilderment through the hostile lands of Christendom. While the authenticity of the events described must be unreservedly vouchsafed, their accuracy may be challenged at times. Numbers, dates, details of succession are peculiarly subject to confusion in the mind of a subjective eye-witness.\(^{121}\) The horrors may be exaggerated beyond any reasonable measure, and the bitterness that rankles in the heart of the victim does strange things to mere facts. But if, on the whole, Usque has not exaggerated his accounts of the age of the Inquisition, it is because there was no need for him to resort to this method in depicting the tragedy of the times. The palette of reality could supply few bright hues.

And so, although Usque furnishes much information for the period of the Middle Ages, it must be emphatically stated that it is primarily the material dealing with events after 1492
which gives the work the character of a bona fide source of Jewish history.

2) Vasconcelos \( \text{c}., 55 \) calls attention to the fact that the "Consolation" and "Menina e Doça" were the only Portuguese books in the 16th century to be printed abroad, and both were printed by Abraham Usque. But cf. Manuel, II, 545.

3) The title page reads: "CONSOLAGAM AS TRISTENGAS DE ISRAEL, COMPOSTO POR SAMUEL USQUE, Ejecuto en Ferrara en casa de Abraham ben Usque 5313 Da Origaes a 7 de Setembro." A reproduction of the page is found in the Coimbra edition (in front of each of the three Dialogues), and in Manuel, II, 302. It bears the device of Abraham Usque's printing establishment, with his initials. For a discussion of the device see Vasconcelos, \( \text{c}. \), \( \text{c}. \), 33 and 35; Manuel, II, ...; and Cecil Roth, \( \text{c}. \) XVI, (1934), 172.

4) The best description of the volume is in Jacquel II, 303. See also Revedics, Pref., p. XXXVI; and Seeligmann, op. cit., 57, n.1.

5) \( \text{c}. \) Jud. - Antichr., 175.

6) Manuel, II, 304.

7) Seeligmann, 57; "et in coenese sollemnato judicia dii lex hom." (\( \text{c}. \) Jud. - Antichr., 175, n.1. with slightly earlier reference to Diels, ed. 3, 465, n.1.)

8) Their distribution is as follows: 1) The Royal Library at the Hague; 2) King Manuel's Collection (This copy is complete ... and in excellent condition, having its original leather binding."

Manual, II, 304; 3) The Collection of the Conde de Sucena, former
1) Cf. the curious rendition of the title as "The Consolation and the Tribulations of Israel" in Schechter, Studies in Judaism, II, 202; taken from the Engl, transl. of Graetz, IV, 400.

2) Vasconcelos l.c., 55 calls attention to the fact that the "Consolation" and "Menina e Moça" were the only Portuguese books in the 16th century to be printed abroad, and both were printed by Abraham Usque. But cf. Manuel II, 545.

3) The title page reads: "CONSOLACAO AS TRIBULACOENS DE ISRAEL: COMPOSTO POR SAMUEL VSQVE. Empresso en Ferrara en casa de Abraham aben Vsqve 5313 Da criaçam a 7 de Setembro." A reproduction of the page is found in the Coimbra edition (in front of each of the three Dialogues), and in Manuel II, 302. It bears the device of Abraham Usque's printing establishment, with his initials. For a discussion of the device see Vasconcelos, 26 and n.2, 33 and 35; Manuel, II; and Cecil Roth, REJ, XCVII (1934), 172.

4) The best description of the volume is in Manuel II, 303. See also Remedios, Pref., p.XXXVI; and Seeligmann, op.cit., 57, n.1.


6) Manuel, II, 304.

7) Seeligmann, 57: "Het is een der zeldzaamste Judaica die ik ken."

8) Their distribution is as follows: 1) The Royal Library at the Hague; 2) King Manuel's Collection (This copy is "complete ... and in excellent condition, having its original leather binding." Manuel II, 304); 3) The Collection of the Conde de Sucena, formerly
in Moreira Cabral's Library in Oporto; 4) A. Asher Collection in Berlin (but where now?). The copy in the Hamburg Library, used by Julius Steinschneider (l.c., 37), is not an editio princeps. Cf. Seeligmann, 57, n.1: and Manuel II, 304.


10) Remediós Pref., p.XXXV.

11) ibid.

12) "CONSOLACAM. AS TRIBVLACOENS DE YSRAL. COMPOSTO POR SAMUEL VSQVE. Emesso en Ferrare en casa de Abraham aben Vsqve 5313 Da criacam. 27, de Setembro." Abraham Usque's device is here substituted with another vignette. A reproduction of the title page is given in Remediós Pref., p.XXIII.

13) The printer mistook "a 7" of the Ferrara ed. for "27". (De Rossi, Typ. Heb. Ferr., 65, errs when he states: "In fronte dicitur in utroque exemplari Emesso en Ferrare ... 27 de Setembro.") Loeb (REJ, XXI(1890), 148), Graetz (IX, 544), and Kayserling (Bibl. Esp., 107, and II, 267, n.1), who saw only the later edition, assert that the original date of publication was September 27, 1552, which coincided with the third day of Tishri 5313. (Steinschneider's (l.c., 29 and n.1) criticism of Graetz is ill-founded.) Now, U 37 deals with an incident which occurred in 5313, over a period of at least five days. This fact alone proves the utter impossibility of the earlier date. Cf. Seeligmann, 57, nn.1 and 2.
14) For a description see Seeligmann, 57, n.2. The pagination is at times confused, thus: 151, 152, 152(=153), 154, 154(=155), 157(=156), 156(=157), 160(=158), 158(=159), 160. The superscription "Segundo Dialogo" continues into the Third Dialogue as far as fol.167, with occasionally the correct "Terceiro".

15) See Remedios, Pref., p.XXXVIIff.; and Seeligmann, 58. In one respect, however, it differs consistently from the Ferrara edition in that of spelling. Listed below are some of those differences:

1) -aram, eram, iram, (3rd person pl. ending of verbs in perf. indic.) for -arem, etc., in the Ferr. ed.; 2) initial r is doubled: reino, requerido, for reino, requerido; 3) the use of x; excellent for exelente; 4) the nasal til is rare: huma for húa; 5) superfluous use of the cedilla: certo, paciencia, for certo, paciencia; 6) wrong doubling of vowels: tee (2nd pers. pronoun) for te; 7) preferential use of y instead of i; Yisrael, feito, for Israel, feito; A study of these differences may help to establish the place and date of this edition. I am not at present in a position to make such a study.

16) Dizionario, II, 163.

17) Also dubbed "the Counterfeit edition". Cf. Remedios, Pref., p.XLII

18) op.cit., 57.


20) The Maḥzor Moguntia of 1584, also printed in Dordrecht, gives Mainz as its place of printing, for similar reasons. Cf. Seeligmann, 38.
21) It is clear \( \text{XMAX} \) from the date that the Amsterdam ed. is meant here.

22) Quoted by Wolf, B.H., III, 1075.


24) B.H., l.c.

25) For their distribution see Seeligmann, 58, note.

26) Similarly, when Remedios (Pref., p.XXVI) states that the work is known among the Jews as, he only refers to the rendition of the title as found in some Hebrew work. - The title \( \text{bX\,XO\,W} \) has stirred the imagination of José Benoliel, who suggests that the original title of the work was \( \text{bX\,XO\,W} \) (the three interlocutors). By transposing these letters, he gets the author's name: \( (?) \) (= de Luna?). By juggling their numerical values, they yield him the year 5311 (!), the assumed date of the book's composition! These phantastical speculations are embodied in Remedios, Notas, 3f.

27) Os Judeus em Portugal, I, Coimbra 1895; II,

28) Pref., p.XLVI.

29) He used the copy which belonged to Moreira Cabral of Oporto. Cf. above, n.8.

30) It contains a total of 181 leaves of text (I 5-53; II 44; III 79). The pagination in each volume is independent.
31) "Nã0 quisemos mudar uma vírgula ao que se acha exarado na ed. princeps." (Remedios, Notas, 3)

32) The Librarian of the Royal Library in the Hague was good enough to collate for me a number of passages of the Coimbra ed. with the ed. princeps, and the above conclusions are made on the basis of his communication.

33) II, 267, note.


37) Remedios, Pref., p.VIII.

38) Notas, 4.

39) The "laborious task" of executing a verbatim translation was entrusted to Paul Zunker of Berlin, a certified translator of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, who was "also acquainted with the older idioms of those languages." (Steinschneider, l.c.,37) Judging from the few quotations from his version in Steinschneider's essay, one is inclined to doubt his competence for the task.

40) Professor Marx doubts that the manuscript can be traced. The
"Bibliographisches Institut of Berlin ... went into bankruptcy forty years ago; its papers were probably maculated." (From a letter.)

41) l.c., 37.

42) Cf. the translation in Manuel, II, 305.

43) See above, p. .


45) Prologue, IVa.

46) Ribeiro is considered the first Portuguese author to have made use of anagrams. Thus, in "Menina e Moça", Aonia stands for Ioana, Narbindel for Bernaldim, etc. Usque seems to have been indebted to this writer in more than one respects than one. The first, to my knowledge, to have called attention to this problem was Figueiredo, op.cit., I, 298. Cf. also Vasconcelos, 229.

47) I, 3b. Cf. the description of the Jewish people by the pope Marco Florentino in V, p.82:

48) Depping (op.cit., 506) rightly remarks that "les faits que nous sommes habitués à ne lire que dans des histoires écrites par des chrétiens sont présentés et jugés ici par un Juif (et) ils se
II (7)

montrent sous une face nouvelle."

49) Depping (507): "il y a quelque chose de melancolique et de touchant dans ce récit des adversités perpetuelles d'un peuple dispersé qui ne peut être consolé que par les paroles des messagers de Dieu même."

50) Aubrey Bell (op.cit., 246) finds fault with Usque because, after describing the terrible vengeance to be wrought on Israel's enemies, the book "finishes on a note of joyful faith and courageous hope, without an inkling of charity." Depping (508) speaks of "l'esprit vindicatif de l'habitant des déserts."

51) For a discussion of the contents cf. also Graetz, IX, 312; and Steinschneider, 38ff.

52) Cf. Figueiredo, I, 303: "a obra de U. e para os israelitos, rigorosamente orthodoxa e para nos eminentemente litteraria."

53) Thus aptly labeled by Roth, Marranos, 325.

54) Cf. Remedios, Pref., pp.Vff.; Figueiredo, I, 297f.; J. Lucio d' Azevedo, Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses, Lisbon 1921, 365; Vasconcelos, 8, 42, and passim; Bell, 365ff.; and Manuel, II, 306. Strangely enough, the Jewish emetics advance rather modest claims for U. on the score of language and style. For instance, Kayserling (JE, XII, 387) asserts merely that U. "wrote Portuguese correctly". Depping (506) states erroneously that the book was written "dans la langue ou jargon parlé par les Juifs de Portugal."

56) Cf. Roth, Marrano, 325.

57) Bell, 246.

58) "Gli ebrei, che istoricamente trattarono delle vicende e delle rivoluzioni della loro Nazione, ne fanno una descrizione si compassionevole, che muovono chiunque ha una qualche sentimento di umanità. Niuno però io ho letto che lo faccia con maggior energia ed accuratezza, quanto Samuel Usque nel rarissimo suo libro della 'Consolazione'... Le lamentazioni... feriscono il cuore." (Della vana aspettazione, 41)

59) It has been suggested that S.J. helped Abraham in the preparation of the various translations of prayers into Spanish which the latter published. What was Samuel's share in the Ferrara Bible? I believe that a comparison of the Biblical material in the "Consolation" with the Ferrara version may yield interesting results. I hope to make this study when I continue my work on the first two Dialogues.

60) The 15th century version seen by D. Manuel de Cenaculo as late as 1791 was probably based on the Vulgate. There was no Bible in Portuguses until the last quarter of the 17th century. (Cf. C.Michaëlis de Vasconcellos et S.Berger, "Les Bibles Portugaises", Romania, XXVIII(1899), 543ff.; G.L.Santos Ferreira, A Biblia em Portugal, Lisbon 1906, 12ff.; and Bell, 38 and note.) In 1556 a Marrano expiated at the stake the sin of having translated the Pentateuch and Judges into Portuguse. (Cf. N.Slouschz,
61) Baer, in Ḥaḥam, II (5695), 166f. Ibn Verga’s attitude is strongly reminiscent of that of the Russian "Maskil" in the 19th century.


63) Cf. the opposite view of Ibn Verga:

64) For a discussion of the strangely modern thinking on the subject of economics of Ibn Verga, see Baer, Ḥaḥam, II, 165.

65) The case of U 13 is possibly an exception.

66) The accusation of "Judaizing" was indeed hurled at the founders of the Reformation by their opponents, while the Jews were eager to disclaim any such credit. Usque’s view is therefore noteworthy. Cf. Graetz, IX, 130, 189, 288f.; and Louis I. Newman, Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements, New York 1925, lff. and 617.

67) See above, p. 35.

68) For an interpretation of that movement in the 16th century see Schechter, l.c., 202ff.

69) Cf. Graetz, IX, 543.
II (10)


71) Cf. Kayserling's opinion to the contrary in *JE*, XII, 387.


73) See U 3, n.1; and U 5, n.1.

74) Cf. U 1, n.1; and U 20, n.2.

75) For a discussion of the chronological scheme as a basis of textual criticism, see Loeb, *REJ*, XVII(1888), 268.

76) See U 24, n.1.

77) See U 1, n.2; U 20, n.3.

78) See U 2, n.1; U 9, n.1.

79) U 19 is apparently an exception. See *ibid.*, n.2.

80) See U 4, n.2.

81) U 4, U 20.

82) See for instance U 4, n.2.

83) U 5, 6, 7.

84) See U 3, n.2; and U 9, n.2.

85) U 1, 3, 4, 7, 16, 19, 21-30.

86) U 2, 5, 6, 10, 16, 18, 19, and 20.
II (11)

87) U 11, 17, 32, 36, and 37.

88) U 9, 15, and 19.

89) U 14 and 35 respectively.

90) U 4, 8, 33, and 34. Properly, U 24 also belongs here. Cf. the inaccurate criticism of U. on this score in Rios, III, 645.

91) U 1, 10, 12, 17, 20, 25, 28, 32, and 36.

92) U 5, 9, 15, 22, 23, and 35.

93) U 2, 9, 14, and 23.

94) U 3, 6, 7, 18, and 19.

95) U 1, 4, 7, 11, 16, 20, 24, and 28.

96) U 8.

97) The negligible instance of V 32 and the descriptive chapter V 42 form properly no exception. As for the Crusades, it may be said that Ibn Verga knowingly omitted them from his collection. Cf. V, p. 88, bottom.

98) Prologue, 3b.

99) U 14 and 16.

100) See below, p. 60ff.

101) See below, p. 61ff.

102) Consequently, when Steinschneider (l.c., 36) speaks of U.'s
II (12)

use of "eines reichen ... historischen Materials", he falls a victim to this carefully built up illusion. So also Graetz (IX, 311ff.) when he asserts about U. that "aus lateinischen Quellen, ... aus spanischen, französischen und englischen ... Sammlungen trug er den GeschichtsSoff ... zusammen."

103) The third source is a volume of travels, and has no bearing on the historical part of the "Consolation". Cf. below, p.

104) See below, p. 63.

105) See below, p. 65ff.


107) Lea (op.cit., I, 148, n.2) shows that it could not have been composed before 1460, and certainly not in 1459, as is commonly believed.

108) There is a general notion that Spina was himself of Jewish origin. Wolf (II, 1112) however has proven definitely that he was not a convert. (Yet Roth, *Marranos*, 34, still holds to that
opinion.) Cf. Graetz, VIII, 228, n.l; Lea, I, 149, n.5, and
below, U 22, n.l. Williams (op.cit., 277) remarks: "It (FF) is
a venomous book, and thank God, was not written by a Jewish convert."

109) I, 149.

110) Cf. Fidel Fita, Boletín, IX(1886), 353: "Fr. Alonso de Espina
... lanzaba a los cuatro vientos de la publicidad su Fortalitium
Fidel; cuyo propósito con harto vivo empeño realizó el prior de
Santa Cruz Fr. Tomás de Torquemada."

111) For an interesting, though somewhat extreme, appraisal of such
history, written with "parti pris", see Joseph Jacobs, "Jewish
History", in Jewish Ideals, New York 1896, 235.

112) Rios in Estudios often chooses to follow Spina's account,
without subjecting it however to any critical process.


114) Steinschneider (33) maintains that U.'s work "zwar nicht
immer den Thatsachen, doch wahren Empfindungen entsprungen ist."


116) See U 6, n.l.

117) See U 15, n.l.

118) See U 4, n.l; and U 9, n.l.

119) See U 13, n.l. For a statement on this subject by Baer, em-
bodying conclusions which are essentially identical with mine, see
II §14)

Quellen, 37, n. 3.

120) Cf. Quellen, 84: "(Schebet Jehuda) steht ... weit über dem Buch des S.U. ... der seine allgemeine Betrachtungen durch umgedeutete Erzählungen aus dem FF ausstaffieren muss, weil es ihm an jeden Anschauung der jüdischen Verhältnisse fehlt."

121) Cf. JQR, II (1911-12), 258, note.
III. SOURCES

1. NON-JEWISH SOURCES

A. The abbreviation For. fi., For. F., or FF., stands for "Fortalicium Fidei" by Alfonso de Spina.1) This work is divided into five books, the third of which deals with the Jews.2) It is to this book that Usque constantly refers.3) The various polemic topics are treated in twelve "considerationes", of which four contain material that eventually found its way into the "Consolation".4) The seventh consideration treats of the "Jewish atrocities".4) The ninth enumerates their expulsions from various countries and the causes thereof.5) The tenth describes a number of miracles that happened to prove to the Jews the truth of Christianity.6) The eleventh treats of certain Jewish obligations under both canon and civil law.7) Usque's citations usually give the page of the edition of 1311 or 1525.8)

The following table indicates the material of FF used by Usque.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF.</th>
<th>page, ed. 1494</th>
<th>page cited in U</th>
<th>U</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consid. VII</td>
<td>142d</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>142d-143b</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>143bc</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>143cd</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>144ab</td>
<td>(no citation)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>144c</td>
<td>(page not cited)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Consid. VII) 7 144c 187 9
10 145d-146a 190 7
11 146a-c 191 22
Consid. IX 2 167b-168c 216 2,20
3 169cd 218 13
4 169d-170a 220 1
Consid. X 11 172c-173b 223 23
Consid. XI 8 179bc 231 4

It may be noticed that not all of the material found in the third book was utilized by Usque.

By the side of the references to PP, Usque cites a number of other non-Jewish sources, which obviously he did not consult. Those authorities are mentioned in PP where they are either cited by title or quoted in full. That Usque did not follow up the references is evident from the fact that he has no additional information beyond that which is excerpted in PP, and also from the mistakes that are peculiar to the text of PP. 9)

a. "Corónica de España" (U 1) is cited in conjunction with PP IX, 4 as a source for the persecution under Sisebut. Cf. PP, 169d: "legimus in cronicis hispaniae quod Sisebutus rex gottorum, etc".

b. "Corónica dos emperadores e dos papas" (U 19), cited with PP VII, 6 as a source for the Black Death massacres. Cf. "F, 144c: "hoc ex cronicis imperatorum et summorum pontificum".
c. "Coronica Ym" (= de Yngraterra; so Graetz, VIII, 393, and IX, 544), cited for U 12, is probably misplaced, and belongs with U 13 containing the account of the strange "expulsion" from England which is based on FF IX, 3. Spina claims to have borrowed this story from "croniciis anglorum antiquis". (169c) See U 13, n. 1.


It seems that the "undecipherable" initials "U. M." (= V. M.; U 7, 9, 10, 18, and 20) likewise refer to this authority. U 10, one of the accounts so marked, which deals with the expulsion under Philip Augustus in 1182, is based on FF XII, 2, where we read: "sicut narrat Vincentius Magnus in speculo historiali libro. XXX. c. XXV." (143a) Of the other occurrences of this citation, one (U 9) is probably posterior, and the others are certainly posterior to the time of Vincent the Great, or Vincent of Beauvais (died ca. 1264). Moreover, the "Speculum Historiale" contains no reference to those events. Yet I venture to say that Usque, who had no clear idea of Vincent's period and had never seen his book, ascribed to that esteemed historian accounts that he could not have possibly recorded.

e. "Estorias de Sam Dinis de Fmca" (U 10), cited as authority for the building of the "Halles" at Champeaux and the Bois de Vincennes. Strangely enough, FF VII, 2, from which Usque borrowed the rest of the account, makes no mention of that
fact; nor does the "Speculum" of Vincent of Beauvais from which, in turn, FF is derived. The Chronicles of St. Denis indeed have the data, but it is unthinkable that Usque actually drew his information directly from that source, for if he had access to it, there would have been more material from it in the "Consolation". I am at a loss as to how to account for the presence of this reference in U, unless, as it may be assumed, it is derived from Usque's Hebrew source.

B. The Third Dialogue contains a considerable amount of geographical material relative to certain exotic countries of Asia and Africa (fols. 44ff.). This material is borrowed from an Italian collection of travels and discoveries by Giovanni Battista Ramusio\(^1\) entitled "Navigationi et viaggi", volume one. Immediately on its publication in 1550\(^2\) it became very popular. The material in U was borrowed mainly from two of the books included in that volume.

a. Giovann Lioni Africano, "Della Descrittione dell'Africa", fols. 1-95.\(^3\) The borrowings are rather scant, and are all found in U, fol. 45a. (See there.)

b. Lodovico Barthe, "Itinerario", fols. 147-173.\(^4\) Usque copied whole paragraphs from this highly interesting and racy account of travels in Syria, Arabia, Persia, India and Ethiopia. The references to this work are cited in U as "Itinerario" or "Yti." and give the folio of the first edition of Ramusio's volume.\(^5\) The two dates that accompany those citations are inexplicable; they are 5270 (≈ 1310 C.E.) and 5274 (≈ 1614 C.E.). Barthe's travels, however, were all undertaken in the years
1503-08, as is indicated in the Prefatory Note.17) The material in U (fol. 44ab) borrowed from this account is more extensive than that derived from the work of Africano. It includes passages from folios 149, 150, 155, 156f., and 168. (St. Thomas).

c. Another item, relative to the island of San Thome (U 27) may possibly also go back to Pamusio's volume. It is found in "Navigatione da Lisbona all' Isola di San Thome" by an anonymous, folios 114b-118b.

C. One account, that of the expulsion from Flanders (U 14), is not accompanied by any reference, and its source remains unknown.18)

D. Near the end of U 4 the following citation is given on the margin: "F a r. R o b o a. 12." It is mentioned also in Dialogue I, 12b, as "para 2. Robo c. 12." I am not able to offer any suggestion for the meaning of this reference.

E. The Third Dialogue contains also a few passages with reference to Oriental and Roman history (43ab). Their sources are probably the same as those of the copious material on this subject included in the first two Dialogues, which bears references to "Berosus the Chaldee in his Antiquities" (e.g. I, 35a), and to the "Chronicle of the Roman Emperors. Dion." (II, 34b). Any discussion of these sources, as well as of the Josephus-Josippon problem19), must be deferred, however, until an exhaustive study is made of Dialogues One and Two.
2. JEWISH SOURCES.

A number of accounts bear unmistakably the earmark of Jewish origin. Unlike most of the stories which are derived from FF, these deal with events affecting large portions of Jewry, and not individual Jewish persons. They make no mention of the blood accusation or of any other sacrilegious charge, such as a Christian source would be sure to contain. One of them, at least, the story of David Alisy (U 6), takes place outside of Christendom. These accounts are usually supplied with the marginal reference "L.I.E.B" or L.Eb", indicating their source. Most of them have their parallels in , the chronicle of Solomon Ibn Verga.²⁰) The following table lists all such parallels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>citation</th>
<th>X</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>L.I.E.B.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>L.Eb.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>18,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>(no citation)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>L.Eb.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>li.Eb.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>(no citation)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>L.Eb.</td>
<td>21-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>27,46,49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
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</table>
What is the relationship between U and V? Graetz\(^21\) recognized the fact that both authors must have used a common source. He then proceeded to identify that source as the martyrology, compiled by Prophiet Duran, called Efodi, who lived at the turn of the fourteenth century. This chronicle is extant only in a few fragments which are quoted in Abravanel's \(^22\) Loeb,\(^23\) on the other hand, has suggested that U derived his material not directly from Efodi, and equally LEIB in LEB, but from V, \(^24\) A comparative study of those parallels must be made before any opinion may be ventured as to 1) their relation to each other, and 2) their relation to their respective sources. The basis of the following discussion is the masterly study by Fritz Baer on "Schebet Jehuda und Usque".\(^24\)

A. David Alroy (U 3)

The only source of the Messianic episode of David Alroy known in Europe down to the nineteenth century was the account given by Benjamin of Tudela in his Itinerary.\(^25\) But while, for this reason, the version of U is very similar to B (= Benjamin), and ultimately must go back to it, yet in its peculiar features it bears a closer resemblance to the account \(A / V 31\).

In the beginning, the arrangement of the material in U is the same as in B. After the description of the country, the story proper begins. B: U: "From that city of Hamaria there arose an Israelite, etc." But within that external agreement, U nevertheless tallies with V. B states that...
a city of 1,000 families. In B, that community forms the beginning of the communities dwelling, which become a river alike in V ( ), and U ("river Habiton").

There follows a passage, which reads in B:

V:

U: "They all extend from the province of Samamaria till that of Gilan, fifty days' journey to the realms of Persia." "Samamaria" of U is not a misprint, but goes back to a Hebrew text reading: (cf. V), which U mistook for one word.

In B, David's surname is , which V reproduces as and U as "Aldui", readings that can be very well reconciled with each other. Neither V nor U mentions David's aspiration to conquer Jerusalem, as does B. On the other hand, B lacks the phrase about the king's pledge to David, which is found both in V ( ), and U ("the prince... asked him to visit him, pledging his word for his safety"). In V and U, the king asks David, whether he is the Messiah, whereas B has:

The name of David's prison, given in B, is missing in the others. The experimental nature of the imprisonment related in V is obviously a characteristic twist of Ibn Verga, while both B and U speak of the king's anger. The account of David's escape from the dungeon and his subsequent actions differ in the three versions. In B, he frees himself from prison and appears before the king in
defiance of his power. The king orders him seized, but David renders himself invisible to the servants. Then, followed by the king and his retinue, he proceeds to the river which he crosses upon his mantle. He escapes his pursuers who follow him in boats, and on that selfsame day reaches the city of Amaria, which is ten days' distant, by virtue of the Ineffable Name. In V and U the "vanishing" act is repeated twice, but in a different way. The version of V is confused. U tells of David's escape from prison and his invisible appearance before the pursuing soldiers. Then he goes to the palace where he addresses the king in the same manner. When he becomes visible again, he is seen crossing the river Gozan (so also in V), upon a "touca" (B and V: 27). He is pursued by soldiers in boats, but eludes them by traveling that day a distance of ten days' journey, by virtue of the "Shem ha-Sofarash" (missing in perhaps deliberately) V]. Neither U nor V mentions his destination.

The king then takes action against the Jews. B is very clear on this subject. The Caliph of Baghdad ( ) is requested by the king of Persia to speak to the Heads of the Captivity asking that they restrain David. The Jewish authorities in Baghdad write then to David in this spirit, threatening him with excommunication. V and U have different versions. In V, the king sends messengers to the Heads of the Captivity, and also to the , demanding that David be killed; whereupon the Heads of the Captivity send word to David, as in B. U, on the other hand, makes the Jews of Persia write themselves to the "Emir
Almurchem", asking him to persuade the Heads of the Captivity that they kill or seize David. They also write to David, demanding under threat that he desist from his activity. The version is due to his interpretation of the situation, and was not borrowed directly from his source. (See U 8, n. 22)

In the course of events, David's father-in-law is tempted with a bribe, by a Turkish king, to slay David, and both V and U add that he is finally resolved to do so, in order to save his people. According to V and U, the Turkish king sends to the king of Persia word of David's death.

It is obvious that neither V nor U used B directly. Their versions depart repeatedly from the lucid account of B, while, on the other hand, in their variants they generally agree with each other. At the end of the account proper, both V and U give another version of Alroy's death, derived allegedly from a letter of Maimonides. Their wording is virtually identical, though neither Ibn Verga nor Usque saw the letter in question. In general, where V and U do not agree, the discrepancies can be traced to different interpretations of one and the same text. The individual (addition inserted) by each author are likewise conspicuous. However, each of them contains a certain amount of information which is not found in the other; a fact which makes it impossible to assume that one of them copied the other. Certainly, U is not a reproduction of V, as Loeb thinks, since frequently this version is clearer than V.

Another point to be considered in this connection is the date assigned by each to the event. B gives no clear date, but merely
states 33) U has 4924, and adds: "in that same time", referring to a previous event. Now, the last preceding account in U that is dated 34) is that of the Almohadic persecution of 4906 and the flight of Maimonides to Egypt in 4923. 35) It is clear that the phrase in U applies to this latter date. V assigns no definite date, but states in the beginning:

This refers no doubt to the preceding chapter (V 30) which is identical with the part of U 4 cited above. However, the only date mentioned there is 4906. Obviously, the phrase "seven years earlier" cannot refer to this date, and it is necessary to assume that V failed to include all the dates in his source, such as 4923, found in U, and perhaps also another (4930 ?)

It may be concluded that U and V drew their accounts of the Almohadic persecution and of David Alroy from the same source, where they stood, as in V, in immediate contiguity to each other. That this source was written in Hebrew is evident from the Hebrew words in U ("Kalah", "kehiloth", "Wsemmaforas", "heremareno", etc.), also found in V, and in the reading in V as against "Hamaria" in U.

Another loan from this common Hebrew source is represented by the account of the persecution in Granada at the time of Joseph b. Samuel ha-Nagid, found in both U 36) and V (5). Both indicate as their source the , but it is quite clear that neither actually saw the book, but found the relevant passage quoted in his source together with the citation. Both V and U set the size of the community at 1,500 families, a statement not found in
Ibn Daud. For the problem of the date see U 24, n. 1.

It is noteworthy that U 4, 8 have marginal references to the same authority: L.I.E.B., while U 24 has: l.Eb. These two abbreviations may, therefore, be equated with each other.

B. The Shepherds' Persecution (U 16).

The parallel versions of the persecution of the Shepherds (U 16 and V 6) present a peculiar problem of comparison. Loeb aptly described it as "pele-pele singulier". Even a cursory glance at the two accounts suggests the close parallelism often verbatim, implying a common source. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the difficulties of reconciling the many divergences tend to obscure this first impression. Naturally, each of the two includes material missing in the other, names and numbers differ, owing to textual misinterpretations of the source peculiar to each of them. Each contains features characteristic of the author's concepts and tendencies, with their little quirks of style and position. But in addition to such conceivable variations, the parallel versions display an excessive degree of dissimilitude and contradiction in arrangement of plot and sequence of events. Seemingly clear facts present, upon comparison, a picture of bewildering confusion.

To begin with, the youthful leader of the Shepherds, of V, appears in U as two distinct persons, who are kept carefully apart through the entire length of the narrative. V places the beginning of the movement in probably Agen-sur-Garonne. According to U, the first outbreak of violence occurs in Tudela, while V may be understood to place this incident also in Agen,
The developments in Toulouse differ in the two accounts. After the excesses committed by the Shepherds in Cordel (V), the "Melsar" of Toulouse captures ten wagonfuls of them and imprisons them (V: in Toulouse). During the night they are freed by the friars. Here U and V part company. U reports that the aroused populace then proceeded to massacre 200 Jews, in spite of the governor's efforts to protect them. Other Jews who had taken refuge in "a fortress of Narbonne" left their shelter upon hearing of the Shepherds' arrest, and were sent by the governor to Carcassonne under the convoy of a kinsman of his. V states, on the other hand, that the attack was made against the Jews who had rashly left the fortress, and gives the number of victims as 150. In this version, toom the governor attempts to protect the Jews and barely escapes with his life. Those sent under convoy to Carcassonne, are here the Jews of the vicinity.

It is seen that both accounts are vague and confused about the episodes just described, but do not necessarily contradict each other.

A series of parallel episodes follows, interrupted now and then by extraneous material and punctuated by differences arising from textual corruptions. Then there occurs in V a passage relating to the twenty survivors of the massacres in Gascony who flee to Lerida, presumably in Aragon. A number of rich Jews of hire a convoy also to seek a refuge in Aragon, but are betrayed on the way. U states that 20 Jews remained alive in Gascony, but fails to mention their escape. Instead, it is the Jews of Lerida - omitting altogether - who hire
a convoy to take them to Aragon. This is a glaring error, since Lerida itself was situated in Aragon.

The events in Aragon are narrated in U more fully than in V. Valencia, Barcelona, Jaca and Barbaste are mentioned in this connection. A major disaster, involving the death of 400 Jews, occurs in Jaca. Another name, Nonserrat, may perhaps be equated with V. The vigorous measures taken by the Infante D. Alfonso receive more minute treatment in V, where and figure prominently. The death of the leader of the Shepherds is placed by U during the engagement between the Jews and the Shepherds at Monreal, whereas V disconnects the two facts. Both V and U conclude their story of the shepherds' adventures with their attempted attack on the Jewry of Tudela. In V their failure is ascribed to the timely rescue by "the knight" of D. Alfonso. In V it is the impregnable situation of the city that saves the Jews.

Both versions relate the steps taken by the kings of France and of Aragon, as well as by the pope, to combat the rioting Shepherds. The statements contain certain differences, insofar as V states the matter more fully, and they are placed at different points of the narrative. Thus V records an appeal of the French Jews to the king and the pope at the very beginning of the persecution, while in U the rulers awake to the gravity of the damage only after the damage has already been done.

Essentially the statements are identical.

To attempt a reconstruction of the text of the common source of U and V would be a futile enterprise. The date of
the two versions are not, on the whole, as Faer 49) thinks of a mutually supplementary nature. An introductory statement in V helps much to understand the reason for it. The author informs us that he found variant versions of the account of this persecution ( ). Now, this statement goes back not to Ibn Verga, but to the author of his source. It follows that the account in his source consisted of a series of items, some inter-related, other unconnected and even contradictory, all bearing on the subject. Into this collection there may have strayed some echoes of the other Shepherds' Crusades, those of 1251 and of 1309. Those items had not been welded into one organic account, but were allowed to stand side by side, in a rather loose arrangement. 49) Hence the repetitions and lacunae. A fixed chronological or even geographical sequence was, therefore, out of the question, even though some of the confusion arising from the apparent "jumps" from France into Spain and vice versa may be due to the fact that many places in southern France bore names similar to those of others across the Pyrenees. 50) A further important consideration has been overlooked, namely, the fact that the Shepherds did not form a single array, but roved about the land in different bands. It is more than likely that while some of those bands were operating in Aragon and Navarre, others continued their work of destruction in France. 51) Naturally, no two narratives based on such an account can be reasonably expected to be in total agreement with each other, especially when they are not the product of a critical mind, intent on sifting each bit of information. Least of all will
they coincide in the matter of sequence.

The account of Y contains at the end the following passage:

Since the "tradition" concerning the charitable act of the Jews of Tudela is found also in Y (though without the mention of Tudela), therefore the first person of does not refer to Ibn Verga but in a direct quotation from his source. It also follows that, contrary to the view held by Graetz,52) Loeb, 53) and even Faer,54) the statement concerning the translation of the material into Hebrew does not derive from Ibn Verga,55) and that the text utilized by both Y and U was written in Hebrew. Internal evidence points in the same direction. Certain discrepancies between Y and U can be reconciled only on the ground of a text written in the Hebrew script.56) Hebrew expressions in Y,57) the misapplication of the word "in" in Y,58) point to a Hebrew text.

Most of the sources underlying this Hebrew authority seem to be of Jewish origin, since the events are observed from a distinctly Jewish angle. As Faer59) points out, the international boundary at which the interest of the French chroniclers is arrested,50) presents no such line of demarcation to the Jewish observer who follows the path of the persecutor across political frontiers, into every Jewish habitation.

Y 16 does not give any reference to a source.

C. THE EXPULSIONS FROM ENGLAND AND FROM FRANCE (U 12-and 20).
For V 12 and 20, both citing "1.Eb.", we have two parallel accounts. One is represented by V 18 and 20 for England, and V 21-25\textsuperscript{61}) for France; and the other by the quotations in Don Isaac Abravanel's messianological work

V 12 consists, in the main, of two parts. One deals with the expulsion from England and with the charge of clipping the coin, and is closely paralleled by V 1\textsuperscript{9} and A (Abravanel). The other recounts the tale of the friar who embraced Judaism because of his love for a Jewess. In V 20 this incident is said to have occurred in France\textsuperscript{62}); it does not appear in A. The parallelism seems to be of the closest nature, as can be seen from the following juxtaposition of the material.\textsuperscript{64)}

\begin{align*}
\text{V} & \quad \text{A} \\
\text{The year 5002.} & \\
\text{On the island of England.} & \\
\text{I saw the Israelites mult-} & \\
\text{isly greatly so that in} & \\
\text{London alone, which is the} & \\
\text{principal city of the whole} & \\
\text{kingdom, there were two} & \\
\text{thousand families,} & \\
\text{of great wealth.} & \\
\text{(The friars demanded that)} & \\
\text{they turn Christians or} & \\
\text{else suffer death... The} & \\
\text{complaint of ... my enemies} & \\
\text{was satisfied.}} & \\
\text{In addition to other co-} & \\
\text{lumns ... they charged me} & \\
\text{with clipping the coin ...} & \\
\text{Many of the people got to-} & \\
\text{gether by common consent} & \\
\text{and, with coins in their} & \\
\text{hands which they had sec-} & \\
\text{retly clipped in their} &
\end{align*}
homes to this end, 67) they
went to bring suit against
the poor Jews, asserting to
have received the coins from
them... In this manner...
a verdict was pronounced and
approved by the king, expelling
all my children from the
kingdom.

The two accounts of the friar’s conversion are in essential
agreement with each other.  V confuses the friar with the queen’s
confessor of U, also inserts a lengthy Talmudic disputation
between the king and his ministers.  The fate of those who were
guilty of performing the circumcision is mentioned in V.  It is
quite clear that both U and V derived their material from the
same source.  V contains the statement that the account was
based on a German chronicle ( ),
but that statement is not Ibn Verga’s, as is maintained by
Graetz 68) and Paer 69), but as in V 6, a passage copied from his
source.

The parallel accounts of the expulsions from France
present a similar picture. 70)

Anno mundi 5126. 70a)

I had meanwhile returned to
that kingdom (France). 71)

There came to the throne
another Philip, the son of
Louis, and the grandson of
Philippus Augustus, who treated
me with equal cruelty. 72)

... he ordered it proclaimed
that all the Jews in his
kingdom should become Chris-
tians or should they refuse,
all their possessions would be confiscated and themselves be expelled from the kingdom.

... They patiently resigned themselves to enduring the dire hardships of poverty and privation to which they were reduced, being stripped almost naked ...

R. Levi ben Gershon: "My number was double of those that departed from Egypt." 74)

Among all that numerous people there were few indeed whom the threat of that punishment induced to abandon their Law... Chief among those was the rabih of Toulouse excepting some few persons 75).

... They departed from all France in the month of Ab, on the day which they call St. 'Andalen's, which is a Christian holiday.

Nine years later...

... that king... while following the chase (account of his death)

Then the French people perceived the manifest chastisement suffered by him, and when his son, the virtuous and catholic king Louis succeeded him, he recalled me to his kingdom, to make amends for the evil inflicted on me by his father.
Seven years later I was once more expelled from France, as a result of the people's demand, being allowed to depart with the substance which I had meanwhile acquired.

After this there came to the throne king Don John, followed by his son Charles, who again recalled me to the kingdom, where I lived in peace as long as both were alive.

But when ... another Charles had taken their place,

the people rose up against me, killing and robbing without pity, and against the prince's will expelled me from the kingdom. 5140.

On the surface, the three parallel accounts differ from each other in several respects. First, there is the apparent discrepancy in dates. While A gives the correct year of the expulsion, 5066, J has 5106, and V 5046.77) The last two numbers, however, will readily be recognized as corruptions from 5106, J reading 5046, and V 5046.78) The next false date in V, that of Philip's death, is the result of his attempt at consistency. Having placed the expulsion in 5046, Philip's death, which according to his source followed nine years later (so in 5140), had to be dated in 5055. The mnemonic phrase for that year, figured in his source in a different connection, but was drafted by V to fill this new duty, especially since the meaning of that phrase ("as he had
sent forth, he perished") fitted the picture perfectly. A dates the recall under Louis in the third year of that monarch's reign, which is perhaps an error on Abravanel's part. After another expulsion in 1322, the Jews are recalled in 1352, and the year of A is simple error for U then related the riots and the "illegal expulsion" of 1380, and A the final act of 1394. The account of V stops earlier, with the expulsion of 1322 (or rather 1302 (=5062)), since there were no more dates left for him to operate with.

Loeb's discussion of these accounts is illuminating, but his conclusions are utterly untenable. The "confusion" in the chronicles he attributed to the confused state of French Jewry in the fourteenth century. Jusque, he claims, found 5108 as the year of the expulsion under Philip. The Jews knew very well the date of the persecutions of 1349, but knew less well the history of the French Kings. Now, in 1348 there also reigned a Philip (VI), and the Jews assigned the expulsion to his reign. Subsequently, U changed that date to 5106, so as to synchronize it with his date of the Black Death (U 19), which must also be emended to 5108. A trace of this situation still exists in A, where the date is found, though misplaced, having slipped in from an account of the Black Death which was omitted. However, Loeb's argument is strangely paradoxical. The Jews may not have known the history of the French Kings, but then, how can it be assumed that the date 5046 in V applies to the consequent date of Philip's accession to the throne? Further-
more, the Jews of the fifteenth, to say nothing of those of the fourteenth century, knew the date of their expulsion quite well, at least as well as that of the Black Death. In fact, the latter date was not so firmly established as Loeb maintains, for V places it in 5160 (probably a corruption from ), and in all likelihood, that was also the date in the Hebrew source now under discussion, so that it could not have slipped into A in the form of . What is the relationship of the three parallel versions to each other? To be sure, each contains material not found in the other two, but that which they have in common points definitely to a related origin. One mistake particularly bears eloquent testimony to a source common to all three. Z (233a) who is independent of any of them has the following item:

Evidently, this account goes back ultimately to the same source as that of A, V and U, but unlike the other three, Z quotes Gersonides correctly. The mistake must have been made by Efodi who used the same source as Z, and who was Abravanel's authority. Now, it must not be assumed that A copied Efodi literally, or that his mistakes were inherent in the text of Efodi. A was not giving a complete list of persecutions, but merely mentioned a number of expulsions, omitting all irrelevant material. He therefore excluded, among others, the account of
the friar's conversion, as well as that of the riots of 1380
which is found in U. Our analysis so far warrants, therefore,
the conclusion that Efodi, or an account derived from him, served
as a source for V and U.

2. Other Accounts. Vincent Ferrer (U 21).

The parallelism of U 18 - V 43 (Lepers' Persecution)\(^91\),
and U 19 - V 26 (the Black Death)\(^92\), is quite evident. U 17
contains in a more concise form the material found in V 14
(Sancha's Persecution)\(^93\). The comparison of U 11 and V 19
(the Persecution in Aculia) creates however a problem of a dif­
ferent nature. The only data common to both are the spelling of
the names of the cities ("Napoles e Trana", \(\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\nu\alpha\nu \sigma\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\alpha\)),
king Robert's title, and the implied date.\(^94\) Baer\(^95\) suggests
that V and U had different versions of the account which ulti­
mately however go back to one origin. But peculiarities of
spelling are not usually preserved in a long chain of trans­mit­
tion, and it is preferable to assume that their common source had
variant versions of the same account, or that the more romantic
story of U is a product of his imagination, based rather remotely
on the data of his source. (Compare, for instance, U 6.)

This same problem emerges from a comparison of the accounts
of the events of 1391-1412 as found in U 21 and V 27, 46 and 49.
In his masterful analysis of the subject, Baer\(^96\) shows that the
information contained in those chapters could not have come from
the pen of the contemporary Efodi.\(^97\) The confusion of the
incidents of 1391 with those of 1412 also points to a later stage of transmission, when the murderous but passive activity of Fernando Martínez was almost forgotten, and the rather peaceful work of Vincent Ferrer had proven its fatal and lasting effects upon the state of the Jewish communities throughout Spain. As for the component parts of those accounts, they are still recognizable, and their underlying data are shown to be sound. Some of them, such as the description in U of Vincent's method of preaching, may indeed go back to Efodi. However, there is no need to assume with Baer that U and V had different versions of that account. As in the case of U 16, 20, and others, it can well be imagined that the data in their common source were of a disjointed character, and that each author selected those data which appealed to him for one reason or another.

I. Conclusion.

The source cited as "L.I.E.B." or "L.5b." was a Hebrew chronicle, based partly on Efodi's , but containing information, especially for the period of the fifteenth century, derived from other sources. Some errors reproduced in U 21, such as the substitution of Alvaro for Pedro de Luna, and of Duarte for D. I., suggest that this work was compiled at about the middle of the fifteenth century. Its title is unknown to us. It consisted of a collection of notes and various data, possibly arranged in a chronological order, but presented in a disjointed manner, placing different versions side by side, without attempting
to combine them into continuous accounts. It served as a source to Ibn Verga as well as to Usque. Both used it extensively, but neither incorporated all the data found there. Their selection of a particular version of a given account was not always identical. Neither of their quotes does always quote his material verbatim.

In a number of cases, where Usque cites this source, no corresponding account is found in V. At times, however, the citation does not seem to be warranted, since no tangible data can be assumed to be derived from that source.

2) "Liber tercius de iudeorum bello contra fidei fortalianum", begins on fol.57a. All references in this study are to the third book. For a summary of this book see Wolf, II, 1116ff.

3) "F.F.3L." (page follows)

4) "Septima de iudeorum crudelitatis et sua inaudibili seuicia", ibid. It is divided into three "puncta"; only the third concerns us here.

5) "Nona de iudeorum expulsionibus et sua magna ignorina", ibid.

6) "Decima de iudeorum mirabilibus et sua obstinata malicia", ibid.

7) "Undecima de iudeorum obligatione ex iure canonico et ciuili ac ordinacione regia", ibid.

8) The agreement between U.'s citations and the pagination of the 1511 ed. is not a consistent one. I have been unable to collate the ed. of 1525, but from its description in the *Brit. Mus. Catal.* (l.c.) it seems to be merely a reprint of that of 1511.


10) If however, as Graetz (VII, 429) thinks, U 12 and V 20 used the same source, then "Cor.Ym." cannot stand for "Coronica de Yngra-terra", since V 20 has: . Cf. also *Quellen*, 20, n.2.

12) It is the same Ramusio who was employed by the Signory of Venice to investigate the claims of Reuben. Cf. Vogelstein und Rieger, Gesch. der Juden in Rom, II, 55.


16) Barthema's "Itinerario" first appeared separately in 1510. (Cf. Hakluyt ed., Introd., ), but the references in U obviously point to Ramusio's Collection.

17) A copy of the very rare edition of Ramusio's volume might solve the problem.

18) Cf. Quellen, 37, n.3 (p.38).

19) Cf. ibid.


21) VIII, 393f. (Note 1)

22) ed. Karlsruhe 1828, fol.30cd.
23) Quellen, 2-37.


26) See U 8, n.9.

27) See U 9, n.15.

28) Graetz (VIII, 397) maintains that the Itinerary was not generally known in the Middle Ages. Zacuto, however, was familiar with it. (Cf. Z, 219a) It was first printed in 1543 in Constantinople, and then in 1556 by Abraham Usque. Cf. Adler, *Itinerary*, Introd., p. XIII.

29) Compare the following phrases in U and V, which are not found in B.

\[ U \]
\[
\text{This man, puffed up with his knowledge ...}
\]
\[
\text{Seeing how little his power availed him in coping with him, ... the king resorted to other means of revenge.}
\]
\[
\text{... to desist from that madness ..., for unless he did so, ... they would be forced to put him under a "Heren".}
\]
\[
\text{... the nation was reduced to dire straits and engaged in ... praying unto the Lord for deliverance. At}
\]
\[ V \]
last He answered them, when there
rose up a certain Turkish king, etc.

The man, prompted by the sight of
the plight of his brethren ..., and
not by motives of gain ...

30) Cf. U 8, n.32.

31) Cf. esp. the disputation between the king and his ministers
counselors in V.

32) 216.

33) For a discussion of this date see U 8, n.2.

34) The three intermediate accounts (U 5, 6 and 7) are, besides,
borrowed from FF.


36) U: "R. abrahão leui no licro de Cabala; V

37) Cf. Quellen, 19.

38) 220.

39) Only the one "with the cross on his shoulders" appears later,
but the initial distinction persists nevertheless. This distinction
is due no doubt to a misinterpretation of his source. See below,
o.71, and U 16. nn.3 and 34.

40) Actually V has:

41) But cf. Quellen, 6, n.1.
42) Here may be listed all such instances of interpretative material. In V: the argument in favor of attacking the Jews; the disputation between the Shepherds and a Jew, as the cause of the persecution; another disputation with the Melsar of Toulouse; the disputation between D. Alfonso and one of his knights. In U: principally the description of the massacre of the refugees on the way to Carcassonne; and the passages introducing the theological element.


44) If Lerida is assumed to stand for Lourdes, this contradiction disappears. Cf. U 16, n.27.

45) For a detailed comparison see Quellen, 11, n.1.


47) In V the passage in question is placed at a point where it interrupts the account of the first excesses committed by the Shepherds against the Jews. The result is that the statement that follows it (and ) become unintelligible. But cf. Quellen, 5.

48) Quellen, 12: "wo der eine Luecken hat, finden sich bei dem andern genau ergaenzende Stellen."

49) But cf. Quellen, 8, where it is claimed that in V "sind die einzelnen Abschnitte der ursprünglichen Erzählung auseinander-gerissen und durcheinander geworfen."
50) See Map, facing U 10 (Panel II, 52).

51) While the massacre of Montclus, in Aragon, occurred at the end of June or the beginning of July, nevertheless, about July 29 the Shepherds constituted in France a threat serious enough to cause the pope at Avignon to issue a proclamation to the Seneschal of Beaucaire to take action against them. (Cf. Graetz, VII, 256)

52) VII, 255.

53) l.c.

54) Quellen, 3, and 12f.

55) Baer (Quellen, 13) discredits Ibn Verga's claim and observes correctly that "in dem hebraeischen Text von V auch nicht die geringste Spur einer Uebersetzung aus dem Lateinischen oder Spanischen zu entdecken ist." For Graetz's self-contradictory statements on this point see Quellen, 3, n.1.

56) E.g. Cordel = מִלְנָה; the number of refugees fleeing to Aragon, in V: 300 (=י), in U: 70 (=ך); Monsarrat = מִלְנָה.

57) "Melsar", "cabol", and "quehilot".

58) The source may have had מְלִינָה, a term which under the influence of Arabic came to be confused with city. In V, Gascony and Bigorre are designated by מְלִינָה, whereas U has correctly "province".

59) Quellen, 13.

60) The Spanish chronicles make no mention of the Shepherds.
61) V 21 and 23 are doublets.

62) See n. 22.

63) This need not be a mistake on the part of V, for when the Jews were expelled from England, they were also banished from the English possessions in France. (Cf. Graetz, VII, 182) The source of V and U may have read:

For a similar case see U 17, n. 8.

64) The similar comparison in Graetz (VIII, 394f.) is too vague.

65) U: '2n; V and A: '2n; both figures go back to '2n (=1290).

66) U integrates the 720 of V with the account of the friar's apostasy.

67) U and V, disbelieving the accusation, insert here their own surmises. Their source probably contained a number of cases of such accusations, and U and V selected each different example. Abravanel, with his practical experience in public finances, gives credence to the essential truth of the accusation.

68) VII, 429.

69) Quellen, 20.

70) For a discussion of these accounts see Isidore Loeb, "Les expulsions des Juifs de France au XIVe siecle", in Graetz Jubelschrift, Breslau 1887, 39ff.

70a) See below, p. 74.
71) Probably refers to the expulsion of 1254 under St. Louis, as in V 23. (Cf. Loeb, "Expulsions", 39; and Graetz, VII, 198)

72) Their common source may have read:

73) The respective alternatives were probably supplied by U and V individually.

74) This statement has strayed into the account of the persecution under Philip Augustus. See U110, n.13.

75) The apologetic modification is probably U.'s.

76) See below, p.79.

77) It is noteworthy that Ephraim of Bonn and E place the expulsion under Philip Augustus in

78) First suggested by Cassel ("Juden", 119, n.21) in the case of V as a copyist's error.

79) of A is an error for , probably under the influence of the following.

80) Cf. the awkward attempts to explain this mnemonic symbol as standing for 5075, in Wiener E, 181, n.182.

81) But cf. Loeb, "Expuls.",43, n.4.

82) "Expuls.", 1.c.

83) ibid., 39.
84) ibid., 48f.
85) ibid., 45, n. 2. Cf. also Wiener E, 180, n.181.
Abraham Torritiel, ibid., 105; Z 223a; E 57.
87) Cf. U 19, n. 2.
88) A could not have served as a source to V or U. Loeb (218,
ad U 12) seems to imply that U used A.
90) As it is by Loeb, "Exouls.", 49.
91) See Quellen, 25.
92) See Quellen, 26.
93) See Quellen, 23f, and U 7.
94) U: 5000, prob. for 5050, and V: , referring
to the expulsion from England.
95) Quellen, 21.
96) Quellen, 26ff.
97) As is maintained by Graetz, VIII, 397.
98) Cf. e.g. V 48 and 49.
99) Executed-in-1453. Alvaro de Luna was executed in 1453.
King Duarte reigned 1433-8.
100) Graetz's (VIII, 397) effort to decipher the citations of U as "Libro Ebraico" are wide of the mark, nor is the identification of the book of any particular importance. (Cf. Quellen, 37) It certainly was not the "original" draft of Judah Ibn Verga, as is suggested by Loeb (REJ, XVII, 239, XXI, 148: L.I.E.B. = Liber Iehuda Ebn Berga), for U contains material not found in V, and also at times gives a clearer account than V.

101) It cannot be affirmed that V dismembered the continuous accounts of his source simply "to multiply calamities", as is maintained by Baer (Quellen, 22), but rather that U combined freely separate items, as he did elsewhere.

102) Similarly, U did not use all the material he found in FF.

103) Cf. U 11, 16, 20, etc.

104) U 1 (= V 9 ?), 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 13, 22, and 23.

105) Cf. U 2, 6, 13, 22.
PART TWO

A CONSOLATION FOR THE TRIBULATIONS OF ISRAEL

THIRD DIALOGUE

Pardon, Zicaro!

Good morning, Yosebo.

Yosebo,

To rose earlier this morning than you, and beheld our mastiff's rolling scented wolves, which giving them a brisk chase, so that we were obliged to come to their aid. Thank God, however, the wolves did us no harm whatever. It seems to me, on the contrary, that one of them got pretty much bitten up, to judge by our long-eared dog which is all...
THE THIRD DIALOGUE

which treats of all the tribulations suffered by
Israel, since the loss of the Second Temple, which
was destroyed by the Romans, till this day, followed
by all the prophecies that were fulfilled therein,
and lastly, by Israel's consolation, both human and
divine.

Ycabo, Zicaro, Numee --

Interlocutors.

Ycabo:

Tonight I have enjoyed a somewhat better rest than
usual, so effective was the medicine of the words which
Zicaro administered to this old wound of mine. Rightly
they say that for the ailing soul there is no better
physician than a master reasoner. I have great hopes of
obtaining from him easement for the ills which I am now
going to relate to him.

Numee, Zicaro:

Good morning, Ycabo.

Numee:

We rose earlier this morning than you would believe,
for our mastiffs were scented wolves, were giving them
a brick chase, so that we were obliged to come to their aid.
Thank God, however, the wolves did us no harm whatever. It
seems to me, on the contrary, that one of them got pretty
much bitten up, to judge by our long-eared dog which is all
covered with blood, yet is not injured. Now, as you wish that we retire with our flock to a meadow which lies below at the foot of this hill, a pleasant place with an abundance of water. There, stretched under a green poplar tree and watching our sheep graze, we could continue our discourse.

Ycabo:

I wish nothing better.

Numeo:

Lead the way, Zicareo.

Zicareo:

Forward, then. A step or two, and here we are. Now be seated, Ycabo, and proceed with your discourse.

Ycabo:

I will proceed, and do you listen attentively. After the passing of that Roman storm, the force of which scattered me throughout the world, I have suffered countless and diverse misfortunes.
First there was Sisabeut, king of the Goths, whom I saw, in the eight and a half years of his reign over Spain, force the Jews of his land to forsake their Law. Were they to refuse to do so, he would give permission to the people to put them to the sword. The proclamation being so terrible and cruel, many who were faint of spirit succumbed to the fear of the punishment and surrendered themselves to the Christian faith, even as the vanquished place themselves in the hands of their victorious enemies. A courier bearing this news was dispatched by the king to the Pope to inform him about these new converts. Joyous celebrations were held on this occasion, in both kingdoms, as it was then only a short time since the rise of the Christian faith.

As for the many others who resolutely withstood the enemy's threats, the Divine Mercy came to their aid and caused the King's soul to be contented with what had already been done, carrying his violence no further. Thus, in the end, they escaped the death penalty to which they had been liable, but were punished with banishment from his realms, suffering grievous hardships. It was at that time that Mohammed made his escape from Spain (he who today is so greatly venerated by so many nations), as he went about in the world preaching his doctrine.
After this tempest the Heavenly King sent a consolation of calm weather unto the afflicted Israelites, when He took Sisebut's life and gave the kingship to Witiwa. The latter, on assuming the scepter, sent for all my children who had been expelled from Spain by Sisebut, and lovingly gathered them together to him. At this favorable opportunity, little by little there returned to the Law of their fathers those who had been forced into Christianity.

The aberration, which was committed by them who were more fearful of bodily death than they were for the life of their souls, had been clearly foreseen by Micah, when he uttered these words: "Part of my people abandoned their Law." (Micah 2:4+) And as for those who, having been placed in this trial and test, continued to cleave unto the Lord to the end and escaped with their lives, in them was fulfilled that which the prophet Moses had so long ago told me: "I adjure heaven and earth against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed; to love the Lord thy God, to hearken to His voice, and to cleave unto Him; for He is thy life and the length of thy days." (Deut.30:19f.)
1) Usque, unlike Ibn Verga and Joseph ha-Cohen, seems to have had no information whatever about the years that intervened between the destruction of the Temple and the persecution under Sisebut. This becomes less strange in view of the early date, 317 C.E., assigned by him to this latter event. (cf. n.2)

The material of this chapter is derived in part from FF 1X,4 (169d-170a), where it is related that in 616 Sisebut forced the Jews to accept Christianity. Those unwilling to submit were banished. Later, around 706, Witiza recalled the Jews. The authorities indicated by FF are "Cronica hispaniae", i.e. "Cronica general de España", Book XII, chs. 13 and 65, (ed. by Florian de Ocampo, 4 vols, 1553-78, vol. III, l1la and 198b), and "Archiuum fratris Johannis Egidij Zamorensis" (cf. C.U.J. Chevalier, Repertoire des sources hist. du moyen-age, I, 1792, S-Y. Jean Gilles de Zamora). The primary source for this persecution is Isidore of Seville, Hist. Gothorum, ch.60 (Migne, Patrol. Lat., v.83, 1073). Usque must have used also a Jewish source, yet although L.I.E.B. is cited, the corresponding account in V 9 differs from U in every detail. Z 247b cites E 7 borrows some material from U, but corrects Usque's mistakes, and also has additional information. S 90a gives a number of exact details, implying access to another source, but also mentions Witiza as Sisebut's immediate successor, a feature peculiar to U.

For a discussion of the problems see D. Adolfo de Castro,

2) = 317 C.E. This is not, as Loeb thinks, a mere misprint for 4377, since Usque remarks that "it was then only a short time since the rise of the Christian faith". Moreover, the following chapter also bears this date, and Usque adheres to a strict chronological arrangement. FF has "anno domini sexigentesimo sedecimo" (616). It is interesting that in the matter of dating U often refuses to follow FF, preferring the unsafe information of his Jewish source. His Hebrew text may have had the date which he misread as . Cf. the date of E: , where can easily be lost. V has . 2 seems to indicate 615. S places the event at about 730. E refuses to repeat the error of U, but Cardoso, 387b, reproduces the wrong date.

The exact date of Sisebut's decree is not known. Isidore of Seville places it "in initio regni" (cf. FF: "statim incepit regnare"). The Chronicon Moissiacense (Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist., 1, 286), on the other hand, states: "Anno 5. Heraclii et vivi religiosissimi Gothorum principis Sisebuti in Spania, Iudei bapti- Zantur". Since Heraclius began his reign in 610, and Sisebut in 612, the date must be fixed at about 616. Rios, Estudios, II, places it at 620. Cf. Juster, l.c., 5, and n.6.
3) For the meaning of L. I. E. B. see Introduction. Strangely. The parallel account of V differs from U completely. The citation "Cor. de Espana" is borrowed from FF, and does not represent a source actually used. See n. 1.

4) As has already been stated, Usque had no data for the period preceding Sisebut. The ordinal is correct only in the sense that Sisebut was, in the words of Rios (I, 90), "primero entre los que iban a afligir en el suelo espanol a la grey israelitica".

5) FF: "regnuitannis. VIII. et mensibus sex". Sisebut reigned from 611 - 620.

6) The death penalty is not mentioned in FF, nor in any Christian chronicle, except the Cronica general (III, lla: "sopena de muerte"), presumably quoting Isidore. Cf. also S: See n.10

7) V: S: Manuel L. Ortega, Los Hebreos en Marruecos, Madrid 1919, 31, states (citing no source) that 90,000 Jews accepted baptism at the time.

8) This circumstance is not given in FF. The years during Sisebut's reign were Boniface IV (608-15), Deusdedit (615-18), and Boniface V (619-25). It is likely, however, that the personage in question was not the Roman pontiff, but Emperor
Herachius of Byzantium (610-41) who inspired the act of Sisebut, as he did later (629) that of Dagobert. Cf. Graetz, V

9) This is Usque's own observation, due no doubt to the early date assigned by him to this event.

10) According to E, it seems that in the beginning the edict did not impose the death penalty for non-compliance. But when some of the converts returned to Judaism, they suffered death for apostasy. It was to these apostate that the king subsequently granted the alternative of death or banishment. (cf. Loeb 212) Unless it is merely an attempt on the part of E to harmonize U with an account found in another source, this version may account for the mention of the death penalty in U. It is noteworthy that Erwig (680-87), who likewise forced baptism upon the Jews of Spain, and made disobedience punishable with exile, abolished the death penalty also in case of apostasy. (See Juster, l.c., 14f. and 26).

Many of the exiles from Spain went to France, as is evident from a passage in a chronicle quoted by Remedios, Judæis, 74, n.1: "Is (Sisebutus) hebreos regni sui Christum agnoscer coegit, eorum tamen aliquo millia in Galliam effuguerunt". There they fell a prey to the conversionist zeal of Dagobert.

11) FF: "huius tempore nephandus machomet ab hyspania fugatus in affricam transfretuit". Cf. also ibid., 189a. Lucas of
Tuy is responsible for this statement. See Cronica general, Book XIl, ch.XLV, (v.111, 113a) where the truth of this assertion is disputed. E has this curious notice: ( )

Cf. Loeb, REJ, XVII (1888), 266f.

12) See 5la for statement that Sisebut was poisoned. S:

Isidore, Hist. Gothorum, ch.61 (l.c.): "Hync (Sisebutum) alii proprio morbo, alii immoderato medicamenti haustu, alii veneno assurunt interfertum".

13) Witiza (700-711), of course, was not Sisebut's successor. It is strange that U should have committed this mistake, in view of the fact that TF gives the date of Witiza's accession as 706. S follows U in this matter:

E attempts to correct the blunder by substituting Swinthila ( ) who succeeded Sisebut on the throne after the brief reign of the latter's son that lasted but seven months. It is not necessary to assume with Juster (l.c.,6,n.2) that Joseph ha-Cohen had "some good Jewish source" when he made the substitution. Cf. U 20,n.

14) FF: "iste (Visisa) introduxit ita deos in regno quos Sisebutus eleecrat quere datus in reprobum sensum luxuriosissimus est effectus"

Note the difference in motivation between U and his source:

However, it is not at all certain that this act of tolerance can be assigned to Witiza. This Gothic ruler was subsequently made
the butt of clerical abuse, and Juster (l.c., 23, and n.5) thinks that this act of mercy towards the Jews was invented to vilify his memory. De Castro (l.c., 34) already discredited the account, but his argument is historically untenable. See also Jules Tailhan, La ruine de l'Espagne gothique, Revue des Questions Historiques, XXXI (1882), 371.

15) It seems that this account of the attitude of two particular Gothic kings towards the Jews should be regarded not so much as a factual statement of specific facts, but rather as a resume of the Jewish question in Gothic Spain. For while Sisebut was the first ruler to decree forced baptism on pain of banishment, he was not the last that did so. The exiles may have returned to Spain after Sisebut's death, but they were forced to leave once more under Chintila (636-9). Having returned later, they again suffered banishment under Erwig (680-87). (Juster, 5ff., and passim) Witiza may have also been one of those more tolerant rulers, but then he was the last actor in this drama and was therefore held up as a contrast to Sisebut, who was the initiator of this cycle. Spina states this point unequivocally when, having described the reigns of these two kings, he concludes: "Ex quibus patet prosperitas primi regis expellentis in hos ab hispania et infelicitas secundi deducentis eos ad eandem".
3. FRANCE, THE YEAR 4077.

At the time of Henry, emperor of the Romans, I saw myself well-nigh engulfed by a violent storm. In the kingdom of France my children enjoyed great prosperity of earthly goods, while living undisturbed in the observance of their holy Law. But their calm and their wealth excited the envy of many Christians, as is invariably the case of every happy condition in this mortal life.

Having decided to raise some false testimony against them, in order to bring about their destruction, they bade a woman, for the sake of a pretext, pawn her petticoat. Then, on the eve of their Day of Resurrection, she was to go to the banker and implore him to lend it to her for the celebration of the holiday, promising on her faith, as a good Christian woman, to bring it back after the day of the festival. At this point the Jew was said to have answered her: "If you bring me a consecrated host, such as is received during Lent, besides returning you your petticoat without any payment, I shall give you, in addition, its worth in money." The woman, they alleged, overcome by this selfish motive, brought to him the host which she received at communion. Once the Jew had it in his house, in all secrecy he made a big fire in his fireplace and placed over it a kettle of oil and water. Then, when it was boiling, he threw the host into it, saying to it: "You are the god of the Christians. Whereas my fathers nailed you to a cross, I will boil you in this kettle." And when
these words had been spoken, the host turned into a little boy who walked about in the kettle on top of the water. The Jew then tried to strike him with a spit but could not hit him, for by a miracle he kept dodging nimbly from one corner to another and strove to get himself out. In order to substantiate this libel and villainy, that wicked band of ten or twelve went up suddenly one day to the Jew's house, then turned back running into the street, causing a great uproar, and they stirred up the people by saying that they had witnessed that terrible crime, and by relating how a woman had given him that host.

When this rumor reached the judge's ears, the ill-fated Jewish banker was seized with his whole family, and though subjected to cruel tortures, refused to admit this to be the truth. But his wife, frail woman that she was, was unable to resist torture, and confirmed everything they said. Then she was urged to become a Christian, that her life might be spared. She accepted the offer for herself and her little children, but he was burnt with the Talmud in his arms, according to his statement. This report stirred up the whole French people, and in certain towns at a distance from the Court many Jews were killed. In his anger, the king ordered expelled from his entire kingdom all the Jews residing therein. Whence they departed miserably, leaving all their landed property in the power of strangers, and they dispersed over many parts of Christendom, being harassed and robbed on the highways.
Long before its occurrence, O Moses, thou hadst threatened me with this calamity, to wit, that tumults would disrupt my calms and that my possessions would be enjoyed by others, for thou didst say: "The Lord will send upon thee discomfiture and rebuke, in all that thou puttest thy hand unto to do, until thou be destroyed." (Deut. 28:20) "Thou shalt build a house, and thou shalt not dwell therein." (ibid. 28:30)
1) This is a version of the "affaire des Billettes". The sources are: a. Chroniques de Saint-Denis, ad 1290, Recueil, XX,658; b. Chronique anonyme francaise, ending in 1308, ibid., XXI, 132k; c. Chronique anonyme, ending in 1380, ad 1289, ibid., 127bd; d. De Miraculo Hostiae a Judaeo Parisiis a.d.M.cc.xc. multis ignominiis affectae (Separate account), ibid., XXII, 32f.; e. Annales de Vigornia, ad 1290, Annales Monastici, ed. Luard, IV,503. For additional accounts see M. Lifschitz-Golden, Les Juifs dans la litterature francaise du moyen age, New York 1935, 89ff. and 160ff. Cf. also M. Guedemann, Erkliheungswesen, 11,260, for a reference in the sermons of Giordano da Rivalto.

Spina's account, FF IX,3, (167b-168c), is derived from a letter written to him by a French monk whom he had requested to inquire into the causes of the expulsion of 1306. His correspondent mentions no source by name ("Ha vero que legi et in tabulis vidi fideliter enarrabo." 167c), and his version differs in some details from any other account known.

The story, as told in all the accounts, concern a certain Jewish money-lender in Paris who had received in pledge from a poor woman her holiday vestment. Shortly before Easter the woman came to the Jew begging to let her have her dress just for the one day of the festival. Taking advantage of her feminine sensibility, the Jew persuaded her to bring him in return a consecrated host, which he then proceeded to defile. The holy wafer was saved by a miracle, and the Jew expiated the crime at
U reproduces this account, but turns the accusation into a false charge. The expulsion described at the end is likewise based on FF. It seems, however, that Usque used FF to supplement a notice found in a Jewish source, presumably the L.I.E.B. which is cited by him. That account may have referred to an earlier expulsion from France, perhaps that of Dagobert's reign. This may explain why U dates the event in the same year as the expulsion under Sisebut (U 1), since the two events were virtually contemporaneous. For the expulsion under Dagobert in 629 see Graetz, V, and the following note.

E 24, reproduces U faithfully, though not accurately. S 90a gives the gist of U with but one change. See n.4.

For a discussion of this number see Loeb, 213, who gave it its proper historical setting.

2) = 317 C.E., the same year as U 1. FT, though giving no definite date, implies one near the year 1306. (So in the edition of 1494 used by me. Loeb's emendation is therefore unnecessary.) All Christian sources date the event in 1290 (The Chronique anonyme of 1380 places it one year earlier.) A possible explanation of the date of U has been suggested in n.1. E does not place the event in 1099, as Loeb thinks, but leaves it without a date, lumped together with other undated material that was borrowed from U. Zunz, Synag. Poesie, 19, misled by S (see n.4), dates the event during the reign of Henry I (539 - 602).
3) The first two notations are missing in the Corinbra edition. The second For. F. reads For. 5 in the Corinbra ed. — a misprint. V has no parallel account, despite L.I.E.B.

4) In Portuguese: "Anrique". FF: "imperante Heinrico romanorum XCVI imperatore", i.e. Henry VII (1308-13; Spina, or his source, is obviously not very accurate in placing him in 1306.) But this regnal dating, along with the mention of Clement V (1305-1314) and of Philip IV of France (1285-1314) is applied by Spina to the expulsion of 1306, and not to the event at hand. It is curious that of the three rulers mentioned in FF, U chose to date an occurrence in France by the imperial era. S attempted to correct this anomaly in his own way, by a tacit emendation, substituting . Cf. Loeb, REJ, XVII (1888), 93.


6) Named "Jacob Mousse", according to a MS. source (Lifschitz-Golden, op. cit., 89). The Chron. of St. Denis states that he was called "le Bon Juye".

7) The house was situated in the parish of St. Jean en Greve (so in all the chronicles). In 1294 a church was erected on
this site by "Raynerius Flamingus civis Parisiensis", and was called "les Billettes" (De Miraculo, and the Chron. anon. of 1380).

8) Cf. the parallel passage in FF,178a: "Interim pueri indei illius assistentes prodigij nouitate perterriti...alta voce eiulantes ad publicum percurrunt vicum dicentes et proclamantes: venite venite vere pater noster, etc. Fit concursus populi"

An instructive example of Usque's method of "conversion".

9) According to FF, the Jew was first denounced to the bishops of Paris, called Simon Matiffart in the Chron. of St. Denis. (Simon Matifas de Bucy was bishop of Paris 1290-1304. Cf. Gallia Christ., VII,119 E.) Later he was arraigned before the provost of Paris.

10) Cf. FF: "Indeus ipse omnia que peripsum facta fuerant et dicta confessus est."

11) FF states that the wife and children, who had witnessed the miracle, were eager to embrace Christianity. The Chron. of St. Denis gives the woman's name as Bellatine, and mentions also a seven years' old daughter who was baptized and placed with the "Filles Dieu" in Paris. "De Miraculo" mentions a son and a daughter. FF has "pueri".

12) Refers to FF which has an elaborate story about this incident
The convicted Jew claimed that if he had with him a book entitled "thalmut", he would be immune to death, for it renders immortal those who study it assiduously. The provost, taking the Jew at his word, had the volume fetched from the Jew's house and handed it to him on the pyre. But when the fire was applied, "eumque una cum libro suo thalmut in fauilla et cinere in momentno (sic) et in iictu oculi rededit". (168b). The Chron. of St. Denis has this interesting detail: "Si avint que du conseil et de lassentement des preudes hommes qui a Paris estoient regens en theologie et en decret ledit Juye fu condampne a mourir et fu ares devant de peuple." The Chron. anonyme adds that the execution took place "en la placeaux pourceaulx."

13) FF mentions no massacre. This item may have been derived from a Jewish source. See n.1.

14) FF states: "Hec fuit urgens causa eiectionis gentis indaice a...regno francie" (referring to the expulsion of 1306), but does not describe the fate of the exiles.
3. SPAIN. TOLEDO.

After the disastrous death of king Roderic, the last of the race of the Goths, I saw continuous wars being waged with the Moors, for at that time most of Spain was held by them. When the Goths had won back Toledo from them, killing and capturing many of the enemy, the Africans decided to recover it and sought ways and means to achieve their object. But despite repeated attempts, they did not succeed in carrying out their enterprise, until one day, on a holiday (which the Christians call Palm Sunday), most of the people went out to a church situated at a distance from the city. The Moors had obtained knowledge of that beforehand and, having placed themselves in ambush for that particular hour, rushed out with great haste and entered the city by a surprise attack, killing and capturing what people there were within, including a considerable number of Jews who lived there. After they had gained control of the city, they left there a large number of their men, and with the rest they fell upon those improvident people who were outside, of whom they captured all that were on foot, killing many of them. But the majority of those that were mounted on horses saved themselves, among whom were the principal lords to whose care the king had entrusted the city. These men realizing what a poor account they must render to him who had committed the trust to them, unless they pleaded for themselves some ground or excuse adequate for so great a loss, agreed therefore to throw the
burden upon the afflicted Israelites, from whom do spring all misfortunes. And so they told the king (who, deeply grieved, required them to account for the city) that the Jews had sold it to the Moors and had given them the sign for attack; that they had not been on their guard against the Jews, as they could not have suspected that they might betray them. Accepting this excuse, the king became inflamed against all the rest of my children that lived in his lands, thus adding to the misfortune endured by the Jews of Toledo. Perceiving the King's temper the people began to grow agitated against me, but my Sin had already reduced me to such extremity of anguish and travail, that as they were about to rise up one day to perpetrate a slaughter and destruction on my members, the Most Merciful One, the Heavenly King, took pity and inspired the prince's heart with compassion for so many souls. With the greatest difficulty did the king manage to restrain the people who were like a raging lion, his claws and teeth bared, roaring to tear his enemy to pieces. The reason he advanced was that since the crime had been committed by the Jews of Toledo, they alone deserved punishment, but that those who had not been a party to it should not have to pay for the others, for it was a rule of divine as well as of human justice that the soul that sinned it alone should die.

The Lord sees how innocent we are of such charges, and how unjustly we are persecuted, inasmuch as their every guilt is imputed to us, notwithstanding that we, too, share the fate
which they themselves endure. It is this that the
prophet Isaiah foretold (concerning our treatment at the
hands of the gentiles): "Surely our diseases he (Israel)
doeth bear, and our pains (likewise) he carrieth; whereas
we esteem him smitten of God because of his own wickedness,
and crushed (by his very friends); but in truth, he was
wounded to conceal our mistakes, he was afflicted because
of our iniquities. We do chastise him for the sake of our
welfare, and with his stripes we are healed of our infancy."
(ISA. 53:4f*)
This chapter deals with the capture of Toledo by the Arabs and with a threatened massacre of the Jews, by the Christians of Spain, that was finally averted by the king. The first part dealing with Toledo, is based on FF, VII, 1 (142d). Spina cites Johannes Egidius Samorensis, and "Generalis historia hispanie" (Cron. gen. de Espana, B.XII, ch. 72, vol. III, 207a. Cf. U 1, n. 1), as well as Lucas of Tuy, who is the author of the tradition charging the Jews with betraying the Gothic capital to the Arab invader. (Hispania illustrada, ed. Schott, IV, 70, quoted by Juster, op. cit., 24, n. 1. For a discussion of the capture of Toledo consult J.A. Condé, Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en Espana, Paris 1840, 20; Rios, I, 106, n. a; J. Tailhan, l. c., 403 f.; and Graetz, V, 156 f.) U credits the account of FF, but places the blame of treason on someone else. Then he continues, apparently drawing on another source that those who had been entrusted with the defense of the city and who managed to escape from the general massacre, being hard pressed for an excuse for their imprudent conduct, invented the story charging the Jews with treason. The populace was roused to avenge this crime upon the Jews of other cities, but was finally restrained by the king. This latter part of the chapter, though so ingeniously linked up with the first, does not fit into the picture of the period. King Roderic had died before the capture of Toledo, and the Goths were without a leader. Even if the capital had been surrendered to the enemy
by the Jews, the Arab conquest proceeded at so rapid a pace that there was no opportunity for the Christians to take their revenge on the Jews of Spain. Nor would a Christian prince have restrained his people, at a time like that, from venting their fury on the brethren of the traitors, who may have been inclined to repeat the alleged crime of Toledo. It is obvious, therefore, that this incident, which forms no part of the account of FF, or of any other chronicle, belongs actually to another setting. Thus Dinaburg (םלשלש, I, Jerusalem 1926, 12, n. 7) sees here an allusion to the times of Witiza, the kindly predecessor of Roderic. This suggestion must be ruled out, since the successful invasion of Spain by the Arabs did not begin until after Witiza's reign. All evidence points, on the contrary, to a later stage of the Reconquista, in the reign of Alfonso VI. (See n. 6.) In 1108 the Almoravides invaded Spain and threatened Toledo which had been recaptured by the Christians in 1035. To block their progress, a Christian force under the Infante D. Sancho met them at Ucles but suffered a terrible defeat, in which the Infante fell together with 30,000 of the flower of Spain. The news of the disaster reached Toledo, and the returning leaders, anxious to shift the blame for the rout from themselves, launched the rumor that the left wing of the army, which was composed almost wholly of Jews, had been guilty of faint-hearted conduct. The infuriated mob fell on the Jewish population, massacring and burning. D. Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de los Reyes de
Castilla, Pamplona 1634, 10lab, mentions the riots thus: "En Toledo Domingo vispera de la Assumpcion, vuo este ano (1108) vna pendencia sangrienta con los Judios que aqui moraban, y murieron en ella muchos; no dize la memoria mas de que en este dia mataron a los Judios, y no quien, ni porque occasion, ni quantos fueron los muertos, ni si el Rey gusto de ello, o hizo castigo, en los matadores". We are more fortunate than D. Prudencio in that we know that Alfonso VI did institute proceedings against the perpetrators of the massacre, but they dragged on for years and were finally dropped, in 1118, by Alfonso VII. (Cf. Rios, I, 189ff., and idem, Estudios, 28.) Although the account of U does not correspond in every detail with the incident of 1108, yet the flight of the principal lords who "were mounted on horses", their effort at self-exculpation, the grief-stricken monarch, the rage of the people, the king's attitude, all hark back to this event. It is more than likely that Usque had an account of the incidents just described, - L.I.B.B. is cited in addition to FF - but much of its clarity was lost in the process of harmonizing its contents with that of FF.

Loeb, 213, considering the whole number as a unit, makes the following enigmatic statement: "L' intervention du roi chretien en faveur des Juifs est difficile a comprendre, car ce sont les Maurs, a ce qu'il semble, qui ont commis les excess contre les Juifs, non les chrétiens."
U 3 (4)

E 10 reproduces U with additional data about Roderic. S 90a gives a brief summary of U.

2) No date is given. FF has 714. Usque, confronted with the conflicting dates of FF and of his Jewish source, which most likely had 1108, omitted the date altogether. E has 718.

3) Coimbra ed. has For.5 (misprint). FF is authority for the first half of the chapter, and L.I.E.E. presumably isthhe source of the second. V contains no parallel.

4) French: "Rodrigo". FF: "post infeliciem casum regis roderici ultimi regis gentis gottorum".

5) FF says nothing of this successive capture and loss of Toledo. This element derived probably from the other source used by U, which must have mentioned the recapture of the city by the Christians.

6) That was the church of St. Leocadia, which was built by Sisebut, and in which he was buried. Cf. FF,169d.

7) There is no mention in FF of any Jewish victims, nor of any other victims within the city. The invaders occupied the city after the Jews allegedly opened the gates for them. This is probably Usque's substitution for the Jewish soldiers fallen at the battle of Ucles.

8) The account in FF ends at this point.
9) Dinaburg, op. cit., I,12, n.6, is wrong in finding here an allusion to the favorable attitude of some of the Gothic nobility towards the invaders. Even granted that this passage still applies to the period of the Invasion, the successful flight of the mables was due entirely to the swiftness of their steeds. Dinaburg was misled by the ambiguous rendering of the passage in E. FF states that everyone was killed.

10) Roderic had been killed in the battle of Zerez de la Frontera in 711, or at any rate had disappeared before the conquest of Toledo, and there was no king at the time. (But cf. Dinaburg, op. cit., I,12, n.7.) The King in question may be Alfonso VI of Castile (1065-1109). Cf. n.1.
4. TOLEDO. THE YEAR 4923.

After the city of Toledo had been recovered by the Moors, I saw a band of Arab robbers come down out of the desert and enter at night the city of Medina Ta'lbi or Mecca. With the help of spies from among their own numbers, who had been placed in the city beforehand, they contrived to steal the ornaments from the casket wherein the Moors were keeping, and are still keeping, with great reverence, the embalmed body of Mahomet, looting it of many diamonds and priceless jewels with which it was thickly incrusted. The guards realized that great injury would accrue to them on this account, unless they charged someone with the crime, upon whom the punishment might be executed, while they themselves would escape all blame. They therefore struck the blow at the weakest and frailest spot of the entire body of humanity, by declaring that it was the Jews that had committed the robbery. And in order that the Enemy (who, for my sins, persecutes them continually) might carry out his evil design into effect, he made up a story bearing a semblance of truth and caused it to reach the Moors of Toledo, in view of the hatred that they bore against my children. The story went that a certain Abraham de la Sapa (so called from his cloak which, in his extreme poverty, was his only possession) together with other Jews who had removed from Toledo to live in another country, had been sent thence by all the other Jews to rob that casket.
This rumor overran all of the Moorish domain, and so terrible was the accusation that, on the mere strength of what was only a report and a supposition, the Moors killed many Jews and destroyed forty of their synagogues, the synagogue of Toledo being the first among them. Out of this rumor so much anguish sprang forth for the Jews of all the land of Babbary and of the other parts of the East, that in their wrath and fury the Moorish kings went so far as to seek to force all their Israelite subjects to become converts to the religion of Mohammed, in expiation of what they were alleged to have done to him. Seeing however that in times of great distress, the Divine Mercy hastens to the rescue of Israel, He caused at last this fury to content itself with those who had suffered from its first impetus. As for my Sin, whose outcry was demanding from the Lord a chastisement for me, He satisfied it with the mortal agony which I suffered in my great fear.

Verily, Jeremiah, thou didst prophesy this to me saying: "I shall deliver them to be a horror among all the kingdoms of the earth. "(Jer.29:18)" And I will cause them to fall by the sword before their enemies, and by the hand of them that seek their life." (ibid.19:7) In the end, however, seeing that in this terrible anguish we placed ourselves at His mercy, He fulfilled at this time this holy word which He had spoken: "They will submit, then will I not destroy them." ( ?
At this time it was that R a b e n u M o s h e h
Bar M a i n o n fled from Castile to Egypt where, as
the Sultan's physician, he passed the rest of his life
amidst great honor. From there he wrote them an epistle,
which is called "The Epistle to the South, consoling them
and encouraging them to be steadfast in the Law of Moses,
and giving them great hopes of deliverance.

The version of 5-chaten is supposed to derive from 176.
The theft is committed by a type of cocklebeaute, the same
by the Jew Abraham de Le Calva as in the account of
Abraham's adventure in Rome, which is given in the same
aspect of the story; Degey's accounts of expressly adequate
adequately for these additional stories. As said as for the
welding of the two parts, which are directly connected with
1) This number consists of two distinct parts. The first deals with the looting of a Moslem sanctuary, either in Medina (Mohammed's tomb) or in Mecca (the Kaaba), and with the subsequent destruction of synagogues in the Moorish countries. Our only source for the first part of the story is FF XI, 8 (179abc). As his authorities Spina mentions the "Cronica generalis hispaniae" (cf. U, n.1), and the "Collectarium hystoriarum" of Johannes de Podio (cf. Chevalier II, 2477), yet this story is not found in any extant chronicle. From the fact that Mecca alone is mentioned in FF, it is clear that we are dealing here not with Mohammed's tomb, as intimated by Spina, but with the Kaaba. In that shrine was kept a "simulacrum", and admission thereto was permitted on certain festivals only. (See n.6) In the present account Luzzatto (E 11, n.2; cf. Wiener E, 149, n.19) sees a distorted echo of the looting of the Kaaba treasures by the Carmathians in 929, who also carried away the Black Stone. (cf. Sir William Muir, The Caliphate, Edinburgh 1924, 562.) This explanation has not yet been supplanted.

The version of U differs in several details from FF. The theft is committed by a band of Arab robbers, and not by the Jew Abraham de la Capa, as in FF; the account of Abraham's adventure is here relegated to the realm of wilful libels. There is no need to assume a different source for this aspect of the story; Usque's apologetic ingenuity accounts adequately for these additional elements, as well as for the welding of the two parts, which are totally unconnected with
U 4 (2)

each other, into a relationship of cause and effect.

The second part of this chapter deals with a religious persecution in Barbary and with the flight of Maimonides to Egypt. For this section we have a literal parallel in V 30, where it precedes immediately the account of David Alroy (see U 8). Baer (Quellen, 18) suggests that Usque found them in his source in the same sequence, since the intervening numbers (U 5-7) are all borrowed from FF (see Introd., 70).

E, 11 and 50, reproduces U, but attempts to divide the account into its component parts, placing one in the period of U 3, and the other in the Almohadic age. But misled by the presence of Biblical quotations in the middle of the account, E assigns the persecution in Africa and the Orient to the earlier period. (See n.13)

S 90b gives a concise but confused summary of U.

Cf. Loeb, 214, and Quellen, 17f.

2) = 1163 C.E. This date cannot refer to the Mecca incident, nor yet more particularly, to the destruction of the Toledo synagogue, since FF states expressly, and quite properly, that "tunc illa civitas (toletana) a sarracenis possidentur(\text{\textdagger})". Toledo was permanently recaptured by the Christian in 1085. (Professor Neuman calls my attention to a passage in Z 214a, where the date of the reconquest of Toledo is wrongly given as

Cf. the conflicting data ibid., and on p. 213b.) It was indicated above that E wisely dissociates the date of 4923 from this event. Loeb believes that the date, though placed by
Usque at the beginning of the whole number, really belongs to the flight of Maimonides from Marocco in 1165. On the margin below is indicated another date, 4950, no doubt to be compared with of V 30. The year 1146 marks the beginning of the Almohadic persecutions in Africa. (See S. Munk, Notice sur Joseph Ben-Iehouda, Paris 1842, 45 and nu. 2 and 3.) Usque must have misread the Hebrew number as , and having done so, shifted the dates around, assigning the earlier one, 4923, to the Almohadic persecution and its assumed cause, the episode of Mecca, and the presumably later one, 4950, to the flight of Maimonides. Cf. U 8, n.2.

3) The account in FF forms Consid. XI, punct. III, art. VIII, p.179abc. L.I.E.E. seems to be out of place here, as the parallel of V 30 is confined to the second half of this number. (cf. Introd.,———)

4) This statement is designed to connect this chapter with the preceding one, which deals with the conquest of Toledo by the Moors. The word "after" merely indicates that at the time the city was in the possession of the Moors. S makes the unhappy combination of date and circumstances:

5) FF; only:"in meccam". From his readings in Ramusio's volume (see Introd., 63), Usque learned however that Mohammed's tomb was in Medina. "Horami saría di riprendere alcuni che dicono che il corpo di Maumeto sta in aere nella
Mecca, dico che non e la verita. che ho visto la sua sepoltura in questa citta di Medina Thalnabi" (Earthema, Itinerario, ch.X, in Ramusio, 1, 150A; cf. Hakluyt ed., 25) It is obvious that "Medina talbi" in U is a misprint for "Medina Thalnabi." Unable to decide which of the two was correct, Usque left the matter open. "Or" does not indicate an identification of Mecca with Mediba. Luzzatto's suggestion (E,11,n.2) that the Medina in question refers to some Spanish town by that name requires no further attention.

6) FF speaks "de sepultura et simulacro Machometi", and further mentions that during festivals the custom was "simulacrum videre et venerari". That "sepultura" is also described as "locus ille uti simulacrum erat". The "simulacrum" was hanging in the air by virtue of certain diamonds, and when their peculiar power was weakened by Abraham's magic, it fell to the ground. It is clear that Spina has in mind a sanctuary where an effigy, or representation, of Mohammed was kept. Usque however, having read up on the subject in Earthema's Itineraris (cf.n.5), took the word "simulacrum" in the sense of an actual image, or body, and placed it in a casket. Now, since according to FF, the "simulacrum" or body of Mohammed was still being exhibited to the faithful, Usque drew the inference that it must have been embalmed.

7) E:

8) Cf. the similar motive ascribed to the noblemen in U 3.
9) What brought about this intense hatred of the Toledan Moors?

10) FF does not make Abraham an expatriate and the agent of the other Jews, nor does it associate other Jews with him in his criminal adventure. The story goes that, disguised as a "religiosus secundum legem machometi", he won the confidence of the keepers of the shrine and thus obtained the coveted jewels, whereupon he fled to "Judea" and thence to Spain.

11) "quadringentos synagogas iudearum destruxerunt quarum una fuit synagoga toletana." The wrong number in U (40) is, of course, repeated by E.

12) The persecutions under the Almohades stood in no relationship to the events just described, which must have occurred, at least, 60 years earlier. This phrase was added by U to connect the two parts. V 30 begins at this point and runs parallel till the end. Cf. Munk, op.cit., 41f.

13) V: , without the word "other".

A slightly different and older version of this statement is found in the oft-quoted passage in Alami's (ed. Jellinek,22):

The West, or Maghrib, is the Arabic term for the Barbary. The persecution in the East refers to the events in Yemen in 1172. (See Graetz, VI,230f., and Quellen 18,n.4)
14) V: U mistook the Waw for a Nun. See n.2.

15) Abd-al-Mūmin, the successor of Ibn Tūmart as leader of the Almohades (1130-1163).

16) Usque, true to form, tries to connect this persecution with his account of the looting of Mecca. V states the fact without stating any motives or causes.

17) The relaxation of this conversionist zeal is the product of Usque's schematizing conception of Jewish history (cf. Introd., p. 57), It is not found in V.

18) The meaning of this abbreviation escapes me. See Introd., 64.

19) Portugese: "medico do Soldam". On the confusion of this word, or the Latin "soldanus", with Saladin, in connection with Maimonides, see M. Steinschneider, Introd. to Arab. Lit. of the Jews, JQR, XLI (1901), 104, note.

5. FRANCE

In France I saw a charge raised against the poor Israelite people that lived in Paris (out of the hatred that they bore to the usurers), accusing them of having killed a Christian child in order to use his blood for the observance of Passover. This news reached the king while he was away hunting. As the counselors that surrounded him were ill-disposed towards the Jews, they colored the false accusation in such a manner that the king took it to be true. Waiting neither for time to reveal the truth, nor yet for an investigation which he should have made concerning the matter, the king set out post-haste from the place where he was, with the falcons still in his hand, and as soon as he arrived in the city, with great indignation he ordered eighty-four Jews to be burnt, who were pointed out by their own enemies as having taken part in that crime. This indeed, though those persecuted lambs were so wholly innocent, and though the thing is so strictly forbidden by, and contrary to, the teachings of their holy Law.

"Thou shalt be for fuel to the fire", (Ezek.21:37) thou didst say regarding me, O Ezekiel. How seest thou thy threat executed upon me.
1) This account is based entirely on FF V11,3 (143bc). The Christian sources for this incident are: Guillelmus Armoricus, Recueil, XVII, 71A, to be corrected by another MS., ibid., 769; the rhymed chronicle of Guillelmus Brito-Armoricus, ibid., 133, 11. 745-67; Rigordus, De Gestionis Philippi Augusti, ibid., 36D; Chron. of St. Denis, ibid; 377a; Chron. of Albericus Trium-fontium Monachus, ibid., XVIII, 756E (his dates must be corrected by the subtraction of one year). Spina copied his account from Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale, which in turn took it from Rigord's Gesta. (See n.2) A Jewish version of the event is found in the martyrology of Ephraim b. Jacob of Bonn, first printed in Wiener R, App. 11,p. (Yod); see also A. Neubauer and M. Stern, Hebraeische Berichte ueber die Judenverfolgungen wahrend der Kreuzzuege, Berlin 1892,70.

There is no real divergence between the Christian sources and the account of Ephraim of Bonn. Both sides report that the Jews of Brie (see below) procured the execution of a Christian who was charged with murdering a Jew ( ), although the Christian Chroniclers deny his guilt (Rigord: "quemdam Christianum cui falsa imponebant furtum et homicidium"). Guillelmus Brito-Armoricus alone attributes the cause exclusively to financial difficulties. ("Contiguit ut fidei nostrae confessore, agrestis quidam quamplures solidos deberet eisdem: qui cum non esset solvendo," etc.) Both versions proceed
to tell us, in complete agreement, that the "Countess" was induced by the Jews with bribes to execute the culprit. The manner of his execution is related in the Christian chronicles with minute detail. (See n.6) When Philip August heard of the incident, he hastened to Brièmand had many Jews put to death.

Both the date and the locale of this event have been inaccurately fixed by historians. U leaves the account undated, but its place in his chronological scheme seems to indicate a date around 1163 (cf. U 4 and 8), which is utterly impossible, since Philip August did not ascend the throne until 1179. FF likewise gives no definite date, but states that "tercia crudelitas indeorum circa idem tempus in...regno Francie accidit...Philippus autem rex in Francia". Since the preceding, the "secunda crudelitas" of FF dealt with the expulsion of the Jews from France under Philip in 1182 (cf. U 10, n.2), Usque felt constrained to place the present event prior to that date, as there could have been no Jews in France after that year. Strangely enough, Usque's date is indirectly due to an error by haplography committed by Spina in copying the account of Vincent of Beauvais. The passage in Speculum Historiale reads: "Philippus autem rex in Francia dum reversus dum esset apud sanctum Germanum in laya". Now, Philip August returned to France from his crusading adventure on the eve of Christmas 1191. Rigord and the others date the event under discussion in 1192, "decimo quinto Kalendas aprili" (on which day the news reached the king), that is, March 17, or the first of Nisan. This date is no doubt
correct. (Graetz, VI, 393, has wrongly XLIV. Calend. April.
- March 19, 1191, seven days after Purim). Furthermore, all
sources speak of a "comitissa castri" as being in authority
at the place. (Ephraim: ) In the account of
Guillelmus Armoricus, l.c., 71, she is called "Comitissa
Campaniae", and Graetz, l.c., identifies her as Blanche, the
wife of Theobald of Champagne. But in 1192 Blanche was not
yet the ruling countess. As late as 1199 Count Theobald was
still alive, and it was only shortly before May 1201 that
Blanche became a widow. (See S. Loewenfeld, EB, XX (1880),
14f., and L. Delisle, Catalogue des actes de Phil.- Aug.,
Paris 1856, Nos. 540, 669, and 670f.) Consequently, the event,
as narrated, could not have occurred before 1200. But the
date of the contemporary chronicles must stand. (Ephraim
records no date, but his account follows that of the massacre
of York in 1191.) However, the reading of Gullielmus Armoricus
on p. 71 is faulty and must be corrected on the basis of an­
other MS. printed ibid., 769, which reads instead: "permittente
Comitissa matre Roberti Comitis, apud castrum quod Braniam
vacant." This reading is corroborated by the rhymed chronicle
by the same author (l.c: "Terra Briensis habet castellum
nomine Braiam, in qua Judaeos plures Comitissa Branensis",
etc."), as well as by that of Albericus, l.c. The lady in
question is Agnes de Paudimont, the third wife of Robert of
France, Count of Dreux and Braine, who died in 1188. (Cf.
Recueil, XVII, 769, note; and Michaud, Biographie Universelle,
The castle of "Braia" is, consequently not Bray-sur-Seine in Champagne, as indicated on the margin of Recueil, XVII,36 (which misled Graetz, and Gross, Gallia Jud., 123, s.v., but Brie-Comte-Robert ("Braia-Comitibus Roberti"), in la Brie Francaise, midway between Paris and Melun. Topographically also the latter place is nearer to St. Germain-en-Laye than Bray-sur-Seine is. Ephraim of Bonn has U places the scene in Paris.

E has two references to this event. One (44,1.8: ) seems to be borrowed from U, so much more so as it is apparently placed in Paris, and during the reign of Philip's father. The other (45,1.2 bottom, and supplemented by Loeb, REJ, XVI,53) is based on the account of Ephraim of Bonn, and dated 1190. S likewise has two brief references to this episode: 90b, based on U (must be a mistake), and 91a, based on E or directly on Ephraim's account. Cardoso, 410a, though citing Vincent of Beauvais, narrates the event as in U, with Paris as its locale.

See Graetz, VI, 212, and Note 9, 393; and Loeb, 214.

2) FF VII, 3 (143bc). Loeb, misled by the word "Paris" in U (cf. n.3), misses the parallel and rashly concludes that "U est emprunte en partie a FF 7, 2e cruaute, mais le trait des 80 Juifs tues a Paris, et qui est repete dans E, n'est pas dans FF." Spina indicates as his source "Vincentius
Magnus libro XXX. specu. histo. ca. liiij, whom he copied verbatim with a few omissions. (The relevant passage from the Speculum is printed also in J. Guttman, Die Scholastik des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, Freibau 1902, 134.) The citation is reproduced in U on the margin: "Vicécio manho no espelho das justorias A.F. 154". "154" (c. liiij) must be a corruption from "ca. liiij" of FF.

3) FF: "apud Braiam". Usque seems to have ignored the statement of FF and have linked this incident with the account of the alleged murder of the child Richard by the Jews of Paris, which he found in FF Vll,2. Ephraim of Bonn has

\[ \text{4) Not in FF Vll,3, but cf. ibid. Vll,2 (143a): "ciues quoque milites and rusticos de suburbij et oppidis et villis supra modum usuris grauabant. Cf. n.3.} \]

5) Cf. Ephraim of Bonn: . That the victim, who was accused of murder, theft and insolvency, was a child is Usque's own addition. Cf. n.3.

6) The Christian chroniclers do not advance this motive; the Jews were merely "antiquo odio commoti". The Christian chroniclers date on the description of the execution. The atrocity tale may go back to the fact that the execution took place on Purim ( ). That the condemned man had his hands
tied behind his back as he was led to the gallows is quite natural. It is also conceivable that on that day of levity, a Haman's hat may have been placed on his head - a grimly realistic reminder of the Agagite's fall, - which in the Christian sources became, of course, a crown of thorns. (Cf. Zunz, Synag. Poesie, 26, who considers the whole episode as the hanging of a Haman effigy.) Graetz, l.c., suggests that the time of the execution, occurring as it did shortly before Passover, may have given color to the charge of ritual murder. Cf. Cecil Roth, "The Feast of Purim and the Origins of the Blood Accusation," in Speculum VIII (1933), 520ff., esp. 521f.

7) FF: "Philippus". Ephraim:

6) This detail is found only in U. FF (and others) states merely: "dum esset apud sanctum germanum in laya". Usque probably drew the inference that the king was hunting.

9) The part played here by the counselors may have been suggested by the mention in FF VII,2, of the king's friends who fed his imagination with accounts of Jewish outrages. Cf. n.3.

10) FF: "familiaribus suis ignorantibus quo iret subito arripuit iter." Others stress this alacrity on his part in punishing the crime. Though they all attribute this zeal to his outraged religious feelings (Rigord: "fidei
et religioni christiana compatiens"), a more realistic motive is to be found in Ephraim's statement that the executed man was the king's subject ( ). It was because of this circumstance that the Jews had to bribe the Countess to punish the criminal who was not subject to her jurisdiction. (cf. Graetz, l.c.)

11) FF: "apud braiam velocissime veniens positis in portis ipsius castri custodibus comprehenisque iudeis Lxxviii et amplius comburi fecit." This number is found also in Rigord. Guill. Brito-Armor has 99. Ephraim merely says:

, then adds that some of the Jews were baptized while others, led by R. Yomtob of Joigny preferred death. Cf. Graetz, VI, 393.
6. FRANCE.

In a town in Normandy, France, throughout which province my children were hated and envied because of whatever miserable profits that they may have obtained - I saw some wicked men resolve upon plundering and destroying them, trying to effect this end by various means. At last that vile company agreed with a sorcerer upon this diabolical device. They bribed a hangman, whose business it was to execute justice upon criminals, and the sorcerer told them that he would employ his powers to draw together all the pigs of that region by burying a pig's heart. Once gathered together in that place, over the buried heart, he would make then bite each other to death. Then in order to have the thing charged criminally to the Jews, the hangman was to make it known to the people, and also give secret testimony to the governor against certain Jews, saying that they had asked him for as many hearts of Christians as he could obtain from executions, and that he had promised them to do so for the sake of a certain compensation that he was to receive in return. Taking pity however on his fellow Christians, he had given them hearts of pigs instead. Then, on going out to see what they would do with them, he had seen them bury the hearts in that very place.

Finally, when that wicked gang had adopted this plan, the sorcerer dug a pit outside the city, and uttering many demoniacal words and diabolical conjurations, buried in it
the pig's heart. Having covered it up, he drew a circle
with much exercise of the arts of witchcraft, conjuring and
calling upon the devils for a long while. A few days later,
without failing, there came an innumerable multitude of pigs,
wild as well as domestic, and waged such a fearful battle
among themselves that they were all killed, biting each other
to death. At the rumor of this extraordinary occurrence, the
people flocked thither in great amazement, and then and there,
before everybody, the hangman made public the false testimony
which he had prepared against the Jews, while some of the other
plotters came to his assistance, saying that they had indeed
seen the Jews bury there something but did not know what it
was. The people now said: "Surely, the object of the Jews was
to kill all of us Christians in the same manner as they killed
the pigs, seeing that it is the heart of a Christian that they
asked for. Now then, if anyone wants to kill us, it is but
right that we should kill him." Thus incited, they rose up
and returning to the city, fell upon my innocent children,
killing many by the sword and robbing others that were able in
some way to save their lives.

O poor wretch that I am, how remote from my thoughts
was the possibility of being overtaken by such an utterly new
and strange misfortune! This evil is one of those that are
contained in the prophecy which thou, O Moses, didst utter
against me: "If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of
this law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear
this glorious and awful Name, the Lord thy God," (Deut.28:58)
new plagues will come upon thee "which are not written in the book of this law." (ibid. 61)
1) This account is based exclusively on FF VII, 4 (143cd). Spina's source was an oral one: "hec autem sepe a pluribus fide dignis audiui sic in francia accidisse". The story is told of a Jew who, planning to wreak vengeance on the Christians, became intimate with the local executioner. One day he begged him for the heart of a Christian, ostensibly for medicinal purposes. Of the twenty gold pieces which the Jew was to receive in fee from the sick man, half would go to the executioner, who was to supply more hearts later. The wretched fellow, "tum ex amicicia tum ex cupiditate", consented. Extracting a heart from an executed Christian, he was about to hand it over to the Jew, when his noble wife, learning of the deal, persuaded her business-like husband to substitute the heart of a pig. The unsuspecting Jew proceeded to bury the heart in a large field. The battle of the pigs ensued, as in U. The King of France had then the Jew seized, and he confessed that had he buried a Christian's heart, the same thing would have happened to the Christians. Whereupon at the king's order, all the local Jews were put to death.

U recreates the Jewish side of the incident on the basis of this story. He pretends to have additional information and cites L.I.E.B. But aside from the name of the province, Normandy, which is not found in FF, there is nothing in his account that would imply the use of a supplementary source. The ingenious twist given to the story of FF, by the introduction of a sorcerer, is highly illustrative of Usque's imaginative faculty. It is noteworthy that he does not disbelieve the story of the bewitched heart, but merely ascribes the feat to a professional sorcerer.
U 6 (2)

E 25 is a condensed translation of U. (Cf. Loeb, 214) S 91b condenses the story even further, but in so doing produces a distorted and unintelligible version. It is singularly free from nearly all the elements in U which were derived from FF, such as the executioner and the king, but mentions instead the name of the province (יווה לוי), the sorcerer, the assault of the people. It almost leads one to wonder whether, after all, it may not represent an independent version, of which U made use, in addition to FF. - Cardoso, 416a, quotes FF, then adds: "Samuel Usque en su Consolacion de Yaruel cuenta de otro modo el caso, mas poco diferente," and gives the gist of U. He reports a similar story from Sebastian de Nieva Calvo, Nino de la Guardia, Toledo 1628, which is said to have taken place also in France, (perhaps borrowed from FF?). - Depping, op.cit., 134, derives his account from FF.

2) No date is given in FF, but there, too, it follows immediately after the affair of Brie (cf. U 5, n.1). Spina (FF, 168b) indicates that this incident may have been one of the causes of the expulsion from France in 1306, but he confuses this expulsion with the one under Philip August, for he lumps together the incident of the pigs with those of 1192 (U 5) and 1290 (U 5) and 1290 (U 2). - U leaves the account undated, and its place in the chronological scene is non-committal, except that it precedes the date of the expulsion as given in U 10. (See ibid., n.2) E places the event between 1099 and 1142 or rather right after his version of U 2,
"nous ne savons pourquoi" (Loeb, 215). But E merely follows the order of U wherever he can fix no date, and since he places the accounts of U 3, 4 and 5 in their proper chronological sequence, U 6 automatically takes its place immediately after U 2.

3) FF being the only source, L.I.E.B. does not represent an actual source. V has no parallel. See n.1.

4) FF has only: "in una regni francie provinciа" (so in ed. 1511, 186c)


6) FF: "quare omnes iudei illius loci ex regis (Francie) precepto occisi sunt". The popular uprising is here deliberately substituted for the lawful procedure of FF.
7. SPAIN.

In Thavara, a town in Spain, I saw myself sorely persecuted, for I was hated by the people so violently that from fear I would retire to the house at sundown, since it happened that many Jews were killed when encountered by Christians in the dark of the night.

Now it happened (to my undoing) that the son of a certain Jewish blacksmith committed some crime, and though he did not deserve the death penalty, nevertheless, (having fallen into the power of those who bear us so much malice) was sentenced to die. His poor old father seeing the miserable and sad end of this his only son, for he had none other besides him, was so utterly overcome by grief and so cruelly tortured by the dismal thought, that he went out of his mind.

Furthermore, as the hate of these enemies was growing ever stronger, they could not keep the evil thought which was brewing within them, from boiling over into deeds. There had assembled a large company of Christian young men and held a sham fight, such as is the custom in Spain to hold on holidays. Once they saw themselves armed with lances on their shoulders and with swords on their hips, they charged at the Hebrew lambs with such impetus that they left but a very few of them alive in that place. When the news of this cruel occurrence reached the king's ears, the people decided, by common accord, to devise some excuse, in order to save the murderers who were the sons and brothers of the whole town. Consequently they all testified
before the king that the Jewish blacksmith had feigned madness in order to be able to avenge his son's death; that for two months at an end, day and night, he had been going around knocking on doors, so that they finally stopped paying attention to him, regarding him as a madman; and that at the same time he had been making in his house a large number of bolts and many caltrops, such as are used in war to scatter over the battlefield in order to spike the feet of men and horses; and that so equipped, in the middle of the night he locked the doors of all the houses in town, scattered the caltrops over the streets, then set fire to the city. And had it not been for one door, which had been left open, and through which a Christian came out and unlocked the other doors, everybody there would have been burnt. It was for that reason that they had perpetrated that terrible slaughter upon all the Jews. When the king and his counselors saw that they were all testifying of one accord, so that if any were to be punished, it would be necessary to do so to them all, he let them go without punishment, since it was held to be contrary to the law to wreak wholesale vengeance upon an entire people.

But woe unto me, that the minds of them who sat in judgment were of that opinion, for there is not a heart under the heavens that holds no bias against me.

Herein were fulfilled the prophetic words of Moses: "Thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes that thou shalt be obliged to see." (Deut.28:34*) Likewise there
was realized, for my undoing, this prophecy of Jeremiah:

"Let their men be slain of death, and their young men smitten of the sword. Let a cry be heard from their houses."

(Jer. 18:21ff.*)
1) This account is based on FF VII,10 (145d-146a). Spina based his story on oral reports ("vox communis et publica fama"). His version is essentially the same as U, except, of course, that what in FF forms the body of the narrative is regarded by U as an excuse invented by the murderers for their self-defense. This shift entails a different conclusion, and so while the Jews are put to death in both versions, FF describes their destruction as a punishment ordered by the king, but U attributes it to mob violence. However, the introductory passage and also the account of the massacre are not found in FF. They may well be mere literary embellishments, yet their strikingly realistic features may be due to the use of an additional account, referring to an event entirely unrelated, which was combined with FF. The additional source, or sources, are designated by U as L.I.E.B. and U.M., but it is by no means a foregone conclusion that they represent actual borrowings. (See Introd., 54f, 62, 64f)

E 25 and S 91b give a brief summary of U, following their versions of U 6, as does also Cardoso, 414b-415.

2) FF gives no date, but states at the end: "nec amplius iudeus aliquis ibi habituit usque in hodiernum diem." The incident must have occurred not long before 1460, when Spina wrote his book, since he relates two more cases of child murders committed by Jews in "ciuitate thauri" in 1457. (FF VII,12,146cd) See n.4.

3) This account is not paralleled in V, nor does FF cite Vincent
of Beauvais in this connection. See n.1.

4) *FF*: "In regno castelle in quadam villa que dicitur t aurensi que est in territorio ludouici de almanca." Two more incidents are placed by Spina in "ciuitate thauri" or "taurensi" (*FF*, 146cd), where the town in question appears to have been situated not far from Zamora. It is modern Tabara, 38 kmm. N.W. from Zamora. (Remedios, Gloss., 43, s.v. "Thauara") That town, or at any rate, that neighborhood, seems also to be the locale of U 22. (See ibid., n.4) *E*; Wiener E, 19: "Navarra". Another MS. of *E* reads correctly: (*REJ*, XVI, 52, ad p. 25). S from . Cf. Loeb, 315.

5) Not in *FF*. This passage may have been derived from another account, or may be a reminiscence of an incident of the author's own lifetime, such as took place, for instance, at Lamego. See A. Herculano, The Establ. of the Inquis. in Portugal, Engl. transl., 317.

6) Cf. *FF*: "commisit quoddam crimen propter quod fuit inridice occidus."

7) *FF* does not state he was an only son. Uaque adds this detail to make the father's reaction the more believable.

9) FF: "iuuatus non est dubium per alios iudeos cogitantes perimere omnes Christianos."

10) According to FF, the doors were broken open and those who escaped from the fire were injured by the caltrops. This version of U is in line with the changed nature of the situation.

11) FF has an entirely different account of the outcome of the affair. "Predicte crudelitatis et malicie inopinate querela ad regem venit qui secundum quod est publica fama literas suas dedit predicto loco quicunque iudeus in eo vel eius terminis caperetur satim occideretur". Spina concludes the account with a story of a Jew who while traveling near the outskirts of Thauara, in derision of the law, repeatedly crossed and recrossed the boundary line with the words: "There is a Jew in Thauara!", and "The Jew is outside of Thauara!" Finally he was seized and burnt, and his words passed into a byword. Now, may not the version of U be an occurrence of Usque's own lifetime? Cf. for instance the episode of Gouveia in 1528, where the perjurers went unpunished because of the large number of witnesses compromised. (Herculano, op. cit., Engl. tr., 294ff.) With reference to the Lisbon massacre of 1506, V 60 states that the king was anxious to have justice done,

12) U obviously refers to the king and the counselors, but cf. E

At that same time I saw myself overtaken by another such great calamity. In Persia, in a city by the name of Hamaria, there was a "kohal" of a thousand families, the beginning of the "kehiloth" that dwell on the banks of the river Habiton, at the entrance of the kingdom of Media, whose language was Targum. They all extended from the province of Samaria till that of Gilan, fifty days' journey to the realms of Persia. These Hebrews, of the age of fifteen years upwards, paid to the king an annual tribute of one ducat.

From that city of Hamaria there arose an Israelite by the name of David Aldui who had received instruction from Hasday, the most learned Jew in the whole exile, and later had studied with the Chief of the city of Bagdad. In this way he became very proficient in the Talmud and in all the other sciences, not excepting sorcery and magic. This man, puffed up with his knowledge, proceeded to collect a large company of Jews that dwelt on the mountain Habiton, declaring to them that he was the Messiah. With this band he revolted against the king and killed many of his men. In the end, seeing there was no better way of dealing with him than by ruse, the prince feigned friendliness towards him and asked him to visit him, pledging his word for his safety. David trusted him, and when he came into presence, unafraid in the least, the king questioned
him if it was true he was saying that he was the Messiah that was expected by the Jews and that was to perform such wonderful miracles in the world. He replied that he was, and demanded that he treat him accordingly. The king was angered by David's haughty retort, and also by the falsehood of his assertion, and disregarding his plighted word as well as all rules of courtesy, ordered him to be removed and cast into a dark dungeon. Finding himself imprisoned and deceived, David determined to avail himself of his knowledge, and he applied his magic with such effect, that he burst his chains, shook them off, and got out of the prison, breaking through a formidable wall merely by means of words.

When the king learned of this, he dispatched in pursuit a large company of horsemen and soldiers to look for him all over and bring him back a prisoner. When the news reached David Alduy, that such a large force had been sent out to seize him, trusting in his science, he appeared before his pursuers invisibly and spoke to them, so that they only heard his voice, yet were unable to see him, much to their astonishment and confusion. Leaving them thus, he then repaired to the palace and addressed the king in the same manner, saying: "You have not the power to seize me. With your very eyes you shall now behold me as I go on my way, yet there is nothing you can do to hurt me." Having spoken these words, he appeared outside the palace and, taking from his head a kerchief he was wearing, spread it over the face of the river G o z a n
and crossed over to the other side. The king and all who were with him looked on, greatly amazed and bewildered. Yet unable to endure such insult, he had a large number of men take to boats at once in pursuit, in order to seize him. All their effort, however, was in vain, for in that one day David traveled the distance of ten days' journey, by virtue of the "Shem ha-Meforash" of which he availed himself at that time.

Seeing how little his power availed him in coping with him, and how he flouted his authority, the king resorted to other means of revenge. He ordered a proclamation to be given throughout Persia, making it incumbent upon the Jews to kill David or else to deliver him to the king in chains, on pain of ordering all the Jews throughout his realms to be put to the sword. Finding themselves, as a result, in a terrible plight and affliction, the innocent Israelites were compelled to write a letter to the Emir Al mur c he m of Bagdad, asking him to speak to the Chiefs of the Captivity and require them to kill him, or else to hand him over to him, that the people might be saved from death through the sacrifice of a single person. They wrote likewise to David himself who was sojourning in that same city, imploring him to desist from that madness and to spare them miseries more dire than those that they were suffering already by reason of their captivity: for unless he did so, the lives of all of them were in jeopardy, and as they would be forced to put him under a "Herem".
These letters they sent through Zaccoaiai the Nasi, causing him to come over from Syria where he was residing, and Rebi Joseph Badahan. None of these letters, however, had any effect, nor did David give heed to what they had written him. As a result, the nation was reduced to dire straits, and engaged in continuous supplication and fasting, and praying unto the Lord for deliverance.

At last He answered them, when there rose up a certain Turkish king by the name of Zidaldim, a vassal of the king of Persia. He sent for David's father-in-law who was living in his land, and promised him ten thousand ducats if he would kill him or bring him to him in chains. The man, prompted by the sight of the plight of his brethren in Persia, and not by motives of gain, chose to slay himself rather than surrender him to the cruel tortures of the enemy. Consequently, while he was asleep one night in his bed, with a single thrust at the heart, he put an end to his life, thus bringing to an end also the anguish of my children.

At once the king of Persia was notified of his death by the Turkish king Zibaldim, wherefrom he derived great satisfaction. He then agreed with all those who had joined his band, whose number was immense and who were very wealthy people, to take them back into his good graces for the payment of one hundred quintals of gold.

Rabenu Mosheh writes about this case in one of his epistles, but says that the Sultan asked him if he was the
Messiah, and that he answered that he was. Then the king said: "What sign will you produce to make men believe you?" He replied that if he had his head cut off, he would come back to life again. Said the king: "If this be true, I shall constrain my people to become Jews." Whereupon he ordered to cut his head off. He has not come back, however, to this day, for it was the part of his cunning to prefer to die thus, rather than under the terrible tortures, to which he feared he would be subjected.

When he made his appearance, thy warning, O Jeremiah (namely, that we guard ourselves against him) had already been delivered; also the punishment which he was to receive had been decreed, for thou didst say: "Hearken not unto the words of the (false) prophets that prophesy unto you and deceive you; they speak that which lies in their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord." (Jer.23:16) "Behold, I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and cause my people to err by their lies." (ibid.32) Therefore it shall be said: "The Lord hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to suckle at false hopes. Therefore thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will send thee away from off the face of the earth; this year thou shalt die." (ibid.28:15f.)
1) The U version of the story of David Abroy, which bears the marginal reference L.I.B., is derived ultimately from the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela (B). See Introd., 66ff.

It, in turn, served as a source to E 35ff., where it was used in conjunction with the Constantinople or the Ferrara edition of B. Thus E has

e tc., as in B; but the date,

as in U. (On the other hand, Sambari, Neutauer, Med. Jew. Chron., 1, 123ff., combined B with V.) Cardoso, 382, reproduces U.

An independent account, dealing most likely with the same event is found in Ifham al-Yahud by the apostate Samuel Ibn Abbas, printed in Wiener E, App. IV, pp. ff. (cf. German translation, ibid., pp. XXV ff., and 169f.; Hebrew transl. in XXV, 345.

For an account of the man and his work, see Martin Schreiner, Samau al b. Jahja al-Magribi und seine Schrift "lfham al-Jahud," MGWJ, XLll (1898), 123ff (esp. 410); and M. Steinschneider, Polem. u.apol. lit., No. 8, p. 26, and 325, n. 43.)

Lately, a Genizah fragment bearing on the same event has been published by Jacob Mann, REJ, LXXI (1920), 90f; LXXXIX (1930), 257f.; idem, in Ḥaqenu, XXIV (1923), 341ff.

Cf. S. Cassel, Juden, 195f.; A. Asher, The Itinerary of Rabbi

2) = 1163/4. The words "at that same time" in the text refer, no doubt, to the date of U 4 (1163; cf. U 4,n.2), since the intervening accounts are all derived from FF, and are undated. The parallel version of V places the appearance of David seven years before the Almohadic persecution and the flight of Maimonides to Egypt, thus pointing to the year 1139. Most likely, however, one or more dates were dropped by V when he copied his source. The date 1163, given by U, E and Sambari (5923 in the latter is an error) is probably based on a statement in B, to the effect that the episode had happened "ten years this day" ( ). The latter chroniclers then subtracted these ten years from 4933 (=1173 C.E.), the year in which, according to the anonymous author of the preface to the Itinerary, Benjamin returned to Spain, assuming that this was also the date of the redaction of the book, and thus arrived at 1163. It is quite certain, however, that B did not write his account after his return, but composed it in the form of a diary during his travels. "Ten years this day" must therefore apply to the date
of his visit in Bagdad, which took place some time before 1171. Loeb, 217, proves that the Alroy episode must have occurred before 1160. Poznanski, Babylonische Geonim im nachgaonischen Zeitatter, Berlin 1914, 13, fixes the date at 1158. Zunz, in Asher, 11,163, points to the year 1153. Mann places the event at the time of the Second Crusade, 1146-7. Cf. also Adler, l. c., 54, n.3; and 1, n.2.

3) V B Strangely enough, V has the correct spelling, probably by accident. Ifham al-Yahud refers to it as lmadiyah is situated to the north of Mosul, near the head waters of the Upper Zab. (cf. Guy Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge 1905, 92. See also Asher, 11,16lf., and Adler, l.c., 54, n.2)

4) Cf. V B
Do Benjamin's figures apply to persons or to families? (Cf. REJ, XXIV (1887), 172; LII ( ), 154ff.; and Adler, l.c., 16, n.2; and 30, n.3.) In either case the figure of B is too high. Baer, Quellen, 14, n.4, thinks that V and U seem to have preserved a better reading than the MSS. of B.

4a) B and V: Both give the number of the communities as over one hundred.

5) V ; B Obviously U copied neither V nor B. Cf. below, where all versions have "the Jews that dwelt on the mountain (B ) Habiton (V ; B )".
Rawlinson (quoted by Asher, 11, 161) identifies with the Zagros range. For a possible etymology of the word, see ibid.

6) V

7) B ; V . "Samamaria" is not a typographical error, - Remedios' correction, in the Errata, to "Samaria" (?) is unwarranted, - but goes back to a Hebrew text that read , which Usque mistook for one word. Cf. V. U took in the sense of province, though in Medieval Hebrew it also means city. (cf. Introd., 67 n.)

8) B , but V . The province of Gilan is in northwestern Persia. See Le Strange., op.cit.,172.

8a) So also V, but B

9) V , but B . The common source of U and V must have had or , and while U copied the name mechanically, V indulged in an emendation. (But cf. Quellen, 15, n.12, where the reading of V is upheld.) Cassel, l.c., 195-n.50, derived the name from the city of Rae. Samuel Ibn Abbas calls the pseudo-Messiah , which must be compared with the reading in the Genizah fragment (in Hebrew)

Mann ( , l.c.) suggests that in the Arabic script ( ) may easily be corrupted to ( ). Cf. the case of the Messianic pretender Yudghan, whose designation (the Shepherd) has been corrupted to (the Caller).
The name David may have been assumed by Menahem, when he came forward with his Messianic claims, as indicative of his mission. (Mann, in l.c.)

10) V and B. The office of the Exilarch had been revived shortly before the events here narrated. (cf. Fraatz, VI, 245 and 396; B 61ff; Poznanski, Bably. Geon., and Mann, Texts and Studies, I, 208, and n.13). See following note.

11) B ( var.) ; V (See D. Kaufmann, REJ, XXVII, 304, concerning the confusion on this subject in the Jewish chronicles). The reference here is to Ali ha-Levi. (cf. Poznanski, Bably. Geon., 12f.) U seems to have confused the description of Hasday with that of Ali, making the former a scholar, and the latter a Chief ("Mayoral").

12) i.e. the king of Persia, probably Sinjar Shah Ben Shah of B 74, who ruled 1119-57. cf. Asher, 11,n.292; and Lebrecht, b. c., 356,n.a.

13) B places the prison (Adler: "Tabaristan")

14) The following incidents are hopelessly confused in both V and U. See Introd., 62.
15) In Portuguese: "touca", properly a woman's coif, rendered by E as (cf. also U 11, n. 9); Loeb translates "coiffure". B and V have , which U must have misunderstood. Vara, 124, renders with "panuelo", kerchief, which may be related to "touca". Cf. "Quellen, I6: "eine Mütze", "ein Kopftuch".

16) V , as in U, but B has here only: , having taken him first . B mentions in connection with David's dungeon (see n.13), but it does not follow that the same river is meant here. Benjamin thought "Gozan" was the name of a certain river (Asher and Loeb identify it as the Kizil Uzen, or the Araxes), but in reality the Mongolian word "uzen" ( ) means river in general. (cf. Adler, l.c., 35,n.3, and 58,n.4.)

17) The Ineffable Name. B , but missing in V.

18) B states that David went to . U and V do not mention any destination. Cf. n.22.

19) The proclamation is mentioned neither in B nor in V. It is the usual method, in U, of giving public notice. Cf. U 1 and 11.

20) V ; B Usque did not realize that the Amir al-Muminin in question was the Caliph, for he appears here as the intermediary between the Jews of Persia and the Bagdad Exilarch. In both B and V it is the king of Persia that appeals in the
mattered to the Commander of the Faithful. The Caliph in question is, depending on the date of the event, either Mohammed al-Muqtafi (1136-60) or Abu' al-Mudhaffir al-Mustanjid (1160-70). Cf. Lebrecht, l.c., 352f.

21) Neither B nor V states that David was then in Bagdad. On the contrary, B mentions earlier that David had gone to (cf. n. 18) This datum was obviously missing in Usque's source, and not knowing whither David had gone after crossing the river, Usque assumed that it must have been to Bagdad, since it was thither that the Jews of Persia (U; the king of Persia, acc. to B and V) turned in their distress, asking the "Emir" and the "Chiefs of the Captivity" to slay David. Now, Usque was not aware of the fact that the Persian Jews were under the jurisdiction of the Exilarchate in Bagdad, to whom they would naturally appeal at a time like that, and consequently he surmised that David, too, must have been at the time in Bagdad, where the authorities could lay their hands on him. Furthermore, when later, according to B and V, the Jews of Bagdad send their letters addressed to David, to the Jewish authorities in Mosul for transmission to David, who was then staying in that region, in Imadiyah, Usque, still under the impression that David was sojourning in Bagdad, makes Zakkai of Mosul come to Bagdad in order to deliver the letters to David. Cf. n. 25.

22) In Portuguese: "serlhesia forçado here mar éno".
This is no doubt a Hebraism, from the word "ban," and given a verbal form "heremar." Cf. Remedios, *Gloss.,* 27, s.v., who derives it from the Greek ἑρήμος, meaning isolated.

23) B and V:


24) i.e. Assyria, Mosul (cf. preceding note). U consistently uses "Siria" for "Asiria," and vice versa.

25) B and V do not make Zakkai come down to Bagdad from Mosul. Imadiyah being nearby, he naturally had easier access to David. The passage is a figment of the author's imagination, based on a misconstruction of his source. See n. 21.

27) He is mentioned again as Zibaldim, where the Amsterdam ed. reads likewise Zibaldim. The identity of this personage is not certain. Cassel, l.c., 193, n. 37, transcribes the name as "Seifeddin". Seif al-Din I, the son of Zoeki, the famous Atabeg of the Seljuks, died in 1149; Seif al-Din II did not begin to reign until 1170. Neither of them can therefore be the ruler in question. (cf. Lebrecht, l.c., 67ff., and Lost, 212.) Groetz, VI, 243, reads Zein al-Din, and makes him commander of Tmadiyah. Cf. also Adler, l.c., 38, n. 1.

28) Cf. V:

The alternative of slaying David or surrendering him is peculiar to V and recurs throughout.

29) This motivation is found also in V, but not in B. See Introd.

30) V adds the element of a banquet and concludes:

V was probably influenced by the manner of death described in the passage from Plutarch (Mellen, 17, n. 3) See below.

31) I makes no mention of their wealth, nor does V at this point. But see V in the beginning of his account.
32) V, that is, Maimonides. (Cf. U 4)


The passage in the Epistle does not apply, however, to David Alroy, but to a Messianic pretender who appeared in Yemen at about 1172. The error, nevertheless, does not go back to U and V, or to their immediate source, but can be traced as far back as Maimonides' time. (But cf. Zunz, in Asher, II, 163)

A report reached the communities of Provence that, a number of years previously, Maimonides had made a favorable statement concerning a Messiah who had appeared in the Orient, and as Benjamin's Itinerary was then known, it was taken to refer to David Alroy. Obviously they had not seen the Epistle to Yemen. Since Maimonides' views on the subject of Messianism were well known, the report was doubted, and an inquiry was addressed to him on the subject. Thereupon Maimonides replied in 1494, in his Epistle to Marseilles:

The account of the man's death follows, as reproduced in V and U. Yet the false rumor was not completely quashed by this emphatic correction on the part of Maimonides, and an echo of it seems to have persisted down to the time of U and V. Another echo may be detected in the apocryphal letter of Maimonides that deals with a Messiah of Isphahan (TJ, 17 (193), 173f.). For a discussion of a possible falsification in the Epistle to Yemen see Kaufmann, BEJ, XXIV (1892), 112f.

34) V likewise Maimonides writes:
In Vienna, a city in Germany, at the time of the emperor Frederick, there was a large pond frozen from the terrible cold prevalent in those parts. Then I saw three little boys come to play on it, as is commonly done, but the ice broke under them and they drowned. A thorough search was made for the children in the city, as well as outside of it, but as neither they nor any information about them was forthcoming, the people raised the charge that they had been killed by the Jews in order to use their blood for their ceremonies. Witnesses presented themselves who asserted having seen the boys enter the houses of certain Hebrews. In order to substantiate the false testimony, they said on this same occasion, that any wickedness could be believed of them, for the preceding year it was learned, a Christian girl had been induced with money to bring the host to a Jew who had then defiled it.

When the report of this charge, coming as it did on the heels of the first one, reached the emperor's ears, whose counselors were ill-disposed towards me, he caused all the Jews of his kingdom to be cast in prison, fairly resolved to effect a terrible slaughter upon them. (The Divine Mercy caused his wrath to break out, however, only against three hundred Israelite persons whom he ordered burnt in public.

After this cruelty had been inflicted upon me the pond
thawed out altogether, and the children who had drowned therein came up on the bank, dead. Whereupon it was realized how falsely that crime had been ascribed to me, and many there were that said openly that the three hundred Jews who were burnt had been innocent of that of which they had been accused. But woe unto me, hapless man that I am, for with all that they did not, nor could they any more indeed, undo the mistake.

Here indeed was I overtaken by thy wrathful word, Jeremiah: "I will make thee to pass with thine enemies into a land which thou knowest not; where the burning fire of my wrath shall be kindled against you." (Jer.15:14)
1) This number seems to consist of a combination of the Wunns libel of 1420 with another event of an unknown date. A full and detailed discussion of the sources for the events of 1420 is found in S. Krauss, Die Wiener Geserah vom Jahre 1421, Vienna and Leipzig 1920 (esp. pp. 67ff on p. 72, l. 3, "1400" is an error for "1420"). It should be observed, however, that the author's criticism of the Jewish sources is altogether out of focus, for he fails to recognize their relationship to U. (After discussing U minutely, he adds, on p. 74: 'So... auch... Samuel Usque, Manasse ben Israel, Isaak Cardoso', etc.) Cf. also Artur Goldmann, Das Judenbuch der Tiefstrasse zu Wien, Vienna and Leipzig 1968, 112ff. (esp. 112, n.1).

Usque derived his material from NT VII,7,(1440), which in turn is based on an oral report of an eye witness: "hec mini rotulat quiaam vir illorum partium dictus Arnoldus de almania qui me certificauit se per proprios oculis vidisse predictam executionem". (cf. Krauss, op. cit., 302, n.36). Into this account U weaves the story of the frozen pond and the eventual, though belated, vindication of the condemned Jews. These added elements are so distinctly a part of Usque's technique that one cannot help suspecting that they had no other source than the author's imagination. True, the margin contains, besides NT, two more notations, U.M. and L.I.E.B., but the nature of these sources is highly problematical. At best, we cannot control them.(see Introd.,
The incident of the three children, related in FF, is not corroborated by any of the contemporary chronicles, nor is the connection between it and the Enns charge a self-evident one. (The incident of the child murder is found also in Vancsa, Gesk. der Stadt Wien, 11,256, acc. to Krauss, op. cit.,202,n.361; but the volume is not accessible to me at this time.) Is there room in those years for that episode? In his decree of judgment, issued March 12,1421 (see Goldmann, op.cit.,132), the Archduke states that the desecration of the host occurred "vor ettleichen jahren". Krauss, 198,n.315, asks the relevant question, why the crime had not been punished sooner. The answer suggests itself that the evidence against the Jews was too flimsy for a death penalty, and the initial punishment consisted of the banishment of the poor and the imprisonment of the rich. But finally, the additional accusation of child murder was hurled against them and proved convincing enough to procure, within a fortnight, a speedy conviction and execution. (cf.n.10) The month of March fits very well into this picture.

The account of U is followed by E 43 in every respect. Krauss, 73, not realizing the dependence of E on U, subjects the text of E to a minute analysis which yields him a quantity of worthless conclusions. The condensed version of S 91a curiously lacks the host libel, and also seems to have additional information. Have we here once more an account derived from an independent source, which was utilized also by U?
(See Intro., n. 1) Cardoso, 410ab, reproduces U almost verbatim, then on p. 413b gives an account from FF, dating it in 1420. U is used also by Menasseh ben Israel, Vindiciae Iudaeorum, 165, 9, No. 13.

Cf. J. Wertheimer (?), Die Juden in Oesterreich, 3 vol Leipzig 1842, 1, 93 and 1:5ff.; Graetz, VIII, 132f., and note on p. 132; Loeb, 217 (brief note); J. E. Scherer, Rechtsverhaltnisse der Juden in deutsch-oesterr. Laendern, Leipzig 1901, 129, n. 1, and 411ff.; I. Schwartz, Gesch. der Juden in Wien bis 1625, Vienna 1913, 247; Otto Stobbe, Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters, Berlin 1923, 192; H. Tykociński, Germania Judaica, Breslau 1934, 414, n. 19; Max Grunwald, Vienna, Philadelphia 1936, 32ff. (On p. 15 the author states that the blood accusation "has not been heard in Vienna to this day").

2) U assigns no date to this event, but places it before the year 1183, the date of U 10. FF states explicitly: "circa annum M.CCCC.XX.", though at the same time the event is placed in the reign of Emperor Frederic III (1439 - 1493), but see n. 5. E follows U in dating the episode before the expulsion by Philip August, but in doing so, seems to attribute it to the reign of Frederic I Barbarossa (1155 - 1190). (Tykocinski, l.c., vaguely ascribes this feature of E to "irgend ein Missverstandniss"). Menasch ben Israel, op. cit., strangely considers it a contemporary event. On the other hand, Rios, III, 645, fixes the exact date at 1166 = 4926!
3) UP, Vol. 7, seems to be the only source actually used by U. The account is not paralleled in V, nor is any of the material borrowed from Vincent of Beauvais, despite the references to L.I.E.B. and U.N. Cf. Introd., 54, 62 and 84.

4) UP: "in vienna ciuitate teutonie". S:
Cf. Wiener E, 172, n. 145, and Krauss, 74. However, may easily be a corruption from

5) UP: "imperante Friderico imperatore", by whom is meant, no doubt, Frederic III (1439- ). Krauss, 72, wrongly assigns this statement to Spina's informant, thus denying all connection between the child murder accusation which must have occurred after 1439, and that of the desecration of the host in 1420. The Franciscan friar was none too well informed on quite a variety of subjects, and he was under the impression that Frederic III, who occupied the imperial throne in his own time, did so already in 1420, whereas in reality Sigismund was the Emperor (1411-37). In his ignorance, Spina made the Emperor also the ruler of Vienna. See n. 10.

6) The winter of 1420-21 was a particularly severe one. (Ebdendorfer's Chronicle, quoted by Krauss, 69.)

7) UP only: "etiam"; E: (cf. ); Wiener E, 65: "vor Jahren" (!); Krauss, unaware of the original expression in U, takes it to mean "viele Jahre"! (73, and 202, n. 370)

8) UP: "m ulie r quedam christian a". She was the wife of
the sexton of the parish church at Enns, not far from Vienna. (cf. Krauss, 68)

3) Cf. the brief account in FF: "compertum est quod indei occiderunt tres infantes christianos. Compertum est etiam quod mulier quedam christiana impiissima vendidisset indeis corpora dominicum".

10) FF: "ex precepta predicti imperatoris" (cf. n. 5). This blunder was corrected already by Spina's spiritual descendant, Eck of Ingolstadt, who names as the ruler of Austria Archduke Albrecht VII. (cf. Krauss, 72, and Graetz, VIII, 132, n. 1.)

11) This statement must properly mean "of all the places in Austria of the Archduke Albrecht". (Ehendorfer's Chronicle, quoted by Krauss, 69. Cf. ibid., 200, n. 336.)

12) May 23, 1420. (Krauss, 97, and 218, n. 536)

13) E: . Krauss, 203, n. 375, weighing each word of E, exclaims: "Zu verwunndern aber ist, dass er nicht auch der verbrannten Weiber gedenkt". Cf. also ibid., n. 379.

14) FF: "quare ex precepto predicti imperatoris CCC. indei fuerunt igne cremati". Spina knows nothing of the imprisonment of all the Jews of the kingdom, and the mention of that fact in U is due to the author's usual conception of the course of events, and is not based on additional source material. The burning of three hundred persons is, indeed, a grim case of "Divine Mercy". See Krauss, 108ff. for an account of the exe-
cution. The contemporary account, "Wiener Geserah" gives the number of those burnt as 92 men and 120 women. (See ibid., 108, 111f., and 229, n.686; Goldmann, op. cit., 132, for the text of the verdict; and Graetz, VII, 132.)

15) S:
For another instance of the enigmatic precision displayed by S see U 1, n.12.

16) It is idle to speculate, as does Krauss, 74, whether the edict, issued by Frederic III in 1476, forbidding blood accusations was a result of a discovery such as is described in U. This finale as far as our author is concerned, need have no foundation in fact. See Introduction, 57.
10. FRANCE, THE YEAR 4943.

In the time of Philip August, king of the French, I saw the Jews prosper so greatly in that kingdom, that they had bought up one half of the city wherein they lived. Seeing however as wealth is followed by envy, the more so the poorer and lowlier its possessor was before acquiring it, the people perceived these circumstances about my children and hated Israel exceedingly. So strong was their hatred that, but for the fear of punishment that was holding them back, they would have oftentimes committed some dreadful violence upon me. In the end, in order to see their wicked intention carried out with impunity to themselves, they chose, as the best expedient, to persecute me with false accusations, so as to lend a semblance of justice to any execrable act that they might commit. Some said, on one hand, that I made sacrifices of Christian children, killing them in subterraneous chambers, and that I taught the servants that worked in my house, to Judaize. Others maintained that church vessels, such as the chalice, pyxes, crucifixes and other similar objects, were accepted by me, in the banks, as pledges, from the hands of thieves, and that I put them to profane uses, and drank out of them—although it is a thing strictly forbidden by my Law to avail myself of any vessel or equipment belonging to the service of other gods: and that furthermore, I threw a book of their gospel together with a crucifix into a filthy place.
Attacking me in this manner with such a multitude of accusations (with the thought that some of them might injure me), they succeeded in destroying the evidence of my veracity and innocence in one such case.

King Philip driven by anger against me, gave orders to burn many bankers and other Jews as well. Many others were removed to prison, as they were in the synagogues on the Sabbath, and were stripped of all their possessions, even to the clothes on their backs. Countless others, threatened with the sword, allowed them to throw baptismal water on their heads, to save their lives, and had their possessions returned to them. Wherein the enemies clearly revealed their intention to be nothing else than to swerve them from their Law, proving thereby the accusation, which they raised against them, to be a false one.

The truth of this was that the Lord having granted me in that kingdom great resources of wealth, and having multiplied me so that my number was now double of those that departed from Egypt, and I used them for the enjoyment of things terrestrial and deemed those successes to be my proper business. Daily I grew more remiss in the service of God, distorting many of the teachings of His Will. And for these sins, the punishment in person and property not yet sufficing, the king ordered furthermore to destroy all the synagogues, in which we had made our prayers scarce, and turn them into churches. Out of the riches which he looted he caused many
noble structures to be built in France. Among them were the palaces and walls of the Bois de Vincennes, a delightful spot near Paris, as well as the Champ de Mars, now known as the Halle, where the city's commerce is carried on.

Consider, O princes, for a moment, the reason or cause that prompts you to do harm to me. See you not how manifest a part false testimony plays in it, and how unjustly I was punished? For it is impossible when insult be offered to the holy vessels, that they would not protect themselves against it. Do you not remember, when the ark of the Lord was taken by the Philistines and was set up in their land, with great reverence, alongside their idols, that its sanctity was outraged on finding itself in impure and unholy places, and it slew a countless number of those gentiles in all the cities whither they kept removing it for fear of its wrath? And that it dashed to the ground their abominable idols, and wrought such havoc amongst them, ceaselessly spreading destruction and slaughter, until it was restored to the land of the Israelites whom it acknowledged. Now, how can you believe with regard to the hosts, the chalice, the crucifixes, the books of the gospel, which you hold to be so holy and consecrated, that they suffer themselves to be so grossly abused and insulted? Yet your priests record it and write it down in their books, with the intention of inciting the people against me. Obviously, there is no reason why you should believe such charges; on the contrary, there are
good reasons why you should punish those ignorant people that fabricate them out of hatred, unaware that by so doing, they wrong themselves.

In reality, however, these misfortunes come upon me from a much higher quarter. For it seems that in the hearts of some of those children of mine there remained but little fear of divine chastisement. So that in this event there might be fulfilled the prophetic words of Amos which say thus: "All the sinners of My people shall die by the sword, that say: The evil shall not overtake nor confront us." (Amos 9:10) In that disaster, there was likewise the threat of Jeremiah to be carried out, saying: "Like as ye have forsaken Me, and served strange gods in your land (willingly), so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours (by force)." (Jer. 5:19) Therefore, "thy substance and thy treasures will I give for a spoil." (ibid. 15:13)
1) This account of the persecutions under Philip Augustus presents a baffling picture. The bulk of it is derived from FF VII, 2 (143ab), which reproduces the account of Vincent of Beauvais. The latter is in turn a literal copy of passages from Rigord's De Gestis Philippi Augusti (Recueil, XVII, 5). See n.3. But the chapter also contains information, concerning the Bois de Vincennes, which is not found in FF, nor in Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum. It is found, however, in Rigord's chronicle, whence it is derived by the Chron. of St. Denis. Usque cites the latter (see n.15), though in all probability he did not use it. (See Introd., 62) His Jewish source, cited as L.Eb., is here represented by a passing reference to a quotation from Gersonides, found also in V 21, which U applies wrongly to this period. (See n.13) The chapter closes with an appeal to the princes to disbelieve the charges of sacrilege raised against the Jews. The surprising thing about this whole chapter is that, although in all its sources the expulsion of the Jews looms very large, not a word is said about it in U. (See n.12 for a tentative explanation of this point.)

E 44 combines U with the information which Joseph Hacohen had gathered from the Latin sources in his, 29ab, S 90b has a brief statement about the persecutions, which does not seem to be derived from U. Cardoso, 404b and 406a, quotes the polemical portion of the chapter. Depping, 136f., used U.

Cf. Graetz VI, 208ff., and Caro, op.cit., I, 357ff. See also Loeb, 217.
2) = 1183 C.E. So also FF and Vincent. (Loeb’s criticism of U is not warranted.) The expulsion actually occurred in 1182: “A.D. MCLXXXII mense aprili qui ab ipsis Judaeis dicitur Nisan, exit edictum a serenissimo Rege Philippo Augusto, quod omnes Judaei de regno suo, usque ad sequens festum Sancti Joannis Baptistae, ad exeundum parati essent... Igitur Judaei... egressi sunt cum uxoribus et filiis, et universo comitatu suo, a.D. superadicto MCLXXXII, mense Julio, qui ab ipsis Judaeis dicitur Tammuz.” (Rigord, l.c., 9) Vincent’s date is probably derived from the passage where Rigord speaks of the conversion of the synagogues into churches and which is placed in 1183. It is noteworthy, however, that Ephraim of Bonn (see U 5, n. 7) places the expulsion in 1186:

So also E, repeating the date given in and thence , II. Loeb accepts this date. But cf. Graetz, VI, 211.

3) FF cites “vincentius magnus in speculo historiali libro. XXX. C.XXV.” who is quoted verbatim. Vincent, in turn, cites a “historia francorum”, but his account squares literally with Rigord’s chronicle. The passage from the Speculum is quoted in toto in Guttmann, Scholastik, 134, n. 2.

4) Philip II August was crowned king in 1179, while his father, Louis VII, was still alive. Louis VII died in 1180 leaving Philip the sole ruler. In consequence, there is a great deal of
confusion, in the chronicles, in the matter of his chronology.

5) FF (and all the other chronicles): "iudei intantum erant ditati quod fere medietatem urbis (Parisius) sibi vendicauerant." U seems to date this prosperity in the reign of Philip August, whereas, in reality, his ascension to the throne marked the beginning of the persecution. (So all the sources.)

6) Both notations missing in Coimbra ed. U.M. refers to Vinventius Magnus. (see n.3). The use of L.Eb. is limited here to the quotation of Gersonidus. (See n.13)

7) Cf. the list of accusations in FF: "iudei qui parisiis manebant singulis annis christianum unum in opprobrium christianae religionis quasi pro sacrificio in criptis et fossis subterraneis latenter in die cene vel in illa sacra ebdomada penosa iugulabant... Sed et christianos in domibus suis servos et ancillas habeabant qui etiam cum iudaizabant... Sed et vasa sacra pro instanti tam viliter tractabant quod eorum infantes in calicibus offas in vino factas comedebant et cum eis bibebant. Itaque timentibus illis ne domus illorum ab officialibus regis scrutarentur quidam ex eis crucem auream et auangeliorum (sic) codicem auro et gemmis deornatum cum alijs vasis in sacco reposuit et in profundam foueam ubi ventrem purgare solebant prochdolor vilissime proiecit." It is noteworthy that while FF ascribes the pledging of church vessels with Jews to the financial straits in which the churches found themselves, U cites a charge accusing the Jews of accepting stolen church articles as pledges. (Cf. S. Grayzel, The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century, Philadelphia 1933,34f., and 35, n.74.)
8) Refers to the alleged martyrdom of Richard of Paris, mentioned in FF, or perhaps to the incident of U 5.

9) No particular class of Jews is singled out in FF in this connection, but Usque seems to have realized that the "bankers", or the money-lenders among the Jews were the special object of popular hatred. Cf. U 5, n.6.

10) FF does not mention any execution carried out at the order of Philip August, but states that the young king, hearing often, "a pueris qui in palacio cum ipso nutriti fuerant", that the Jews of Paris used to kill a Christian every year "et in huiusmodi nequicia perseverantes deprehensae multociens et igni combusti fuerant", yet unable to act during his father's lifetime, he had to hide his time. But as soon as he became sole ruler, (see n.4) he carried out his plans. However, no bloody revenge is ascribed to him in this connection.

11) FF: "capti sunt iudei per totam franciam in synagogis suis in sabbato. Et primo quidem expoliati sunt vestibus et auro et argento." For the date, see Graetz, VI, 210, n.1.

12) FF: "quidam ad fидem christi converti sunt quibus intuitu christiane religionis omnes possessiones suas integre concessit." Usque's version of this act of conversion is typical of his approach to FF. While FF states clearly that an edict of expulsion was issued, Usque ignores this fact (see n.1), and substitutes for it the alternative of death or baptism. Brought up in an atmosphere of Marrano zeal, he apparently could not conceive of
large numbers of Jews abandoning Judaism, merely to escape expulsion.

13) Gersonides in his commentary on Lev. 26:38 (not on Num. 23:10, as cited in V 21 and by Abravanel in II, 2, ch. 2, end) states:

By this is meant, however, the expulsion of 1306. U obviously applies the reference incorrectly, but although V and Abravanel use the passage in its proper setting, it is clear that neither looked it up himself, as is testified by the wrong citation, and not one of the three knew its precise wording. According to Gersonides, those alone who perished in the course of the expulsion amounted to "double the number of those that departed from Egypt", and it is not the total number of the exiles. (Cf. Introd., ) Usque may have been misled by the reference in FF to the great number of Jews in Paris at the time: "eo...tempore multitudo maxima iudeorum parisius habitabat qui de diversis orbis partibus ob pacis diuturnitatem illuc conuenenter".

-- E followed U in this matter, but omitting as usual the marginal note. (Loeb misunderstands the relation of E to you, when he says that "E a prudemment efface le nom de Levi b. Gerson").

Joseph Hacohen commits, however, the additional mistake of applying to this event the passage in (see U 16, n. ) which likewise refers to the expulsion of 1306.

What did Usque mean by "and others" in the marginal note?

14) FF: "Illis (iudeis) ergo eiecitis eorumque possessionibus
immobilibus ad fiscum regis devolutus (sic). rex eorum omnes
sinagogas quas scolae vocabant mundari iussit et eas...ecclesias
deo dedicari...fecit". The punishment in body, in U, refers not
to exile, as in the passage in FF, but to loss of life. (See n.
12)

Rigord (ibid.,11): "Eodem igitur tempore (1183), Philippus...
remus Vicenarum...muro optimo circumcissing fecit", etc. "in foro
quod Campellis vocatur...duas magnas domos quas vulgus halas vocat,
aedificari fecit, in quibus tempore pluviali omnes mercatores
merces suas mundissime venderent, et in noce ab incursu latronum
tute custodirent," etc. That Philip used the confiscated property
for this purpose is Usque's own interpretation. (Cf. Graetz, Vl,
209) See n.1.

16) 1 Sam. 5f.

17) Refers probably to Vincent of Beauvais, Spina and others.
In the city of Naples and Trani, as well as in other parts of that kingdom, I saw my children suffer a calamity worse than violent death. Prior to that, they had prospered mightily in those lands, both as to wealth and as to numbers. Now the king was engaged in a grave and fateful war which he was on the point of losing, for it was lasting longer than he had the means to carry it on. He had exhausted not only his own treasury, but also the resources of all the lords and knights of his following, the people likewise having been many times vexed with exorbitant taxes. Seeing that the king was reduced to such dire straits, hard pressed and engrossed in thoughts of devising ways and means, the Jews of his kingdom decided to come to his aid with their entire possessions. And so they presently went up and offered him their substance and their persons. And so great was their wealth that it enabled the king to emerge from that war with great honor and gain a supreme victory over his enemy. Grateful for the invaluable benefits received from my children, the prince bestowed upon them countless favors and esteemed them the noblest men in his kingdom. The matter went to such limits that they surrendered themselves completely to the favor of an earthly and mortal king and, trusting in him,
they conceived the idea that never again could they fall low in that kingdom, since the prince and the people alike were indebted to them, and they did not repose their reliance in Heaven. Wherefore the Lord was roused to a great fury against them and so mighty was the force of that sin that it was able to attack and overthrow them forthwith, turning all their thoughts into smoke, in the following manner.

When come to the end of his life, the king left his kingdom to his son, highly commending to him the Jews that lived therein, and saying that it was necessary for the satisfaction of his conscience that the Jews be repaid for the favor which he had received from them. Determined to fulfill his father's order, the king took counsel as to what would constitute an adequate reward for them, concerning which many diverse opinions were voiced. In the end, however, everybody was agreed that so great had been the service rendered that no temporal reward could recompense it adequately, and that consequently his highness should pay them in spiritual coin, by saving their souls and turning them all into Christians. The advice seemed very good to the king and he approved it. To this end, he presently sent for the principal men of the Jews and advised them of the favor which he was resolved to confer on them. Much taken aback and perturbed at these words, they answered that that was not the favor they desired; rather, to say nothing more about it, that would be the most signal favor he could bestow
upon them. The king said that he had already made up his mind to remit the debt, owed them by his father, with this reward which he deemed the greatest of all; and that they, too, would recognize it as such, once they have received it. Seeing the king's determination, the distressed Israelites said that since his highness so desired, he should give them time to think the matter over and give a maturer answer. The king replied that they should direct their thoughts only to accepting his favor with willingness, and that he was prepared to grant them every pleasure in whatsoever they might request of him.

The Jews proceeded to confer among themselves as to what they should ask of him in order to swerve him from that determination. Finally they all agreed that he should be requested, now that they were to become Christians, to unite them in marriage with all the principal heirs of the kingdom; assuming that the proposition was such a difficult one that he would be forced to refuse it. But it happened to them otherwise, for the king did grant them their request, as both he and all his nobles realized that they expected to save themselves thereby. When the Jews saw that their motive had been comprehended, they began to renounce the deal, declaring that they had no such intention. The king, however, ordered a proclamation to be given throughout his kingdom to the effect, that all the Jews should become Christians from the time of its publication until a certain torch was burnt out, or else they must die. When my children
found themselves in this frightful misfortune, many who were weak, for fear of the punishment, heedlessly turned their backs unto their Law and suffered themselves to be baptized. Such action led them straightway to prosperity, for the king united them in marriage with the nobles and principal men of the realm. The great anyagogue of Naples was converted by his order into a church by the name of Santa Caterina. As regards those that withstood that grave temptation with constancy and did not become converted, they were deprived of this life by the sword, passing on into that which lasts forever.

This was one of the most eminent examples that have come into the world that all Israel might see in it their reflection and recognize that their hope must be divested from all earthly hopes, far removed from mortal creatures, and sustained only by that infinite yet strong thread, the King of the Universe, who holds both soul and body in His hand.

It is from this that the offspring of the nobles of Naples received an admixture of Israelite blood.

What say you, brethren, of this new brand of misfortune, according to which, "for the good (and benefit received from me) they have rewarded me evil; and hatred for my love"? (Ps.109:5) Oh, how exact and true I found these threats of thine to be, O Jeremiah: "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his strength (and hope), and whose heart departeth from the Lord. For he shall
be like a solitary tree in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land and not inhabited." (Jer. 17:5f.)

Thus, "we looked for peace, but no good came; and for a time of healing, and behold terror!" (ibid. 8:15) And as regards their apostasy from the Law, this sentence of thine, O Amos, was likewise executed: "And I will slay the residue of them with the sword." (Amos 9:1)
The following account of the forcible mass conversion of Neapolitan Jewry in the thirteenth century has no clear parallel in the historical sources. Though a persecution in Naples is reported also in V 19, the circumstances surrounding it differ radically from those of U. Basnage (Histoire des Juifs, Book IX, ch. XIX, V, ed. Hague 1716, 548ff.) seems to have combined these two accounts into one historical sequence, placing the events narrated in V as subsequent to those of U. In doing so, he was no doubt influenced by the dates accompanying the two versions. (But see n. 2.) Strangely, he cites V only, makes no mention of U or E. (Cf. also M. Ferorelli, Gli Ebrei nell'Italia Meridionale, Turin 1915, 52f., who follows Basnage.)

The proper historical relationship between these two accounts was established by Umberto Cassuto in his revealing study "Un ignoto capitolo di storia ebraica" (Judaica, Festschrift zu H. Cohens Siebzigsten Geburtstage, Berlin 1912, 389-403; esp. 396ff.)

According to V, the year in which occurred the expulsion from England witnessed also the forcible conversion of the communities of Naples and Trani. Thus far V bears out the general fact related in U. V then proceeds to record a tradition concerning the causes of the persecution, a tradition that was labeled in his source as an oral one (is not Ibn Verga's own statement. See Intro., 74f.) A quarrel between a priest and a Jew in Trani induced the former to accuse the Jews of desecrating a crucifix. In the riots that broke out in consequence and spread to Naples, the majority of the Jews embraced
Christianity. Some time later the priest was found guilty of perjury and was banished to the "distant isles". This oral tradition Cassuto (1.c.,400) considers as "bearing fundamentally the features of verisimilitude", and as preferable to the version of U which has a legendary twist and must therefore, be derived from a late source. Despite this romantic transformation of the truth in the account of U, a certain amount of authenticity cannot be denied to it, as it preserves some details, the correctness of which is attested beyond a doubt by other documents (cf. n.11), such as the conversion of the synagogue into a church. In all likelihood, both versions, V and U, were found side by side in their common source, here designated as "1.Eb." See Introduction, § 2.

A reference to the same event occurs also in Giordano da Rivalto, Prediche (Firenze 1831,II,231). In a sermon preached on November 9, 1304, he recalls that "14 or 15" years earlier, the Jews were accused by Fra Bartolomeo, a minister of Carlo of Anjou, of having committed a ritual murder. The king seized the Jews, of the entire province, giving them the choice between death and baptism. Whereupon, after long deliberations, the Jews, eight thousand of them, submitted to baptism, and the rest fled, so that not a Jew remained in Apulia and the other royal domains. Though fantastic and inaccurate in details, this account squares in its general outlines with that of V.

The historicity of the event thus variously narrated in confirmed by the existence in Apulia of large numbers of descendants of converted Jews, the so-called "neofiti", or crypto — Jews, who
are dealt with in numerous documents. Thus a papal bull of 1453 speaks of the inhabitants of Lucera "quorum antecessores fuerunt judei quique pro maiori parte iam sunt anori elapsi centum quinquaginta quod magis coacte quam voluntarie effecti fuerunt christiani". (Cassuto, l.c., 402). Again, when in 1294 tax exemptions were granted in neophytes in the kingdom of Naples, they applied among others to 138 persons in Naples, 150 in Salerno, 310 in Trani, 72 in Pari, 172 in Taranto; all in all, to about 1300 persons. (Ferorelli, op. cit., 55) In 1311 Robert of Naples issued orders to prevent the frequent return of neophytes to Judaism. (ibid., 56) See V. Vitale, Un particolare ignorato di storia pugliese: neofiti e mercanti, Naples 1926 (which I have been unable to consult.)

Among the Jewish chronicles, E 50 follows U faithfully. S 91a does likewise, and brings the account up to date. (See n. 13.)


2) = 1240 C.E. This may be just a round number, but more likely a mistake for 5030 (the can easily be lost in a phrase like cf. V) V refers no doubt to the expulsion from England narrated in the preceding number, V 18. The date should be 1290, as is implied also by Giordano da Rivalto. (Cassuto, l.c., 400f.; cf. U 12, n. 3) The conversion of certain synagogues in Trani into churches in the second half of the thirteenth century is mentioned in a work written in the early part of the sixteenth century. (Cf. Cassuto, l.c., 402f.) V refers his
implied date to the persecution; U does not indicate which of the episodes narrated took place in the specified year, but E and S apply it to the war waged by the older king.

3) U: "Napòles e Trana". Note the parallel spelling in V: , which points to a common origin. Vara (106, and again 107) renders by Verona!

4) Probably the same as L.I.E.B. V seems to have another of the variant versions contained in their common source. See Introd.,

5) Probably Carlo I of Anjou (1263-84) who was benevolent towards the Jews.

6) Probably Carlo II (1284-1309). Unlike his father, he did not favor the Jews of his domains. Thus in 1288 he expelled the Jews from Maine and Anjou. It was he who in 1300 forced the Moslems of Lucera in Apulia to become Christians, putting those that refused to the sword. (Cassuto, l.c., 396 and 394)

7) Cassuto (l.c.,399) sees in the fact that this advice came from the king's council an allusion to the monk of Giordano's account (see n.1), who is described as the king's minister. This inference, however, is far-fetched, since it is Usque's usual method to ascribe the origin of royal actions to deleberations in council. Cf. U 5,12 and 13.

8) U: "morgados", meaning heirs through primogeniture. Cf. Du Cange
9) U: "tee que se ar dese hua tocha", rendered by E;

Wiener E (41) questioned the correctness of the
reading, but See (La valée de des pleurs, 229, to p. 62) was the
first to call attention to this case of mistranslation. Evi-
dently, Joseph Hacohen took "tocha" to be the equivalent of
the Italian "tucca", and rendered it by the same word as he
used for the Portuguese "touca" in U 8. (Cf. ibid., n.15; also
U 17, n.6.) Cassuto (l.c., 397, n.2) reports, however, the correct
translation, , in a MS. of E at the Collegio Rabbinico
Italiano.

A similar case of this use of the torch is found in V 35:

10) There is a tradition preserved among the Neapolitan pop-
ulation to the effect, also mentioned in a sixteenth century
work on the holy places of Naples: "Santa Cath erina e una
chieda antica nominata santa Catherina dela Giudeca, situata
appresso al seggio di Porta Nova, et si dice che si nomina
santa Catherina dela Giudeca, a causa che fu edificata da certi
Giudei, che si fero Christiani". (quoted by Cassuto,l.c.,403)

11) V mentions no massacres, but speaks of the self-imposed
exile of those that scorned to save themselves by baptism.

12) U must have had a source for this assertion, which is
U 11 (6)

essentially different from those made concerning the "Lutherans" in U 14 and 20. S, which copies the account of U, makes here this significant statement:

On the island of England I saw the Israelites multiply greatly, so that in London alone, which is the principal city of the whole kingdom, there were two thousand families of great wealth, passing their exile there, as in all the other parts of the province, amid some tranquillity. Since however as my peace is not a natural, but rather a false and borrowed affair, while the woe of this life I regard as the garment for the soul, which is my constant companion, and as they were unwilling to be separated from me for any length of time, they provided an occasion for a predilect friar to become enrobed of a very beautiful sheen, a thing that is contrary to all rules of religious orders. For a long time he pursued her by secret means, but did not succeed to make any headway; rather she spurned him and laughed at his lies and promises. This obstacle fanned the flame of his illicit love to a greater heat, until able no longer to master his own desire, he found no other course than to throw off the habit of his order and the robes of Christianity altogether, and to assume those of Judaism, and in all secrecy he became a Hebrew. Transformed thus, he was better able to induce the beautiful Jewess to lend a more willing ear to his wooing. In the end, the Hebrew girl being poor and fatherless, and in the power of her mother, a weak woman, swayed by motives of gain, the latter, considering the wealth of the former friar, gave her to him to wife, on the condition that they should all go to live outside of the

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kingdom of England, for they were running a grave risk in a matter such as this.

The incident was finally discovered. All the friars regarded his action as a great outrage, and furthermore they found themselves the laughing stock of the people. In order to vindicate their honor, they endeavored through the queen, whose confessor was a predicant and her kinsman, to incite the king against the Jews. In their sermons they never omitted to aim their teachings to the Jews' detriment, whenever they mounted the pulpit to preach, so that the populace was nursing in its soul a deadly hatred towards me, and seeking means to carry it out.

In addition to other calumnies and false testimonies which they preferred against me and which, being mendacious, collapsed of themselves, they charged me also with clipping the coin. This accusation was easiest for them to substantiate, inasmuch as many of the people got together by common consent, and with coins in their hands which they had secretly clipped in their homes, to this end, they went to bring suit against the poor Jews, claiming to have received the coins from them. In addition to those persons, many others supported this charge, so as to strengthen the testimony. When the courts received the suit, it needed little pressure to be ruled in my disfavor, and so a verdict was pronounced, and approved by the king, expelling all my children from the kingdom and taking their property from them, in lieu of the death penalty that, according to the laws of the land, such crime deserved.
The friars seeing that they got the better of the afflicted Jews, and that a little force would well suffice to overthrow them altogether, now came out with their other accusation, saying that as they had, in a Christian land, converted a friar into a Jew, it was necessary in recompense that either they turn Christians, or else suffer death for the crime. By this time, all hearts, those of the king, of the princes and of all the people, were already set on my destruction, and howsoever slight the occasion — how much more so this one which they considered of such importance — it was bound to throw powder and brimstone on the fire of their indignation, and so the complaint of the friars, my enemies, was conceded to them as requested.

For this purpose they took at once the small children of Israel from the keeping of their parents and sent them away to the end of that island, into a place that is called the N o r t h , and left them there to be taught the Christian doctrine and faith, to the end that, separated from their elders, they might grow oblivious of their ancient Law and lose altogether the disposition which they had acquired from suckling Jewish milk. Of the fathers and mothers many perished, crushed by their unbearable grief. They were moreover expelled from the kingdom, in fulfilment of the first sentence; whence they departed with such lamentation as could have moved the hard rocks to compassion, had they been endowed with feeling, seeing that they were leaving behind their very vitals. Thus, in violation of both divine and
human law, they had two deaths, or two punishments, inflicted upon them, whereas according to all law, no one is to suffer more than one.

Those that remained spread throughout the kingdom, whence there persist to this day many memories of buildings of synagogues turned into churches, and likewise a large part of the population bears Jewish names.

Here, O Lord, I saw fulfilled Thy word which was prophesied by the mouth of Moses: "Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look and fail all the day; and there shall be no power in thee to bear it." (Deut. 28:32*)
1) This chapter combines two different accounts of the expulsion from England. The parallel versions found in V 18 and 20, and in Abravanel's 'In Yehudah', and their relation to U are discussed in the Introd., 74 ff. While Ibn Verga leaves the two accounts disconnected, as he found them in his source, -- the "1. Eb." of U -- Usque, on the other hand, weaves them into one interconnected story, adding elements which were absent in the source. In the episode of the converted friar, which dominates the account of U, Graetz (VII, N. 11) is inclined to see the underlying personal motive for the expulsion. He identifies it with a similar occurrence placed in 1275 by the continuator of the chronicle of Florence of Worcester: "Londoniis quidam de ordine praedicatorum, dictus frater Robertus de Redingge, praedicator optimus, linguaque Hebraea eruditissimus, apostatavit, et ad Judaismus convolavit, atque Judaeam ducens uxorem, se circumcidi, atque Haggaeum fecit nominari. Quem accercitum et contra legem Christianam audacter et publice disserentem, rex archiepiscopo commendavit Cantuariensi". (Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon, London 1848-9, II, 214f.; cf. Engl. transl. of the Chronicle in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, 354.) The end, as Graetz observes, is obviously missing, but so it is also in U and V. (U merely states their intention to escape, not the accomplished fact.) The Christian account does not attribute the friar's conversion to his study of Hebrew, as Graetz (ibid., 430) thinks, but like U and V, to his love for the Jewish girl. At most, his Hebrew studies may have brought him into personal contact with the Jews, thus providing an occasion for the romantic developments.
Most likely, however, this narrative, silent as it is about the fate of the offender, is a mere echo of another well-authenticated case which occurred in 1222 (as is hesitatingly suggested by Israel Abrahams, in Transactions of the Jew. Hist. Soc. of Engl., VI (1908-10), 258.) That episode is fully discussed by F.W. Maitland in "The Deacon and the Jewess" (Transactions of the JHSE, VI, 260ff.) The combined information supplied by the numerous sources tell of a deacon, a native of Coventry, who apostatised for a Jewess. Arraigned before the Council of Oxford, he was convicted and degraded, whereupon the lay authorities delivered him to the fire. The Jewess managed however to escape. The conversion of Robert of Reading in 1222 cannot be, therefore, a direct, or even a contributing cause of the expulsion in 1290. The account of V is not altogether clear; Abravanel says nothing at all about it; and as for U, it is not surprising to find two unrelated incidents merged into one interrelated narrative. (Cf. e.g., U 3, 4, 15, and Introd., § 6) But even if this pragmatism was warranted by the source, the mistake is merely to be transferred to this earlier stage of transmission.

As for the incident of the forcible conversion of the Jewish children, the fact that it is not paralleled in V need not imply, as Faer (Quellen, 20) thinks that it is purely an invention on our author's part. (The enigmatic "Norte" militates against such conjecture.) Nor can it be attributed to another source, as the citation "Cor. Ym." would seem to indicate, since this reference is probably out of place here, and belongs to U 13. (See
there, n.1, and Introd., l^2r) In all likelihood, the incident was mentioned in the Hebrew source, but was not copied by V, just as the story of the friar was omitted by Abravanel, or already by Efodi. Possibly, it appeared there in a different connection and had no bearing on the expulsion from England, but was used here by U to tie up this "first" expulsion with the "second" expulsion recounted in U 13. (See Quellen, 19f., and U 13, n.1)

U is reproduced in E 52. S 92b seems to have combined U with V, creating a virtually new account. A German translation of this chapter by G. Meyer is printed in Winter und Wünsche, Jued. Literatur, III, 345f.


2) Reading ' יפ; V and Abr. יפ. Both dates are corruptions from יפ-1290 C.E. This explanation was first suggested by John Selden, De Jure Naturali et Gentium, ed. 1726, I, 215. (Cf. also Graetz, VII, 429, and Loeb, 218.) The Jews left England on Tuesday, October 9, 1290. "It seems (it) was a Day they had agreed upon amongst themselves." (Tovey, Anglia Judaica, Oxford 1783, 232f.) E: 1241 C.E.
3) For "1. Eb." see Introd., 83. On "Cor. Ym.", read by
Graetz as "Coronica de Yngraterra", cf. U 13, n. 1. Introd.; 62.

4) In 1290 the London community constituted about one eighth
of English Jewry. The exact number of exiles is given as 15,060
(Graetz, VII, 428: 16,511), thus making the Jews of London number
some 2,000 souls. (Jacobs, l.c., 179). Abravanel, V and U speak
however of the same number of families. (Cf. U 8, n. 4)

5) U: "passando com algua quietud seu desterro aly". Graetz
(VIII, 394) emends: "sem", without, implying the interpretation:
"living there unexpelled". But this emendation is both un-
necessary and impossible. "Desterro" is used here, as in many
other passages, in the sense of "exile" (נקר), not in that of
"expulsion" (לכ). Besides, "passando" is transitive and re-
quires the object: "seu desterro."

6) E mistranslates , perhaps deliberately,
for fear of Christian censorship.

7) Probably the queen-mother, Eleanor. Cf. the Waverley Annals,
ad 1290: "procurante Domina Alienora, matre dicti regis Angliae
(expulsionem Judaeorum)." (Annales Monastici, II, 409)

8) Edward I "Longshanks" (1272-1307). For an apologetic charac-
terization of this "forbearing" monarch see Abrahams, The Expulsion
in 1290, 73f.

9) Possible reference to the charges of blasphemy and sacrilege
brought against the Jews in 1279 which were disregarded by Edward.
(cf. Graetz, VII, 179)
10) In 1278, all the Jews of England were imprisoned in one night on the suspicion of coin-clipping. Great numbers of them received sentence of death and were executed. In London alone 293 Jews were hanged and drawn. A few more had been condemned but saved their lives by conversion to Christianity. (Abrahams, Expuls.,49f.) But after the king was "satisfy'd with his Harvest, the common People thinking that they also shou'd come in for the Part of the Spoil, as having born Part of the Loss by bad Money, began to persecute the Jews upon this Account themselves". (Tovey,211) The king was aware of the situation, as is shown in his Writ: "...accepimus quod plures Christianae, ab odium Judaeorum, propter discrepantium Fidei Christianae, et Ritus Judaeorum, et diversa Gravamina peripso Judaeeos Christiani hastenus illata, quosdam Judaeos nondum Rectatos, nec Indictatos, de Transgressione Monetae, per leves et voluntarias accusationes, accusare et indictare, de Die in Diem, nituntur, et proponunt." (Tovey,212) (Tovey makes this interesting remark: "I think he was very ill advis'd, for the sake of a little gain, to continue such a lasting Reproach upon his Christian Subjects, as the aforementioned Writ brandes them with.") Cf. Graetz, VII,173f., and Caro,11,49.

11) The belief that the expulsion came as a result of the prosecution for coin clipping is shared also by V and Abravanel. U adds from himself that the edict was issued by the courts, that Jewish property was confiscated, and
also that the expulsion was an act of mercy, since it committed the death penalty which conviction for coin clipping entailed. It has been shown however that in 1278 several hundred Jews, upon being convicted of that crime, were actually executed. True, in 1287 the Jews of England were once more imprisoned, but were released upon payment of a heavy ransom. 

(Graetz, VII, 181f. and 247) The edict of expulsion, issued three years later, listed no cause, nor is any cause mentioned in the Christian chronicles. (Cf. Tovey, 233f.) Abravanel, who has preserved the source best, speaks of a Jewish tradition attributing the act to a widespread practice of coin clipping among the Jews of England.

12) This may be an echo of the efforts of the Dominicans, who were smarting under the disgrace of the friar's apostasy, to obtain a royal order compelling the Jews to listen to their sermons. (cf. Graetz, VII, 179)

13) U: "ao fim daquella vilha em hua parte que se chama o Norte". Wiener E (176, n. 172) suggests Northumberland.

14) Most likely, U introduced here an incident which figured in his source but which had no bearing on the situation in 1290. The Christian chronicles state expressly that the Jews were expelled "cum uxoribus et parvulis suis." (Cf. Graetz, VII, 428). On the subject of forcible baptism of Jewish children against the parents' will, see J. Guttman, Scholastik, 126f., and 157ff.
15) But cf. Tovey, 246: "As for any of their Schools, or Synagogues, or publick Places of Habitation, there are not the least Footsteps of them left" See, however, Jacobs, JQR, V(1895), 66f., and idem, London Jewry, 169 and 176; B. L. Abrahams, JQR, VIII(1896), 361; and N. P. Stokes, Studies in Anglo-Jewish History, London 1913, 114 and 120.

16) Probably an allusion to the frequency of Biblical names in England, such as Isaac, Samuel etc. (Luzzatto, E 53, note) The unwitting humor of this statement lies in the fact that, in medieval England, the Jews themselves did not use such names in official acts but translated them into Latin or English. See Joseph Jacobs, The Jews of Angevin England, London 1893, passim.
13. ENGLAND.

In that same England I saw another such calamity, and as cruel. After that king had passed out of this life, there came another in his place, who, unmindful of the previous expulsion, sent for all those who had left his kingdom, offering to gather them back and to maintain them in peace. Thereupon Israel conferred among themselves in France, Flanders, Spain, and in other lands whither they had scattered, and they agreed that no promise of tranquillity or material gain could induce them to settle where they had suffered such terrible misfortune. The only exception would be for the purpose of seeing their children whom they had left behind, in order to obtain intercourse with them in some way and win them back to that to which they should return, that is to the Law of their fathers, and then to quit England to be able to do so. This argument seemed adequate to everybody, desirous as they were of returning to regain their lost children.

On their arrival, the people received them kindly, owing to the goodwill manifested towards them by the king. Several years later there broke out throughout that island a pestilence so deadly that a large number of people was dying daily. On its heels followed an unbearable famine, and before long there was added to these calamities a cruel war against the English from many quarters, especially by the people of Scotland an adjacent kingdom. Obviously, this was a punishment for the sin which that nation had committed against Israel, and one so
manifest that even the beasts might have become cognizant of it, yet the blind Englishmen, in their profound ignorance of the divine mysteries, did not comprehend it. On the contrary, the king marveling greatly at such sore adversities, coming as they did all at one time, conferred with his council concerning it, in order to find a remedy for the causes thereof. And after touching upon many causes, alike acts of the state and the life of the people, they resolved in the end to strike the blow at the weakest spot, and where it would hurt them the least. They reached an unanimous agreement that it was the sins of the Jews that were the cause of the misfortunes then afflicting the kingdom, and consequently they found no better course for appeasing the wrath of Heaven than by converting them all to Christianity - by force, in case they were unwilling to be converted from love.

At once the king ordered a proclamation to be issued that no Jew was to leave the kingdom, on pain of death. Then he had them assemble and admonished them to forsake their Law, offering many inducements and promises of favors. When they refused to do so, he baptized them against their will by forcible means, in the hope that the famine, the pestilence and the wars would abate at once. But after the Jews had been forced to accept Christianity, these misfortunes grew doubly vicious, so that the land was becoming waste, and their judgments were confounded.

Amazed at the contrary effect achieved by his action, the king again took counsel, and there were many voices that
said that the increased viciousness of the misfortunes was due to their employment of force in bringing the Jews into the faith, and asserting that the things of the soul ought to be free, seeing that our Lord has granted freedom in the exercise of human judgment. For this reason, they said, the king should restore them to their previous state, and that if a single person wished to accept the faith out of love, that one person would be of greater import than all the other people that had been converted by force. Nigh all the council was inclined towards this opinion, when the Enemy in human form intervened to reprove them, for there arose another argument, saying thus: It has been proven that the Jews, if given their freedom, there is none of them that will prefer the Faith rather than the Law which is so deeply rooted in them, and the resistance which they offered against becoming Christians should bear witness thereto. In this wise, if they became Jews again, the sin likewise, which is the cause of the miseries afflicting the kingdom, regains its force. Now, moreover, because of the force employed on the Jews, these miseries have been doubled already. There remains, therefore, no other remedy than to consider if it be not necessary to uproot the cause itself from the world, so that both sin and punishment might cease to exist. This argument appealed to the king, and the counselors also approved of it.

Now, seeing as they were such a numerous people, and to prevent such a multitude of dead bodies from infecting the air, the king ordered two pavilions to be set up at the
shore of the sea, at a distance from each other, and caused to place in one the Law received by Moses from the Lord on Mount Sinai, and in the other, the cross of Christianity. Midway between them was set up a triumphant scaffold, where he took up his seat. Thither he summoned before him all those whom he had forced to become Christians, and with pleasant countenance and feigned cheer addressed these words to them: "Forsooth, I had you converted to Christianity because I deemed it a remedy for the adversities that beset these my dominions. Now however, that I see that, so far from subsiding, on the contrary, they are daily on the increase, I recognize that it is my using force on you that caused this increased misery. Such being the case, I now restore to you the same freedom in the exercise of your Law as you enjoyed previously, that you may choose, from these two religions, the one that you prefer. Yonder, in the pavilion by the sea, is the Law of Moses, and in the other is that of the Christians. Let each of you hasten to the one which he likes, and I will permit him to live in that religion without hindrance or prejudice."

Overjoyed at this grant of freedom and failing to perceive the ruse underlying these goodly reasons, the Hebrew people all ran, with their wives and their children in their arms, towards the pavilion containing the Law of Moses. But arriving there, they fell into the snare which had been set up for them by the enemy. As the place was narrow and advisedly so arranged, they were unable to enter except one by one, and each Israelite lamb, as soon as he entered, was slaughtered by the hand of
an English butcher that was secreted there, and cast into the sea. And so, unaware of each other's fate, they all perished by the sword, and their bodies were given to the fish to eat.

O cruel Englishmen! Such righteous and saintly people you were that it was impossible to presume those misfortunes to be a punishment of your own deeds? What say you, brethren, about these mysterious workings, whereby, howsoever far from me the blow be struck, yet in the end it is I that am hurt? O people, so ready to afflict me, yet so blind as to the reason wherefore you wrong me! Are you not used to committing crimes since antiquity? Is not the very milk you suckle that of treason? Does not the instruction of your princes'ss consist of adultery? Are not the natural instincts of your people robbing, hating and murdering? It will not be necessary to adduce for you ancient tales to prove this, since it is proclaimed and attested by recent ones, of our own days. Behold, within the few years of the reign of king Henry, how many acts of adultery were committed against him by his own queens? How many attempts of treason were made by the highest nobles, the king's near kinsmen? How many heads were displayed on the Bridge of London, for these and for other horrible outrages? And how many queens were killed by the sword, and others still deposed from their royal station?

And the churches, where you once used to pray, you destroyed with your own hands, and others you converted into stables. Your priests you cast out of them and injured. The images of
gold and silver, before which you once humbled yourselves, you broke up, and those of wood, you burnt in the fire, while still others were flung on dungheaps and filthy places. You took your pope, your cardinals, your bishops for a byword and a proverb among yourselves. Now, seeing that the votaries of your own religion must needs account all of these deeds and each one of them as sins, methinks they have reached the extreme, and that there was in yourselves something deserving of punishment, without the misfortunes coming down upon your land merely by reason of the sins of the Jews. How say you that, when you prayed, you were answered from Heaven, unless you seek to convey that you were like to those that were in the ship that bore the prophet Jonah, which people Heaven held of so little account - save only for that righteous Israelite man - that as soon as he was cast into the sea, the tempest subsided, while they, such as they were, esteemed themselves righteous and blameless.

Well you have labored to make this case of yours resemble in its nature to that other. But what can I say, poor wretch that I am? Who blinded me into returning a second time to England, where I had previously experienced so great a calamity? Oh, how many ways my Sin has taken to inflict punishment upon me, that my children should be abandoned by me on that island, providing an occasion for the fulfilment of all these prophetic words, that were uttered against me: "Behold, I will lay stumblingblocks before this
people, and the fathers and the sons together shall stumble against them." (Jer. 6:21) And so "mischief shall come upon mischief" (Ezek. 7:26). "Ye have feared the sword, and I will bring a sword upon you, saith the Lord." (ibid. 11:8)

"There shall not one of them escape by flight, even though he seek to escape." (Amos 9:1) "Cruel were Thy judgments, O Lord." ( ? ) "With guile and ruse they dragged me (to the slaughter)." ( ? ) "But they (my children) knew not the thoughts (of the enemy), neither understood they his counsel," (Micah 4:12) so that thy prophecy, O Isaiah, might be confirmed: "The wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the prudence of their prudent men shall be hid." (Isa. 29:14)
1) This curious account is based on FF 1X,3 (169cd). After stating that the expulsion of the Jews from England was the result of the martyrdom of Alphonse of Lincoln, Spina reports that that event is also ascribed to another cause. The king of England was harassed by wars, famine and pestilence. The "servants of God" were consulted, and by means of fasts and prayers procured a divine answer to the effect that the tribulations were due to the Jewish atrocities. Whereupon the king forced all Jews to be baptized, hoping thereby to placate the ire of Heaven. But when, instead, the fury of the calamities increased, a second inquiry elicited the reply that the Jews were worse as Christians than as Jews. "Paeco enim tempore elapsos a sua ficta conversione usurpauerant modis et astucijis suis omnia fere officia regni in calamo et intantum ut veri christiani quasi captivi viderentur eorum". (A description inspired no doubt by conditions in Spina's own time.) The king enlightened by God, purged his land of the Jews in the manner described in U. Spina claims to have found this story "in chronicis Anglorum antiquis", but already Selden, op.cit., 214, had doubted his word: "Id vero scribit ille (Spina) velut e chronicis, ut ipse ait, Anglorum antiquis sibi relatum. Nondum quid in chronicis nostratibus ejusmodi mihi repertum". No source has yet been found for this account. Graetz, VII,249, labels it "diese Fabel". Possibly, the story is nothing more than an elaboration of the drowning of the Jewish passengers in the Thames by the master of the ship on which they were going into exile in 1290. (See Tovey, op.cit.,243f.) E. Margoliouth (History of the Jews of Great Britain, 3 vols., London 1851, I, 29lf.) reports a popular
tradition respecting the spot in the river, under the London Bridge, where the crime is said to have been perpetrated. (While this solution occurred to me about a year ago, I was greatly pleased when Dr. Cecil Roth, in a recent conversation, advanced the very same suggestion.)

The version of U differs in certain respects from FF. In the first place, it is made here to follow chronologically the expulsion related in U 12, and thus converted into an event subsequent to that of 1290, instead of being merely another tradition of the one expulsion, as in FF. History knows of no such second "expulsion" from England. There is no need to assume that Usque found this so in his other source, cited as L.Eb, but rather that the spectacular plot found in FF having appealed to his dramatic imagination, he worked it into his narrative in a manner that he thought would be the most impressive. All the other additional features were necessitated by this basic change. Thus the Jews are first made to return to England, since in U 12 they had been expelled. A plausible justification of such step is found in their desire to regain their children. It should be noted, however, that once they have returned to England, nothing further is said on this presumably vital point. The recall is ascribed to the successor of the king who had ordered their expulsion, again for psychological reasons. (Cf. U 1 and 11. The idea goes back to Ex. 1:8.) When the experiment of forcible baptism, the expected panacea of all the ills of the land, fails, the king's advisers counsel toleration, and suggest that the Jews be permitted to return to their religion. Here FF and U assume, as
would be expected, two diametrically opposite positions. See n.7.

It is obvious, therefore, that there is no material in U other than that supplied by FF, except for such additions as were dictated by the requirements of plot and consistency. The note "L.Eb." at the head of the chapter need not impair our conclusion. (Cf. \( \text{U}^{13}, \text{n. 83} \)) In view of the aforesaid, it is idle to speculate concerning the date of the event. Likewise, it is totally irrelevant to refer to a tradition suggesting that it was not until 1358 that the last vestige of Judaism was driven from England. (Cf. Hyamson, op.cit., 116; and E. Adler, London, Philadelphia, 1930,234.)

This account of U is reproduced faithfully in E 53. S 92b combines U 12 and 13 and mentions no intermediate expulsion, but it is obvious that this omission is due entirely to Gedaliah's customary brevity and consequent tendency to simplify matters. Any conclusions that are based on the working of S, such as are drawn by Abrahams, The Deacon and the Jewess, l.c., 258, are unwarranted. (Cf. U 12, \( \text{n} . \text{I and n.} \))

- Cardoso, 381b, quotes the account of U. A large portion of this chapter in a German translation is found in Julius Stein- schneider, op.cit., 57ff.

2) On the fate of the exiles see L. Abrahams, Expulsion, 71f., and Graetz, VII, 182.

3) Cf. the terms of the marriage of the friar and the Jewess, in U 12.
4) Abrahams, The Deacon and the Jewess, l.c., maintains that the association of bad weather with the story of the friar's apostasy, as indicated in S, suggests a definite connection between the two. But the bad weather is recorded to have occurred in 1222, while the events here described are posterior to the expulsion in 1290.

5) This reference to a war with Scotland is not found in FF, and must be discarded as an allusion to a definite historical fact. Usque knew of the constant warfare going on between the two countries, (See 51b) and used it to make his tale more specific. Cf. Wiener E, 177, n.174.

6) The rendition of E is misleading.

7) This argument is not derived from FF, where the blame is placed squarely on the converted Jews: (169c) "Consultis ergo iterum servis dei responsum est sibi quod periores erant sub nomine christianus quam primo...Quare predictus rex illuminatus a deo purgauit regnum suum a serpentibus illis." The reasoning of U is strongly reminiscent of the argument voiced in the Portuguese council in 1497 by Fernando Coutinho and others. (Herculano, op. cit., Engl. Tr., 250-) Cf. U 28, n. 8.

8) FF: "fixit duos papiliones unum in ripam maris. reliquum vero in aliquili distancia conuenienti." Only one of the pavilions was set up on the beach. Cf. below: "Yonder in the pavilion by the sea."
9) As in FF: "In primo (papilione) posuit thorath iudeorum. in secundo vero crucem christi". S strangely translates:

Selden, op.cit.,214, already noticed this peculiar feature of S, but being unaware of Gedaliah's relation to U, wonders where S found reference to Moses. A similar error is committed by Graetz VII, 429, when he speaks of "zwei Zelte, auf deren einem die Thora und auf dem andern das Kreuz gemalt gewesen sei." Cf. Wiener E,177, n.174a, where U is however again ignored!

10) Spina concludes: "et sic purgatum est predictum regnum et continuo cessat plaga nec amplius iudeus ibi habitat sed nec habitat usque in hodiernum diem videant hispani si similis plaga viget et continuo inter eos crescat."

11) This sentence is missing in Coimbra ed.

12) Henry VIII (1509-47). In the list of outrages that follows, Usque shows a correct knowledge of his contemporary world. Henry's matrimonial troubles, the court intrigues and the rebellion against the Church of Rome, are branded as sins.

13) Coimbra ed. has: 211. See n.1.

14) A reference to a statement in FF (169c): "rex...seruos dei ad se vocavit et rogavit deum deustissime orarent quatinus sibi dignaretur causam tanti mali corrigere et emendare. Illi vero licet indignos reputantes finaliter tamen orauerunt ieiunijs et orationibus se affligentes. Deus autem misericors ostendit quod illa eveniebaut (sic) in predicto regno propter

In Flande r e I saw myself sorely afflicted by a fearful distress. My children, who had enjoyed, for some time, in that country peace, quiet, and great wealth, were thwarted in their course by the enemy, who watches closely my prosperity with an eye to wrecking and ruining it. To this end he proceeded to inspire some of the populace, those whom he found most readily disposed against me, to bear against me a false testimony, wherefrom my destruction took its origin. There banded together, a gang of fellows insidious to Israel, who testified with one accord that the Jews had stolen their host, and then, to hurt it, had broken it, and the host immediately on being split began bleeding, as if complaining of the injury suffered by it. They said, also that the blood signified that it demanded vengeance. Such full faith was accorded that libel that the innocent bodies of a large number of my children were put to the sword and given to the fire, to die on this account. And as a further torture, equal with death, they lured many with the promise of sparing their lives, if they would turn Christians, so that a considerable number of these were converted, from fear of the punishment. From their seed, nigh all that principality was populated, and although this was so long ago, they do still signalize their blood by adopting new Lutheran beliefs that prevail among them at the present time, for they are
14. FLANDERS.

In Flanders I saw myself sorely afflicted by a fearful distress. My children, who had enjoyed, for some time, in that country peace, quiet, and great wealth, were thwarted in their course by the Enemy, who watches closely my prosperity with an eye to wrecking and ruining it. To this end he proceeded to inspire some of the populace, those whom he found most readily disposed against me, to bear against me a false testimony, wherefrom my destruction took its origin. There banded together, a gang of fellows inimical to Israel, who testified with one accord that the Jews had stolen their host, and then, to hurt it, had broken it, and the host immediately on being split began bleeding, as if complaining of the injury suffered by it. They said also that the blood signified that it demanded vengeance. Such full faith was accorded that libel that the innocent bodies of a large number of my children were put to the sword and given to the fire, to die on this account. And as a further torture, equal with death, they lured many with the promise of sparing their lives, if they would turn Christians, so that a considerable number of them were converted, from fear of the punishment. From their seed, nigh all that principality was populated, and although this was so long ago, they do still signalize their blood by adopting new Lutheran beliefs that prevail among them at the present time, for they are
not yet at rest in the faith which they embraced so unwillingly.

Herein were fulfilled thy utterances, O Ezekiel; this one which thou didst say: "A third part I will scatter unto all the winds, and will draw out a sword after them";

(Ezek. 5:12) and this also: "Terrors shall enter the privy chambers of My people with this sword." (ibid. 21:19) Even so was the power of the terror that encompassed me, for because of it did I turn my back to the Lord and abandoned His Law by force of the sword.

Not much help is forthcoming from other quarters for the clarification of this account, as hardly anything is known of the Jewish communities in Flanders during the Middle Ages. (Cf. Emile Guerleaux, Notes et documents sur les Juifs de Belgique, Rij, VII (1903), 144.) Indeed, the Hambruch of Pferse, near Augsburg, makes mention of certain martyrs of the sword, without further data (See Gallia Juda., 484, e.v. 7). The Annales de Flandres, by F. d'Oudenheyt (ed. Lebrun, Gent, 1788), I, ch. 34, 360, speaks of the expulsion of "tous Juifs et vaillants" from Flanders in 1121 by Count Charles le Bon. The count's motives are described with the pious generality "qu'il ne les voulait souffrir, jusques à ce qu'ils pussent satisfait et amende le meurtrier, par eux comme en la personne ou filz de leur Seigneur."

(Cf. H. Aaron, für Deutsch der Juden im frühen u. deutschen Reich, Berlin 1908, 545, 550; and S. Ullman.
1) This is one of the most obscure accounts in Usque's work, and has remained unnoticed. Without date, without citation of source, it is placed between two chapters that are derived from FF. There exists no parallel to it in any other Jewish chronicle. It cannot be maintained, with Loeb, 218, that the event should be placed around 1260 simply because the chapters preceding and following it (U 12-13, and 15) are dated thereabouts. (but see U 12, n.2, and U 15, n.2). On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Usque himself, so persistently chronological, meant to place it in that period.

Not much help is forthcoming from other quarters for the clarification of this account, as hardly anything is known of the Jewish communities in Flanders during the Middle Ages. (Cf. Emile Ouverleaux, Note et documents sur les Juifs de Belgique, REJ, VII (1883),118.) Indeed, the Memorbuch of Pferssee, near Augsburg, makes mention of certain martyrs of, but without further data (See Gallia Jud., 484, s.v.). The Annales de Flandre, by P. d'Ounderghest (ed. Lestroussant, Gent, 1789), 1, ch.64,360, speaks of the expulsion of "tous Juifs et usuriers" from Flanders in 1121 by Count Charles le Bon. The count's motives are described with the pious generality "qu'il ne les vouloit souffrir, jus ques a ces qu' ils eussent satisfait et amende le meurdr, par eux commis en la personne du fils de leur Seigneur."

(Cf. J. Aronius zur Gesch. der Juden im fraenk. u. deutsch. Reiche, Berlin 1902, Legesten, 279, No. 669; and S. Ullman,
Histoire des Juifs en Belgique jusqu'au 18e siècle, Anvers (no date), 29.) It is possible to see in that statement an allusion to our account of the alleged desecration of the host.

An event resembling much more closely, almost minutely Usque's account is described by Ullman, op.cit.,20f., as having occurred in Brussels in 1370. The Jews there prospered greatly, and their wealth excited the envy of the Christians. Just then some hosts were stolen and desecrated, but the crime was detected and the guilty Jews were burnt. A general expulsion of all the Jews of the duchy of Brabant followed. (The sources cited by Ullman were not available to me, but see Cuverleaux, l.c., 118, and note 3.) true, U places the event in the county of Flanders, but the confusion of Brabant with Flanders can easily be understood on the part of a contemporary of Emperor Charles V. Or else, the affair of Brussels may have been confused in Usque's source, especially if it was a Hebrew one, with the expulsion from Flanders, because of the similarity of the word Brussels to Bruges, a city in Flanders. That source may have been L.I.E.B.

E 55 gives a condensed resume of U, following him also with regard to the chronological sequence. § 92b, after giving his version of U 15, gives this vague notice:

(See Loeb, REJ, XXVI (1889), 94.)

2) See U 20, n.10, and Introd., 46.

E renders this passage rather vaguely:

The wording of E has led Ullman, op. cit.,
U 14 (3)

29, and n.46, to think that the statement refers to the refugees from Spain and Portugal. It is clear, however, that V speaks of the descendants of those who had been forcibly converted in Flanders.

In the town of ..., there lived a great number of families living therein reach the very threshold of death. There was an ancient hostility between two powerful men of the place, an amount of an inheritance which was claimed by each of them. In the course of the feud the son of one of the parties was secretly murdered, he who was the legitimate heir to those estates and the one who it was expected was to profit by the victory. His kin went guarded their animosity for a long time, until at last the hour came for them to avenge the murdered lad. To this end they employed an old woman to steal a daughter of theirs, seven years old, whom they killed and buried in a secluded place outside the town. No sooner had the girl disappeared, than a great search was made for her; but as she was not discovered, the people ventured conjectures that she must have been stolen by the Jews to serve them as a sacrifice on Passover, maintaining that we needed Christian blood for celebrating the Passover, although such cruelty is strictly forbidden by our Law. Finally, driven by this mere presumption, these people, with arms in their hands, were already on the point of perpetrating a slaughter upon my innocent members. See, brethren, in what narrow straits my soul was, until the Divine Mercy came to my aid. It infused the prince's soul with reason and justice, so that he sent word to them saying...
15. GERMANY, THE YEAR 5022.

In the town of T e u t h o n i e F o r k i m, in Germany, I saw all the Israelites living therein reach the very threshold of death. There was an ancient hostility between two powerful men of the place, on account of an inheritance which was claimed by each of them. In the course of the feud the son of one of the parties was secretly murdered, he who was the legitimate heir to those estates and whom it was expected was to profit by the victory. His kinsmen guarded their animosity a long time, until at last the hour came for them to avenge the murdered lad. To this end they employed an old woman to steal a daughter of theirs, seven years old, whom they killed and buried in a secluded place outside the town. No sooner had the girl disappeared, than a great search was made for her, but as she was not discovered, the people ventured conjectures that she must have been stolen by the Jews to serve them as a sacrifice on Passover, maintaining that we needed Christian blood for celebrating the Passover, although such cruelty is strictly forbidden by our Law. Finally, driven by this mere presumption, those people, with arms in their hands, were already on the point of perpetrating a slaughter upon my innocent members. See, brethren, in what narrow straits my soul was, until the Devine Mercy came to my aid. It infused the prince's soul with reason and justice, so that he sent word to them saying
that they were burdening their consciences heavily by proceeding to commit so great a cruelty on the strength of a mere presumption, adducing other reasons as well, with which he placated them. At the end of several days the truth concerning the kidnapping of the child by the old hag was discovered, but nevertheless this did not stop the ignorant populace from asserting that I was wont to sacrifice with Christian blood.

Thou didst not fail, Ezekiel, to foresee this calamity, for thou didst say: "I have given the fear of the sword unto them." (Ezek. 21:17)
1) This account deals with a ritual murder allegedly committed by the Jews of Pforzheim towards the middle of the thirteenth century, but it combines with it another event, unrelated to it. The material for the Pforzheim episode is derived from TF VII,3 (143d-144b), although, strangely enough, no marginal note cites this or any other authority. Spina, in turn, copies his account from Thomas of Chantimpre, Bonum Universale de Proprietatibus Apum, 11, ch.29, 22, ed. Colvenarius, 303f. (FF: "Thomas patriarcha barbariensis in libro suo de apibus ca. xxx." The work was unavailable to me.) This account reports that in Pforzheim, in 1261, an old Christian woman was induced by the Jews to abduct from her parents a seven year old girl. The Jews tortured the child to extract her blood, then buried her in the nearby river. On the fourth day her body was found by fishermen, and at once the Jews were accused of the crime. When the ruling prince came to view the body, it raised its hand as if demanding vengeance. And then, when the Jews were brought into its presence, the wounds began bleeding, thus clinching the evidence against them. The old woman was likewise convicted, on the strength of the testimony presented by her little daughter. Both she and the guilty Jews, after being subjected to torture, were hanged. Two of the Jews laid hands on themselves. And Thomas concludes: "hec nobis fratres ordinis predicatum Reverus (FF: Ricardus) et egiadius sicut illi qui in Villa fuerunt post triduum quo hec gesta sunt veraeiter
retulerunt." (Cf. Aronius, op. cit., No. 728,307.) Thomas of Chantimpre wrote the account shortly after the event, since he died in 1270\textsuperscript{\textfrac{2}{2}} (cf. Chevalier, op. cit., II, 44q). It is curious, therefore, to find a German version of it, in a MS. written in a 14th century hand (printed in Friedrich Pressel, Gesch. der Juden in Ulm, Ulm 1873, App. 10,41f.), which agrees verbatim with the Latin text, yet diverges from it with regard to some facts. Thus the date differs (see n.2), the abducted child is an orphan ("tochterlin das weider vather noch muotter hett"), and the information is added that "die jungkfrau lit noch liphaeftig ze Pfortzen in der statt beschlossen in ainem sarch unverwesen". This statement is corroborated by an inscription on a stone sarcophagus in the Schlosskirch at Pforzheim: "Margaretha a Judaeis occisa ob.feliciter anno dom. MCCIXVII Kal. Jul. fer. Vl." (S. Salfeld, Martyrologium des Nurnberger Memorbuches, Berlin 1898, 123f.; cf. also HE, X (1870),130.) Another source (Iadislai Sunthemii Collectanea Rerum Badensium, in A.T. Oefele, Rerum Boicarum SS., Augsburg 1763, 11, 591 B) mentions, however, a "Feata Margaretha puella quindecim anorum a Judaeis martyrisata". Cf. also Graetz, VII, 102; and Berthold Rosenthal, Heimatgeschichte der badischen Juden, Fuehl/Faden 1927,14, note ibid; and Anlage 1,459.)

Not one of the sources discussed above knows however of any feud raging between two powerful men, that occasioned the death of two children, as related by U. A vague suggestion may
perhaps be found in Oefele, l.c.: "Beatus Heinricus etiam a Judaeis occiasus, sepelitur in Pfötzien in Parrochia." Though one may be tempted to see in this "martyr" the assassinated heir of Usque's story, the fact that the contemporary account of Thomas of Chantimpre makes no mention of him, militates against the authenticity of Usque's version. Yet it is likely that Usque had a source for the other murder also. An allusion to it may be found in two French chronicles (Chron. of St. Denis: Recueil, XX, 667d, and Memoriale Historiarum of Johannes a St. Victor, ibid., XXI, 636g). From them we learn that in 1300, in "Polonia" (St. Denis: in the province of "Madaburge"), "in urbe Pressularense", a nurse abducted a child of 2½ (St. Victor: 3½), the son of a powerful man, who was crucified by the Jews. 300 Jews were burnt in consequence, but the prince punished those who attacked them. It is conceivable that Usque found a meager account of this incident, perhaps without date and other details, and combined it with the ampler account of the Pfötzheim affair as he found it in FF, supplying the unifying elements, with his usual skill, out of his fertile imagination. That additional source may have been L.I.E.B. E 53 and S 92b copy U, the latter very concisely. See Wiener E, 177, n.176; and Loeb, 218.

2) = 1262 C.2. IV: 1261; so also in Thomas, l.c. But the German version has 1266. The sarcophagus at Pfötzheim gives the date of the girl's death as July 1,1267, and it is no doubt correct. MCCCLXVII can easily become MCCCLXIII. See
3) FF: "in villa teutonie forchin nomine", i.e. in a town of "Teutonia" (genit.: Teutonie) by the name of "Forchin" misunderstood by U. Cf. the German version: "in ainer tuetschen statt genannt Pfortzen". E: Letteris adds: "Schweinfurt". Wiener B, 44, adopts this identification and conjectures ("ich vermuthe", ibid., 177, n.176) that the name in E is based on the Portuguese name in U "Teutonic porco"! This grotesque solution is illustrative of the approach of scholars to U. Loeb recognizes the parallel in FF, but equates it with "Foreheim" (Forenheim ?), a town in Upper Franconia, near Bamberg, the scene of a massacre in 1298, during the Rindfleisch persecution (cf. Salfeld, op.cit., 204 and 233; Hebrew text, 50 and 67). Remedios, Gloss., 24, follows Loeb. Zunz, op.cit., 38, reads Parchim, and dates the event in 1337. The town should be identified, however, with Pforzheim in Baden, 20 miles S.E. of Karlsruhe.

4) According to one source, the child, Margaretha, was fifteen years old. The German version of the event makes her an orphan. According to Thomas, the murdered girl was buried in the river and a heap of stones was placed over the body, to prevent it from coming up. See n.1.

5) Thomas (followed by FF) concludes his account with a discourse on the use of Christian blood by the Jews.
6) The prince in question, "marchie princeps", is styled in the German version as "der margrauf von Niederbaden". U credits the prince with preventing an attack on the Jews. But according to Thomas, a number of Jews were burnt, while two committed suicide. Moreover a Qinaḥ (cf. Israel Davidson, I, No. 2278, p.108) speaks of a persecution at Pforzheim in 1267:

(Salfeld, op. cit., 129. Cf. also another Davidson, l.c., No. 2364, p.112, and Salfeld, op.cit.,332). In view of all this testimony, it is permissible to assume that this feature of U belongs to the other incident that was combined with it (see n.1), or else is just another characteristic twist of Usque's literary style.

7) This fact was discovered indeed, but according to Thomas, the result of that discovery served to incriminate the Jews even more conclusively.
16. CALAMITIES IN MANY PLACES,  
THE YEAR 5080.

In France and in Spain I saw myself overtaken by two great calamities at one and the same time. One of them was that a small lad, seventeen years old, said that a dove had appeared to him in the evening, perching now on his shoulder, and now on his head, and anon the holy spirit - as they say - began to visit him; and that when he tried to take the dove in his hand, there appeared before him a virgin maiden, passing beautiful, who said to him: "Behold, I make thee a shepherd on earth. Thou shalt go and make war on the Moors. And here wilt thou behold the sign of that which thou hast seen with thine eyes." And on glancing on himself, the boy said, he found the thing written on his arm, just as it had happened.

At the self-same time there appeared another, who declared that he had found on his shoulder the image of a cross. The truth of this, they said, was that he had dreamt about it as he was asleep by a spring. But however it may have been, the gall-less dove became for me a most venomous scorpion, and the dream - an event real and disastrous. For when the principal men of the land heard this news, they were all greatly elated, and they treated him as a saint, paying him most solemn honors. When the lowly saw that, there flocked to him a great multitude of vile people, heeding the call to go and conquer the kingdom of Granada. But woe unto me!
For while the popular outcry was aimed against the Moors, the cruel blow was however secretly determined by Heaven to descend upon the Jews. And so, when Satan, who is our enemy, provided an occasion on which an Israelite ridiculed their miracle, they conceived a mortal hatred against me, and proceeded to abandon the Granada enterprise in order to execute the grievous sentence which my transgressions (committed up to that time) had exacted from the Divine Justice. Of these transgressions they themselves were so innocent, that they were employed to act as executioners of my members.

That huge mob (which already numbered thirty thousand men) invaded Tudela and put to the sword all the Israelite lambs that were gathered there. Then, when one part left for a town by the name of Cordeil, with intent to ravage and slaughter, the prince Meiasar too closely, - or rather say, some merit of my fathers the patriarchs who took up the defense of our sins before our Lord, - dispatched, with the utmost haste, many well-equipped men to seize them. So gallantly did they go about this business that they brought back of them ten wagonfuls of prisoners. When the friars learned about this, they rose at midnight and in all secrecy, unbeknown, stole forth on their way, and joining the mob, released the shepherds from their prison whither they had been cast. Then they launched the rumor that their liberation had been accomplished by a miracle; wherefore all the people of the town began
saying with one voice: "See, see, the miracle of the shepherds!"
This rumor, so utterly false, infuriated them against the Jews
and they rose up with the result that at the first onset they
slew with the sword two hundred souls. The lord of the city
himself was in great jeopardy, as he tried to defend them.

A large number of my children had sought shelter in a
certain fortress of Narbonne, and when the news
reached them that ten wagonfuls of their enemies, tied and
bound, had been carried off, they went down into the city.
In order to safeguard them the better, Melsar Toulouse sent
a kinsman of his along with them, charging him to lead them
to safety in the fortified city of Carcassonne.
But the traitor, baring his hatred of me which he had kept
secret, sold me to the peasants of the villages, advising them
to come and kill me on the way. These, like starving wolves
that chance upon flesh, fell on that flock of sheep and
destroyed them, sparing neither children nor women, maidens
nor feeble grandams, but put persons of all ages to the sword.
They formed there a large pool of Israelite blood, leaving
their bodies and bones cast forth over those roads, while
others remained stretched out where they had fallen, tendered
for food to the fowls and dogs.

This manner of misadventure did not end here, however,
but flew with great swiftness to all the confines of Bordeaux, the English Possessions,
Castel-Sarrasin and Agenais, so that
in all these places the popular cry arose that if any Jew be
found, he should be killed. And in the province of Toulouse and Bigorra, in the cities of Marsan, Condamin, and in many others, because of this sad report and because of the wagonfuls of shepherds seized, they killed with the sword one hundred and twenty "kehilot".

And the Lord's chastisement was raging so fearsome among me that some chose as a lesser evil to slay themselves with their own hands rather than await the fury of their enemies. Of these were the Israelites that had taken refuge in Castel-Sarrasin, who cast lots among themselves to kill each other and thus perished all. Two only, who remained to the very last, and whose hands were stained with the blood of their murdered brethren, flung themselves down from that lofty tower and were smashed to pieces.

In Toulouse none was left that did not either perish by the sword or turn Christian to save his life, except one single person who escaped through his great friendship with the lord of the place. And in Gascony, of the entire number that were there, only twenty remained alive, due to a cruel slaughter that had been perpetrated there on all the other persons. In the town of Lerida, it seemed to me that with my cunning I would be able to save myself from the enemy (who carried in one hand the judgment of Heaven, and in the other a sword for its execution), and so seventy persons gave their possessions to the lord of the place that he might convey them safely to the kingdom of Aragon. When they left the city, however, his deceit came to light, and he
performed a miserable slaughter on them all.

Those of the kingdom of Aragon were on the point of perishing, had not the Divine Mercy restrained somewhat the Enemy's hand and caused a bishop, the king's son, to show them favor.

Seeing however that in this way the Swerving One would not be able to carry out his evil design, the shepherds separated and departed towards four places: Valencia, Barcelona, Jaca, Monjurat. And when there came to Jaca he who bore the cross on his shoulders (to whom all the people rendered homage), even though the Jews had gone up onto the wall (?), on the morning of the seventeenth of the month of Tammuz, they slew of them four hundred souls, only ten escaping in the castle. When fifteen hundred shepherds (demons, to me) passed on from hence to the city of Barbaste, all the Jews of that place, as well as those of all the other parts, were in an anguish, such as is suffered by him who has been condemned to death by an act of justice, and is awaiting life as an act of grace. Arrived as they were at this fearful junction, the Heavenly King (taking at last pity on His people) began to rouse the hearts of the princes to compassion, that they might exert themselves, as much as was in their power, for the salvation of the afflicted Israelites who had escaped from such awful peril. Presently the king of Aragon commanded his son to destroy and annihilate all the shepherds and those of their band that were to be found in his kingdom. By his hand were hanged and killed with lances more than two thousand
of them, and many more escaped, thus leaving all that land untainted with their poison. Also the king of France drove them out of his entire kingdom and gave orders that if any should be found therein, he could be killed with impunity. Likewise the pope gave instructions to all the bishops and prelates that no shepherds that were to be found under their dominion should be left alive. And so at last, harassed by the goodness of Him who rules the world, all these kingdoms were rid of those serpents.

However, as my enemy was passing by the communities in the kingdom of Navarre, the "Kahal" of Paphlonesia, stricken with fear at their ominous coming, proceeded to remove to an adjacent place, three leagues away, called Monreal. But they that were hired with money to convoy them betrayed them and delivered them up into the mouth of those famished wolves, their enemies the shepherds. Some of them having been killed, the rest fled hurriedly for shelter to the place whither they were going, closely pursued by the wretched shepherds. But when they arrived at the place, our Lord gave strength to the persecuted Israelites and they turned their faces upon the foes, fighting them with great valor, and slew one hundred and seventy of them, including their chief, him that bore the cross, who was killed by an arrow shot by the servant of the knight who was protecting us. The others, seeing their leader fallen to the ground and killed, lost courage and, turning their backs in great hurry, fled for shelter. Now the shepherds already
began to weaken. And when three hundred of them proceeded to the city of Tudela, and saw that the place where the Jews were was impregnable, they departed from thence with a sigh, like a fox leaving a frail chick which he sees in a high and sheltered roost.

The wealthy among my children that were left, considering the great mercy which the Lord had shown them by saving them, provided their poor brethren with maintenance for three years, with which they might repair their utter poverty and wretchedness into which they had fallen. A little while later the host of the noxious shepherds perished completely, and their deadly memory was consumed.

Hereby, O prophets, you were all vindicated and satisfied regarding that which you had prophesied against me. The dove came to proclaim that the time had arrived of Ezekiel's prophecy: "(The children of Israel) shall be on the mountains like doves, all of them moaning, every one in his iniquity. All hands shall be slack, and all strength shall melt as water." (Ezek.7:16f.) "They have provoked me to anger with their vanities; and I will rouse them to jealousy with a no-people: I will provoke them with a vile nation." (Deut. 32:21) For the shepherds, by whom I was persecuted, were indeed an ignorant and boorish people. "And I will appoint upon them four kinds (of death), saith the Lord; the sword to slay, and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth, to devour and destroy." (Jer.15:3)
1) This account deals with the persecution of the Pastorelli, or the Shepherds, in France and in Spain. The version of U is closely paralleled by V 6, and the problems of the common origin of both accounts are discussed in the Introduction, 71 ff.

For a list of contemporary sources and documents, see Quellen, 3, n. 2. To that may be added: 1) Paulinus Venetus, in Baluze, Vitae Paparum Avenionensium, Paris 1916, I, 171; 2) Petrus de Herenthals, ibid., 179;


To the list of recent studies, ibid., may be added: Baer, Juden in Christ. Spanien, I, 233f.

U is reproduced by E 58ff. S 91a gives an account of the event according to V but adds: ...

Cf. Loeb, REJ, XVII (1888), 93.

2) = 1320 C.E. V gives no date. John St. Victor (Baluze, I, 129) places the beginning of the movement in 1320, "circa principium", which according to Chronicles of Fazas (l.c.) must mean "juxta festum Paschae". Another source, Annales Paulini,
states that the Shepherds arrived in Paris in May. One of the episodes, namely the attack of the Shepherds on the Jewry of Jaca, is mentioned in U as having occurred in June, on the seventeenth day of Tammuz. By July 22, the massacre at Montchus had already taken place. (see n.33) From a statement by Kalonymos (op.cit.,104) it would appear that the excesses against the Jews occurred mainly during the month of Tammuz. (Cf. U 18,n.2) But their advance, in France at least, was definitely checked before the end of the fall. (Pernard Gui, Baluze, I,162 "preclusa est via eorum malitie ipso anno, tempore autumpnali").

3) Since the events take place in two countries, U counts two distinct calamities. Perhaps, it is due to this duplication, that the one leader of V, concerning whom different traditions existed, is here divided into two separate individuals. It is noteworthy that the northern chronicles speak of two leaders, a defrocked priest and an apostate monk, while the others state that the roving hosts were "absque aliquo ductore sive rectore". (Cf. REJ, L111 (1907),259.)

3a) U: "a tarde", rendered by E. The significance of this statement escapes me. Possibly U misunderstood his source.

4) The sources make no mention of any visions that inspired the Shepherds' Crusade of 1320. On the other hand, the circumstances attributed by U an V to the movement of 1320 are abundantly described in the sources in connection with the Shepherds' Crusade of 1251. Thus we read: "Fingeabant enim ipsi principes latronum
U 16 (3)

vidisse visionem angelorum, et beatam virginem Mariam iis apparuisse et juississe ut acciperent crucem...Eamdem etiam
visionem in vexillo quod ante se ferebant depinxerant".

(Chronicum St. Laudi Rotomagensis, in Recueil, XXIII,395; see
also ibid.,8f. and 123.) May not the accounts of V and U hark
back to that other crusade?

5) This statement, that the nobility encouraged the Shepherds' Crusade, goes counter to all known sources. Cf. V. U may have
misunderstood his source. (Quellen,4,n.3)

6) In V the wretched fellow is a tailor. See V 60 where a Jew
is joking about a miracle in Lisbon. In both cases it probably
was an innocent expression of incredulity.

7) So also V. Vaisette, (Hist. de Languedoc, 1X,405) mentions
40,000, citing no source. See Quellen,4,n.4.

8) E . (For the sake of consistency, the re-
velation of the lad is also placed in Spain.) Tudela in Navarre
is impossible, since the movement certainly originated in France,
and only later spread across the Pyrenees. (But cf. Kayserling,
1, 36, and 141,n.4.) Besides, when at the end of their career
the Shepherds do pass by Tudela, they leave it unharmed, because
of its impregnable situation. The name may refer to Tudelle, in
the Dep. du Gers, not far from Auch. (Auch is mentioned by
Vaisette as one of the towns attacked by the Shepherds.) Or the
word may have originated from the obscure Cordel = 
U 16 (4)

(Quellen, 5). V, referring perhaps to Agen. See following note.

9) V. Cassel (l.c., III, n. 23) emends: Martel, east of Agen. (Cf. Wiener E, n. 185) E = Corbeille, in Ile de France, but the place must be located in southern France; besides, the Ms. of E (REJ, XVI, 54, ad 59) has as in U. The forms of V and U must go back to a common reading, probably or rather. Kayserling (I, 141, n. 5) and Gross (Gall. Jud., 573, s.v.) takes it to be the Spanish name for Les Cordes toulousaines, a small town in the neighborhood of Verdun-sur-Garonne. (See n. 23) Loeb’s suggestion deserves, however, serious consideration. There may well be a connection between this name and the enigmatic “Tudela” of U. (Quellen, 5, 9; cf. preceding note.) Paer’s suggestion (ibid.,) that in the common source of V and U, “Cordel” was spelled with must be discarded, since that source was in Hebrew.

10) Probably from the Hebrew. Cf. V

U did not understand the word (Daniel 1:11), a common designation for a Christian official in medieval Hebrew, by which the Seneschal is meant here. (Quellen, 12, n. 1). E, but Ms. of E (ibid.). The Seneschal of Toulouse from 1316 till 1321 was Guiard Gui. (Recueil, XXIV, 264). Since the community of Toulouse was ultimately annihilated, the action ascribed here to the Seneschal of Toulouse may in reality apply to the Seneschal of Carcassonne, of whom it is known that he took vigorous steps against the Shepherds and proceeded toward
Tonlouse, executing large numbers of them. (Girard de Fracheto, Recueil, XXI,55; cf. also Vaisette, op. cit., 1X,404.)

11) V

12) Cf. Bernard Gui (l.c.): "In ipsa civitate Tholosana suam vesaniam, cownivente et favente vulgo, exercentes, Judeos una die subito trucidarunt, regalis curie et consulum potentia non obstante." Since another massacre at Tonlouse is mentioned later, U adds here: "at the first onslaught."

13) U: "fortaleza de Narbona". It cannot refer to the city of Narboune, since the Shepherds never got beyond Carcassonne. (Cf. Recueil, XXI,731h: "nec potuerunt ultra Carcassonam progridi") V has , and it is clear that by it is meant the Chateau Narbonnais, the citadel of Tonlouse, the former seat of the Coun's of Tonlouse. (First identified by Cassel, l.c., cf. also Vaisette, l.c., and Gall. Jud.,315,s.v.)

E, following the ambiguous phrasing of U: There is no need to assume with Baer (Quellen,7) that in the source of U and V is a corruption from , Castel Verdun. (See n.23) The circumstances in each case are quite different.

14) V .... This action does not militate against the damnification, above, of with the Chateau Narbonnais. A century earlier, during the Albigensian Crusade, in 1209, Raymond Roger of Peziers likewise abandoned the citadel of Tonlouse for the impregnable stronghold of Carcassonne, to
conduct his defense against the crusading forces. (Cf. J.C. Lea, Hist. of the Inquis. of the Middle Ages, 3 vols., New York 1888, I,153) The interpretation of the passage concerning the fate of these refugees, in Gall. Jud.,614,s.v. , is erroneous.

15) U: "Burdeos"; V (Spanish: Bordeas, as in U; Provencal: Bordel, as in V), the ancient capital of Guienne. See Wiener E, 188; Kayserling, I,142,n.5; and Gall. Jud., 111, s.v.

16) U: "Ynglaterra"; V It probably refers to the English possessions in Aquitania, esp. to the province of Bordeaux. (Cf. Wiener E,48; and Loeb,219) In 1321 Edward II of England instructed his Seneschal in Gascony to claim the property of the Jews killed by the Shepherds. (De 11~ inc, op.cit.,260,n.1) Kayserling (I,142,n.5) suggests that "Ynglaterra" may have stood originally within brackets, as explanatory of "Burdess". It should be noted that the town of L'Argentiere, in the Dep. de l Ardeche, which is found in Hebrew spelled also as

(Gall. Jud., 67,e.v. ), is altogether out of the way.

17) U: "Castelserracium"; V , a town near the right tank of the Garonne, in the Lep. de Tarn-et-Garonne. (Gall. Jud., 545,s.v. ). It is mentioned in Vaisette, op.cit., 1X,406, as the scene of a Jewish massacre in 1320. See n.23. The mention of this town in a list of provinces is strange (cf. Quellen,3). Letteris (E 59) splits this name into two words: Castille, and Chersonnes!
18) U: "Agenes"; V , an ancient county in the present Dep. de Lot-et-Garonne. Agen, according to V, was the birthplace of the Shepherds' movement. Cf. Letteris in E, ibid., Loeb, ibid.; Kayserling, I,142,n.4; and Gall. Jud.,44,s.v. .

19) U: "provincia de Tolosa Bigorda"; V does not mention Tonlouse, only . "Bigorda" is the Spanish form of Bigorre, a province in the Dep. des Hautes-Pyrénées. Letteris, ibid., equates it with Burgundy: Cf. Wiener E, ibid.; Wiener V,9; Kayserling, I,142, n.6; and Gall. Jud.,113,s.v. .


23) "Castelaerracim" is mentioned above (cf.n.17). The Latin chronicles report a similar incident to have occurred elsewhere. Bernard Gui (1.c.) relates that the Shepherds "Castrum... Verdun i Regis in dyocesi Tholosana, in quo Judei confugerant, ut eos inde extraherent, obsederunt". (Guillelmus de Nangis, Receuil, XX,625, and the other northern sources refer to it as "quamdam Turrim regis fortrem et altam" but do not name it, as Graetz
asserts.) Graetz (VII, 256, note) emends accordingly. could easily become , esp. since the latter name occurs elsewhere in the text. Castel-Verdun is on the Garonne, only several miles above Castel-Sarrasin. See Quellen, 7, n. 2.

24) The northern chronicles report that the Jews who had taken refuge in the castle (cf. preceding note) defended themselves against the besieging Shepherds until they could hold out no longer. Then they appointed one of their number, "qui eorum fortior videbatur", to slay the rest of them. After having killed some five hundred of his brethren, he himself surrendered to the Shepherds, along with a number of children whom he had spared, and asked to be baptized. But his request was declined with righteous indignation, ("Tu in gentem tuam tantum flagitium perpetrasti, et ita vis subterr fugere poenam mortis!") and he was torn limb from limb. Paer (Quellen, 13, n. 2) suggests that this account may have been patterned after Josephus, Bell. Jud., III, 8.

25) V states that all of the Jews of Toulouse submitted to baptism, and that the one person to escape was a woman. Both U (10) and V (45) tell of mass conversion of the entire community of Toulouse in 1306, and again here in 1320. Gross (Gall. Jud., 213, s. v. ) points out the improbability of a fact of this kind, and especially of its recurrence within fourteen years, and cites E in support of his view. However, E is not admissible as evidence against U, where it merely renders U freely. (The same criticism applies to Kayserling, I, 142, n. 7, where he finds fault
This account of the massacre of Toulouse may be but another version of the episode related in the beginning of the chapter. See n.12.

The mass conversions occasioned by the Shepherds' persecution are attested by the contemporary Kalonymos, (op.cit.,102f.).

26) U: "Gausconha"; V. Loeb identifies it with Gascuena in Spain because of the following "Lerida". (cf. Gall. Jud.,144,s.v. ) But we are still in France. See n.27. The small number of survivors - twenty - is not improbable, for in 1290, in 1305, and again in 1314, the Jews were expelled from all English possessions in France. (See Kayserling, I,141; and above n.16.)

27) Lerida in Aragon is impossible here, since it is to Aragon that the local Jews sought to be convoyed from there. On the other hand, V speaks of as the place of refuge of the twenty survivors from Gascony, but states a little later: Baer (Quellen, 9) suggests that the reference is to the similarly spelled Lourdes in the Dep. des Hautes-Pyrenees, for which the better known name of Lerida was substituted. In the fuller account of V, the incident which U places in Lerida is transferred to . The latter must
be identified with Luzén-Bargès, lying, like Lourdes, in the valley leading to the Roland Pass in the Pyrenees. Both towns are situated along the road that passes through Rabastens, where massacres of Jews by the Shepherds are known to have taken place. (Quellen, ibid., but cf. Gall. Jud., 272, s.v.) The passage in U and V may be an echo of an incident related in a letter of the Infante Alfonso of Aragon (Baer, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien, Berlin 1929, I, 223, No. 1763): "Fraga, 1321 Februar 11. Infans etc. dilecto suo bajulo de Lu s etc. Ad nostrum auditum noveritis pervenisse, quod, cum aliqui judei regni Araganum ob timorem pastorellorum ad loca bajulie vestre confugerent et post tempus lapsum ipsas pastorellis per nos preeunte justicia a regio dominio extirpatis, cum ipsi judei ad lares proprios vellent redire, receperunt guidaticum a quibusdam christianis regalis ac nostri dominii, ut ipsos ad has partes secures conducerent..., quiquidem christiani... in eosdem judeos in itinere publico pergentes eos sub fide inhumaniter occiderunt suferendo eis bona."

28) V must have read for , or U vice versa.

29) V

Juan, the third son of Jaime II of Aragon, was indeed at the time Archbishop of Toledo, not of Toulouse. This is another case of confusion of names. (Quellen, 10)

31) Baer (Quellen,10) maintains that with the way to the French ports blocked by the Seneschal of Carcassonne, the Shepherds now crossed the Pyrenees in an attempt to reach the two Spanish ports on the Mediterranean. It seems, however, that the Spanish and French phases of the Shepherds' movement were virtually simultaneous (See n.2, and Introd., p.14 and n.5) Furthermore, the placing of Vallencia and Barcelona alongside of two inland towns, Jaca and Monsarrat situated near the French border, suggests the probability that this is another case of substitution of well-known names (Valencia and Barcelona) for some obscure ones. Cf. n.27.

32) U: "Jaca", in the province of Huesca, at the foot of the Pyrenees.

33) It cannot be the monastery by that name, situated N.W. of Barcelona. Since no other place bearing this name is known in Spain, Baer (Quellen,10) takes the word to be a corrupted form of Navarre, a solution which is paleographically defensible, but otherwise improbable. Possibly, the word is equivalent to of V (French "serrer", to lock), and based ultimately on a translation of the placename Montclus. (Cf. Gall. Jud., 189, s.v. and 335, s.v.) The common source of U and V must have had Montclus was a small town (now no longer in existence) in northern Aragon, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and lay along the route pursued by the Shepherds. It had a wealthy Jewish community. On July 22, 1320, Jaime II ordered his officials to aid the Jews of Montclus who had been the victims of an attack by one of the roving bands of the Shepherds:
"attendentes, quam plures judeos de Montecluso fuisse interfectos per gentes vocatos pastorelles...sic quod pauci remanserunt ex judeis loci predicti." (J. Miret y Sans, Le massacre de Juifs de Montclus en 1320, REJ, L111(1907), 255 ff. Cf. Joseph Jacobs, The Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain, London 1894,46, No.772 concerning "los Judios de Monclus...pueblo devastado por los Pastorilles", and ibid., Nos. 781,799,868,997,1075,1130f.) The dead of Montclus were buried by the Jews of Barbastro. See n.37. -- For the equation of with Monsegur in France, see Loeb,220, and Gall. Jud., 139, s.v.

34) Since two leaders are mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, U is careful to indicate which one is meant here. Rios (II,172,n.1) misunderstood the words" trazia a cruz sobre sus espaldas" in U, rendering them by "llevaba levantado en alto una cruz". Cf. below: "they...slew...their chief...who bore the cross."

35) The seventeenth of Tammuz occurred on June 24.

36) E , but MS. of E (I.c.,54, ad 60) has Cf. Kayse ling, I,142,n.6.

37) Probably, Barbastro, in the province of Huesca. The form "Barbaste" is based no doubt on the name of a town in France, not far from Agen. (Cf. Gall. Jud., 125, s.v. ) The survivors of the massacre of Montclus (see n.33) took refuge in "in civitate Osce et in Barbastro". (REJ, L111(1907)253)
Barbastro, it seems, escaped the fury of the Shepherds, and the local Jews assume the duty of burying those massacred at Monclus. The Infante Alfonso writes on August 11, 1320: "Nos infans etc. cum presenti carta ex parte domini regis et nostra absolvimus... vobis aljame judeorum Barbastri nee non universis et singulis judeis aljame eiusdem, missis per vos dictam aljamam apud locum de Montiscluso pro sepeliendis judeis inibi interfectis per pastorellos, omnem actionem..., que contra vos...possit fieri... ratione...dirutionis pontis dicti loci et talarum arborum."

(Eaer, Die Juden im Christ. Spanien, I,222,No. 176.1; cf. also ibid.,176.2, and Jean Regné, Catalogue d'actes d'Aragon sous le regne de Jaime II, REJ, LXXVI (1923),196,No.3156.)

38) He is not to be confused with the other son, the bishop, mentioned in an earlier passage. (Cf.n.29) V calls him correctly , son of Jaime II (1291-1327), the future Alfonso IV (1327-36). A letter of Alfonso to the bailiff of Lus contains a statement confirming his role as the Nemesis of the Shepherds ("ipsis pastorellis per nos...a regio dominio extirpatis". See n.27.) According to V, he went into Navarre to aid the Jews of Tudela, and perhaps also those gathered at Monreal, but those passages are not quite clear. (Cf. notes ad loca) There is no record of the entrance of Aragoneses armies into Navarre during 1320. (Rios,III,171,n.3) Cf. Kayserling, I,36,n.3.

39) Philip V (1315-22). Cf. Girard de Fracheto (l.c.): "A custode patriae (Carcassoneae) fuit ex parte regis Franciae proclamatum ut Pastorellis se opponerent, et Judaeos,
tanquam regis homines, defensarent; quod tamen multi, gaudentes
de interitu Judaeorum, facere recusabant, Quae custos patriae
jam perpendens, praecipit sub poena capitis ne quis praebet
auxilium Pastorellis".

40) For a letter written by pope John XXII concerning the
Pastorelli, see Lettres de Jean XXII, ed. Coulon, I, col.944,
No. 1115; and L. Guerard, Documents pontificaux sur la Gascogne,
Pontificat de Jean XXII, I,199. (Neither volume has been avail-
able to me up to this time.)

41) U: "o c a h a l de Pampilona". According to V, the Shepherds
penetrated into Navarre from Aragon.

42) S.E. of Pamplona. The corresponding passage in V is very
obscure. Kayserling (I,36,n.2), apparently unaware of U, "surmises"
(!) dass die Juden des Landes diesen Ort gewahlt hatten um sich
zur Wehr zu setzen".

43) That is, to Monreal. Faer (Quellen,11) interprets the
passage as meaning that the Jews fled back to Pamplona. But in
doing so, he accuses V, whose account

squares essentially with U, of fanciful inventions.

44) V vaguely:

45) V expressly disconnects the killing of the leader from the
incident at Monreal. Rios (II,171) concludes, however, that at
Monreal the Jews held the Shepherds in check until the arrival
tanquam regis homines, defensus; quod tamen multi, gaudentes
de interitu Judaeorum, facere recusabant, Quae custos patriae
jam perpendens, praecipit sub poena capitis ne quis praeteret
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(!) dass die Juden des Landes diesen Ort gewählt hatten um sich
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doing so, he accuses V, whose account

squares essentially with U, of fanciful inventions.

44) V vaguely:

45) V expressly disconnects the killing of the leader from the
incident at Monreal. Rios (II,171) concludes, however, that at
Monreal the Jews held the Shepherds in check until the arrival
of Don Alfonso, with whose help they defeated them. U does not mention Alfonso in this connection, and V merely states that the Infante commissioned one of his knights ( ) to slay the leader. The latter is, no doubt, to be identified with "the knight who was protecting us" of U.

46) V

47) According to V, here too Alfonso's knight came to the rescue of the Jews.

48) Dep.ing (op. cit., 260), misunderstanding U and V, speaks of the charity extended to the impoverished Jews by the Christians of Tudela. So also Rios, II,173,n.2, but cf. Kayserling, I,37,n.3.

49) Cf. Bernard Gui (l.c.) and others: "tanquam fumus evanerunt."
A few days later (after this violent storm which caused such a multitude of people to drown) I saw myself threatened with another catastrophe. There arose, in the following year, a sister of the pope by the name of Sancha, similar in her hatred to Haman who, in the time of Esther, determined to destroy Israel. Having tried many times to instigate a massacre, yet failing to realize her wicked design, in the end she entreated her brother the pope, citing against me a thousand crimes, that he should expel me from all his domains. And in this she was successful. But when the order of the general expulsion was announced and I was seized with anguish and apprehension, our Lord was pleased to deal mercifully with me and procured my deliverance through the virtuous king Robert of Naples and Jerusalem. He interceded in my behalf, pleading with the pope, and reasoning with her who persecuted me, and thus he held off the pope for some time until I cast into the mouth of Azazel a sacrifice of twenty thousand ducats which were given to the pope's sister. Whereupon she caused the grievous sentence to be revoked.

Herein I was overtaken by the curse which thou, O Moses, on departing this life, didst hurl at me, saying: "The Lord will smite thee with sudden discomfiture." (Deut. 28:20*)
1) In the Amsterdam ed.: "27". (This mistake was unwittingly copied by Graetz, Vlll, 397.)

The present account, paralleled by V 14, deals with a persecution in the papal lands in 1321-2. In limiting the event to Italy alone, as indicated in the chapter heading, Usque was not aware of the situation at the time, for that was the period of the Babylonish Exile of the papacy, when the pope resided at Avignon, and not in Italy. On the other hand, V speaks of . But then Ibn Verga places the pope's residence also . It is likely that the common source of V and U (here designated as Eb.1) mentioned no locality by name, but referred generally to "all his (the pope's domains) (U) or (V). The fact that U fails to specify Rome indicates that the presence of that name in V is to be ascribed to the individual interpretation of the facts by Ibn Verga. See Introd., cf. U 21 n.4.

Kalonymos (op.cit., 104) follows his description of the persecution of the Shepherds (U 16) and of that of the Lepers (U 18) with a third one:

(variant) . That this last event must be subsequent to the first two seems undisputable. (But cf. H. Gross, "Zur Gesch. der Juden in Arles", Monatsschrift, XXVlll (1879), 547.)

The expression points to the festival of Shavuoth. (But cf. M. Kayserling, "Leben Kalonymos", in J. A. Meisel, Der Pruefstein, Budapest 1878, p. Vlll, n.4.) Since the Lepers' Persecution took place in Tammuz 1321 (cf. U 18, n.2), the festival in question indicates the year 1322. The antecedents of the event under discussion may well belong in the year 1321. A reference to the same incident is found
in a Qinah published by Neubauer, Catal. Bodl. MSS., No. 1061:

Obviously both sources date the event on Shavuoth 5082 ( ).

Another allusion is found in the colophon to the Novellae of Todros b. Isaac, to the tractate Nazir (Neubauer, ibid., No. 448, 1). The document, written in December 1321 or in January 1322, speaks of a persecution directed against the Jews, and especially against the Talmud.

At the time of its writing, the storm had already subsided although it had not yet spent itself completely ( ). A that had been thwarted in his effort to exterminate Jewry, has been taken to refer to Robert of Naples who was also Senator of Rome. (Vogelstein u. Rieger, Geschichte der Juden in Rom, 2 vols., Berlin 1896, I, 307)

But this identification cannot be reconciled with the passage in Immanuel's Mahbarot, No. 23, where that same Robert is termed (ed. Satanow, 185a) and with what is otherwise known of his attitude toward the Jews. The words must, therefore, apply to the pope or to the Roman Emperor Frederic III. (But cf. Quellen, 24, n. 2. On Frederic, see
Two of these sources, Kalonymos and Todros b. Isaac, connect the present calamity with the persecutions of 1320 and 1321, both in the Provence. (Todros:

It must be assumed, therefore, that the accounts were written in that section of Europe, and that the third persecution also occurred there. By further comparison, the Qinah must be placed in that same region. (and are allusions to pope John; refers to the city of his residence, Avignon, and not to Rome. For contrary view, see Graetz, "Burning the Talmud in 1322", JQR, II ( ),105.) That the Talmud was burnt at the time in southern France is known from a papal letter of September 4, 1320, addressed to the Bishop of Bourges. (Vogelstein u. Rieger, op.cit., I,305; cf. also R.L. Poole, in Engl. Hist. Review, VI(1901)372.) It seems that the decree was not executed in all places at the same time. It also affected Italy. According to notes found in MS. prayer books, by July 1321, it had not yet been carried out in Rome, for a delegation was then sent to the papal curia, or perhaps to the court of Robert, at Avignon, presumably to avert the threatened auto da fe

Luzzatto, in E 62,note.) It is no doubt one of these emissaries that is eulogized by Immanuel (Mahbarot, No.28,234a):

(pope? =)
U 17 (4)

(Whether or not it refers to Kalonymos is a most question. Cf. Neubauer-Renan, 420ff., and
Umberto Cassuto, Rivista Israelitica, I (1904), 181ff.) The delega-
tion does not seem to have achieved its goal. (Vogelstein u.
Rieger, op. cit., I, 308).

Viewed in the flickering light of the contemporary sources,
the parallel accounts of V and U lose much of their apparent
definiteness. They "seem to have originated in a vague re-
collection of an event that occurred two hundred years earlier."
(Vogelstein u. Rieger, op. cit., I, 306) It is by no means clear
that the event took place in Italy, or that a general expulsion
was involved. Sancha's identity is doubtful (cf. n. 5), as is
the final outcome of the affair. Circumstantial evidence points
to the Provence as its locale. See Introduction, p.
(For a contrary view, upholding the genuineness of the account
underlying U and V, see Quellen, 23f.) E 61 reproduces U, while
S 91a follows V.

2) = 1321 C.E. Below also: "in the following year. (If Usque
found this remark in his source, then U 16 is also derived from
L. Eb.) V indicates no date. According to Kalonymos, who arranges
the misfortunes in a chronological sequence, this persecution
could not have started before July (= Tammuz) 1321. (Cf. U 18,
n. 2; and Wiener E 184, n. 194.)

3) The Amsterdam ed.: "Eb. L." On the relationship of U to V,
see Introd., 22.
4) Refers to the Shepherds' Persecution narrated in the preceding chapter.

5) Her part in the affair cannot be determined. The Avignonese pope John XXII (1316-34) had, to our knowledge, no sister. Strangely, this was the name of the wife of Robert of Naples. (Gross, l.c., 545; and Vogelstein u.Rieger, op.cit., I, 308) Baer (Quellen, 24) suggests that this name was confused, in the original account, with the similarly sounding name of the enemy. V has , but Vara reads: "Sancho". (The translator's tacit emendation, or was there a different reading in his MS?) E , both corrupted from S . Cf. Loeb, 220; and Vogelstein u.Rieger, op.cit., I, 306, and n. 2.

6) U: "hua yrmaa do Papa chamada sancha semelhante no odio a Haman." E has this curious translation: Luzzatto (E 62, note), observes.

7) V inserts here a little disputation between the pope and Sancha, who also enumerates the crimes. That an expulsion was involved is doubtful. See n.1.

8) V

Robert of Naples (1324-43) bore indeed the title "King of Jerusalem." This title was claimed by the Neapolitan house of Anjou ever since Carlo I assumed it in 1277. (Cf. R. Caggese,"
Carlo I d'Angio*, Enciclopedia Italiana,
1x,52.) V copies his source correctly when speaking of the
friendship between Robert and the pope. At that time Robert
held court in Avignon (1319-24).— E has

9) Cf.

10) V (Confusion between and ?)

11) The character of the pope involved was eminently fitted for
such a settlement of the case. For a trenchant characterization
of John XXII, see Lea, Hist. of the Inquis. during the Middle Ages,
III,66.
In that same year I saw a calamity, the memory of which causes my flesh to wince and shiver. There broke out, in France, a new kind of sickness, of which many people died. Opinions differed as to the nature of the disease, some physicians maintaining that it was a hidden infection that did not manifest itself in any part of the body, while others held it to be a case of poisoning. In the end they agreed that it was the latter. And as conjectures were ventured regarding the possible source of its origin, certain enemies of Israel suggested that the Jews might have poisoned the water, acting in league with the lepers. Nothing more was needed than this casual remark that credence should be accorded to it as though they had in very deed seen it with their own eyes. And in passing from one person to another, this report grew to such magnitude that it encompassed the whole kingdom, and it was affirmed with certainty that the Jews, jointly with the lepers, had poisoned the rivers and the wells with the view to destroying the kingdom. And seeing as my misfortunes, even though they start as if in jest, yet turn out to be real enough, they seized on this account what Jews there were throughout France.

When I found myself in this plight, my children were anxious to establish my innocence and disprove the truth of that belief. They therefore brought over, from many parts and at a great expense, the most renowned and excellent
physicians then living, that they should look at the sick. After making numerous tests and experiments in the case, by giving the water to dogs to drink, they demonstrated to the physicians of the kingdom that it was not poison, but a strange malady with which they were being punished for their sins. These discussions and experiments lasted nine months, and throughout this time all those people languished in prisons, with death staring them continually in the face, awaiting the dark hour when the enemy would cut their lives short. Finally, the evident proofs furnished by the physicians notwithstanding, and even though there was no ground or evidence warranting my conviction, the great sins which I had committed throughout that kingdom, demanded that five thousand souls should be sentenced to death as a sacrifice for all, while the remainder were set free. After being condemned, these five thousand persons were offered their lives, provided they turned Christians, but they declined such terms. And so, with the Divine Name on their lips, they were all together cast into a fire, the flames of which leaped so high that it seemed to touch the very stars. Yet much higher still went up the pitiful wailing and shrieking of the victims and of all their brethren that saw them perish in the blaze.

Considering the immense numbers that died amid such terrible tortures, well you may imagine, brethren, how many widows and orphans were left behind, stricken with anguish, hunger and destitution. This indeed is the water regarding which thou didst prophesy, 0 Jeremiah, saying: "Behold, I will feed them, even this people, with wormwood,
and give them water of gall to drink." (Jer. 9:14) This is likewise the incurable leprosy spoken of by Moses: "The Lord will smite thee with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed." (Deut. 28:27) This is the fire and the test to see if I would exchange the Law of the Lord, with which I was threatened by thee also, O Jeremiah, in these words: "Behold, I will smelt them, and try them." (Jer. 9:6) "Let their men be slain of death, and deliver up their children to the famine, and let them be orphans, and their wives widows; let a cry be heard from their houses." (ibid. 18:21f.*) Yet with all this evil Thou didst temper salvation, that this Thine Holy Word might be fulfilled in the remnant that escaped: "I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the Lord." (Amos 9:8)
1) The account of the Lepers' Persecution of 1321 runs parallel, in part, to V 43. (See Introd., 25) The additional material in U refers only to the consultation of the eminent physicians who are invited by the accused Jews to support their plea of innocence. What the authority was for this statement is not possible to say. Of the sources cited, "Li. Eb." designates the source common to V and U, while "U.M." remains inexplicable. (Cf. Introd., 62)

It is conceivable that that feature has no other origin than in Usque's imagination, who thus tried to account for the statement found in his source (so also in V), that the Jews remained imprisoned for nine months, during which time the king discovered the untruth of their accusation, but let their conviction stand in spite of it. The interpolated feature may have been suggested to Usque by the investigations conducted during the plague of 1348. (See n.4)

For the Christian sources for this persecution, see Graetz, VII,258f. Cf. also Baer, Die Juden im christl. Spanien, I,224, No.177. The event is also mentioned in a rather cryptic passage in Kalonymos, op.dit.,103f.

U is reproduced by E 63, where a statement is added concerning the burning of the lepers in Narboune. At the end of that account, the author states: ( ) "The book of the Portuguese" is, of course, Usque's work. - S 93a quotes V, but places the event in Spain (V has only: - ?). and seems to add an item from V 26, dealing with the Black Death. (See U 19,n.1) On the accusation of well-poisoning in general,
see Israel Levi, REJ, XXIV (1892), 153.

2) C. E. V dates the persecution in the month of Tammuz. Kalonymos places the event second in his list of three persecutions ( ), twelve months after the uprising of the Shephards:

In the month of Tammuz the Shepherds' persecution had probably been at its height. Cf. U 16, n. 2.

3) Eb. the same as L.I.E.B. (See Introd., 84.) Vicent of Peauvais makes no mention of any incident related in this chapter, and the citation U.M. may be simply a mistake. (See ibid., 62.)

4) The discussion of the nature of the disease is not found in V. The situation described here existed during the plague of 1348. Guy de Chauliac, in his work "Chirurgia" (1363), tells of two types of the plague, one of which consisted of a continued fever coupled with spitting of blood, consequently, without any external symptoms, such as pustules and carbuncles. (Cf. See, op. cit., 238, ad p. 77). To this should be added the statement from a contemporary letter written from Avignon: "Est enim facta anatomia per medicos... ut sciretur origo morbi Hueus, et sunt aperta et incisa multa corpora mortuorum, et compertum est quod omnes, qui sic subito moriuntur, pulmonem habent infectum et spuunt sanguinem". (quoted by Robert Hoeniger,
5) The eminent physician mentioned above, speaking of the plague of 1348, states: "de cause istius ingentis mortalitatis multi haesitaverunt. in aliquibus crediderunt partibus, quod Iudei venenassent mundum". (ibid.,6,n.4.)

6) The more detailed account in V of the circumstances surrounding this charge agrees with that of the Christian sources. Cf. Graetz, l.c.

7) Cf. Quellen,25,n.3.

8) The letter from Avignon (see n.4) voices a similar sentiment: "quidam tamen timent quod pro morte Andrea regis, qui...trucidatus fuit, Deus his malis mundum flagellat" (ibid.,140)

9) The lower figure of U is probably nearer to the truth.

10) V states likewise that the final conviction was based not on the original charge of well-poisoning, but on grounds of political expediency:

11) Kalonymos knows nothing of any official persecution.

This passage was written as late as December 1322.

By that time the affair of the lepers had been liquidated, and the Jews had been exiled from France once more. (Cf. U 20, n. 14) It cannot be maintained therefore that U and V, speak of an event posterior to the date of Kalonymos’ passage. Consequently it would appear that the common source of U and V misunderstood his authorities and construed as a single act what in reality was a series of local outbreaks. The number of victims (5 or 15 thousand; cf. n. 9) certainly represents the total number of those killed during the persecution, rather than those burnt in one locality.

In Torti, a province of Germany, I saw my children wax great in wealth, the jealousy of which bred such fierce hatred in the breasts of the people, that they sought ways and means to plunder and ruin them. When at last a cruel sickness swept the country, they were provided with a most suitable opportunity for putting their wicked desire into effect. For as it was not many years since that calamity had occurred in France, they had a recollection of it and asserted, pointing to the French as witness, that the Jews had poisoned the water of the wells and the rivers. In the end, my transgressions lent such force to this false accusation that, waiting for no further proof than the rumor which was current throughout Germany, the people rose up, some with the sword, others with fire, to kill what Israelite lambs they could find.

However, not only did my misery attain full measure with these killings in Germany, but as this deadly report spread into Catalonia and Provence, where the fire of the contagious malady had likewise flared up, similar slaughters and burnings were inflicted on my members there. And some were found there who, from fear of the suffering, abandoned the Law and turned Christians, escaping thus with their lives.

Had these misfortunes lasted a long time, methinks, brethren, not an Israelite would have remained to give you these accounts in any of the languages of Europe. It pleased,
however, the Divine Mercy to remove the sword from the enemy's hand, so as not to destroy me utterly.

It seems that also this tribulation, sprung from water, was bound to come upon me, that these other prophecies of thine, O Jeremiah, might be fulfilled: "He will give us water of gall to drink, because we have sinned." (Jer. 8:14) "And I will deliver them for affliction and for evil unto all the kingdoms of the earth." (Ibid. 24:9)
1) This account of the persecutions at the time of the Black Death is based on FF VII,6 (144c). Spina's notice is brief, stating merely that it was discovered in Germany that the Jews had poisoned the springs and the wells in order to kill all the Christians. On the basis of a confession obtained under torture, Jews were burnt throughout Germany. As authority for his account Spina cites the "cronica imperatorum et summorum pontificum", which may perhaps be identified with the "Annales Imperatorum et Paprum" by Heinrich of Rebdorf: "Eodem anno (1348) insurgit magna insecutio contra Iudeos in omnibus regnis et civitatibus Alamamie et partibus Gallie, in quibus habitabant Iudei...Quid divulgata erat infamia de ipsis, quod venenum in saculis ad puteos et in fontes peromnes regiones Christianorum miserunt... et sic Christianitatem nitebantur extinguere. Et aliqui Iudei et Christiani ad tormenta positi hoc fatebantur. Duravit autem hoc persecutio ad duos annos vel circa." (J. F. Boehmer, Fontes Rerum Germaniarum, 4 vols., Stuttgart 1843-68,IV,534)

U proceeds to describe also the effects of the plague in Catalonia and in the Provence, the account of which is derived from another source, which is not indicated, but which was used also by V 26. (See Quellen, 26.) The chronological relationship in which U places the outbursts of the plague in various countries is incorrect and is due to the respective dates that U found in the two sources (see n.2) As a result, Usque contradicts himself when he attributes the charge of well-poisoning in Germany to a recollection of events in France in 1321, and then
causes that libel to be borrowed by the French from the Germans.

E 65 has ample information concerning the events of 1348, derived from the work of Hayyim Galipapa (cf. Steinschneider, GLJ), but also quotes U for the incident of "Torti" (E 67: 4). S 93b seems to have derived his brief statement from V. See Loeb, 220f. (where "1348" as the date of E, should be corrected to "1345"), and idem, REJ, XVII (1888), 268.

For a discussion of the Black Death in general, and its bearing on Jewish history, see Graetz, VII, 331ff.; Rios, IL, 259ff.; R. Hoeniger, op. cit., 5, 39, and passim; F. A. Gasquet, The Great Pestilence, London 1893; Caro, op. cit., II, 205ff., and 324; and Dubnow, op. cit., 2)

2) 1345/6 C.E. The Coimbra ed. has 5006, no doubt a misprint, since the preceding chapter is dated 5081. FF has 1345 (but adds: "imperante heinrico rmoanorum imperatore qui fuit, LXXVII, imperator". Henry VII died in 1313! The emperors in this period were Louis of Bavaria (1313-47), and Charles IV (1347-78). Cf. U 2, n.2.) Strangely enough, E restores the date of FF. (Cf. Wiener E, 186, n. 205. Does the Ferarra ed. of U have the date 5105?)

It has been pointed out that the Black Death invaded Europe in 1348, or late in 1347. (Gasquet, op. cit., 34) The date of FF may simply be a misprint, since the "Annales imperatorum" has 1348 (see n.1), but it must also be observed that according to at least one strictly contemporary source, the plague began indeed as early as 1345. In a letter from Avignon dated April 27, 1348, the writer states: "Verum etiam est, quod secundum viam astrologiae decemannis debet (epydemia) compleire cursum suum, de quibus iam tres anni
In placing the persecutions in Catalonia and the Provence after the events in Germany, Usque was no doubt influenced by the date which he found in his sources, and which must have been a later one than that of FF. Now, the parallel account in V dealing with the Provence and Catalonia bears the date (\( \sim 1400 \) C.E. So also S who copies V.) This cannot be considered, with Loeb, as a mistake due to transposition of ciphers, 5160 instead of 5106 (for \( ?! \) Cf. U 24, n.1), but rather as the easily conceivable misreading of for . The year 1349 witnessed the climax of those calamities.

3) FF cites the "cronica imperatorum et summorum pontificum", which Usque did not consult himself. See n.1, and Introd., 61.

4) E . Letteris (ibid., note) suggests Tournai. Wiener E (53, and 186, n.204) emends it to Tournai = Thueringen. Loeb, however, has exposed the ludicrous futility of such methods of identification, by showing that "Torti" is not a place-name at all, but the result of a misunderstanding of FF on the part of Usque. The Latin text reads: "tunc enim compertum est in almania quod iudei intoxicassent omnes fontes et puteos ut occiderent omnes christianos dicte provincie. torti enim aliqui eorum id confessi fuerunt esse verum." (Cf. "Annales Imperatorum" in n.1: "aliqui iudei...ad tormenta positi hoc fatebantur"). Obviously Usque read "dicte provincie torti" together -- in the 1511 ed., p.187d, the period between "provincie" and "torti" is
missing, — thus converting this plural form of the passive perfect participle of "torqueo", to torture, into the name of a province in Germany. There is, however, no ground for asserting, with Loeb, that the words "dicte prouincie" refer to "forchin" of the preceding chapter (FF VII, 5), rather they apply to "almania".

(Cf. Hoeniger, op.cit.,52,n.3, where Wiener's emendation is accepted in good faith.)

5) Usque's analysis of the motives of the persecution is paralleled in contemporary sources. Twinger of Koenigshofen remarks: "das geld was ouch die sache davon die Juden gedoetet wurdent." (Quoted by Hoeniger, op.cit.,43.)

6) Cf. U 18. This interpretation of the rise of the accusation in Germany, which is Usque's own, is correct. (See M. Ginsburger, "L empoisonnement des puits et la peste noire", REJ, LXXXV(1927), 34f.) It conflicts, however, with another statement in this chapter, where this libel is made to spread from Germany to France. Cf. following note.

7) V merely enumerates the places of persecution without indicating the chronological sequence. As a matter of fact, the Black Death first appeared in southern Europe, only later spreading to Germany. (Hoeniger, op.cit.,6) Similarly, the fable of the well-poisoning first arose in southern France, where it claimed its first victims already in the beginning of 1348. (See Graetz, VII, 333f.)
Hoeniger, ibid., n.3, wrongly applies the account of Wiener 3, 50 (= U 18) to this period.) On the faulty chronological relationship between these two accounts in U, see n.2.

8) Cf. V:

Cf. also Heinricus of Diessenhoven: "Et crederem finem Hebraeorum advenisse, si tempus predicationis Helye et Enoch completum iam esset, quod quia completum non est, necesse est, ut aliqui reserventur, ut impelatur illud quod scriptum est."

(Boehmer, Fontes, IV, 71, ad 1349)
In that same year, I saw another sort of injury inflicted upon me in France, for I had meanwhile returned to that kingdom to acquire fresh means and possessions wherewith I might pass my miserable exile among the enemies. There had come to the throne another Philip, the son of Louis, and the grandson of Philip Augustus, who treated me with equal cruelty. Justifying his action by no further reason besides his hatred, the fire of which certain wicked counselors kept stirring up, he ordered it proclaimed that all the Jews in his kingdom should become Christians; or should they refuse, all their possessions would be confiscated and they themselves be expelled from the kingdom. Among all that numerous people there were very few indeed whom the threat of that punishment induced to abandon their Law. On the contrary, they patiently resigned themselves to enduring the dire hardships of extreme poverty and privation to which they were reduced, being stripped almost naked, rather than annul the covenant which the souls of Israel had made with the Lord on Mount Sinai. And so, lamenting the loss of all their possessions, they departed from all France (in the month of Ab, on the day which they call St. Magdalen's, which is a Christian holiday). As regards the others, who had not the courage to brave misery, and finding themselves destitute, while their enemies were offering them twice as much property as had been taken from them, as also
important privileges in the kingdom, if they would become converted, they gave way and consented to be baptized. Chief among them was the "kahal" of Toulouse, excepting some few persons. It is in this way that that province was populated by this seed, of which even now there must be many offshoots, restless in the faith which they accepted so much against their will. And it would not be a gross error to presume that it is of them that the Lutherans are who have risen throughout Christendom. For seeing that everywhere the Jews have been compelled to forsake their Law, it appears to be the act of Divine Justice that they should hurt the Christians with the very weapons placed in their hands, as a punishment for those who had forced them, and as a detriment to the faith which had been imposed upon them, and that they should themselves destroy its pride, and by means of these principles endeavor to enter once more upon the road which they had left so long ago. You should, therefore, consider, O princes, how much damage you cause by forcing the Jews to accept your religion. For the ways of injustice, whereby mortals deem to further their designs, prove in the end to be the very means and mainspring of their own undoing.

That king, moreover, did not escape punishment for his arbitrary exercise of power. For nine years later, while following the chase, he rode in pursuit of a deer which he led off across rough terrain, until he jumped with him from a mountain down into a very deep gorge where he, with his horse, was dashed to a thousand pieces. When the French people perceived the
manifest chastisement suffered by him, and when his son, the virtuous and catholic king Louis succeeded him, he recalled me to his kingdom, to make amends for the evil inflicted upon me by his father, so that I might retrieve there with my industry that of which I had been despoiled. This good fortune, however, lasted for me as long as the light of a fire kindled with straw, for seven years later I was once more expelled from France, as a result of the people's demand, being allowed to depart with the substance which I had meanwhile acquired.

After this, there came to the throne king Don John, followed by his son Charles, who again recalled me to the kingdom, where I lived in peace as long as both were alive. But when they had departed this life and another Charles had taken their place, the people rose up against me, killing and robbing without pity, and against the prince's will expelled me from the kingdom.

It is thus with right, Micah, that thou didst say, on foreseeing this calamity: "We are utterly ruined; a part of My people hath changed (their Law)." (Micah 2:4*) "The women (and their companions) have ye cast out from their pleasant houses." (Ibid.2:9) "They shall gird themselves with sackcloth, and horror shall cover them." (Ezek.7:18) "For whatever I have given them shall pass from them into the possession of others." (Jer.8:10*) "But in the end, he that afflicts you shall not endure forever, but shall shortly disappear; he shall be cast into a pit, and his memory shall perish." (  ?  )
1) This number deals with the expulsions from France during the fourteenth century. It begins with the expulsion under Philip IV in 1306 (dated however 1346 — see n.2), mentions the return under Louis X in 1315, another expulsion in 1322, the subsequent return in 1358, and still another expulsion in 1380. Nothing is said about the final expulsion in 1394. The only source utilized for this chapter is l. Eb. Parallel accounts are found in Abravanel's 1. c., and V 21-25. For a discussion of these parallels see Introd., The two other sources cited, FF and U.M., contribute nothing to the account. (But see n.3.)

E 57f. copies U, but in his attempt to apply his knowledge of French history to the elucidation of the account, Joseph Hacohen distorts the whole picture. (Loeb, ibid., 47: "son erudition lui joue un mauvais tour.") See nn. 15, 16 and 19.

S has two accounts, one (92b) derived from V 21, and another (93a) from U. Cardoso, 332a, follows U faithfully, up to the death of Philip.

For a discussion of the period bearing on this chapter see Loeb, "Les expulsions des Juifs de France au XlV siecle", l. c.; Graetz, V11,103,243ff.,253f.;V111,4ff.;34ff;63;Dubnow.

2) = 1346 C.E. It cannot be a misprint for 5056, as Graetz (V111,395) tacitly assumes, for if it were so, it would have been placed between U 15 and 16, as it is in E. Besides, the words "in that same year" refer to the date of U 19, which is 5106. The date in the chapter heading applies, no doubt, to
the expulsion under Philip, and not to his death (as implied by Loeb, Exp., 44). Usque misread the date in his Hebrew source which was (5066), as (5106), just as Ibn Verga (V 21) read it (5046). See Introd., The synchronization of this event with the Black Death (U 19) must be ascribed to Usque alone; a glance at the respective dates, as he understood them, suggested that, remark. -- E has the correct date. S 92b has the date of V ( ), but 93a , as in U.

3) For the significance of l. Eb. see Introd., FF

1X, 2(167b) states indeed: "regnante in...regno francorum philippo rege. Anno domini. MCCCVj de ordinatione predicti regis fuerunt in toto regno francie capti iudei imperceptibiliter una die et confiscata bona eorum et expulsi et ad regnum minime reversarii. However, Usque seems to have disregarded this notice in favor of his more copious Hebrew source, ignoring also the correct date for the erroneous one l. Eb. See n. 2. There is no trace here of a third source, which is cited as U.M. (Cf. Introd., 62)

4) This allusion to a previous expulsion does not refer to the one under Philip Augustus in 1182, for in U 10 no expulsion is mentioned. Cf. also below: "Philip...the grandson of Philip Augustus, who treated me with like cruelty" (not expulsion). Rather, the reference is to a statement in his source, which is reproduced in V 22 and also in Abravanel concerning the expulsion in 1254. See Introd., 77, n. 71.
5) V; Abravanel:

Philip IV, the Fair (1285-1314) was the great grandson, not the grandson of Philip Augustus. The omission of one Philip is not a typographical error, as Loeb (Exp., 44, n.4) thinks, but a mistake on the part of Usque, as is evident from the word "grandson".

6) As usual, U resorts to a proclamation setting forth two alternatives; this time, it is baptism, or expulsion plus property confiscation. Cf. however V 23.

7) "forte paucé qui baptizari voluerunt". (John St. Victor, Recueil, XXI, 647). Cf. n.9.

8) Graetz (VII, 244, n.1) remarks correctly that this date, which is found in this same connection in all later Jewish chronicles, applies to the imprisonment of the Jews, and not to their expulsion. The Christian chronicles state so explicitly. See, for instance, Anonym. Franciae Chronicum (Recueil, XXII, 19):

"Anno D. M. CCC. VI. in festo beatae Mariae Magdaleneae, fuerunt capti omnes Judaei, et eorum bona in toto regno Franciae una die confiscata per regem, et expulsi de toto regno". A similar statement is made by Abba Mari, No. 100 (ed. Pressburg 1838, p. 179):

Cf. also Eshtori Parhi, ch. 51 (not 52, as in Graetz, ibid.; ed. Luncz, 701). The tenth of Ab fell in that year on St. Magdalen's day, which is July (as in U) 22. (Graetz, ibid., has August) The actual
expulsion took place in August and September. (Cf. John St. Victor, l.c.)

9) The Toulouse community is said to have accepted baptism again in 1320. See U 16, n.25. Cf. also Loeb, Exp., 51; and Graetz, VII, 246, n.3, and VIII, 69.

10) Usqu~ refers probably to the anti-Trinitarian Reform movement led by Michael Servetus (1509-53). (Cf. L.I. Newman, Jewish Influences, 511ff.) For a similar case see U 14, and Introd., 46.

11) According to U, 1355, but in reality 1315. Philip died November 29, 1314, and according to Jewish reckoning, indeed nine years after the expulsion: Ab 10, 5066 - Kislev 20, 5075. (Cf. Wiener E, 181, n.182)

12) U refers to this accident again on p. 51a. Cf. the slightly different details in V 24 and in Abravanel. Different versions of the accident are found in certain chronicles (cf. Recueil, XXI, 196; XXII, 25, 151, and 501; see also See, op, cit., 234). Giovanni Villani (Istorie Fiorentine, 8 vols., Milano 1802-3, V, 63) writes: "Nel detto anno 1314 del mese di Novembre il re Filippo di Francia, il quale havea regnato 29 anni, morì disaventuramente, che essendo a una caccia, uno porco, salvatico li s attraverso tra le gambe al cavallo, in su che era, e fecelo cadere, di che poco apresso morì." (cf. Wiener E, 182, n.183, where the reading 1324 is reported. For an English translation, see Selfe and Wickstead, Selections from Croniche Fiorentine,
The version of Philip's death by accident, which is not found in the more important chronicles, "is regarded by historians as a legend". (Loeb, Exp., 42, n. 3) This skepticism is not justified however, since already the contemporary Dante alludes to him as "Quel che morra di colpo di cotenna". (Paradiso, Canto XIX, 1.120)

13) Louis X, le Hutin (1314-16). In spite of the alleged recognition, on his part, of this act of divine retribution, he exacted as the price of readmission 22,500 livres outright, and an annual payment of 10,000 livres for each of the twelve years for which the permit extended. (Loeb, Exp., 41)

14) According to U, 1362, but in reality 1322, as a result of the accusation of well-poisoning at the time of the Leper's affair. (Loeb, Exp., 50). See U 18, n.

15) John II, the Good (1350-64). Usque styles him "Elrey dom Johas" - a lapsus calami quite intelligible on the part of a Portuguese living in the reign of John III of Portugal (1521-57). E confuses this ruler with John I, the Posthumous (Nov. 15-19, 1316).

16) Charles V (1364-80) was regent during his father's English captivity (1356-60), and it was he who in 1358 gave permission to the Jews to return to France. John confirmed this measure, after his liberation, by an edict dated May 1360. Loeb, Exp., 41f.) E confuses this Charles with Charles IV (1322-8).
17) As a matter of fact, Charles V issued an edict of expulsion in about 1367, but it probably was not executed. (Loeb, Exp., 52f.)

18) Joseph Hacohen took this word to refer to Charles alone, whereas it refers to both kings. See n.16. Due to this misinterpretation, the picture of E is completely out of focus. (Loeb, Exp., 46)

19) Charles VI (1380-1422). E takes him to be Charles V

20) The final expulsion took place in 1394, but the date of U is not a mistake, as maintained by Graetz (VII, 396), and need not be corrected. (Loeb, Exp., 44). The expulsion in question was the result of a popular uprising against the young king, or rather against the regent Louis of Anjou. In the following year the uprising of the Maillatins repeated the incidents of 1380. (Cf. Graetz, VII, 34ff., and 68f.; and Loeb, Exp., 42). In the words of Loeb (ibid.), "ce fut une sorte d expulsion illegale, signe avant-coureur de l expulsion definitive, et l on comprend que certains chroniqueurs juifs, comme par exemple Samuel Usque, aient arrete a cette date l histoire des Juifs de France".
During a dissension in the Roman See concerning the election of a pope, I saw them set up in Spain a pontiff by the name of Benedict, who was formerly called Don Alvaro de Luna. In addition to him, the opposing factions created another, Innocent by name. At this time there was a friar of the Dominican order, called Fray Vicente, the greatest persecutor and enemy of Israel that had arisen in a long time. He stood in high favor with king Don Ferdinand of Aragon, because at the time when he was Infante, the friar was one of the "Twelve" who ruled in his favor that he should be king of Spain. With this backing, he determined to put into effect the pernicious design which he entertained against me. Inciting a large number of people, he sallied forth with this following through the cities, carrying a crucifix in his hands, and a "sefer" of the Law in his arms, summoning the Jews in a loud and terrible voice to gather under the cross of Christianity and to become Christians. And if they refused, he fell upon them with the accompanying band, which was armed with lances and swords, and slew them. Those who submitted to him from fear of death, he made Christians.

In this manner he overran nigh all of Spain, and caused more than fifteen thousand Jewish souls to abandon their Law. Many of my children sought shelter from this storm in Barry to save their souls, scorning all their property, landed
as well as movable, which they had to leave behind. Among those who turned their faces unto the Lord, fearing for their bodies, were chiefly the Jews of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Barcelona, Lerida, Seville, and of many other cities.

As all this food failed to satisfy his hunger, the enemy desired yet to extend his power to foreign kingdoms, and he attempted to cross into Portugal, where a large number of my children were living at that time. But before doing so, he sent to ask permission. However, King Dom Duarte, who wielded the scepter at the time, sent him an answer that he might come in, but that first he must command him to place on his head a crown of burning iron. Seeing the poor reception with which he met in Portugal for the execution of his vicious scheme, the enemy turned about and went away.

Now since the persecution of this Fray Vincente lasted a considerable time, some of those who had been converted from fear of the threats of death, removed from one land to another and returned once more to the Law of their fathers. Most of them made their way to the lands of the Moors, others repaired to Portugal, while many went to those parts of Christendom where Jews were living. Out of these differences there arose in Spain the appellation of "Confesos", those who became converted and continued within the Christian faith. As for the others, whom neither force nor threats of death succeeded to vanquish, and who remained in the dominions of Spain, nevertheless the king ordered many hardships to be imposed upon them.
Among these was that they should wear a red badge, so that they might be recognized and molested; also, that they must not lend on interest as they formerly used to do, nor even hold inherited estates.

This calamity of Fray Vinientes is that with which thou didst threaten me, O Jeremiah, saying: "Behold, I will bring evil upon them which they shall not be able to escape."(Jer.11:11)

"The fierce anger of the Lord shall not return, until He have executed it." (ibid.30:24) "Therefore will I cast you out into a land where ye shall (perforce) serve other gods day and night; forasmuch as (even there) I will show you no favor." (ibid.16:13)

"And the residue of them (who refuse to serve them) will I deliver to the sword before their enemies (seeing that your sins require i t to be thus)." (ibid.15:9)
1) This chapter comprises material belonging in reality to two different periods: the bloody riots of 1391 instigated by the Archdeacon Fernando Martinez (of the Jewish sources), and the wholesale religious conversions brought about by Fray Vincent Ferrer. For a discussion of the period and of the sources see Quellen, 26ff, and Introd., 82. Cf. also Baer, Die Juden in Christ. Sp., I, nos. 408ff.

2) No doubt, a misprint for \(5150 = 1390\) C.E. The date should be 5151 for the first stage of the events here discussed. But cf. the date in Bernaldez, Historia de los Reyes Catolicos, ch. XLIII (ed. Seville 1870, I, 122.)

3) This source is reproduced also in V 27, 46 and 49.

4) This is the period of the Great Schism. The picture in U is not quite accurate. After the death of Clement VII in 1394, two anti-popes were elected. Benedict XIII, the former Pedro (not Alvaro) de Luna, was the choice of the ultramontane cardinals while their Roman colleagues created Boniface LX. In 1404 Innocent VII was elected to succeed Boniface, but at the time of Vincent's activity the Roman pope was Gregory XII (1406-15). Benedict was deposed by the Synod of Pisa in 1409, but he continued as "the Spanish Pope" almost to his death in 1417. (See Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes, Engl. transl. by F.I. Antrobus, London 1906, I, 117ff.) E 72 corrects his statement on this point on the basis of U.

U knows that Benedict was the Spanish anti-pope, but V 46

5) Vincent Ferrer first appeared on the Jewish scene in 1407, but it was not until 1412 that he began his wide missionary activity in Castile which led to the disappearance of the large Jewish communities and to the eventual establishment of the Inquisition in Spain. See Graetz, VIII, 106ff.; Loeb, REJ, XIII (1886), 245; also M.W. Gorce, Saint Vincent Ferrier, Paris 1924, esp. 237ff.

6) Ferdinand I of Aragon (1412-16) was the second son of Juan I of Castile and a member of the regency set up after the death of his brother, Enrique III, in 1406. He was elected to the throne of Aragon by the "Nine" electors assembled at Caspe in 1412. Vincent was one of the "Nine" (not Twelve, as in U) and swung the vote in his favor. (Cf. Gorce, op. cit., 242ff. Graetz, VIII, 111, has erroneously 1414; see J. Weil, REJ, LXXVIII (1924), 85f.) Baer (Quellen, 31, n.3) suggests that the number twelve in U may have been influenced by the year 1412 which figured in his source in this connection.

7) This detailed description testifies to the authenticity of the source used by U. (Graetz, VIII, 107, n.2)

8) The authenticity of this statement is controversial. It was Vincent's oratorical powers that were depended on to effect conversions. Thus the king writes to him: "Speremus e fermo vestri adificantis sermonis fulgare ab ipsis offuscationibus eodem (judaecos) in lucem catholicae veritatis prodire." (Baer,
Juden im chr. Sp., I, 793, no.488) But he was always accompanied by large crowds. Colmenares (Historia de Segovia, Madrid 1640, ch.XXVIII, 9, p.325) states: "Seguianle de continuo muchas gentes: diversas vezes concurrieron a virle setenta, y ochenta mil personas." Mobs being what they are, disturbances were the natural consequence. Thus the Jews of Aynsa, expecting a visit from Vincent, left the town to avoid the accompanying riots. (Baer, I, 805, no.498) Again, the king orders the authorities of Tamarite de Litera to protect the Jews, apparently from those mobs, "cum nolimus vi gladli ad aliam fidei christianae religionem ipsos provenire." (ibid., 796, no.491) Vincent himself did not believe in violence, although he did advocate compelling Jews to attend sermons. He once said: "The apostles who conquered the world carried neither lance nor knife.... The Christians ought not to kill Jews with a knife but with words, and therefore the excesses committed against the Jews are committed against God Himself, for they should come to baptism of their own volition. But you Jews, come here and listen to the sermon. They should be fined 1000 florins if they do not come."(Quoted from S.Mitrani-Samarian, "Un sermon Valencien de Saint Vincent Ferrer", REJ, LIV(1907), 244.) Only once is the future saint known to have had recourse to force, when in 1411, in Toledo, he converted the principal synagogue of Toledo into a church. (See Rios, II, 426)

9) V46 Cf. Graetz, VII, 110, n.1; and Quellen, 32, n.6, and 36.

10) Concerning the effect of these Jews upon the converts in
Spain see Baer, I, 790, no. 485.

11) U; "que voltarom a face ao nosso D." (should be "as costas", their backs?)

12) V 27: Aragon was not affected however in 1391, to which this passage refers. Baer (Quellen, 29) conjectures that is a corruption from

13) Reigned 1433-8. Vincent died in 1419. If therefore the incident is true, it could not be Duarte, but João I (1385-1433). (Cf. Kayserling, II, 40, n. 3; and Graetz, VIII, 125, n. 2. See also Introd., p. 83.)

14) It is unlikely that the king would have countered the friar's request with this crude threat, for Vincent lived in the odor of sanctity. This proviso may be U.'s invention. V 38 tells of a certain accusation made by some priests against the Jews of Xerez de la Frontera; the libelous nature of the charge was however discovered.

Menasseh ben Israel (Vindiciae Iudaeorum, II, no. 16) tells of "an Earle of Portugal" who demanded from an Inquisitor a written statement to the effect that he had extorted a confession from a favorite of his on the rack. "When he refused to do, he charges some of his servants to put a helmet that was red hot in the fire ... upon his head." Cf. also See, Vallee, 242, ad p. 84. Wiener E, 56, mistranslates E.
15) The usual term is "Converso".

16) These restrictions refer to the Ordinance of Valladolid of 1412, (See Rios, II, Docum.XIX, 618; esp. 623, 13) and to Benedict's Bull of 1415 (ibid., Docum.XX, 626ff.; esp. VIII-XI).

Cf. Quellen, 35.
In Spain I saw myself placed once more in a most terrible anguish. In the land of Lodovico de Salamanca, a little boy (the son of a rich merchant) went out strolling, on a holiday, and he was well-dressed wearing a few articles of gold, such as some buttons and a studded belt. Two thieves, conniving to rob him, lured him by ruse outside the city and stripped him there of all he was wearing. Weeping, the child turned to go home. But then the thieves, fearing lest the matter should be discovered, for they were residents of that city, ran again after the boy and, overtaking him, promptly cut his throat and buried him, without much care, in a secluded spot. When the boy was missed, a great search was made, and proclamations were issued and rewards were promised to any that might find him or bring news of him. At the end of a few days, it happened that certain shepherds were passing with their flocks near the place where the murder had been committed, and as dogs always go about sniffing, those which guarded the herds lighted upon the boy's body. Digging up with their paws one of his arms, they brought it in their mouths to the shepherds in order to eat it. When the shepherds saw it, they rushed upon the dogs, snatched it away from them and brought it to town to show it. On learning what had happened, the boy's father with his relatives and friends and most of the townspeople went with the shepherd into the fields, that they might show them the place where the dogs had dug out that
arm. At last they came upon the spot where the rest of
the body was, and when the father recognized his child, he
and his relatives broke into most pitiful wailing. Everybody
proceeded then to venture conjectures as to who might have
committed that atrocity, saying that it was incredible that
it was a Christian, since the child had been too innocent
and too young to have offended anyone, and that it therefore
must have been some Moorish slave or Jew. At the mention of
Jews, the assertion was confirmed by many who were present in
that gathering, and who were bitter enemies of Israel, and
they related that indeed in many parts of Christendom, and
particularly in Germany, they had stolen children to make
sacrifice with their blood. Greatly agitated by this vicious
and baseless presumption, they all went back to town, and as
the word passed from one to another, it grew to such magnitude
that it was asserted that the Jews had plucked out his heart
and eaten it roasted, all those in town partaking of it. The
report having become so fierce, the boy’s kinsmen, together
with other company, began sharpening their knives and brandishing
their lances to perform a sacrifice of my flesh and blood.
But the Heavenly Lord came to my aid in these terrible straits.
The king ordered a thorough investigation to be made of the
case, and the truth was discovered by means of a certain gold-
smith to whom had been sold the pieces of gold which the
thieves had stolen from the boy. Thus subsided the storm
which threatened so unrelentingly, to submerge me after I
already had a foretaste of death.
See, O brethren, how my iniquities blind the world, when they decide to punish me, for although the very people that accuse me know there is not a cruel precept in my Law, yet they say that I seek to make sacrifice with human limbs. They should have considered that if in regard to killing a chicken we are taught to proceed with mercy, how much more so concerning murdering children to employ their blood for Divine Services, a thing so abhorred and forbidden. But what can I say, when my sins must contrive by all means, that the prophecy of Moses might be fulfilled saying: "The Lord will send upon thee discomfiture, because of the evil of thy thoughts." (Deut. 28:20*)
1) The account is based on FF VII, 11 (146abc). The incident occurred but shortly before Spina wrote his work: "relatum mihi fuit a personis fidedignis inter quas fuerat...dominus garschias de voamonde lucensis episcopus...homo quidam magne scientie et bone conscientie. et rodericus didaci de mendoca miles utique strenuus atque timens deum". According to these informants, two Jews "in terra ludouici de almanca" seized a small Christian boy, killed him and ripped out his heart, then buried him outside the place ("extra locum"). Subsequently the body was found as described in U. An investigation instituted by the local authorities led to the arrest of one of the malefactors ("vir qui ppe rebeus (rubeus?) capillis et barba quem ego - i.e. Spina - vidi"), who confessed under torture. The Jews, however, were not napping ("non dormiebant"), and procured a royal order restraining the local lord from further action. Hearing of this development, Spina, who was at the time in Valladolid, preached a sermon on the subject in the church of St. Nicholas ("que est prope iudaismum"), which was attended by the entire city, including many Jews. His vigorous sermon was resented not a little by the Jews present, as well as by many Conversos ("pluribus alijs de genere suo illis famentibus"). Spina's intervention forced immediate action, but, through Jewish influence at the court, the accused was removed from the jurisdiction of Luis de Almanca and taken to Valladolid to stand trial. However, two of the three members of the tribunal were "de genere illo", that is, Conversos, and these manoeuvred things so "quod nihil
U 22 (2)

usque nunc in executione iusticie factum est. ut de iudicibus illis sue tempore deus faciat ultionen".

U treats this account in the usual manner. The fact is not denied, but is attributed to two thieves, who after killing the child sell the loot to a goldsmith. In the end, the Jews' innocence is established by the goldsmith's testimony. Usque could not conceive that the Jews, if guilty, would have escaped punishment, as charged by Spina. Thus there is no need to assume an additional source, besides FF, for the version of U. The citation L.E.b. must therefore be taken as another instance of Usque's attempt to cloak his own interpretation of FF by claiming for it a variant account.

E 77 (supplemented in REJ), XVI (1888), 53, ad 78 reproduces U. S 94b gives the gist of U. Cf. also V 61. Cardoso, 414ab, reproduces FF. See Loeb, 221.

For a similar occurrence in Bavaria, see J.C.Aretin, Gesch. der Juden in Baiern, Landsbuch 1839, 44ff. On the subject of heart-eating consult I. Abrahams, JQR, 1 (1889), 216ff.

2) No doubt a misprint for 5215 = 1455/6 C.E. FF: "circa annum domini M.CCCC.liiiij." Spina tells that he was at the time in Valladolid where he was concluding a series of twenty two sermons. The affair dragged on, and at the time of the composition of FF (see Introd., 55), he had not yet seen justice done. E (no doubt a misprint for ). Wiener E, 61: "Im Jahre 5215, d.i. in Jahre 1456"? S.
3) The account does not presuppose the use of another source, L.Eb., in addition to FF. See n.1.

4) FF: "in terra ludovici de almanca". The name of the locality is not given. In FF VII, 10, the town of Thauara is said to be situated in that same territory, but it cannot be meant here, since no Jews were living there at the time. (cf. U 7, nn. 1 and 4). The above mentioned "Ludovicus de Almanca" was the local lord and was the one to institute an investigation of the matter and to order the arrest of the guilty party. The Jew was subsequently removed from his jurisdiction by a royal order and placed in the public prison of the apparently nearby Valladolid. Whereupon the nobleman complained by letter to the bishop of Lucena and sent him the account of his inquiry, which served Spina as his source.

"Almanca" must be identified with "Almanza" or "Almanea" in Leon. (Cardoso, l.c., has "Don Luys de Almança"). The lords of Almansa were descendents of the kings of Leon. and also bore the title of Marquis of Alcanices etc. (cf. Encicl. Universal Illustrada, IV, 800, s.v. Almanza) In U, the obscure "almanca" became "Salamanca". E contracted the phrase "in the land of Lodovico of Salamanca" to the mere "S similarly: Lea, Hist. of the Inq. of Spain, 149, wrongly places the murder in Valladolid.

5) Cf. U 14. This represents Usue's own observation.

6) FF: "aperientes eum (in fantenem) per medium corporis
extraxerunt cor eius... Iudei autem predicti conuocantes
secrete alios de quibus et ipsi confidebant predictum cor
combusserrunt. et in cinerem redactum vino nascuerunt et
de illo predicti iudei bibentes communicauerunt".

7) U persists in so rendering

I saw certain Jews being dealt with in the court. As a result, they along with all the rest of the city, that by the nobles of that land, who showed great zeal for such acts. Not delaying the execution of their own vengeance, they made arrangements with a curate that he shouldfeign that there was that they had stolen a host from him and that he sent to him into their house, they threw it into a large vessel of water; that subsequently, as he went into the same, it, guided by the clues furnished him by the Jews, and when he saw coming out of the church, he went up to the door and set the water turned all into blood. The evidence presented to the people to this false testimony was not likely to justify the seizing of many Jews of the city. A few days later, the King's Physician to King E. e. I., to the weather with some of the other prominent Jews was not by order of the court, and their bodies were driven out from the city from the other prominent Jews. Their schools were turned into abodes, and greater calamities would have befallen all that290. But not Heaven intervened. For after the cruel act of justice had been executed upon my innocent members, the whole thing was found to be a falsehood.

In that same place, a knight who was harboring an ancient hatred towards the bishop thereof, resolved to kill him. But
In the city of Segovia, during the reign of the Lord Juan, who was a small child, while his mother, the lady Catalina, queen of Castile, was his guardian, I saw certain Jews enjoy high regard at the court. As a result, they along with all the rest of them were hated by the nobles of that land, who sought every means to hurt them. Not delaying the execution of their evil purpose, they made arrangements with a curate that he should testify against them that they had stolen a host from him; and that having brought it into their house, they threw it into a kettle of boiling water; that subsequently, as he went out in search of it, guided by the clues furnished him by one who had seen the Jew coming out of the church, he went up to his house and saw the water turned all into blood. The credence accorded by the people to this false testimony was not insufficient to justify the seizing of many Jews of the city. Among them was Don Mayr, Physician to king Enrique, who together with some of the other prominent Jews was put to death by order of the court, and their bodies were drawn and then torn limb from limb. Their schools were turned into churches. And greater calamities would have befallen all that people, had not Heaven intervened. For after the cruel act of justice had been executed upon my innocent members, the whole thing was found to be a falsehood.

In that same place, a knight who was harboring an ancient hatred towards the bishop thereof, decided to kill him. But
in order to render his revenge safer for himself, he bribed heavily the bishop's cook to give him poison. Yielding to his selfish motive, the cook was firmly resolved to do so and, indeed, had already prepared the poison for him, but despite the greatest secrecy surrounding the affair, the poison was discovered. Straightway the cook was seized and put on the rack, to compel him to reveal the name of him who had charged him to do so and he was offered his life if he would name him. However, despite suffering terrible torture, he refused to make the disclosure, until the knight, who was the murderer, advised him to accuse some Jews, saying that they had given him a sum of money, because of the hatred they bore the bishop as a priest of Christ. The wicked man testified accordingly, and for this revelation they granted him his life, while they took the lives of the poor Israelites with the sword, great numbers of them. The rest fled the city, leaving all their landed property as well as most of their movables, in order to escape.

The importance which I acquired at this time, had wrought a change in my heart, to the end that there might come to pass the prophetic words uttered by Jeremiah: "I will punish you according to the fruit of your thoughts." (Jer.21:14) Also, the words of Amos: "Though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them: and I will set Mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good."(Amos 9:4) "All thy labours shall a (strange) nation eat up." (Deut.28:33)
This account is based on FF, X, 11 (172c-173b). Spina relates that in 1455 a certain physician, Don Mayr, purchased a host from the sacristan of a church in Segovia. The Jew took the host to the synagogue, and there, together with other Jews, pierced it and threw it repeatedly into boiling water. But the host kept rising aloft, until the Jews recognizing the miracle, took it in great terror to a nearby monastery and related the happening to the prior. In spite of his promise of secrecy, the prior revealed the miracle to the bishop of Segovia, Juan de Tordesillas. The guilty Jews were seized and confessed the crime under torture. Moreover, Don Mayr, who had been physician to king Enrique, admitted having killed his royal master. They were drawn through the streets and quartered, and the synagogue which had been the scene of the miracle was converted into the church of Corpus Christi. As the bishop persisted in carrying his investigation farther, the Jews, fearing the exposure of other crimes, conspired to kill him. To this end they bribed the bishop's waiter. But the plot was discovered in time, the waiter confessed and was duly executed. Many Jews were likewise put to death, and the rest fled from the city.

Spina's sources were oral: "Hec sepe a pluribus audiui sed specialiter mihi narravit reverendus magister Martinus cordubensis ordinis sancti Augustini qui asservit quod sic narraverat sibi realiter accidisse frater Johannes de canaleyas ordini predicatorem qui presens fuit cum...predicta omnia acciderunt." From this statement it is already obvious that the incident must have
occurred some few decades before the writing of FF, and not, as the text of FF has it, in 1453. Moreover in 1456, Spina was himself in Segovia, the scene of the event, where he founded a convent. (cf. Loeb, REJ, XIV (1887), 257). The date is impossible for other reasons as well. It is indicated that the event took place under the minority of Juan II of Castile (1406-54), when his mother, Queen Catalina acted as regent for him. Now the queen mother died in 1413, and Juan himself was dead in 1455. Besides, it is definitely known that Don Mein Alguadex, the principal actor in this drama, no longer alive in 1432 (see n.3). In spite of this maze of contradictions and impossibilities, the account of FF cannot be relegated to the realm of invention. The evidence for its historicity is overwhelming. The date given by FF must be regarded as a typographical error, and should be emended to 1410, or 1411 (Y.000.07). See n.3. It is strange that the contemporary sources have no record of the event. (But see n.11) A parallel account, largely based on FF, is found in Diego de Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, Madrid 1640, ch. XVIII, 6-8, pp.323f and 649.

U cites an additional source, L.Ed. The principal difference between U and FF consists in the treatment of the plot to assassinate the bishop and in the introduction of an instigator in the person of a knight who held a grudge against the bishop. It is, by the way, at this knight's suggestion that the servant accused the Jews of having bribed him. Quite obviously,
these added elements require no other source than a vivid imagination, and L.L.B. does not represent here an actual source any more than it does on a number of other occasions. See Introd., (But cf. Graetz, VIII, 95,n.1.) E 78 follows U faithfully. S 94b gives a terse resume of U. Cardoso, 404b, also reproduces U, but cf. ibid.,373ab, where the account of FF is given.

For further discussion, see following notes. Cf. Rios, Estudios, 119 (where the story of FF is credited); idem, 111, 8ff. and 139,n.2: 11,423ff.; Graetz, VIII, 94ff.; Fidel Fita, La judería de Segovia, Boletín, 17 (1386), 334ff.; Loeb, 221; and Lea, op.cit., 1, 116.

2) = 1456/6 C.E. TT: 1455. Since this date is unacceptable (see n.1), various emendations have been suggested. The year 1405, suggested by Garibay, is impossible, since Enrique III died only in 1406 (see n.3). Colmenares, l.c., dates the event in 1410, but ET states: "propredc in eadem ciuitate (Segovia) erat supradiicta regina". It is doubtful whether the queen regent resided in 1410 in Segovia. (cf. Graetz, VIII, 95,n.1.) Fidel Fita, l.c.,334,n.7, corrects the year to 1415. The earlier date seems however to be preferable, as prior to the activity of Vincent Ferrer who in 1411 almost destroyed the remnants of Judaism in Segovia. Cf. n.10.

3) The Coimbra ed. has only: FF. The account in FF forms a part of the Tenth Consideration (but cf. Loeb,221!).
4) Juan II of Castile (1406-34) ascended the throne at the age of two. A regency was set up to act for the infant king, consisting of the queen mother, Catalina, (Catherine of Lancaster, died 1418), Pablo de Santa Maria, bishop of Burgos, and Ferdinand, later king of Aragon (cf. U 21, n. 6; Remedios, Gloss., 17, s.v. "Caterina", gives a confused and inaccurate explanation.)

5) "nobres" (nobles) missing in Coimbra ed. This may be an allusion to the attitude of the regent Paul of Burgos, who exerted himself in persecuting his former coreligionists, and may have been instrumental in bringing about the destruction of Don Meir Alguadez. (See Graetz, VIII, 33 and 95, and below n. 7)

6) FF tells that the host was purchased from the sacristan of the church of San Fagun. Colmenares, i.e., adds that the sacristan had applied to the Jew I. Meir for a loan, and was thus persuaded to make the deal. (Cf. U 2 for a similar case.)

7) In Portuguese: "a sua casa". FF: "ad synagogam". Colmenares tells that the synagogue walls shook and cracked when the sacrilege was committed.

8) Don Meir Alguadez was physician to Enrique III, the Invalid (1330-1406). According to FF (and Colmenares), it was he ("iudeus quidam medicus") who purchased the host, and when seized subsequently, confessed on the rack "quod
ipse occiderat regem Heinricum. In all likelihood, it was Paul of Burgos that fathered this charge against the eminent physician, astronomer and philosopher, whose influence had rivaled his during the reign of Enrique III. Graetz, l.c., and others have pointed out the absurdity of this libel. The precise date and circumstances of Don Heir's death are unknown but for this account in FF and Colmenares. However, in 1432 he was no longer alive. The Takanah of 1432, in granting an exemption from taxes to his widow and family, terms it an act of gratitude to Heir,


9) In Portuguese: "com outros dos melhores"; A taking "dos" in its meaning in Spanish, translates:

10) "V: "Synagoga vero ubi accidit (cf. n. 7) facta fuit ecclesia et vocata corpus Christi ubi omni anno tota ciuitas in memoriam supredicti miraculi in die corporis Christi cum solenni processione convenit et fit ibi sermo
ad populum'. Note the words "omni anno", indicating that a considerable number of years had elapsed since the event. The municipal records of Segovia prove that the "sinagoga mayor" still existed in the beginning of September 1410. Unfortunately, the records for the crucial eight years that follow, are missing, but in 1419 the synagogue had already become "Eglesia nueva". It was not until 1430 that it was named the church of "Corpus Cristi". (Fidel Fita, l.c., 349f.) This is further proof that Spina wrote from the perspective of many years, during which the precise vicissitudes of the building had been forgotten. This synagogue burnt down August 5, 1499. (For an architectural description of the building, see E. Castellarnau, La sinagoga ma. or de Segovia, Doletin, 1899, 319ff. - a picture of it is on p. 321. Cf. also I, 11, XXI (1899), 209ff., and l.c., 111, 9, n. 1.) It is also known that in 1410 another synagogue, the "sinagoga menor", was granted by Juan II to the monastery of Santa Maria de la Merced. (Doletin, 1X (1386), 238ff.)

1) This statement is, of course, not borrowed from PP. It is possible that Usque found it elsewhere. (cf. Graetz, VIII, 96, note). The authenticity of the assertion has been argued from the strange fact that this whole affair is mentioned in none of the detailed contemporary chronicles. Since Don Meir was later vindicated, the affair was hushed up. (Fernandez y Gonzalez, l.c., 188, note. Cf. also Rios, 111, 139, n. 3) It seems, nevertheless, that the feature of vindication is
U. 33 (7)

Usque's own contribution to the plot, as in U. 9. (cf. ibid., n.15).

12) Juan Velasquez de Tordesillas, Bishop of Segovia, named by FF, was the moving spirit in the conviction of the Jews for the desecration of the host. His assassination was plotted by the Jews, according to Spina, because of his zeal in the investigation of that crime and of other crimes committed by the Jews. The knight and his feud with the bishop are not mentioned in FF.

13) In FF, it is the bishop's valet. ("capite."); Colmenares, l.c.: "maestreidea") who undertook to poison his master, and it was his cook ("coquinarius") who discovered the poison. FF describes the circumstances of the discovery in detail.

14) In FF, the valet confessed the truth under torture and was quartered. It must be acknowledged that Usque carries through his plot with an admirable flair for the dramatic.

15) FF: "multi iudei mortui ac alij a predicta ciuitate fugcrunt." There were Jews living in Segovia, however, in 1452 (see Graetz, VII,42lf.).

In Granada and its environs there were fifteen hundred Jewish families, enjoying prosperity and peace for some time, when I saw the Christians conceive in their minds the idea that they should either abandon the Law of Moses for their Christian faith, or else be put to death. Yet notwithstanding the fact that the punishment with which they were threatened was to be so terrible, they chose to make a sacrifice of their bodies rather than injure their souls. And so, when the enemies perceived the determination adopted by the Jews, on the ninth of the month of Tebet they put to the sword the entire fifteen hundred families, sparing not one person of them all, having no pity on the infants held fast in the arms of their piteous mothers, nor on the wailings of gentle maidens, of old and young, and persons of all ages, who called unto the Most High for vengeance for that horrible atrocity. Among them was that famous and excellent scholar Rab Rebi Joseph Levi.

A long time before, it had been ordained unto them to fast on that same day of the ninth of Tebet, and fast they did without knowing the reason thereof. They seem to have foreseen by the Divine Spirit that so sore a tribulation was to befall them thereon. But at last there prevailed on this day the force of Jeremiah's prophecy: "When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and when they offer sacrifice, I will not accept it; but I will consume them by the sword." (Jer.14:12)
1) This version of the assassination of Joseph b. Samuel ha-
Nagid in 1066 is based ultimately on the well-known account
in Abraham Ibn Daud's "הלאב מרתון" (Neubauer, Mediaeval Jew. Chron.,
1, 73). The immediate source of U is indicated as L.Eb., most
likely the same as that of the parallel version of V 5. See
Intro., the version of U differs, in several respects, radic-
ally from that found in any other chronicle. Ibn Daud does
not speak of any religious persecution in this connection,
nor were the events indeed of that nature. It was rather a
political uprising. The clue to the version of U is to be
found in V. There the account has this conclusion:

The last passage refers to the martyrdom of Abraham Ibn Laud,
the author of the (See Graetz, VI, 194). However, the
Adrianople ed. of V, printed from an independent MS., has in-
stead of

(7, p.4,n.7), thus identi-
fying the martyred scholar with the principal person of the
account. (Cf. Wiener V, Intro., p. X; and Graetz, ibid.,
n.1, where it should be "Adrianopel Edition" instead of
"Amsterdam Edition".) This was presumably the reading found
by V in his source, and no doubt also by Usque and it was from
this passage that he took the keynote for his account. Now,
since the passage speaks of a , that is, of a Christian
king of Spain, in connection with Granada, Usque, who was no
doubt acquainted with the general outline of history, saw
himself compelled to shift the early date found in his source to more recent times. His actual date \( [5] 248 \), an approximately satisfactory one for the circumstances involved, was obtained by Usque by means of a deliberate transposition of the Arabic numerals 824. (The other possible transpositions would not have served his purpose.) The change of the millennium, from the fourth to the fifth, followed automatically. This explanation of the date of U was suggested by Loeb, 222, but as an error on the part of Usque. The principle of transposition, or "scribal metathesis", as a source of textual errors, stressed by Loeb again in REJ, VII (1888), 93, while undoubtedly of great importance to textual criticism, is not applicable in this case: first, because Usque operated with a Hebrew text, where a mere transposition of the alphabetical numerals would have resulted in no such error; and secondly, the nature of the shift is too complicated to be merely the result of a "napping mind".

E 13 refuses for once to follow U, and reproduces Ibn Daud instead, including date. Curiously, S 91b, after giving the gist of V 37 which deals with an incident concerning Isaac, Famon in Granada (S_), concludes thus:

S. seems to have connected that incident with the event of U 24.

Cf. Graetz, VI, 44ff., and Note 3, 353ff.

2) = 1488 C.E. This date is wrongly emended from 4824, the date found in the editions of Ibn Daud, which however stands for 4827-1066 C. (Graetz, VI, 48 and 354) V gives no date. It is in
this connection that Im. Abcab, Nomologia, 292, while expressing surprise at Usque's blunder, lauds his scholarship. On the other hand, Cardoso, 382ab, accepts the date of U (5243 probably a misprint for 5248), as does also Rios, 111, 645.

3) "L.Eb" probably indicates the common source of U and V. The citation of Abraham Ibn Daud's was likewise borrowed from that source. Cf. Neubauer, Med. Jew. Chr., l.c.

4) Cf: V:

This is not found in Ibn Daud.

5) Usque interpreted the event as having occurred under a Christian king. True, in 1428, Granada was not yet in Christian hands. Then finally it was captured by Ferdinand, the event preceded only by three months the Edict of Expulsion. But see n.l.

6) For the real nature of the massacre, see n.l.

7) The ninth of Tebet 4327 = December 30, 1066. (Graetz, l.c.)

8) Joseph Ibn Nagrela, the statesman, whose fiscal policies brought about the popular uprising against the Jews of Granada, is here remembered only for his scholarship. This feature fitted particularly into Usque's conception of the event, as being primarily a religious persecution.

9) Cf. Ta anith. This passage is also derived from Ibn Daud. See V.
THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN

THE YEAR 5251.

They who since Fray Vicente lived in Spain under the name of "Confesos", prospered so mightily in that kingdom that they ranked among the greatest and noblest lords thereof. They accordingly married into high circles, held offices of great importance and distinction at the court, bearing the titles of count, marquis, bishop, and similar high dignities, such as the world is wont to bestow on them that wait upon it. The others, who remained Jews nevertheless, were secretly favored by them and did likewise thrive and prosper.

This state lasted until the time of King Don Ferdinand and his wife, queen Dona Isabella. And since my well-being is like a flower plucked out by its root which soon fades and withers, so also did this perish. For the foes of my prosperity, finding in the king, and still more in the queen, a disposition to persecute them, spared no effort and urged them to bring about the destruction of the "Confesos". Little effort, indeed, was needed to corrupt the minds of the princes, for from their very nature they seem to have been destined to be the greatest enemies of this people that ever came into the world. In their desire to use their power to accomplish their purpose against those who, disguised in the cloak of the "Confesos" and already subject to the Christian faith, were completely at rest in their minds and considered themselves safe by being Christians, they brought over from Rome a ferocious monster of a shape so strange and so hideous an
appearance, that at the mere sound of his name all Europe trembles. His carcase is of rough iron tempered with deadly poison, and he is covered with an impenetrable shell of thick scales made of steel. A thousand black venomous wings lift him from the earth, and a thousand noxious and destructive feet carry him on the ground. His shape is in part that of the fearful lion, and in part the horrible form of the serpents of the African deserts. His fangs surpass in size the tusks of the hugest elephants. The sound of his hissing slays more swiftly than the deadly basilisk. From his eyes and mouth shoot ceaselessly flames and blazes of consuming fire. The food on which he gluts, is kneaded of human bodies. He excels the eagle in the speed of his flight, but wherever he hovers, his black shadow spreads the gloom of darkness, though the sun shine ever so bright that day; and in the end, there follows in his track a darkness, like that which was inflicted on the Egyptians as one of the plagues. Wheresoever he alights from his flight, the verdure he touches, every pleasant tree on which he sets foot, shrivels up, withers and dies, while furthermore he uproots everything with his pernicious beak. With his poison he thus lays waste all that circle in which he moves, turning it like unto the deserts and sandplains of Syria, where no plant grows, no grassblade sprouts.

This horrible beast was let loose among the entire community of my children (who were disguised in the garb of Christianity), and with the fire of his eyes he consumed a huge number, straying the earth with countless orphans and widows.
With his mouth and powerful teeth he devoured their riches and their gold, stripping them of it completely. With his heavy and baneful feet he trampled and destroyed their names and reputations. As for the others, with his terrible and hideous appearance he distorted their faces, robbing them of their beauty, while his flight cast a thick gloom over their hearts and souls. Even to this day he continues in that region to perpetrate these very same deeds on the members that were cut off from my body in Spain, for their appearance as Christians avails them not to save their lives. Nor can I blame myself for telling you the truth, that besides the enemies, there were at that time certain ones among themselves, who delivered up their brethren into the power of the cruel monster. It was poverty that spurred most of them on to their wicked deeds. Thus they would go to the house of some wealthy "Confesco", tell him of their distress and ask for a loan of fifty or a hundred cruzados, and if any denied it to them, they would go forthwith to accuse him, saying that he was Judaizing with them. This manner of misfortune lasted four years. For these princes having resolved to uproot the "Confesos" from Judaism altogether, and remove them from all intercourse with it, they expelled from their realms all those who had escaped the fury of Fray Vicente, and those also whom their constancy had preserved in the Law of Moses. Both wandered over many different parts and much suffering and misery, as some of them made their way into the kingdom of Portugal, others into the lands of the Moors, while others still spread to the kingdom of Naples and
other parts of Europe.

Herein, O Lord, were fulfilled many of Thy sentences which Thou didst pronounce against me through the mouths of Thy prophets. In respect of this savage beast, and of that of Portugal it was said by Jeremiah: "Behold, I will send serpents, basilisks among you, which will not be charmed; and they shall bite you (with a biting whereof thou shalt not be able to be healed)." (Jer.8:17) For through these I will make that "that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in that ye say: We will be as the nations, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone. As I live, saith the Lord, surely with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with fury poured out, will I be king over you." (Ezek.20:32f.) "And your great and mighty treasure (in which ye have put all your hope) shall be as tow, and he who hath acquired it, as a spark, and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them." (Isa.1:31) Wherefore, "they that depart from Me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters." (Jer.17:13) "In the time of their trouble they will say (to Me): Arise and save us. (And I will answer them:) But where are thy gods (now) that thou hast worshipped? Let them arise, if they can save thee in the time of thy trouble." (Ibid.2:27f.*)
1) From this number on U cites no sources. Cf. Introd., 53f.

2) 5251 (= 1491 C.E.) seems to be an error for 5252, so indicated on the margin below. It refers to the expulsion (the Edict was issued March 31, 1492), and not to the establishment of the Inquisition.

3) Cf. U 21, n.15.


5) See Gratz, VIII, 225f. Cf. also U 22, n.1.

6) "The Catholic Kings"; Ferdinand II of Aragon (1478-1519) and Isabella of Castile (1474-1504) were married in 1479.

7) The Papal Bull establishing the Inquisition in Spain was issued Nov. 1, 1478, and the first victims were burnt Feb. 6, 1481. (Graetz, VIII, 286; and Rios, III, 250) Also, the Edict of Expulsion states clearly: "... vimos procurado e dado orden como se ficiese Inquisicion en los nuestros reynos e senorios, la qual como sabeis, ha mas de doce anos que se ha fecho e face..." (Rios, III, 604) Yet U places the expulsion "four years" after the coming of the Inquisition. What he seems to have in mind is the establish-
ment of the Inquisition in all the Spanish domains, which was not consummated until Jan. 25, 1488, when the first auto-de-fe was held in Barcelona. (Cf. Rios, III, 266ff.)


9) The Jews at the Court attempted to invalidate such testimonies, "quod Judaei non valent pro testibus (contra hereticos) quia obligantur ad interficiendum istos ex praecepto legis et per consequens ex iniuria moventur ad testificandum." (From "Gensura et confutatio libri Talmud", REJ, XVIII(1889), 232.)

10) The Edict stated: "... el remedio verdadero de todos estos danos e inconvenientes consiste en apartar del todo la comunicación de los dichos judíos con los cristianos, e achallos de todos los nuestros reynos e señorios." (The Edict is printed in Rios, III, 605; and in J. Jacobs, *Sources*, 139.) Nevertheless, Usque does not seem to have read the text of the Edict. See n. 7.

11) On the wanderings of the exiles see Graetz, VIII, 349ff. For the sources see ibid., 361, n.l.

12) See U 30.


2) = 1492 6 B.
26. THE YEAR 5252.

THEN THE JEWS OF CASTILE ENTERED PORTUGAL.

Of those who were cast out of that kingdom, owing to their unflinching constancy in Judaism, the major part made their way to Portugal. Six hundred families agreed with king Dom João II, the second of this name, to pay two cruzados for each person from among them entering the kingdom. On his part, he promised them to let them live in their Law, and to furnish ships to such as should wish to depart. When these harassed Israelites had entered Portugal, there presently came a pestilence, as though a forerunner of the evil that awaited them in the offing, from which many of them died along with the Christians. Consequently, a few days after their arrival there were some who, fearing more greatly the cruel persecutions of the Christians, even though delayed, than the continuous oppression of the Moors, decided to cross over to Africa and to Turkey, and so they asked the king for safe ships, calling upon him to perform that which he had obligated himself to them by his promise. Having conceived however some wicked scheme, he put them off with words, neither granting nor refusing it to them, until he found himself pressed so hard that he brought about that which my iniquities merited and which had been prophesied unto me. For when the ill-fated Israelites were embarked, believing themselves to be in the care of most trustworthy and reliable
friends, they found themselves deceived. For having taken them out on the high seas, where their shrieks and wails could move no one to pity, they bound their hands and feet, then dishonored their women before their eyes, and stripped them down to the last clothes they were wearing.

O Lord, since they fled from the reproach of people when committing this terrible treachery and atrocity, it was our greatest consolation that Thou wast witness thereof, from Whom they could not flee nor hide, and whence we await a cure for all our troubles.

After treating them so cruelly, they proceeded to make amends therefor by carrying them away to the coasts of Africa, to the most desert place thereof, and there they cast them like pestilent people, upon a beach desolate and destitute of all human comfort. Here you may have seen children ask for bread while their mothers lifted their eyes to heaven praying for help. Others you may have seen, who driven by the despair of hunger and utter destitution, dug graves in which to bury themselves. And in these last flickers of life, they lifted their eyes and beheld a great multitude of Moors coming to capture them, for they had entered their land without safe-conduct or any permit whatsoever. And even though they were seized and treated with much harshness, yet according to the evil and terrible extremity in which they were situated, they accepted captivity as a Divine visitation and a great boon. When they
3) Resende, ch.CLXIII is entitled: "Da entrada dos judeus de Castella em Portugal". U has the same title and the same arrangement of the material. See U 27, n.3, and U 29, n.6.

4) So also Z: He places the number at 120,000. The same figure is given in the anonymous account (publ. by Marx, l.c.).

Goes: over 20,000 families (some consisting of ten or twelve persons each). Bernaldez: 93,000 persons. Cf. Graetz, VIII, 368, and 458 (Note 10); and Almeida, II, 166, n.4. (The computation of the total number of Spanish exiles should take these circumstances into consideration.)

5) Usque labors here under a false impression, with the result that both here and in U 27 the picture is distorted.

The Spanish exiles who entered Portugal belonged to two classes: 1) First, six hundred wealthy families ("os Judeus das 600 casas", Archivo Hist. Port.,III, 472, no.390) obtained on payment of 60,000 cruzados, the right to settle in the country. (As. de Ajuda, in Herrulano, l.c.) and Bernaldez) 2) In addition, an unlimited number were allowed to enter Portugal, in transit, for a period of 8 months (Bernaldez, and anonymous account: 6 months), upon payment of 8 cruzados per person ("os Judeus dos oito cruzados", Arch Hist. Port.,III, 315, no.338), to be paid in four instalments, that is two cruzados on entering the country (hence the two cruzados in U). In exchange the king was to provide them with passage to any point desired, upon a small payment. Certain classes of artisans were to pay half the amount ("os ferreiros, latoeiros que ... pagaram a razam de 4 cruzados por cabeca", Arch Hist. Port.,III, 472, no.390), provided they remained
The officials charged with collecting these taxes were called "recebedor ... do dinheiro das seiscentas casas e oito cruzados". (Arch. Hist. Port., III, no. 338) The payments were to be made at the time of crossing the border at one of the five points designated, and the receipts were to serve as vouchers. The king stipulated that if any were found without such a voucher, or after the expiration of the eight month period, they would automatically become the king's slaves. (So also the Jewish sources) In addition to this capitation tax there was also a heavy property tax to paid. (So Zacuto, Kapsali, and anonym. account. Cf. Arch. Hist. Port., V, 236, no. 538, where reference is made to merchandize thus collected.)

When the time allowed expired, many had failed to leave, mainly because the king, contrary to the agreement, refused to let them embark for any other port than Tangier or Arzillos, where a terrible fate awaited them. (Herculano, I, ; Egl. tr., 247) Consequently, 15,000 Jews (so Kaosali) of the latter class, as well as of those that had entered Portugal illegally and had been caught without vouchers, became the king's slaves. 10,000 were ransomed by Portuguese Jewry; the others were distributed among the king's favorites and the nobility. These were freed by Manuel on his accession to the throne in 1495. (Goes, X, p.10)

Usque, however, regards the 600 families as the total number of those permitted to enter Portugal, it being optional with them to stay or to proceed further. (In this he contradicts himself, since he has stated in the beginning, no doubt on good authority, that the majority of the Spanish exiles entered Portugal.
(See n. 3) His explanation of the situation thus created (U 27) has no foundation in reality.

6) Cf. Pina (l.c., 76); "... co elles salem d'outros males, entrou crua pestenenca, por cuja causa em muitas partes morreo muita gente natural." But see Kayserling, II, 114, n. 1.

7) These atrocities are fully corroborated in the Christian sources. But that the king had anything to do with it, as is implied in U, is very doubtful. (Cf. Goes, X, p. 10)

8) The attacks were made by Berber tribes, in spite of the protection granted to the exiles by Muley Sheikh, Bey of Fez. (Graetz, VIII, 360ff.)
27. PORTUGAL, THE YEAR 5253.

"THEN THEY SENT THE BABES TO THE ALLIGATORS."

After this violent tempest, another was not late in bursting upon me, which was much more terrible. For as this king was desirous of finding some plausible occasion for persecuting me, he ordered it to be ascertained whether there had not entered his kingdom any persons beyond those of the six hundred families, as according to the agreement. Now, the haste with which these perplexed children of mine had departed from Castile did not afford them the opportunity to keep account, nor was it mercifully possible to stop at any one, and so indeed their number was found to be greater. All those in excess, the king said, should become his captives and slaves, for as such he could vex them at will and execute upon them his malicious design, ignoring their request to redeem themselves at the same price, at which the rest had been admitted, or at any other.

Unfortunately for me, there had been discovered at that time the island of San Thome, which was inhabited by alligators, serpents and other very venomous vermin, and was devoid of rational creatures. Thither he used to banish the malefactors that were condemned to death by the courts, and in their company he now joined also the innocent children of all those Jews whose parents, it seems, stood condemned by the Divine Judge.
When the fateful and miserable hour arrived, wherein such savage cruelty was to be carried out, you could have seen wretched mothers bring blood to their faces with their hands, from whose arms were snatched their children up to the age of three; honorable old men tear the hair of their beards, whose very vitals were plucked out before their eyes; and the ill-fated children raise their loud wails as high as heaven, seeing themselves so mercilessly torn away from their beloved parents at an age so tender and pitiful. Some women threw themselves at the king's feet, imploring that he should at least allow them to accompany their children, but not even this moved him to pity. Among them was a mother who, viewing this new and frightful cruelty, untempered as it was with any mercy, which even her entreaties could not elicit, clutched her son in her arms and plunged from the tall ship down into the raging sea and drowned, clasping her only child in her arms.

When these innocent souls were finally separated, amid such inhuman and cruel distress, from the tender care of their parents, and thrust into the power of the merciless enemies, who is there, brethren, that could describe you the mourning of the inner recesses and of the external garb with which all my children covered themselves, the moans, the tears, the wails, mixed with blood and fire, that were heard in all their houses. Nor were there any words of solace that could alleviate such overwhelming pain.
For every one had cause to need them. Many an one would have been tempted by this monstrous cruelty to take his life before the end appointed by the Divine Will, had there not been others to be affected by their departure. But the husbands were fearful of leaving their beloved wives widowed and forlorn in the midst of enemies, and the women were held back by a vague hope that they might yet see their children some day.

When those innocents finally reached the desert place of San Thome, they were removed to the land and there ruthlessly abandoned. Night all of them were devoured by the huge alligators that inhabited the island, while the rest that did not enter the bellies of those reptiles, perished from hunger and destitution, except some few that were saved by a miracle from that dreadful fate.

O Lord, whose might encompasses the dominion of the whole universe, with what patience dost Thou desire me to steel my heart and soul lest they be shattered to pieces by the terrible force and impact of like tribulations? See, "Thou hast crushed us in a place of dragons, and covered us with the shadow of death" (Ps. 44:20), as it had been foreseen and bewailed long before by my son David, with those words. Besides that similar disaster in England, there were executed here once again those threats of Thine which Thou didst make against me: "Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look and shed (tears) all the day, and there shall be no power in thee to bear it." (Deut. 28:32) For "the teeth of beasts will


3) Resende, ch.CLXXIX (vol.III, 37) is entitled: "De come El-Rei mandou a ilha de S.Thome os mocos que foram judeus." Cf. U 26, n.3.

4) On the impossibility of this construction see U 26, n.5.

5) It is doubtful if he had any such desire. Cf. Goes, ch.X, p.10: "... e quenlo descorraos fez el Rei dom Ioao merce delles a quem lhos pedis, respeitando contudo a calidade de suas pessoas, & daquelles a quem lhos daua."

6) As a matter of fact, ten out of a total of fifteen thousand were ransomed. See U 26, n.5.

7) This island, was discovered in 1470, is situated in the Gulf of Guinea, off the coast of W.Africa, immediately north of the Equator. Camoens (Lusiadas, Canto V, XII) calls it "...

V terms it one of the
Ilhas Perdidas).

8) V also speaks of
Cf. Abraham Torrutiel, l.c. Ramusio's volume, which Usque used
for his geographical data (see Introd., 63f.) has a passage in this connection ("Navigazione da Lisbona all' Isola di San Thome", 116f): "vi si trouano infiniti Cocodrilli e biscie venenose."

9) See Kayserling, II, 116, n.1. This was the usual Portuguese method of colonization.

10) In 1493 the Captaincy of the island was granted to Alvoro de Camonha whose task was to populate it. It was for this purpose that the Jewish children were separated from their parents and transported thither. (The anonym. Heb. account, l.c.:)

11) The anonym. Heb. account (l.c.) states that they all died. The other sources know of no such wholesale destruction.

12) The age limit of U is impossible, since V speaks of a woman who had seven children taken away. Kapsal1 sets their age from 10 to 15. S who copies U has however Kayserling, II, 115): from 2 to 10. (?) Pina (LXXIII, 181) speaks of "toldlos mininos, e moços, e moças pequenas". The number of those children is given by Abraham Torrutiel as about 800; the anonym. account (Marx, l.c.):

Kapsal1 has 5,000.
WHEN THEY WERE MADE CHRISTIANS BY FORCE.

When death carried off this king Dom João who had persecuted me so cruelly in this world, directly another such enemy of mine assumed the scepter in his place. And when he ascended the throne, he lost no time in oppressing me, but indeed ordered it to be proclaimed that all Jews who lived in his kingdom should become Christians, or else leave Portugal within a certain time; and if they would not leave and be found still to be Jews, they should die a natural death, as also lose their property therefor. This proclamation sorely depressed all my children, for their souls had already a foreboding that it was a greater evil, other than expulsion, that this enemy sought to perpetrate. They therefore decided to leave, and because of the shortage of time, wound up their affairs suffering loss of property, and made ready to depart. But when the king learned of the decision of the Jews and how lightly they appeared to esteem banishment as in lieu of forsaking their Law, he began to make clear his wicked intention, in that he commanded all Jews in the kingdom to gather to Lisbon, with the announcement that there he desired to furnish them with ships. Then he had them assembled all together, he gave an order to put them in certain large buildings, called the Estacas. And when he saw them thus, like sheep in a sheepfold prepared for slaughter, he at last revealed his venomous heart, and sent word thither to advise them that it
was his wish they should all turn Christians, and that they should do voluntarily that which they would ultimately have to do by force. These threats did not avail to make my children turn their backs upon their Lord, and they answered, on the contrary, with steadfastness, that they would do no such thing. Seeing that greater force was needed to sway them, the king conferred with his council and they resolved to separate, from the midst of their elders, the young men up to the age of twenty five years. At this separation they recalled that cruel and still fresh misfortune when they threw the children to the alligators, and a horrible fear seized them. What doleful words shall I use to describe to you the wailings uttered on all sides, and the howls and screams of the fathers and mothers, which pierced the stones, and could have moved even tigers to pity!

Having separated them thus, they appealed to them with a discourse of poisonous words dipped in treacle, promising them many privileges in the kingdom, if they become converted of their own will. But that was of no avail to move them from their constancy as much as by a point. And so, finding them just as firm as their parents, those executors of my temptation fell upon them with terrific fury, and dragging them, some by their legs and arms, and others by their hair and beards, they carried them by force into their churches. There they sprinkled them with their water, which touched some but hardly reached others, and they imposed upon them, besides, Christian names, and placed them in the care of old Christians to sub-
jugate them to the religion and guard them in their faith. Having accomplished this wicked and outrageous work, they returned to the parents, who abhorred life and such anguish, to deal them another mortal blow. They told them that their children had converted themselves to Christianity, and that they too would have to do so if they wished to live in their company. But not even this could shake the old people, and so the king ordered to deprive them of their food and drink for three consecutive days, in order to tempt them with the anguish of hunger. This also they endured courageously. When the king saw that even that was to no avail, and that were he to torture them with starvation any longer, they would die, he decided to employ on them the same violent means that he had employed on their children. And so, dragging some by their legs, others by their beards and hair, hitting them in their faces and beating them severely, they brought them into their churches, where they sprinkled them with the water. Among many who made great efforts to defend themselves, there was one in particular who wrapped his six sons with his "tallith," and strengthening them with a wise exhortation to die for the Law, he slaughtered them all, one by one, and killed himself in the end. Likewise, a wife and husband hanged themselves, and those who sought to take them away for burial were killed by the enemies with spears. Many there were who cast themselves into wells, and others plunged down from windows to be dashed to pieces. And all these Israelite bodies, slain in this manner, were then carried by the executioners of my
members to be burnt before the eyes of their brethren, to put in them a greater fear and dread of their cruelty. By means of this violence, contrary to divine as well as human law, laws, many were become Christians in body, yet no taint ever contaminated their souls, but indeed they always bore the impress of the seal of their ancient Law.

Who can escape from Thy wrath, O Lord, when it is impelled by as mighty a cause as was raised by my transgressions? A wrath that overtakes me even here, in the farthest corners of the earth, that the cruel sentences might be executed, which Thou didst pronounce upon me through the mouth of Thy prophets, saying: "The Lord shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers." (Deut.28:64) "And thou shalt serve thine enemy in hunger, and in thirst; and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck."(ibid.28: 48*) "And death shall be chosen rather than life by all the residue that remain of this evil family."Jer.8:3) "I will turn unto them My back and not My face, in the day of (this) their calamity (in a strange land)" (ibid.12:17), even as "they have turned their back unto Me, and not their face (and worshipped strange gods in their own land)."(ibid.2:27) The truth is however that "if we have forgotten the name of our God, and spread forth our hands to a strange god; would not God search this out (that we are forced to do so)? For He knoweth the secrets of the heart."(Ps.44:21f.)
1) In this account Usque seems to have confused two separate events. Having issued the edict of expulsion in December 1496 (see n.6), Manuel was resolved to prevent the Jews from leaving the country. As a first step in this direction, he had at Easter time, the Jewish children throughout the country snatched from their parents and baptized. (Goes, ch.XX, p.19; Abraham Torrutil, 113f.) When the Jews persisted however in their determination to leave, he resorted to concentrating them all in Lisbon and effected a forced conversion. This latter episode took place in November 1497, some six months after the first. While indeed on this occasion also the older children were taken away from their parents (cf. Goes, XIX: "allí lhe tornarao a tomar nouamente os outros fylhos sen olhar a idade"?), Usque has no knowledge of any such previous occurrence. (Cf. below, when the parents recall the San Thome episode.) -- E 89 reproduces U. The account in Nomologia, 320, is drawn from U ("como trae el Usque").

Graetz, VIII, 375ff.; Kayselng, II, 131ff.; Remedios, 284ff.; Quellen, 75f.

2) = 1497 C.E. Cf. n.1.

3) See fol.51a, n. .

4) See also fol.51a, n. . Manuel I, the Fortunate (1495-1521). V 60 calls him . Judah Abravanel:

( 1.38, in N.Slousch, Poésies Hebraïques de D. Jehuda Abravanel, Lisbon 1928, 9). On the divided opinion about that ruler see Herculano, I, ; Engl.tr., 249; Gretz, VIII, 375; D'Azevedo, 62; Quellen, 71, n.5. For an impassioned defense
of Manuel I see Manuel, II, 359ff. Manuel II writes these pathetic words: "Four centuries had passed since the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal and their forced conversion. An infamous crime, which covered the nation with shame (the assassination of Carlos I in 1908) brought another Dom Manuel Duke of Beja to the throne of Portugal (Manuel II), died-in-exile-in-19In his hour of sorrow he received a moving and vehement letter, couched in ancient Portuguese, from the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam, protesting against the dastardly attack; this message from the descendants of those who had so greatly suffered was indeed a consolation for a bleeding heart, and he who received it will never forget it." (Manuel, II, 379)

5) According to Osorius (115b and 6b) and Goes (ch.X, p.10), Manuel freed the Jewish slaves upon his accession to the throne, and moreover refused to accept any compensation from the grateful Jewish community.

6) U. seems to have read the text of the edict of expulsion. Cf. the passage there: "sob pena de morte natural, e perder de fazendas". The alternative of baptism is not stated in the edict, The Jews were to leave before the end of October, 1497. (The text of the edict is printed in Rios, III, 615; Remedios, 431; Manuel, II, 363f., reproduced directly from the original copy of "Ordenacoes d'El-Rei d. Manuel",.) For a discussion of the date of the edict (prob. Dec.4, 1496) see Loeb, REJ, III(1881), 285; and Almeida, II, 204, n.2.

7) "A palace with a seventeen-window front, destined for the
temporary reception of foreign diplomats ambassadors" (Kayserling, "Portugal", JEP X,139) It was subsequently used as the Palace of Inquisition. The site is now occupied by the National Theater. (See Roth, Marranos, 382, n.2) -- 20,000 Jews were assembled in Lisbon, but that they all met and were sheltered there at the same time is a physical impossibility. They must have entered the building successively. (Herculano, I, 126; Engl.tr., 255. But see Remedios, 296ff.)

8) The council did not approve Manuel's plan of forcible conversion. (See Coutinho's letter, in Herculano, I, 128; and Remedios, 290, n.1.) This is a typical feature of U.

9) The other sources give lower age limits. Osorius (I, 13a) and Goes (ch.XX, p.19): 14 years or less. Abraham Torrutiel: 13 or less. Ibn Faraj (l.c.): Kapsali (34):

(The emendation of Rosanes, op.cit., I, 64, n.67, is ill-founded. Judah Abravanel's son was not among those baptized in 1497.) But whatever the age limit specified by the king, actually boys of 20 were also seized. (Cf. Herculano, I, 125) In addition, when all the Jews had assembled in Lisbon, all the other children were seized and baptized. It is perhaps to this latter episode that the age limit in U refers. See n.1

10) Comp. the touching words of Levi b. Habib when speaking of his baptism in Lisbon in 1497;

(Responsa, 298a)
11) Isaac Ibn Faraj (l.c.):

12) So also the "Apologia em abono dos Christiaos", in Remedios, 298, n.1.

13) Cf. Isaac Ibn Faraj:

14) U: "com seus taleciol". E

15) U; "os leuauam os algozes ... a queimar." E translates
29. THE MASSACRE OF PORTUGAL.
THE YEAR 5266.

It was not enough to have brought them into their faith, by such vicious and preposterous means, and wresting them from their Law into which they had been born. For even now they did not let them live in peace, but insulted them, harmed them, humiliated them, and treated them with baseness and contempt. And this also they would have borne with patience, had not calumnies and false testimonies been raised against them, in order to destroy and extirpate them from the world. For the preachers preached in the pulpits, the lords asserted in the public places, and the townspeople and villagers repeated in the squares, saying that whatsoever famine, plague, or earthquake occurred in the land, it was because they were not good Christians, and were secretly judaizing.

When, therefore, certain mortal enemies perceived the mood of the people, how much they were bent on doing them harm, they seized on the opportunity to carry out their evil desire. Among them were two Dominican friars who went forth through the streets of Lisbon, carrying crosses on their shoulders, and incited the populace, calling upon all to come along with them to avenge the killing of their God. There gathered about them many nefarious loafers and base fellows, and with spears and drawn swords in their hands, they fell upon the weak and unsuspecting people of those forcibly baptized New Christians, and slew of them four thousand
souls, looting and perpetrating all those atrocities that are committed during the sack of a city. Men were mutilated, children were dashed against the walls and torn limb from limb, women were dishonored and virgins violated, and their lives taken to boot. There was many a pregnant woman hurled from the window on to the spearpoints that awaited them down below, and thus was cut short the progress of the innocent babe, even before it had arrived in the world whither it was being sent by merciful Heaven. One woman there was among them, who driven by her great anger and in defence of her honor, killed a friar who sought to force her, with the friar's own knife. Had this terrible calamity continued, there would have perished in that onslaught all the New Christians of Lisbon. But the Divine Compassion interposed through the earthly judges who came to their aid, and then through the king who in all haste rushed to their rescue from the town of Abrantes, where he was at the time, and thus that horrible massacre was halted.

O merciful Lord, look down from Thine exalted abode, and see what we suffer, and deliver us. And in proof that the inmost recess of our hearts has never turned away from the knowledge of Thee, see that "for Thy sake are we killed all the day: we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." (Ps.44:23) Also this wrathful sentence, which Ezekiel pronounced upon me at Thy command: "A sword, a sword, it is sharpened for slaughter." (Ezek.21:15) "Oh! it is made glittering, it is sharpened for slaughter." (ibid.20) "It shall be upon My people, it shall be upon all the princes of Israel." (ibid.17)
"It is the sword of the great slaughter, which shall penetrate into them, that their heart may faint, and their stumbling be multiplied before their gates." (Ibid. 19f.)

Lo, it was fulfilled in this slaughter.

Now that we have suffered Thy wrath, "awake, why sleepest Thou, O Lord? Arouse Thyself, cast not off for ever. Wherefore hidest Thou Thy face, and forgettest our affliction and our oppression? For our soul is bowed down to the dust; our belly cleaveth unto the earth. Arise for our help, and redeem us for Thy mercy's sake." (Ps. 44:24-27) "Bring upon them (already) the day of evil, and destroy them with destruction double (that which we have suffered)," (Jer. 17:18) O God of vengeance!

(On his customary confusion of dates and numbers see U.D. III 1921-217, 255, notto.)
1) V 60 has a similar account of the massacre of Lisbon, and it is questionable whether U used an oral source, for there is a great similarity of exposition and phraseology between the two accounts. See also Ibn Faraj (l.c.). E 90 and S 95b reproduce U.


2) V has a similar statement. Loeb (REJ, XXIV(1892), 12) mistranslates that passage, confusing the cause with effect.

3) This may refer to the pestilence and famine of 1506, to the discovery of a Passover celebration held by Marranos (V), or to the unfortunate remark uttered by a Marrano in church, or to all of these circumstances.

5) They were Fray Joaqu Moucho of Evora and Fray Bernaldo, an Aragonese. (Acenheiro, Chronicas dos Senhores Reis de Portugal, Colleccao de Ineditos da Hist. Port., V, 333) In these riots, which lasted three days, the Lisbon mob was aided by German, French and Dutch sailors whose ships were then in port.

2) The Sunday after Easter, April, 19, 1506. Isaac Ibn Faraj: (On his customary confusion of dates and numbers see JQR, II(1911-12), 258, bottom.)

6) So also Resende (Miscell., III, 185f.) and the Memorial presented to Paul III (Herculano, ). V and Bernaldez (CCV, vol. II, 283): 3,000. Other sources: 2,000. (2,000 more may have perished outside of Lisbon while seeking refuge.) Ibn Faraj:
over 1,400 persons. On the first day alone 500 were killed.
Cf. Kayserling, II, 150.

7) E vaguely; Cf. Wiener E, 72; and Kayserling, II, 150, n.3/

8) Goes (ch.CII, p.142) states however that the massacre stopped on Tuesday because "ja nao achavam quem matar."

9) U, V, and Ibn Faraj all assert that the king proceeded to Lisbon in person. However all the Christian chroniclers as well as the documents state that the king, who received the news in Avis (and not in Abrantes, as in U; the court had left Lisbon because of the plague) dispatched at once certain military and judicial officials, who are named in the sources, to establish order in Lisbon. He did not hurry to Lisbon on person, as the plague was still raging there.
Fifteen years after this tribulation, there came to the throne king Dom João, the third by that name, and with his accession, far greater apprehensions and fears came over my soul, by reason of the ill disposition which, as a prince, he evinced toward this afflicted people. Up to the time when he assumed the reign, the New Christians and had become so utterly absorbed in the acquisition of power and its delusions that they were on the verge of forgetting their ancient Law, and were losing their fear of the fountain whence flows our life, what with the great wealth which they acquired, the dignities and noble offices which they procured in the kingdom, and enjoying peace, for they imitated assiduously the Christian people, though indeed souls they never forsook the secret of their heart.

While such was their position, my sins determined to trouble and persecute me, and they took this king, Dom João, to be their tormentor and executor, as they found his will to be a suitable tool for it. And since no calamity can be severer than that of Castile, he decreed that this should be likewise the chastisement and penalty of my transgressions in Portugal. He therefore sent to Rome for a monster similar to the Spanish one. And though it is now only a short time since it arrived, it has already wrought cruel and fearful havoc among these forcibly bap-
converts. His coming instantly baled their faces, wrecked
the tranquillity of their spirits, and filled their souls with
pain and sorrow. He has removed them from the comfort of their
homes, and caused them to dwell in dark dungeons, where they
live amid constant anxiety and moaning. For there he sets up
for them the trap to fling them into the fire to be burnt therein.
There he tortures them, so that they are driven to kill their
children with their own hands. He burns their spouses, takes
the life of their brethren, makes orphans, multiplies widows,
impoovershies the rich, destroys the mighty, turns the well-born
into thieves, fills the places of shame and infamy with modest
and virtuous women, by the reason of the poverty and destitution
to which it reduces them. So far, he has already consumed a very
large number, since he inflicts this penalty upon them, not one
by one, but at the rate of thirty and fifty at one time. At
the time when it burns and destroys them, there gathers a large
crowd of Christians, who glory and rejoice at the sight of my
members being burnt at the stake, as they poke the fire and feed
it with the fuel which they bring on their backs from far away.
These forcible converts go about so filled with the fear of
this ferocious beast that when walking in the street, they turn
their eyes to see if he is not about to snatch them, and they
walk with trembling hearts, stirred like the leaf of a tree,
then stop puzzled and fearful lest they come up against him.
Thatssoever the blow dealt by that beast, howsoever distant, it
perturbs them and stuns them, as though it were struck at
their own vitals, for in this misfortune they are all as one
body to suffer. At home, they put the morsel into their mouths with apprehension, and at the hour when undisturbed sleep is granted to all creatures, he startles them and pounces on them suddenly. Their rejoicings and celebrations of weddings and childbirths he upsets and turns into sorrow and discomfiture. Finally, he causes them to undergo every moment a thousand death agonies, for it is not enough that they prove themselves Christians by outward signs, until it pricks with fire into their very bowels.

Not even one of the thousand evils, caused them by this beast, could I explain to you, brethren, at length, for innumerable are the manners of their martyrdom. But this I can say to you, that because of their fear many of those forcible converts have departed, fleeing from a land trodden by so deadly a monster. Some of these, before they could step into the tenders, he carried off with their wives and children, and out of the bitter dungeons delivered them up to the fire. Others, before they could reach the ship that was waiting to carry them away, were wrecked by the mighty surge of the sea. Many he has pulled out from inside the ships, from the most secret place of their hiding, and burnt them in its rapacious flames. Thus I was caught in the very snare which all the prophets had set up for me so long beforehand, for they said, and it was fulfilled:
"The Lord shall scatter thee among all the peoples, from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers. And among these nations shalt thou have no repose, and there shall be no rest for the soul of thy foot; but the Lord shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and languishing of soul. And thy life shall hang (by a frail thread) before thee; and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have no assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would it were morning! for the fear of thy heart, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."(Dt.28:64-67)

"if thou (Israel) shalt be drawn away (by force), and even worship other gods, and serve them; I declare unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish."(ibid.30:17f.)

And I, ignorant, hidden as I was in the guise of a Christian, it seemed to me that by this means I was saving my Israel life, whereas the contrary holds. "Jeshurun waxed fat, leaned back and kicked, and he forsook God who made him, and contemned the Rock of his salvation."(ibid.32:15") "Of the Rock that begot thee thou wast unmindful."(ibid.32:18) "And the Lord said: (Therefore) I will hide My face from them,"(ibid.32:20) And because "they have roused me to indignation with a no-god,"(ibid.32:21) "fear and terror shall be in their chambers."(ibid.32:25*) "For I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is
refined, and will try them as gold is tried." (Zechariah 13:9)

"And their gold shall be as an unclean thing; their silver and their gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the Lord." (Ezekiel 7:19) "For I will do unto them after their way, and according to their deserts will I judge them; and they shall know that I am the Lord."

(ibid. 7:27) For since "thou art gone backward, therefore did I stretch out My hand against thee, and destroyed thee."

(Jeremiah 15:6) "And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide Mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear; for your hands are full of blood."

(Isaiah 1:15) "Can any (of them that I wish to punish) hide himself in (hidden crevices or) secret places that I shall not see him? (Certainly not, for) I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord." (Jeremiah 23:24) "I am a God near at hand, and not a God afar off." (ibid. 23:23)
1) On the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal see the fundamental work of Alexandre Herculano, cited in U 26, n.1. Cf. Graetz, IX, 259f. Manuel (I, p.1111) makes this qualified defense of the Holy Office: "Unhappily, the Inquisition shed blood; but in its legal capacity it prevented the shedding of much more... In two centuries the Holy Office carried out about fifteen hundred sentences of death, while in two days the people of Lisbon had massacred more than two thousand unhappy 'new Christians' - men, women and children."

2) = 1531 C.E. This date is inaccurate. (Graetz, IX, 260, n.1) It was not until 1536 that the Inquisition was established in Portugal. When the first victims were burnt is not known, but that there were autos de fe held in Lisbon as early as 1540 is indicated by the lists of autos preserved in the Public Library in Evora. (Cf. R. Gottheil, JQR, XIV(1902), 90f.) However, Usque's testimony should count for something, and though a slight error on his part is conceivable, the date cannot be placed much after 1531, even before the issuance of the Papal Bull of 1536.

3) João III (1522-57). His anti-Jewish sentiments, when still a prince, were well known. Cf. Herculano, I, Engl.tr.p 278, n.8.


5) The establishment of the Inquisition was partly due to their attachment to the cause of David Reuben. Was it Usque's disapproval
of Messianic movements that caused him to condemn the Marranos of Portugal?

6) Cf. the tables in Adler, op.cit., 139, 145, 147, where the number of victims is not given, however. But on the basis of literary evidence he computes that, at a total of 760 autos held in Portugal, only 1175 were burnt in person. In the early years of the Inquisition the burnings must have been very numerous, as stated in U, for in later years comparatively few suffered death at the stake.

7) For actual cases see Herculano, III, 197; and Graetz, IX, 269.
31. ON THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT AND ARE LEAVING
PORTUGAL SINCE THE YEAR 5291.

Of those who escaped, amid such anguish and peril, from
the cruel claws of this beast, and have finally departed
from the Portuguese kingdom, some have fared ill in strange
countries. In Spain they were captured, in Flanders they were detained, and in England and France met with ill reception and hostile eye. In consequence of these vexations, many exhausted their resources, and perished as well in life and in body from these misfortunes, even when weary and afflicted they did find a haven in Germany. A large number died crossing the Alps, of extreme misery and destitution. Many left their wives widowed near the hour of their confinement, and you could have seen a new manner of distress misadventure, as they gave birth on these cold and rigorous roads.

If these hardships were not yet enough, there rose up against them the most cruel persecutor that Israel had known since the loss of the Temple, whose name was John. He waited for them in the state of Milano, and there captured waggonfuls of them. Since he had no authority, however, to put any to death, he would strip them down to the very last garment, putting the frail women to a thousand tortures, as also the weary old men, that they might confess and disclose what they were carrying, and tell of the others that were coming, so as to waylay
and capture them also. In this manner he impoverished many, and brought them to the verge of despair by reason of their misery.

Thus it was that as I got away from that poisonous vermin, I fell into the hands ruthless of other strange nations, so that some were consumed, and still are being consumed, by the sea, while others perished, and do still perish, in inhabited and desert lands alike.

And of those who have escaped with their lives, the majority straightway recognized the grace which the Lord bestowed on them, and they passed on into lands where they are at liberty to return to the ancient and true Law of their fathers, which they had now forsaken and forgotten for so many years past. Others, upon escaping from the storm, have cast anchor once more in many parts of Christendom, where they languish and drift on to death, some in sorrow and in barrenness of their souls, without attaining the Source spring, unable to disentangle their wings from the great luxury and wealth, with which the world beckons to them, yea it calls them.

It is quite manifest that all these prophetic words can be seen to have been fulfilled here. "And I shall bring about that they shall be driven in horror in all the kingdoms of the earth, and they shall be a fear, a reproach, and a shame among all the nations whither I have driven them (in trouble) and sorrow."( 29:6 ) "The third part shall call on My name, and I will answer them; I said,
It is My people; and they shall say, The Lord is My God."
(Zech.13:9*) "And they that escape of you shall remember Me among the nations whither they shall be carried captives, and they shall know that I am the Lord; I have not said in vain that I would do this evil unto them."(Ezek.6:9,10)

As for those who do not wish as yet to return to My Law, and offer excuses, "they speak not aright; no man repenteth him of his wickedness, saying (in his heart, O wretched man,) what have I done (that I have been out of my wits all this time, and still am so today)? Every one turneth away in his course, as a horse that rusheth madly in the battle. Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the swallow and the crane observe the leaving time of their coming; but My people know not that of the Lord (that now is the time to leave and order to serve him), and ye say (as an excuse), We are wise, and the Law of the Lord is with us."(Jer.3:6-8*) Whereas, "I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according doings to his ways, according to the fruit of his fruits. And he that getteth riches, and not by right (gathering them without serving Me), in the midst of his days he shall leave them, and at his end shall be a fool."(ibid.17:10f.*) "They shall not satisfy their souls, neither fill their bowels; for (their riches) have been the stumblingblock of their iniquity."(Ezek.7:19) "And I will purge out from among you the rebels, and them that transgress against Me; I will bring them forth out of the land where they sojourn, but they
shall enter into the land of Israel." (ibid. 20:38) And it shall come to pass with them as with those who remained in the wilderness because of their sin; and this prophecy shall be confirmed: "They that despise me shall not see the land which I swore unto their fathers." (Nu. 14:23*).

Twenty thousand souls have gone outside of the confines of Europe to receive the yoke of Judaism, scorning the warnings offered them by the spiritual enemy, who points to the wretched poverty of Turkey awaiting them with an open mouth, and the grievous captivity under the Turks and the Moors. May the merciful King, who is the universal Lord of all the worlds, accept it as a sacrifice for their sins!
1) See U 30, n.2.

2) i.e. the Inquisition of Portugal. Cf. U 30.

3) E 91; but see REJ, X(1845), 249.

4) His identity has not been established. E reads, but without foundation. Kayserling (II, 188, n.9) suggests that this may have been of Gaston de Foix, the French generalissimo in Tuscany, who had died in 1512, after the battle of Ravenna. Graetz (IX, 238, and n.3) believes that he must have been an Italian. Cf. also Wiener E, 202, n.244a; and Remedios, Gloss., 24, s.v. Foya.
Furthermore, nigh thirty years had elapsed since the king Don Ferdinand had expelled me from the kingdom of Naples (the same that had driven me out of Spain), whence had departed about twenty thousand families, only one noble family of my children remaining in that province. Then through the efforts and by the means of this family, a part of those exiles returned once more to the kingdom. And though they endured constant assaults and were threatened with persecutions and expulsions, they contrived nevertheless to maintain themselves, until at last the emperor Charles sought to carry out what had been so often attempted.

Among others, there was in the midst of these Israelites a venerable person, a grand old man, of Spanish birth, the foremost and most distinguished of them all whose right to the title of "Tremegiato", as the Greeks say, was thrice great: great in the knowledge of the Law, great in nobility of descent, and great in wealth. His resources were of constant and magnificent assistance to his brethren in distress. He joined many orphans in marriage, sustained many needy persons, and signally distinguished himself in freeing captives, so that in him were combined all the qualities which make one fitted for the gift of prophecy. To him, moreover, Heaven granted a mate who equaled him in all the exalted qualities. Seeing the plight of her brethren, she went in the company of several Neapolitan princesses, to entreat the emperor that he should revoke the decree expelling the Jews, and so wisely did she, with the
aid of Divine favor, plead her suit, that it was granted
to her by the emperor with amiable words. From this
the Israelite people derived such consolation. However,
when the emperor left Naples, he was reproved by certain
wicked counselors whom my iniquities had stirred up, and
accordingly five years later he ordered that every Jew should
wear a badge, and such as should be found anywhere without
it should lose his life and property — an intolerable pen-
alty. Besides, since my children realized how our troubles
originate from the slightest matters, and that this light
measure, even though they could endure it, was weighty enough
to be a manifest indication of the prince's illwill toward
the Jews, and feared that it would be followed by another
change and innovation of more serious consequences, which
they should be unable to escape without suffering far greater
damage than they would suffer in leaving the kingdom. There-
fore all my children resolved to depart rather than await
the outcome of such evil beginning. This they did within the
period of six weeks which was allotted to them under grave
penalties. That noble family likewise joined them, so as to
share in the hardships of their brethren, although they were
not included among the number of the persons expelled. Some
wandered off to generous Turkey, many to the domains
of the Pope, others placed themselves under the allegiance
of several potentates of Italy.
Herein was fulfilled this prophetic utterance of thine, Jeremiah: "I will bring about that they shall wander in horror in all the kingdoms of the earth." (Jer. 29:8)
1) This account deals with the period of thirty years separating the two expulsions from Naples that took place under the Spanish regime. The narrative centers around the house of Abravanel, and especially around Don Samuel and his wife Dona Benvenida, whose exertions in behalf of their brethren are described in glowing terms in an oft-quoted passage. See Loeb, 223 (where E 102 should perhaps be substituted for E 95).


2) In 1492 the Spanish exiles were welcomed to Naples in large numbers by Ferrando I (1443-94). Then, in 1504, the Neapolitan kingdom was finally united with the crown of Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic contemplated the expulsion of the Jews also from this newly acquired possession, but was dissuaded by the Gran Capitan. (Zurita, op. cit., vol. V, book V, ch. LXX, 326cd). But again on November 23, 1510, an edict was published, "en que se mandaua que todos los Judíos, y los que auian huydo de España, y fueron condenados por el Santo officio, saliessen del reyno, hasta por todo el mes de Março; y que no quedasse ninguno." (ibid., vol. VII, book IX, ch. XXVII, 242b) Cf. Ferorelli, op. cit., 219. Thus, indeed, thirty years elapsed between this first expulsion and the final expulsion
under Charles V in 1541. (But cf. Rios, III, 643.)

3) This number must have included the local Jews, the Spanish and Portuguese refugees, and those Marranos who were fugitives from the Inquisition. Cf. Zurita, in n. 2.

4) A document found in the viceregal chancery of Naples (Ferorelli, op. cit., 221, n. 3) says of Leon Abravanel that "da poy la publicacione de la regia pragmatica et expulsione de li judei del presente regno, e remasto in la cita de Napoli con mogliere figliuoli cognata et famiglia con guidatico et salvi conducto facto per lo Ill.mo don Raymundo de Caruona (sic) vicere et locumtenente generale." By the safe-conduct of June 30, 1512, granted to him in recognition of his many services rendered to the Court, and for other reasons as well, he was allowed, along with all his relatives and servants, to stay in Naples and to enjoy the status quo. ("Stare in la presente cita de Napoli et regno sencza incorrere in pena alcuna, et gaudere li privileggi et prerogative che gaudevano li iudei de quisto regno in tempo de li rettori de casa de Aragona, et andar fora del regno, tornare et stare". Ibid. on p. 221, Ferorelli speaks of a Jacob (?) Abravanel; on p. 233, he has "Don Simone Abravanel", apparently for Samuel.) The Abravanelas were not, however, the only family that was allowed to remain in Naples after the expulsion of 1510. In fact, 200 more Jewish families were permitted to stay in the kingdom, upon the yearly payment of 3,000 ducats. (ibid., 219 and 221f.) Usque's wording may, therefore, imply that the Abravanelas were
the only family of consequence that remained in Naples.

3) The Jews were recalled in 1520 by Charles V (1519-56) through the efforts of Leon Abravanel, who by the edict of recall was exempted from all taxes. However, only between forty and fifty families were then permitted to return. (ibid., 223f.) Not until 1535 was an agreement negotiated, through the exertions of Samuel Abravanel, which opened Naples to an unlimited number. (ibid., 230)

6) Though at first he permitted a number of Jews to return to Naples (see preceding note), Charles V addressed in 1528 an inquiry to the viceroy with regard to the desirability of expelling all Jews. Finally, on January 5, 1533, the viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, issued an edict of expulsion, but in February 1535, Samuel Abravanel procured its postponement for a period of ten years. The agreement was signed by the Emperor in March 1536, during his visit in Naples, and it was no doubt on this occasion that Dona Penvenida influenced his decision. (Graetz, IX, 292f., and Ferorelli, op.cit., 228f.) This agreement was broken by Charles five years later. See nn 11ff. On the attitude of Charles V to the Jews of Naples, cf. the curious note in Zurita, op.cit., vol.V, book V, ch. LXX, 326d: "quando el Rey Carlos entro en el reyno, todos (Iudios) se boluieron Christianos por fuerca".

7) He was the youngest son of Don Isaac Abravanel. In his youth he studied in the academies of Salonica. Imanuel Aboab, Nomologia, 327, speaks thus of him: "Este es aquel singular varon, a quien
Rabi Abraham (sic) Usque, con justa causa llama Tremegisto; por tres grandezas, o excellencias que en le concurrían en grado estremado... Por que escriven del, que tuvo más de dozientos mil sequinos de oro. Era su casa Escuela de virtuosos, Hospital de pobres, y refugio de miserables. No avia ano, en que no saliessen della, honrados, que se preciavan mucho, de aver sido criados de aquella nobilissima casa." Cf. Graetz, lx,38.

8) *gratissimam, thrice greatest.

8a) In Portuguese: "grande nobre". A referce ce to the Davidic descent claimed by the Abravanelas?

9) 

10) She was Samuel Abravanel's second wife. (The name of his first wife is not known.) David Neubeni (Neubauer, op. cit., II 166, refers to her as who did him many favors, and adds:

(cf. also ibid., 192) Aboab, ibid., speaks of her thus: "El Senor don Semuel Abravanel...fue venturoso en tener por companera una de las mas nobles, y generosas Matronas que uvo en Israel después de nuestros esparzimientos: tal era la senora Fenvenida Abravanela, dechado de honestidad, de piedad, de prudencia, y valor. Mientras que estuvo en Nápoles, siendo alli Visrey don
Pedro de Toledo, quisso que sua hija dona Leonor de Toledo, se criasse debaxo de la disciplina de la senora Benvenida, y en su casa: y despues que caso con el Serenissimo gran Duque Cosmo de Medices, y vino a ser Gran Duqueza de la Toscana, siempre en sus cosas se valia de la senora Benvenida que habitava en Ferrara, a quien llamava madre; y como a tal la tratava, y venerava". Accompanied by Dona Leonora and by other Neapolitan noblewomen, she pleaded with Emperor Charles for the recall of the edict of expulsion of 1533. (Cf.n.6) Dona Benvenida outlived her husband, and was still alive in 1553, in Ferrara, when the "Consolation" was published. (Pesaro, op.cit.,14, Appendix; and Margulies, I.c., 106.)

11) On November 10, 1539, a decree was issued (perhaps not published before 1540, hence the five years of U), intimating that an expulsion was being contemplated. Meanwhile the men were ordered to wear a red, yellow, or "croceo" hat, and the women a kerchief of one of those colors. (Terorelli, op.cit., 230f.) But cf.n.13.

12) The imperial edict of expulsion was received by the viceroy in 1540, and published by him in May 1541. (Terorelli, op.cit., 233) The deadline was finally set for October 31, 1541. (ibid., 237. For the different dates assigned by the sources to this expulsion, see Graetz, X, 292,n.4.) 1540 would thus refer to the date of the original edict. Cf. E 102, which is independent of U:
See also following note.

13) The account of U is not quite clear at this point. First the Emperor imposes the badge on pain of death and confiscation of property. Then, the Jews, foreseeing graver developments, decide to leave of their own accord. But their departure is consummated within the six weeks' period of grace granted to them, and are joined by the Abravanelis, who have not been included among those 'expelled'. It seems, however, that Usque, like Gedaliah knew of no final edict of expulsion. S 96a gives a clearer version of the situation:

(Cf. Kayserling, JE, I,129, s.v. "Abravanel.")

In reality, the decree merely imposed a compulsory badge. The alternative of self-exile may have suggested itself to the Jews who were filled with forebodings, as stated in U, that this first step would be followed eventually by an edict of expulsion, possibly along the lines of that of 1492, or worse yet, along those pursued by Manuel of Portugal. They therefore decided to leave at once, accomplishing their departure before the law had gone into effect. (If so, the date 1540/2 applies to this voluntary exodus, as does the phrase "five years later", i.e. after 1536 Cf. n.11) Historical facts do not bear out, however, this construction. For not only was there no exodus following the decree of 1539 concerning the badge, but on the contrary, when the edict of expulsion was promulgated by the Viceroy in May 1541, Don
Samuel Abravanel and others did all in their power to effect its recall, though they only succeeded in obtaining a postponement of the final date (See n. 12) Cf. the interesting theory of Ferorelli, op. cit., 239, concerning the personal motives of Don Pedro de Toledo in bringing about the expulsion.

14) Don Samuel Abravanel was made an exception, but like his father, fifty years earlier, chose to share the fate of his unfortunate brethren. At the invitation of Duke Ercole II he proceeded to Ferrara, where he died in 1547 (Margulies, l.c., and Andrea Balletti, Gli Ebrei e gli Estensi, Reggio-Emilia 1930, 78.)
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In order that this expulsion and trouble might not pass without the accompaniment of some further mishap, it happened in Turkey that a certain fell in love with a Turkish woman who was both virtuous and married. Seeing herself annoyed and pursued by him, she decided to reveal to her husband what was going on. He told his wife that she should not disillusion him, but rather give him hope, and tell him that she would be waiting for him at a certain place, at a certain hour of the night. And so she did, to the lover's boundless joy at having the recipient of the great favor, quite unaware of the evil that was waiting him at this step. For the husband stationed himself secretly in that place, well armed, as required in such case, and when the adulterer arrived there, he killed him. As soon as he saw him lying lifeless at his feet, he began exerting his imagination as to whither he could take him from there, that another might suffer for the crime committed by himself. In the end, since every stumbling-block is now set up for Israel, and since the evils all run toward him, as to the frailest and weakest spot, he decided to throw that corpse into a stable belonging to Jews. In the morning, as the afflicted Jews found a Turk laid in front of their doors, there was great consternation and anguish among them all, as among the limbs of a single body.
Meanwhile, the Turks kept going to see the murdered man and to mutter against the ill-fated Jews, and their rage kept mounting until they were on the point of perpetrating a massacre. The worst of it was that, as there was no lack of enemies who hastened at once to misinform the Pashas, these were boiling over with fury, and wanted to give orders to execute justice on the many that had been seized at that instant on the strength of false testimony. But the Divine Mercy came to their rescue by the hand of an Israelite, the excellent physician to the Grand Seigneur, who assisted his brethren with all his devotion and love, as he had done many another time. He begged that an order be given to make a strict investigation concerning the matter, by means of which it pleased the Supreme Compassion that everything was revealed exactly as it had happened.

One may believe, Ezekiel, that herein was fulfilled this prophecy of thine: "I will do unto them after their way, and according to their deserts will I judge them; that they may (thus) know that I am the Lord." (Ezek. 7:27)
This account, if given full credit, would constitute a unique source of a blood accusation in Constantinople in 1542. We have accounts of two such incidents which occurred in Turkey at about that time. Joseph Ibn Verga, who lived in Adrianople, Turkey (Wiener, Introd. to V, p. VI), reports (V,p. 111; cf. Wiener V, 227) an incident that happened at Amasia, in Anatolia. He seems to be well informed; indeed, he claims to have a knowledge of the names of the persons involved and of other details as well, which, for reasons of interracial relations, he deems unwise to divulge. He knew Moses Hamon personally. (cf. V 11 and 32) His account is further corroborated by E 105, though the name of the city is omitted there and details differ. (S 95b seems to copy V, but dates the event in 1530: ) According to V, a charge was trumped up that a Christian had been murdered by certain Jews. They were seized, a confession was extorted, and they were put to death. Some time later the Christian appeared in the city; the Jews were vindicated, and the perjurers punished by order of Sultan Suleiman. On that occasion Moses Hamon obtained a firman removing from the local courts all jurisdiction in matters of ritual murder and reserving it exclusively for the Imperial tribunal.

In the incident reported by V, the alleged victim was really murdered, but through the intervention of Moses Hamon, an investigation was instituted which revealed the true murderer and averted the threatening calamity. Now, this story, with its weird romantic setting, gives the impression of being based
on a true fact. Consequently, the accounts of \( V \) and \( Z \) on one hand, and that of \( U \) on the other, cannot be reconciled. However, both \( V \) (ibid.) and \( Z \) (ibid.) tell briefly of another accusation that was raised in Tocat, but there the lie was exposed, presumably, in time to avert any serious consequences. While the data are meager, those accounts suggest \( U \). The word "Constantinople" in the title is no obstacle to this identification, since in the story proper we read only that the incident "happened in Turkey". It is probable that his source, whether written or oral, did not specify the city, and it was only natural for \( U \) to place the locale in the capital. On this occasion Moses Hamon does not obtain any sweeping decree, but merely intervenes in behalf of his brethren "as he had done many another time". For this reason, this incident must antedate the Amasia affair.

Cf. Graetz, lx, 27; Tiener E, 207, n. 272; M. A. Levy, Don Joseph Nasi, Breslau 1899, 34, n. 13 (for a view inclined to prefer \( U \) to \( V \)); Loeb, 223 (but \( Z \) does not mention Amasia, and there seems to be no connection with \( V28 \)); H. Gross, La famille juive des Hamon, MEJ, LVI (1908), 9 (where \( U \) 33 is considered as an incident separate from \( V \) 64); and Rosanes, op. cit., 11, App. 111, 230.

2) = 1541/2 C. N. See n. 1.

3) According to \( V \), after the fateful incident of Amasia, Moses Hamon secured a permanent remedy against such recurrences.
Cf. n. l. On Moses Hamon, see Graetz, VIII, N. 7, p. 442; IX, 27; 27; Tiemer E, 207, n. 272 a; Levy, op. cit., 6 ff.; and Gross, l.c., lff.

This was later followed by another more violent storm, which, we believe, would have been the last but for the timely intervention of the Sultan. He is known as the protector of the persecuted Jews, and his name is still remembered with gratitude by the Jewish community throughout the world.

4) Sultan Suleiman II (1520-66), memorable particularly for his intervention on behalf of Gracia Mendes and the prisoners of the Inquisition in Ancona in 1556. The Jewish attitude towards him can be gauged from this brief reference:

(Isaac Akrish,

while this great and righteous multitude lived here under such circumstances, the wrath of heaven was now once more visited upon it several times in fire, causing great disaster, and thus last time in particular, when it burnt a hundred Jews alive, together with a great deal of wealth. In raising the tall minaret to the ground, it pulled down and demolished the sacred structures of high the synagogues, and reduced to ashes an immense divine library, of great antiquity and immense value. So terrible was this chastisement that the inhabitants of the city, as well as all those dependent on it, were brought down to the point of utter ruin, for many of the rich people...
This was later followed by another more violent storm, which was of greater consequence. There is a city in the kingdom, which anciently belonged to the Greeks, but which in our own time is a veritable mother in Jewry, for it is founded on the profoundest principles of law, full of the most excellent plants and the most fruitful trees that are known at present anywhere in the whole wide world. Their fruit is divine, for it is watered by a great abundance of amber. Holy works of exalted and supreme merit constitute its walls. In it have taken refuge most of my children that were persecuted and driven out of Europe and many other parts of the world, and it receives them and embraces them with the utmost of love and affection, as though it were our ancient and ever so tender mother Jerusalem.

While this great and righteous multitude lived here under such circumstances, the wrath of Heaven came down upon it several times in fire, causing great damage, and this last time * in particular, when it burnt a hundred Israelite souls, together with a great deal of wealth. It razed the tall houses to the ground, it pulled down and demolished the sacred structures of nigh all the synagogues, and reduced to ashes an immense divine library, of great antiquity and enormous value. So terrible was this chastisement that the inhabitants of the city, as well as all those dependent on it, were brought down to the point of utter ruin, for many of the rich people
were now in the class of those who had formerly been poor, while the poor were pressed into the extreme of misery.

Inscrutable are Thy judgments, O Lord, seeing that these people, to all outward appearances, were endeavoring sincerely to follow in Thy ways and hearken unto Thy holy teachings, yet Thou hast smitten them with such a bitter scourge. Yet again, when we meditate upon Thy infinite goodness, as how Thou art just in all Thy ways, we must believe that Thou didst punish them for some iniquity, committed perhaps by some wicked individuals, whose chastisement at times embraces the whole community, since the righteous were not solicitous in punishing that offence. But one may presume with greater likelihood that this city, as the head of Jewry, all the other lands being its members, was afflicted with the pain and suffering, indeed, of them all, that this utterance of Isaiah might be fulfilled: "The Lord of hosts will send among his fat ones leanness; and under his glory, there shall be kindled a burning."(Isa.10:16)
1) This chapter is devoted to Salonica and relates, after the introductory paean of praise, the memorable conflagration of 1545. Upon comparison with the other sources at our disposal, the account of U must be judged correct, though there is a certain discrepancy in figures (See n.8). It is curious that Usque does not mention the "cause" of the catastrophe - the insult offered to a venerable scholar - but at best, confines himself to a veiled allusion to it. (see n.12) Of the other sources, E 104 and S 96a furnish almost identical reports (Sambari, in Neubauer, op.cit., 1, 147, copied E). Two accounts by contemporaries have been published by D. Kaufmann, REJ, XXI (1890). One of them is a brief but forceful note (ibid., 294); the other is a letter addressed by Bonafoux Ibn Alconstantini to his nephew, Joseph Facohen, shortly after the event (ibid. 295f. On the writer of the letter see Loet, REJ, XVI (1888), 32f., 35, no. 24, and 41. It is surprising that Joseph made no use of it in his account of the disaster.) It may be noticed that both contemporaries, in referring to the fire, use the same expression (the note: ; the letter: ), a fact that points to the elemental impact of the catastrophe upon the minds of that generation.

Cf. Graetz, 1X, 32f.; "Wiener E, 206, nn. 269a-271; D. Kaufmann, L incendie de Salonique du 4 ab 1545, REJ, XXI (1890), 293; Abr. Danon, La communauté juive de Salonique au XVle siècle, REJ, YL (1900), 206; XII (1900), 98, 230; H. Gross, La famille des Hamon, l.c., 14ff; Rosanes, op.cit., 1, 75; 11, 18f., 56ff., 235 (App. V), and passim.
2) - 1945 C.E. The mnemonic symbol for this date is (Jer. 50:17). For a curious case of misinterpretation of that symbol, see Wiener B, 206,n.270. The catastrophe occurred Sunday night, on the fourth of the month of Ab, (The letter of Ibn Alconstantini).

3) i.e. the incident at Constantinople, in 1542, related in U 33.

4) Salonica is the ancient Thessalonica.

5) This supreme praise is confirmed by other contemporary writers. Cf. Homologia, 330ff., quoted in Wiener B, n.269a.

6) In the first half of the sixteenth century, Salonica was the principal place of refuge for the thousands of expatriated Jews. Samuel de Modena (Resp., 11, No.88) calls it Again we hear:

l, No.99, quoted in REJ, XL (1900), 201, n.4). Cf. the letter written by the Provencal congregation of Salonica to their brethren in the Provence (REJ, XV (1887), 270ff.) A modern historian of Salonica writes:

7) Sambari, l.c., has this to say about a previous occurrence in Salonica:
Ibn Alconstantini tells of a plague that broke out in Salonica on the 21st of Siwan, 1545, which caused a considerable exodus from the city. Cf. E.

3) If in 1545 seventeen synagogues actually "nigh all the synagogues", then the community must have recovered speedily and increased fourfold during the six years that followed, for in 1552 there were as many as eighty synagogues there. (Nicolai de Nicolay, cited by Rosanes, op. cit., 11,19)

9) The fire started in a perfumer's ship belonging to Abraham Catalan (E and S). The man was subsequently imprisoned by the Turkish authorities and died in jail (S). The fire, aided by strong winds, raged for six hours (S). The number of the victims and the extent of the damage vary in the different sources. E and S set the human toll at 200. E has 8,000 houses and 18 synagogues; S indicates 5,000 houses and a large number of synagogues. The note cited above (see n.1) records a toll of 100 persons, and the burning of two thirds of the city, including 30 synagogues. Ibn Alconstantini sets the number of victims at 200, that of houses burnt at 5,000 (so emended by Kaufmann for ), but increases the total of synagogues destroyed to over 30 ( ). Rosanes, op. cit., 11,244, accepts the figures as reported in E (the misprint ibid., 58: should be corrected
accordingly), but on the basis of the other sources, the number of houses should perhaps be set at the lower figure of 5,000 (his easily corrupted to or or p). So also Wiener E, n.271.

10) Salonica lodged at the time two famous libraries of Hebrew MSS., both belonging to members of the Benveniste family, as is testified by Jacob Ibn Habib (Preface to , ed. Wilna 1883, p.Va):

Of the two, it was the library of Don Samuel that went up in smoke in 1545, as is apparent from a qinah composed by Benjamin Ashkenazi Halevi on this occasion:

(quoted by Rosanes, op.cit., I,244; but cf.ibid., I,73)

11) The resultant misery is mentioned in 5. A pestilence, brought on no doubt by the unburied bodies of the victims of
the fire, continued for a while the work of havoc (E and S),
the toll on a certain day amounting to 314 (S). In addition,
there was a great deal of pillaging some of Jewish property
(Ibn Alconstantini). However, the Jewish community soon re-
gained some of its former prosperity. In 1547 Joseph Hacohen
wrote to that community appealing for funds to ransom captives.
REJ, XVI, 37, No.38. According to Kaufmann, ibid., XXI, 293,
note, the date should be 1549.) See also the letter of the
Provencal congregation cited in n., but cf. Rosanes, op.cit.,
11, 60.

12) This explanation, so cautiously advanced, may be a veiled
allusion to events which preceded the disaster. S relates:

Perhaps Uxque means to convey that the failure of the community
to punish this offence was responsible for the divine visitation.
If so, both Gedaliah and he refer to the same local tradition.
Note also the connection between the place of origin of the fire
and the scene of the outrage. (Cf. N.J.) See the important
correspondence in this matter in REJ, LVII (1909), 60ff., and
Rosanes, op. cit., 11, 56ff.
In that same period, I saw an emergency of great distress and trouble arise against the Israelites that dwelt in the kingdom of Bohemia and in other cities of Germany, passing their exile in that province quietly for some time. The beginning of it was that certain Jewish and Christian boys in Prague were playing ball, when the ball happened to fall somewhere and disappear. Afterwards, one of the Christian boys decided to go out alone in the middle of the night to look for it, but his feet slipped, and he fell down from a certain height and was killed. When the boy had disappeared, a search was made, and in the end they hit upon the spot whither he had fallen down. As the place was adjacent to the house of a Jew, they were all accused of being guilty of his murder. The old men of the city asserted that they had killed him to celebrate Passover with his blood, alleging that in olden times they had been often accused of this in Germany, and indeed, in the city of Prague itself. This libel put them in such extremity and anguish, that they saw death almost staring them in the face, for fear lest the populace should rise up against them and make a savage slaughter, such as they had often suffered for like accusations.

O bestial thought! O terrible curse and malediction, which blind to such extent those possessed of so sound
jurisdiction
a judgment, as the Christians! O men, wherefore consider
you not how utterly forbidden and abominable it is to
in a Jew to eat blood? Can you not see that among the very
first commandments of His Law our Lord has prohibited to
them to eat blood, ordering them to avoid blood, not to
eat stifled fowl because its blood remains init, but to
slaughter all animals so as to spill their blood? What
ground
cause is there, then, for imputing to the Jews that they
kill a child to take his blood? Unless it be the affliction
which God grants them, the evils which He wishes to inflict
persecutions
upon them, the which their sins bring upon
them, the scourge with which God chastises them,—a requital
adequate for this commandment of blood, which they and
their fathers have broken indeed, and it is the will of the
Divine Justice that in this very thing they should be pu-
nished with a lie.

In the end, when these children of mine, in Bohemia
and in several other parts of Germany, were already almost
in the throes of death, while awaiting the verdict which
was being considered against them, it was decreed by the
lords of the lands that, seeing as there was no more than
crime
a suspicion of murder, they should be all expelled from the
kingdom. Of these one part went to the neighboring king-
dom of Poland, while the other part sought refuge in
Turkey.

O Divine Mercy, how Thou dost delay the castigation
which my iniquities press against me! Herein, indeed, was
fulfilled Thy prophecy: "For My name's sake will I defer Mine anger, and for My praise will I refrain for thee, that I cut thee not off." (Isa. 48:9)
1) The expulsion of the Jews of Bohemia, according to other sources, was due to the accusation of arson hurled against them. Usque's treatment of the cause is typical of his method. The Jews left Prague April 16, 1542. The date of U, 1535/6, is wrong.


2) No doubt a misprint for 5306 = 1535/6 C.E.

3) Usque plays here on the Portuguese word "Praga", which also means plague or curse.

4) The king of Bohemia was at the time Ferdinand I (1526-64).
In the safest haven in all Italy that the Divine Mercy provided for me as a rest from the troublous voyage which I am making from Portugal and Spain, I saw my spiritual enemy conceive an envy of me, while my iniquities lent him their strength. There broke out a pestilence in a certain part of the land of Xandarions and in Germany, and as it is a most contagious disease, some travelers arriving in this city from those sections brought home the infection, so that some few people perished. At the same time, there died of it also some Portuguese Jews. Consequently, the people conceived the notion that the sickness had come from them, seeing that the road which led us from Spain and Portugal to this secure haven passed through that region. So strong was this belief that notwithstanding that the attitude of the lord of the land was a most favorable one, and eager to repair the ravages of our captivity, with which we have met in the world since the loss of the second Temple, nevertheless the importunities of the people, being influenced him against me, virtually forcing him to satisfy their demands, he ordered the expulsion of all the Portuguese living in that city of his. They departed amid every hardship and misery imaginable, for since the people regarded them as infected, there was none to help them in their departure for their money. Moreover, the time limit given for their departure expired at night, and it was ne-
cessary, on account of the loss of property, to board ship. Hence, brethren, you could have seen weary old men, in the dark, with their chests on their backs, fall down in the middle of the street, for their feeble strength could not cope with the crushing load; then there would come up to him side of the fallen man his wife, a frail old woman, and weep and wail over his lot. You would have seen others dragging along that which they were unable to load on themselves. Furthermore, when after all this hardship they at last arrived at the harbor they were attacked by those who had been stationed there by the authorities for their naked protection, and with drawn swords and lances pointed at their breasts, they were forced to hand over the little money which they carried for the expenses of the voyage. These men were afterwards severely punished by their righteous prince.

When they had boarded the boats, which they had procured at the weight of gold, they were taken out to the sea, and thence landed upon the shores of that same principality, where they suffered great hardships by reason of the bad treatment at the hands of the people of that place. With all that, however, the Divine Mercy willed it that not one should die of them all, nor was any even taken sick, which was a manifest proof that neither were they infected with the plague, nor yet had that sickness been bred by them.

When notwithstanding their departure, the plague was nonetheless raging in the city, the citizens demanded that
should
the Portuguese evacuate the shore and go away. So they
took ship once more, and while some were sailing for
Turkey, they were attacked at sea by corsairs and robbers,
to whom they would throw, into their mouths, a handful of
gold for them to swallow, that they might leave them alone.
Sailing
Others were roaming the Adriatic Sea, not knowing
what step to take, for all the ports were guarded, with
lances in hand, in anticipation of their possible arrival.
These were assisted by the mercy of Heaven, by the hand of
a child of mine, an Israelite of the Portuguese exiles, who
lived in Pesaro, a town in the state of Urbino.
Moved to the greatest compassion and pity by the sore per-
plexity of his brethren, he impetrated the prince of the
land that he should receive them, and there they found rest
from the storm just past.

Others died on the roads of Italy from destitution,

for they were known to be of Portuguese extraction, and were
therefore shunned throughout the land because they were ru-
mored to be infected with the plague.

Thou didst have, Jeremiah, excellent grounds for say-
ing: "I will pursue after them with the sword, with the fa-
mine, and with the pestilence, and will make them (wander)
in horror through all the kingdoms of the earth, a curse,
and an astonishment, and a hissing, and a reproach, among
all the nations whither I have driven them (in sore distress).
"(Jer.29:18) For indeed, in this exile - beginning with the
now
expulsion from Portugal, till then - this prophecy of thine
was fulfilled upon me.
in Ballelli's work, cited above, nor in Ismar Elbogen's article on "Ferrara", JE, V, 365, nor yet in the recent one by Umberto Cassuto, EJ, VI, 358.

2) = 1540/41 C.3.

3) The most easterly of the Swiss cantons.

4) On Duke Ercole d'Este and his attitude toward the Marranos, see p. 53a.

5) The city of Ferrara is situated on the Po di Ferrara, a branch of the Po Grande. The exiles must have sailed down the Po Grande to the Adriatic Sea. (Cf. Angelo Solerti, Ferrara e la corte Esteense, Citto di Castello 1899, p. XIX, and passim.)

6) This statement is no doubt literally true. Vaque could not have misrepresented this fact, as in 1653 the event was still fresh in the minds of the people of Ferrara.

7) In all likelihood, they were led thither by Dona Gracia. See p. 52b.

8) The Portuguese Jew, Manuel Dichocho (Loeb: "Bibago") is otherwise unknown. The name may be the same as that mentioned in 2.312b.

9) The Duke Guido Ubaldo of Urbino.
37. PESARO, THE YEAR 5313.

A little while later, I saw myself afflicted with another wound which was deeper and more penetrating, for besides striking at my soul, it also hit and offended the Divine honor to no less an extent than the insult offered to the sanctity of the Second Temple by the hand of wicked Antiochus. In the town of Pesaro, certain enemies entered secretly at night the house where my children (those of the Portuguese expulsion) used to assemble to offer prayers to our Lord, and with little fear and still less respect for the Most High, took out from the ark the "Sefer" (the book of His Law, the mainstay and the strong pillar which sustains the world with all its creatures). Leaving one which they desecrated, they carried off the other and cast it out in the garden of a house, where they hung the "Tefillin" of the school on the trees.

When in the morning this sad crime of desecration was discovered, the grief and dismay that overwhelmed the Jewish hearts knew no bounds. And because the wound was so utterly incurable and deadly, these vicious villains wanted to pursue their outrage to its limit, and they succeeded to defile yet more cruelly the other holy house which belonged to the Italian Israelites. On the fifth night, breaking an iron grate with the astuteness of malefactors, they gained entrance into it, took out thirteen "Sefarim" from their ark, and stripped them. Then, with their holy banis and "Mappoth" they swathed
an abominable pig and covered it with them, and thus they put this unclean animal in the place whence they had removed the holy objects, and shut the doors of the "Hekhal", leaving the Divine Scripture scornfully and contumaciously lying on the floor.

O Lord of vengeance, come to the aid of Thy Holiness which they abuse, save Thy Honor as Thou didst of old; since our own strength is now broken and weakened by our iniquities. For this is indeed the time, and this is indeed the day, when Thou shouldst fulfill this Thy most sacred word: "For Mine own sake, for Mine own sake, will I do it; for (My Law) shall no longer be profaned, nor will I give My glory to another." (Isa.48:11)
1) An account of the desecration of the Portuguese and Italian synagogues in Pesaro; reproduced in E 109f.

2) The year 5313 began Sept. 25, 1552. The "consolation" was published Sept. 7, 1553. It is obvious that it could not have been published Sept. 27, 1552. Cf. Introd., 21, n.13.
THE LAST LAMENT OVER ISRAEL'S EVILS,

PAST AND PRESENT.

See then, kind brethren, what have been, and still are, the days which I pass in this miserable exile, ever since the Romans scattered me over the world. Thus did the wily and malicious Spaniards wound my lambs, both in their earthly body and in their divine souls, nearly destroying me utterly. Thus did my lambs suffer the fury and the onslaught of the vehement French, who caused them to vomit forth the grass of their green pastures which had been mixed with gall. You have seen how the invidious English slaughtered them with cold steel by trickery, and how the arrogant Germans gave them poisoned waters to drink. Behold, how the crafty Flemish injured them with the most savage cruelty, and how the pugnacious and ingrate Italians abused them. This is the way whereby the bold and nigh barbarous Portuguese shattered them to many pieces, and tore away the tender lambs from their mothers' breasts, to throw some of them into the fire and the water, and others for food to the wild beasts. To this very day, none of these troubles has ceased harassing me, but on the contrary, as a ship on the high seas that is battered and buffeted by different and violent gales, unable to turn her prow with safety to any of the four quarters, so do I find myself, afflicted Israel, even now in the midst of my perils. Indeed, if all my calamities were put together at one side of the sky, the very axis upon which it rests would groan under
this heavy load.

O you lacerated body, where has there been seen a manner of torture so cruel and so novel as yours? You had hardly finished swallowing the poisoned morsel of the Babylonians, which nearly exterminated you out of the world, when you were revived, only to endure the savage persecutions of the Romans. They that have shattered you so cruelly have both of them, come to an end, but you are still alive, beset by your tribulations, and ever suffering from new torments. It is natural for all things created to undergo change, except for Israel, whose miserable existence never changes, nor is affected by ought. I have been turned into an invincible and impregnable rock in the sea, battered ceaselessly by the stubborn waves. The harsh winter ill-treats the earth and divests her of her graceful herbage and of her green trees; yet with the coming of the spring, Thou causest her, O Lord, to rejoice again, by throwing over her shoulders a mantle of an immense variety of flowers and of countless designs of luscious fruits.

The animals cast off some their spotted skins, others their speckled wool, still others their unruly plumage, but Thou causest time to clothe each of them again with new ones, that they may all be contented. But to me spring brings no change (alas for poor Israel!), but unadorned and stripped of my gay apparel, covered with a dreary garment I live forever in a melancholy winter.

The oxen, tired from ploughing in the hot day, when
their task is done, are released from their yoke, and with swaying heads trot in the shades of the evening to their barns, to rest. Likewise the weary laborerretires at that hour, and eats with relish and without worry his rustic viands. Then, oblivious of his erstwhile toil, he passes the night in sleep,做梦。For me, however, a time of rest has not been created, but I go on with the yoke of captivity on my neck, and the morsel of my food taries between the hand and the mouth, held back by sad memories. My spirit and my sleep are always troubled and startled, for my miseries and tribulations know no rest, but threaten me constantly, in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end of whatever quiet respite I may enjoy.

The unhappy captives that are seized into bondage in the tender years of their youth, yet without beards, and that still languish therein when their bears have already grown snow-white, yet a time comes, in their last days, when they emerge from that hard and long captivity, and derive new life from their sweet freedom. Likewise, those wretched prisoners, that are all but forgotten, as if dead, because of their long confinement, yet there comes a day when their misery knows an end, and they are free. But you, O afflicted Jacob, of all the captives the most inveterate in captivity, whose irons and chains have been eaten away by the long duration of your captivity, the passing of time merely serving to forge new ones, the hour of your liberation and release is not yet arrived.
They that for many years, with a terrible longing, suffer exile from their native lands, at length time provides a remedy for their nostalgia by returning them to their homes in joy. Those again whom death has afflicted with the loss of their beloved children, Thou, O Lord, dost console them with the birth of new offspring. But for me, the wandering Israel, there never comes the time when my banishment is revoked, that I might tread with happiness the meadows and pleasant hills of the Holy Land, which is my real mother; nor is she comforted with new sons in lieu of those whose anguish I suffer and bewail.

The adventurous mariners, whom the terrible storm caused to give up all hope for their lives, are visited afterward by good luck and auspicious weather, and they put in at a safe and longed-for port, full of rejoicing, with their riches intact and their persons unharmed. But as for me, though I am wary and circumspect, the raging sea never subsides, nor do I see the haven of my hopes.

Thus it is that in the course of time there comes a cure for the woes of all creatures, no matter how lowly and wretched their condition into which they had fallen, and it brings back to life days long buried; to all, save only to Israel, to whom there never comes any, and he goes on and on, dragging behind him his years of toil.

And so, O Lord, how much longer are to last the winter and the tempest of my calamities? The yoke so heavy on my neck? The chains so cruel on my feet? The dread and the
turmoil of my spirit? The longings that gnaw my soul? How much longer shall my mother weep over the absence of her children, and suffer the disgrace of a barren woman? When shall she be decked once more with her gay and resplendent vestments which she wore of old; with the most exquisite and delightful flowers, such as no other land did produce; with those wondrous fruits which in size and savor surpassed those of the whole world; with those sweet and limpid waters whose unfailing stream her so lusty and blithe? Is it not time that my woes come to an end, and that my storm-tossed ship reach a quiet port to enjoy rest? Or at least, that Thou do restore to this my mother her blessed nature? For she was, indeed, insensible earth and could not have offended Thee, and it was only her children that turned aside from the obedience of their Father. What is it that stands in the way of her restoration and of mine, O Lord, seeing that Thou dost look forward to it together with Israel, Thy first-born? (Mighty indeed is the mountain, and deep the valley, that are capable of accomplishing such a thing!) It seems to my earthly judgment that I have already suffered all the punishments that were prophesied against me, and that human imagination can conceive, and others besides, of such new and strange kind as have never occurred to a mortal's mind, nor yet has the like of it been envisaged.

What step shall I now take, the afflicted one, seeing that all about me are equal extremities? The whole world and the fulness thereof have formed a league and conspiracy
against me. Europe devoured me with her pernicious mouth, ans is now vomiting me forth again. Asia wounded me cruelly with her hands, and trampled me under her heavy feet, and has not yet ceased to ill-treat and abuse me. Africa harried and persecuted me ruthlessly, and even now it is in the most abject misery that I am allowed to exist there.

O world, why did you create in you that which you were bound to abhor and despise so utterly? At first, the fabric of my body was mingled in your mass of dust and earth; you should have left it in that state, to be trampled on by all the other creatures, since they were all to do the same to me in my present form. But woe and alas, that my frame was infused with the senses, so as to increase the pain and the suffering that were to pass over me. What can I say, however? For despite this fact I might have been able to bear my blows with patience, if Thou, O Lord, hadst not made my nature different from that of all creation, that I might suffer and feel the pain all the more. For day and light are regarded by mortals as life, while night and dreams much less so; but to me all waking and day is death, while it is in my dreams that I enjoy my good fortunes. What strange nature is yours, O eyes, that when closed you see hallucinations and delusive visions of happiness, and when open, the true condition of my miseries? Weary creatures rest their spirits with pleasant sleep, some lying on soft white linens, others on hard stones, some on the green grass, others upon tall plants and graceful trees. Even the sea stills its perpetual
motion. But I, Israel, the restless, beset with gnawing worries, and battered with countless miseries, begin at that hour my vigil, and let my thoughts dwell upon the horrors and afflictions endured, as I unlock the gates of the memory of troubles already past, and give way to tears at the thought of present tribulations.

Thus it is that I cannot but utterly abhor the world, and also because I go counter to the course of its nature in all other respects as well. For the years restore to each of the four elements that which it has contributed to all the nations and peoples that have come and gone, yet they cannot finish and destroy. The earth has thus a right to be consuming that part of my body which I keep from it; the fire, to deprive me of my natural heat which belongs to it; the water, the moisture which I have appropriated from it; and the air, the breath of life of which I have robbed it. The earth has taken a part of its share through the massacres in France and Germany; the fire has recovered a part of its, through the cruel burnings in Spain and Portugal; the waters of England, and the ocean, have reclaimed a part of theirs; but the greatest portion of all has been collected by the air, through diseases, plagues, and continuous maladies which I have suffered throughout the world during this long exile of mine. But I know not what I say, unhappy one, for it would have been a lesser evil if you had bereaved me, O elements, with a single stroke, thus ridding
XLIIIa (to p.130)


Me of all pain, instead of torturing me with a thousand
heavens, 0 earth, 0 water, 0 mortal creatures, for
the sake of pity, loosen a whit the tight halter which you
hold around my neck. Allow the voices to rise, which have
been withheld for so long in the breast of this slave (whose
pleading has not been heard), that I might dispute with you
the reason which you offer in justification of the evils
that you inflict upon me. In what respect do my natural
judgment and understanding differ from those which were in-
fused into all the other creatures of my species, that you,
should heavenly constellations, persecute me? Of what strange
dust, different from all other earthly bodies, was I formed,
that you, earth, do not want, nor yet consent to bear me
appearance upon you? What deformity is there in my XXXX, and in
what disagreeable manner do my limbs differ from those of
other rational creatures, that you, men, reject me, and treat
me as a total stranger? For surely, if you were willing
to weigh among you this absurdity without passion, you would
suffer me to pass the days of this mortal life quietly, im-
posing no other conditions than those common to all the inha-
bitants of the earth.

O the new and mighty wonder, which I behold in me; the
earth despising its own self in my body; heaven loathing its
own spirit in my breast; the creatures repudiating their
own pattern in my shape. See you not that you are upsetting
the entire order of nature, by not loving that which is
me of all pain, instead of torturing me with a thousand
manner of death by dismembering me little by little.

O heavens, O earth, O water, O mortal creatures, for
the sake of pity, loosen a whit the tight halter which you
hold around my neck. Allow the voices to rise, which have
been withheld for so long in the breast of this slave (whose
pleading has not been heard), that I might dispute with you
the reason which you offer in justification of the evils
that you inflict upon me. In what respect do my natural
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heavenly constellations, persecute me? Of what strange
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O the new and mighty wonder, which I behold in me; the
earth despising its own self in my body; heaven loathing its
own spirit in my breast; the creatures repudiating their
own pattern in my shape. See you not that you are upsetting
the entire under of nature, by not loving that which is
similar to yourselves, whereas all things love their like?
But woe to you, wretched Israel, in respect of whom all things created disregard the laws imposed upon them, and pervert their nature and character, to your disadvantage:

What shall I say, O Lord, unless that, judging by the strange punishment which is mine, it seems to me that it was Thy purpose, besides requiting my sin, to show me, by the way, as an example to the world, that it rests in Thy power to turn the course of the waters, the earth, and heavens, and of all that Thou hast created therein, contrary to essential nature; and that it might be manifested, by the manner of my martyrdom, how far the divine might can reach against a human body.
If this be so, why had this sad fate to descend upon me, rather than upon all the other nations of the earth?

If Thou hast done so because of the first sin which I committed, when I sold my brother, who went down to Egypt, the place of my first wandering and captivity, then there was more righteous reason, I believe, to do so against the necromancy of the Egyptians, into whose power Thou didst deliver me, seeing that they were so utterly removed from the knowledge and worship of Thee.

If it was because of the Golden Calf of the wilderness, and the idolatries which I committed in the Holy Land and in the First Temple, - for which sin Thou didst chastise and me with Sennacherib, Shalmaneser, Nebuchadnezzar, - yet Ashur, the grandson of Nimrod, a mortal man, whom his wife
his pity unmoved in the least by the screams that rose from the human beings amid the fire, but also offered injury to his mother, by having her killed and her belly slit open, to see the place where he had been confined for nine months. Domitian, Caligula, Heliogabalus, Galenus, and all others like them, by their vices and depravities removed themselves beyond the pale of humanity, placing themselves in a class with brutes.

Yet nevertheless, O Lord, Thou didst subject almost the whole world to the rule of these people. O most profound secret, to which Heaven alone holds the key! These Roman people, moreover, in the knowledge of the First Cause behaved like irrational creatures, for all through the time that their great empire and monarchy was in existence, they worshipped as gods Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Vulcan, Saturn, and besides Neptune, Pallas, and a countless number of mortal creatures, who had been subject to human misery, born among them, and intercourse known from earthly fellowship. In this way, with such crimes, I believe they sunk lower than Israel, and by right it seems that they should have been be punished by the hand of those whom they punished.

Now, if at present it is because of the new crimes and sins which I commit daily against Thy holy Law, and which I confess before Thee, or because I still persist even by doing now in my wickedness, and do not destroy my pride with penitence for all the iniquities and transgressions which I have committed in the past; all this I grant, and in all
humility I beseech Thee, O Lord, do Thou forgive my obstinacy. Yet cast also Thine eyes, O God of vengeance, upon the deeds of the nations of today, into whose power Thou hast now given the world, and Thou wilt see how they have mended the erring ways followed by their predecessors.

The nations that occupy Asia, and enjoy its delights and great abundance of riches, are steeped in all manner of grave crimes, being murderers and shedders of the blood of their own relatives and neighbors. Who has not heard of the highway robbers who inhabit the whole of the Arabian Desert? They muster nigh constantly, fifty and sixty thousand men for a raid, looting the caravans of merchants and wayfarers. They know of no other life, but spend in this manner the days that they dwell on the earth.

Among the peoples of Arabia Felix there are many that are inhuman and like to wild animals. In Sanaa, the royal city of that province, there was amongst them a son of the Sultan Sencanor, who used to bite people like a mad dog, and kill them, and then ate of that human flesh until his appetite was satisfied.

Then the people of Persia, are likewise most cruel. It happened among them, in Ormiana, the metropolis of that kingdom, among other bestialities, that there rose a son of the Sultan who in one night put out the eyes of his father, mother and his nine brothers; then he gathered them all in one chamber and set fire to it, and burnt them together with all that was therein.
1) Cf. V 7 (p.7f.), beginning:

2) Barthélemy writes: "In questo Mezeribe e Signore vno che si chiama Zambei, & e Signor della campagna, cioe degli Arabi, il qual Zambei ... ha quaranta mila caualli, & per la corte sua ha dieci mila caualle femine. & qui tiene quaranta mila camelli. ... Sono veramente questi Arabi vna grandissima quantita, & combattono continuamente fra loro. Questi habitano alla montagna, & vengono quando e il tempo che la carouana (!) passa per andar' alla Mecca ad aspettarla alli passi per robberla." (Ramusio, I, 149, ch.VII; cf. Hakluyt edition, 16f.)

3) Barthéma writes: 'Di Sana citta dell' Arabia Felice... In questa Sana sta vn Soldano, ilquale ha dodeci figliuoli, dequalli ve n'e vno que si chiama Maumeth, ilquale come rabbioso morde la gente, et ammazzala, et poi mangia tanta della la carne, che si satia." (Ramusio, I, 155B, ch.X; cf. Hakl. ed., 80)

the Sultan of Arabia Felix, with the Imam of Sana. (Cf. Hakl. ed., 80, n.2, and 83, n.2)

4) The date is inexplicable; see Introd., 63.

5) Barthema writes: "... Ormus ... e bellissima, & e isola, & principale cioe, per terra di mare & per mercantie." (Ramusio, I, Itinerario, Libro della Persia, cap.II, 156A; cf. Hakl. ed., 96)

96) Further: "il Soldano di Ormus haueua vndeci figliuoli maschi. il minor di tutti era tenuto semplice cioe mezzo pazzo. il maggior di questi era vn diauolo scatenato... il figliuolo maggiore del Soldano vna notte cauo gliocchi (!) al padre & alla madre, & a tutti i fratelli, saluo al mezzo pazzo. dipoi li porto tutti in camera del padre & della madre, & pose fuoco in mezzo, & abbrucio la camera, & i corpi con cio che v'era." (ibid., 156B, cap.III; cf. Hakl. ed., ibid.)
The people of India have customs violating both human and divine reason. The sultan of Cambay, which is the principal and most elegant city of that province, eats every day a certain quantity of poison. He has three or four thousand wives, and each night that he sleeps with one, she is found dead in the morning. The shirt or any other garment that he takes off is never again touched by any person, from fear of the deadliness which is contained in it. Yet he himself suffers no harm from the poison he eats, having fed on this food since infancy.

Such being the habits and qualities of their princes, see, what can be those of their subjects?

Then, as for the strange and infernal religion, Thou knowest it, O Lord. In Calicut, the capital and chief city of all India, the whole population worships the devil. Made of metal, he is placed in the midst of his abominable temple, in a large seat, appallingly hideous and misshapen, and he has four large horns on his head, and four immense teeth in his huge mouth which is open. His nose is ugly and frightful, but much more so are his terrifying eyes, which look out cruelly. His hands are hooked, and his feet like those of a cock, so that to behold that hideous sight is a thing most horrible and dreadful. Round about him, in every corner of that dismal building, there is a Sathanas seated in a seat which is placed over a flame of fire, wherein a number of persons are burning. With his right hand he holds one of them in his mouth and eats him, while reaching with
his left hand for another. Every morning the Brahmans, that is his priests, wash him with scented waters, and then they perfume him. The perfuming done, they worship him and offer many sacrifices, with the blood of a cock and lighted coals in an urn of silver. They then proceed to burn before him musk, benzoin, frankincense, and many other spices in a medley.

Now, as for all the other nations inhabiting this same land of Asia, what shall I say concerning their abominable rites and bestial customs?

The people of the island called J a v a, wherein are various kingdoms, some worship that same devil as in Calicut: others, the sun, as they rise in the morning; still others - the moon, in the evening; many worship the ox; but most of them worship the first thing they meet in the morning. Their infernal practices are nothing short of those of wild animals, for there are many in that island who eat human flesh and lap the blood of their own kin. When the father becomes so old that he can no longer do any work, his children take him to the square for sale, and those who purchase him kill him, and eat him cooked. And if a young man grow very ill, so that he is not likely to recover, his father and brothers kill him before he is dead, and sell him to others to be eaten. O infernal people, demons in human form! How is it then O exalted Lord, that they enjoy power and peace? How is it that the land they own is fertile and abundant, producing for them great quantities
1) Barthelem writes: "Calicut e il principal capo dell' India."
(Ramusio, I, Lib.II, Introd.) Further: "Il Re di Calicut e gentile, & adora il diavolo... essi lo chiamano il Deumo, & Dio lo chiamano Tamerani. & questo Deumo il Re di Calicut tiene nella sua cappella in questo modo. La sua cappella e larga due passi per ogni quadra, & atta 4. passi con vna porta di legno tutta intagliata di diavoli di rilievo. in mezzo di questa cappella v' e un diavolo fatto di metallo, qual siede in vna sedia pur di metallo. il detto diavolo tiene vna corona fatta a modo del regno papale con tre corone, & tiene anchora quattro corna, & quattro denti con vna grandissima boca aperta, con naso brutto & occhi terribilissimi, & che guardan crudelmente, & le mani sono incurute a modo d' uno vicino, li piedi a modo d' un gallo. per modo che a vederlo e vna cosa molto spaventosa. intorno alla detta cappella le sue pitture sono tutte diavoli, et per ogni quatro di essa v' e vno sathanas posto a sedere in vna sedia, laqual e posta in vna fiamma di fuoco, nel quale sta gran quantita di anime lunghe mezzo dito, et vno dito della mano. il detto sathanas con la man dritta (!) tiene vna anima in boca mangiandiola, & con l' altra mano ne piglia vna altra dalla banda di sotto. ogni mattina li Bramini, cioe sacerdoti vanno a lavare il detto idolo tutto quanto con acqua odorifera. & poi lo profuman, & come l' hanno profumato l' adoreran, & alcuna volta fra la settimana li fanno sacrificio in questo modo. hanno vna certa tauletta fatta & ornata in modo di vno altare, alta da terra tre palmi: larga quattro, & lunga cinque, laqual taule e molto bene ornata di rose, fiori et altre gentilezze odorifere, sopra laquale mettono sangue di
galle, et carboni accessi in vn vaso d' argento con molti profumi
di sopra, hanno poi vn thuribulo, col quale incensano intorno
and notes.)

21-4:"Geasa"
arame
of silk, copper, gold, the finest emeralds, and the choicest fruits, along with all other sorts of sustenance? Yet I, Israel Thy firstborn, stripped of my lands and possessions, wander about the world in the most abject lowliness and misery!

Let us now come to Africa, whose peoples are steeped in turpitudes beyond all human reason. The peoples that dwell in the desert of Libya, the Zenagua, Guenziga, Terga, Lentia, Berdeva, whom the Latins call Numidians, what can be said unless that these nations constitute hell itself. For all their days they spend committing wickedness, hunting, robbing, and killing. And above all, they are neither Mohammedans, Jews, nor Christians, nor do they have any religion whatever, nor do they offer prayers to any object, but they live as the beasts of the field. Yet this notwithstanding, they have a kingdom, possess lands, have their own government, and do not wander in foreign parts.

The Africans of the province by the name of Hea are of the same quality, O exalted Lord. They live on incessant robberies committed upon peaceful wayfarers, and their deeds go moreover to such wicked lengths that they take the very lives of the innocent travelers. In fine, wherefore should I enlarge on a matter which Thou, O Lord, over where Thou art, dost know as well, alike concerning the people of Africa, as also concerning other countries existing in the world, concerning their religions and
l) Bartelma writes: "questa isola G i a u a (J:"Graua"), nella quale sono molti reami... la fede loro e questa. alcuni adorano gl’ idoli come fanno in Calicut, e alcuni sono che adorano il Sole. altri la Luna, molti adorano il Bue. gran parte la prima cosa che scontrano la mattina. & altri adorano il Diavolo al modo che gia vi dissi." (Ramusio,I,168E=168B, ch.XXVIII; cf. Hakl.ed.,251) Further: "Come in questa isola li vecchi si vendono da figliuoli cuero da parenti, et poi se li mangiano.)

Vi sono buefoni in questa isola che mangiano carne humana.

hanno questo costume, che essendo il padre vecchio, di modo che non possi piu far essercitio alcuno, li figliuoli, cuer li parenti, lo mettono in piazza a vendere, & quelli che lo comprano, l’ ammazzano, & poi se lo mangiano cotto, et se alcun giovane venisse in grande infirmita, que paresse alli suoi che 'l fusse per morire di quella, il padre cuero fratello del infermo, l’ ammazzano, & non aspettano che 'l muora. & poi che l' hanno morto, lo vendono ad altre persone per mangiare." (ibid.,168F=168C, Libro Terzo dell' India, ch.XXIX; cf. Hakl.ed.,255f.)

Further: "Questa isola produce grandissima quantita di seta... Qui si trovano li migliori & piu fini Smeraldi del mondo, et oro & rame in gran quantita, grano ... & frutti bonissimi ad usanza di Calicut.si trovano in questo paese carni di tutte le sorti." (ibid.,168E=168B; cf. Hakl.ed.,252f., and notes.)

2) Giovan Lioni Africano in Descrittione dell' Africa writes:

"Costumi & modi di vivere degli Africani, che habitano nel diserto di Libia. I cinque ... popoli, cize Zenaga, Guenziga, Terga, Lenta, & Berdeua, tutti sono dai Latini chiamati Numidi,
& viuono a vn' istesso modo, il che e senza regola o ragione alcuna... La vita loro fino al di, che muoiono, e posta tutta o in cacciare, o in rubbare i camelli d' il loro nimici... Questi, anchora che detto abbiamo, che viuono senza regola & senza ragione, hanno nondimeno per ciascun d' i lor popoli vn principe a modo di Re, al quale rendono honore, et gli obbediscono assai."

(Ramusio, I, 5EF; cf. Hakl. ed., I, 15lf.) Concerning their religion see Ibid., 7C f., and Hakl.ed.,I,162ff.

customs which are contrary to Thy pleasure. Then, O Divine
Mind (Thou that embracest all things with eternal peace,
and art diffused through the races of this earth from
holy health and delica love), Thou couldst have taken one of
these nations for an example of Thy might, for a byword
among the nations, in my place, one of them that live so
remote from Thy worship; and let not the unhappy fate de-
scend upon Thine Israel, whose understanding has grasped
Thy truth, and who is striving to obey Thine holy teachings,
if not the whole of them, then at least in part; even though
he is persecuted by flesh, misery, captivity, and the de-
ceitful world.

But if such was not Thy will, which is the source and
foundation of all justice and rectitude, then make now an
end to my misfortunes, calm the violent tempests of my pe-
rils, grant rest to a spirit so sorely troubled. Peace,
peace, unto this great war. O Lord, For our times have
already seen many bitter examples of Thy wrath, and have
witnessed the execution of all the sentences which Thou didst
pronounce upon us. The sentences of Amos: "Samaria and her
king are cut off, as foam upon the water." (Hos.10:7*) And also
that of Ezekiel: "I delivered Oholah Samaria into the hand
of her lovers, into the hand of the children of Ashur whom
she loved excessively." (Ezek.23:9*) These were fulfilled
by the hand of Sennacherib and Shalmaneser.

The utterance, also of Ezekiel, about Jerusalem:
"O Oholibah, thus saith the Lord God: Thou shalt drink of the cup of thy sister Samaria, which is deep and large" (ibid.23:32*), it was executed with the rod of Nebuchadnezzar.

The utterances of Jeremiah and Ezekiel: "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord." (Jer.5:15) "They shall batter thy fortified cities, wherein thou trustest." (ibid.5:17) "A third part shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee; and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and a third part I will scatter unto all the winds." (Ezek.5:12) It was fulfilled by the hand of the cruel Romans.

Another utterance of Ezekiel: "Thou shalt eat barley cakes, and thou shalt bake it in their sight with dung that cometh out of man. Even thus shall the children of Israel eat their bread unclean, among the nations whither I will drive them." (ibid.4:12f.) My ancestors already experienced this misfortune, and I endure it still now, among the peoples where I am performing my exile.

Now that I have suffered all Thy indignations, it might be high time, O Lord, that a haven be found, where this battered body may might rest from such terrible storm. Shouldst Thou, however, wish to cleanse me further, see, O Merciful One, that I am but a frail subject for the mighty fire of Thy wrath. But woe to me, for He unto Whom I call has gone far away from me, for He answers me not. Where is now He
who led us across the sea by means of them that herded His sheep? Where is He who put His holy spirit in them, who guided Moses with His bountiful arm, and with His right hand split the waters for them, that He might acquire eternal fame? Where is He who led them across the precipices? As a horse in the wilderness, or an animal in the open field, that walk without obstacle or impediment, even so were they guided on their way by the spirit of the Lord. Now then, O God, since Thou didst aid my forefathers in so generous a manner, and from the depths of the misery where they languished in the Egyptian hell Thou didst exalt them unto the very heavens, do Thou not shrink from the immense misfortunes of their children. Allow my laments to reach unto Thee, and from Thine exalted and supreme abode cast Thine eyes to the abyss of my tribulations, and send down Thy mercy for their deliverance. Where dost Thou now hide the zeal which Thou wast wont to assume? The strength which Thou wast wont to don for the defense of Thy people? The constant compassion which Thou didst have for me? Why is it that Thou bestowest not on me some of these favors at present? For Thou art the truest of our fathers, for Abraham does not know us, of this generation, neither has Israel any cognizance of us.

Clearly we see that the multitude of our sins has delivered us into the power of Thy wrath, and that we still persist in these same iniquities. For were it not so, our affairs would surely be in a most happy and prosperous
state. But since it is so, leave us not therefore in the power of our wickedness to be corrupted, nor proceed with Thy fury any further. Pity, have pity, O Merciful One, for unto Thee we submit ourselves. Break asunder, with the abundant light of Thy mercy, the black cloud of my demerits! May Let them perish, let them sink down into the abyss, that they might never again come into Thy presence. Instead, keep Thou before Thee, that after all we all are the work of Thine hands, as we are the clay and Thou art the moulder; and that furthermore, we are Thy people, the tribes of Thine heritage; that the cities of Thine holiness are turned into that wilderness; Zion deserted, Jerusalem desolate; our holy Temple, the honor and glory of us all, wherein our fathers used to give praise unto Thee, was burnt down with fire; and that all our things, those most valued and precious, were converted into ruin. About things such as these, didst O Lord, wilt Thou restrain Thyself and dissemble so long a time? I do not believe it, but indeed, moaning together, both they and I wait hopefully for Thine inscrutable and generous compassion.

Zicareo:

When the pain is so great, there must needs be sorrow and tears, and in these we will join you, since your loss concerns us too, in a large measure. It is human nature to show the weariness of the soul by outward signs, and so appropriate did our Lord deem the existence of these expres-
ions of sadness in rational creatures, that in all the great
como preceito (restit. made w. your copy)
misfortunes (as a rule) he warns the afflicted to weep and
wail. Thirty days did all Israel weep in the wilderness,
when our Lord gathered to Him the brothers Aron and Moses,
as the pillars were broken, upon which all that numerous
people was leaning. They showed no less sorrow on Joshua
departing this life. At the capture of the ark of the Lord
by the Philistines, Eli the priest was so grieved, coming
as it did together with the news of the death of his two
sons, that he fell from off the chair in which he was sit­
ting, and died. Jeremiah employed most pitiful tones to
express his feelings about the destruction of your First
Temple. Thus it is lawful to be dejected and grieve for
the children whom you saw being forced in Spain to forsake
their Law; for those who were burnt and despoiled in France;
for those in England, who were converted by such violent
means, and then killed; and over the unspeakable cruelties
that were perpetrated upon them in Germany, Italy, and in
all the parts of the world, and which lately have been in­
flicted upon them in Portugal, to this day. How many of
them were cut off in their bloom, whose innocence at that
age invites great lamentation. How many were overtaken
by a swift and cruel death on the happy days of their wed­
dings, the pain at which thought surpasses any other incom­
parably. As for those who were uprooted at a more mature
age, they have qualities more noble and more worthy of
lament, being as they are a ripe fruit, and arrived at
a stage where they can obtain their end, since children are desirable in this world. And as the grave old age leads all the others, what manner of sorrow is there in humans, great enough to satisfy the import of such a heavy loss? And the grief that must be felt for the others, who abandoned their holy Law for the sake of life, and who continue even to this very day to persist in their error, still refusing, like recalcitrant members, to join themselves unto the body of Israel, but wander in pursuit of the deceitful luxuries of the gentiles, it exceeds all the others put together, inasmuch as the divine soul is superior to the earthly body.

Now, this being the case, let the father weep, who endowed them with their earthly flesh, and Him also, the Supreme Father, who infused them with the heavenly substance which caused these creatures to rise to their feet. Let Him now manifest sorrow as He did at the time of your Babylonian captivity, and also when you went down to Egypt against your will, "for the virgin daughter of His people is broken with a great breach, (smitten) with a very grievous blow." (Jer.14:17) And the sound of the weeping of both of you shall be so pitiful as to soften the most hardened hearts; you weeping for the bodies, which were begotten by you, and whose suffering you have seen, and do still see very day; and the Lord, as the spiritual father, for the souls which have already passed out of this life so terribly polluted, as also for those which do still, in these
our very days, grow dim and tarnished.

HUMAN CONSOLATION FOR THE TRIBULATIONS
OF ISRAEL.

Numeo:

Now that we have bewailed your wounds, and let them bleed freely, as the surgeon desires them to be that he may treat apply his medicine to them, it is time that we endeavor to find the cure and consolation for them all, since it is for this purpose that we have come here, and by the mercy of God we hope to offer it to you in a number of ways.

The first is that you ought to consider that all human creatures become liable to chastisement at the moment they commit the sin. This law was established by our Lord, when He said to Adam in the earthly paradise: "Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." (Gen. 2:17)

Transgressing the commandment, he sinned, and suffered the punishment.

On the other hand, the observance of every divine precept has its reward. "The Lord appeared to Abraham, and said unto thou him: (ibid. 17:1) This is My covenant, which thou shalt keep, thou and thy seed after thee; every male among you shall be circumcised." (ibid. 17:10a) And Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name Isaac." (ibid. 17:19)

He fulfilled the commandment, and so received the promised
reward.

Our Lord showed you His glory, O Israel, particularly on Mount Sinai, and there He gave you precepts that you should observe. But you disobeyed them and neglected them, "even as did Adam" (Hos.6:7*), and to this day you persist without repenting for it. You had, therefore, of necessity, to receive punishment, as was determined by the ancient statute concerning the First Man. Thus it is that in executing upon you the law, which applies commonly and equally to all creatures, no injustice is being done to you, for if it were so, you should have felt your affliction more acutely; whereas on the contrary, you ought by right to stress your sufferings less than you do, and make it more like the suffering of others that are subject to this nature.

The second way is that it is very difficult for all things to attain the ultimate degree of excellence. Gold is smelt in the fire, and is purified, that it might attain the supreme grade of fineness. Also the diamond, unless its original roughness is removed with much labor, it has no elegance; but after undergoing the laborious process of the grinding wheel, its sparkle is revealed, and it attains the end for which it was created.

Gold, that was our father Abraham, the first to receive the title of Perfect. He was cast into the fire of the Chaldees, and then tested by means of the sacrifice of his son Isaac, before the great brightness that was in him was revealed. The other two fathers were precious stones,
and were polished by the wheel of many afflictions. Even so it is with you, Israel. It is not to be wondered at that, to obtain as great a benefit as you hope in particular, and to reach the degree of meriting it, you are being refined of all your dross more thoroughly than any other people, as are by nature other things created before they attain their perfection. Especially so, since the hardships experienced by the three fathers have served as an image of what you have suffered since then until the present time. They have taught you, first, that when you should find yourself in these perils, you should endure them with patience. Therefore, since there are such inconceivable things in store for you, there is good reason why you should strengthen yourself that you may attain it, and resist with that marvelous constancy of your forefathers the gruelling temptations of the enemy.

The third way of your consolation is that our Lord has chosen for you the lesser of two evils. Since you had to bear punishment for either of the first two reasons, He preferred that the body should suffer in this world, for as for the soul, "thou art a holy people unto the Lord - and thou shalt not die, - but He hath chosen thee to be His own treasure - up above."(Deut.7:6) All Israel has a share in the world to come, and should you wish for a proof of this truth, "thus saith the Lord God of Israel: You are My witnesses that I am God that endureth forever."(Deut.4:37) Hence you see that your soul lives in glory eternally, for
it must always bear witness to the Eternal, it being quite evident that the body does perish. In further confirmation of this, Hosea says: "Israel is not My people, but the son of the living God," (Hos.2:14) "Israel is My firstborn son." (Ex.4:22) For even as the father gives the principal part of his property to his son, even so did the Lord give the best of the earth to you, as to the son among the servants of His house. But because you received two shares, He called you further by the designation of Firstborn, thus clearly indicating spiritual and immanent good, the glory, that is the best of all his possessions which the firstborn among his brothers inherits from his father. Elsewhere it is said: "Israel is saved by the Lord with an everlasting salvation; ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end." ( Isa.45:17) This proof is the confirmation of all the others which I have given you, and no less so is the following one, saying: "They are vanity (the idolaters); in the time of the visitation (of the idols) they shall perish. The portion of Jacob is not like these, for He who formed all things is (his portion) and the rod of his inheritance; the Lord of hosts is His name." (Jer.51:18f.*) Thus, inheriting the Lord, who is everlasting, glorious, and the supreme good, your soul is saved, according to the testimony of His mouth.

This is, indeed, a great aid to you in your struggle with the memory of the past troubles, and also in your resistance to the greater impact of the evils afflicting you at present!
This was indeed a miraculous remedy, granted by the Lord in His sublime mercy. Make use of it, and your flesh shall not feel the cruel fire whither it is cast, nor the steel with which your enemies punish you, because of the expectation of the immense good which you are to enjoy on departing this life.

Icab: your
It would follow from the argument that all Israel, bad and good alike, obtain salvation - a thing that seems to be contrary to divine justice.

Num: You ought to know that the name Israel carries great preeminence and dignity, and it was given to our father Jacob when he reached the ultimate degree of perfection. So does he who attains this stage by any means whatever achieve salvation.

Icab: This results in a greater disadvantage for me, for in such case nearly all my children lose this benefit, since none attains such high degree of righteousness.

Num: You are mistaken, for this state can be achieved in a number of ways. You shall attain by means of the chastisement which you are enduring. It is thus: At the time when the Lord held converse with you, it was very easy for you to bring it to perfection to accomplish it, for you had then the assistance of His manifest favor, as well as of the temporal goods given by
Him for your enjoyment, which serve as a stairway for gaining the spiritual ones. Now however, that "your sins have withheld these good things", (Jer. 5:25), the divine mercy has devised another means to enable you to attain this state and save your soul; namely, by purifying you in the fire of this world, and by giving you here the punishment for your iniquities through the infinite pains and calamities which you suffer. In this manner you become fit for the salvation, as is testified by these words of Isaiah: "By this shall the iniquity of Jacob be expiated." (Isa. 27:9) Thus it is that those who suffer for their sins in this world in the garb of Judaism, cleaving unto the Lord and His Law, have a portion in the world to come. This is what the Supreme One assured you through the mouth of Moses His prophet, saying: "Ye that cleave unto the Lord our God (in your sufferings and temptations), are alive every one of you this day." (Deut. 4:4) This does not apply, however, to those who have severed themselves from the body of Israel by passing over to the laws of other nations.

Isabo:

Since this is so, what of the souls of all those who were forced to forsake the Law, and ended their days in this garb from fear of death, of whom there has been in the past, and still is at present, such great a multitude? Are they lost?

Numeo:

With these the divine majesty deals in another manner
of sublime mercy, in that He causes those souls to pass from one body into another, until they amend themselves in them and purge themselves of the inconstancy which they had displayed, or else, owing to their invincible hardness and great pertinacity, they finally perish in their sin. I had not meant to touch upon this subject with you, as it is not food meet for every stomach; and there is yet much to be said that you would have relished, had you been versed in divine contemplation to a degree sufficient for its sublime mysteries to find reception in your soul.

But to return to my first proposition, where I left off, I say that even in regard to the execution of this corporal punishment, which is of so much concern to you, the divine mercy has given you means enabling you to endure it with patience, and so that you might gain many advantages therefrom.

The first consisted in dividing it into many parts, lest, were it executed all at once, it would consume and annihilate you. This He said through the mouth of the prophet: "Little by little will I chastise thee, but I will not consume thee utterly." (Jer.2:19?)

The second act of grace was giving you the punishment of each sin at once, to prevent the iniquities from accumulating; and also that with each lash you should make some amends in your deeds. This did the Lord say to you in these words: "Thine affliction shall correct thee, and thy miseries shall reprove thee." (Jer.2:19?)

The third was casting you among all the nations, so that
the world might be powerless to destroy you. For if a kingdom rises up against you in Europe to inflict death upon you, another in Asia leaves you alive; and if the Spaniards expel you and burn you in Spain, the Lord wills it that you find someone to receive you and allow you to live freely in Italy. Had this dispersion been otherwise, had the Lord, as your iniquities demanded it, removed you into one corner of the world, as He did to your brethren, the other ten tribes, your life would have been very perilous, e aventurada em hum dado tua perdicam, and you would have been exterminated by the wrath of one single people to whom you might have been subjected.

Consequently, what you regard as a wrong done by the Lord is in reality an act of especial charity and grace, which He bestowed on you alone. For He did not do so with the other nations of the world, but He left the Babylonians without punishment for their evil deeds, waiting a long time that they might repent of them, but seeing that they did not repent and that their wickedness had reached the utmost limit, He destroyed them forever with a single stroke. And so it was with the Romans and with the other nations that had once flourished in the world. And the same refers to the peoples that you see flourish at the present time, whom you have cited in your lament, so that their present enjoyment counts heavily against them. This is what our Lord said to Abraham in these words: "In the fourth generation they shall come back hither; for the iniquity of the Amorite
is not yet full." (Gen.15:16) And David said in his psalm: "The wicked spring up as the grass, and all the workers of iniquity do flourish; it is that they may be destroyed for ever." (Ps.92:8) For "the eyes of the Lord God are upon every sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth; saving that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the Lord." (Amos.9:8)

See therefore how mighty is the love which the Most High has conferred upon your forefathers. In His wrath, which was stirred by your sin in the desert, He made a threat, saying to Moses: "Let Me alone, that I may consume them!" (Ex. 32:10) But it was turned around in such a way that it resulted in your advantage. Likewise, He made another threat later, when you still persisted in your iniquities, and He determined to remove them into the corners of the world and cause their memory to cease from among the mortals, were it not that He dreaded the enemy's provocation, "lest their adversaries should misdeem, lest they should say: Our hand is exalted, and not the Lord hath wrought all this." (Deut.32:2)

The Merciful abandoned this manner of castigation, of which I have already spoken to you, and cast you among the nations, and did not drive you into one corner. Know then this mysterious and sublime favor which you are receiving from Heaven, and which heretofore you have deemed to be the reverse.

Anoint your painful wound with this salutary ointment, and you shall see how greatly it allays the pain that torments you.
The fourth way in which you may find comfort also depends on this mercy. It is that our Lord, besides making these steps in the great mountain of punishment which you were of necessity bound to cross, that you might scale it with even less hardship, from time to time our Lord visits you with some salvations, and consoles you by wreaking vengeance upon those who harm you, because of the wicked spirit in which they execute the punishment of your wrongdoings, as is attested by these words of Jeremiah: "I will visit upon you (O nations) the evil of your thoughts." (Jer. 23:2) In the case of the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans, you have already seen it quite clearly; but the same thing applies to the more recent ones, about whom you now make complaint.

S i s e b u t , the king of Spain, who after the Romans was the first to offer you injury, at the time of his greatest happiness and of the utmost glory of his reign, died of poisoning, a short while after having harassed you; and the Lord straightway put another in his place, who favored you.

P h i l i p , king of France, who despoiled you of all your wealth and ordered you expelled from his domains amid terrible misery and poverty, nine years later, when following the chase, was led astray by a deer across some rough and out-of-the-way terrain, until he plunged down after him from a mountain and was dashed to pieces, together with his giddy horse.
1) See Dial. II, 40b ff. the Second, of Portugal, who
sent the children to the alligators, afterward married his
son to the daughter of King D. n
d the following day. As the king still refused to recognize
the punishment, he was soon after given poison, by means
of which he was deprived of both life and dignity, for his
sins having previously killed his heirs, his kingdom fell into
the hand of his greatest enemy.

In order not to take you far afield with particular
of this kind, I can say to you in general of all those who have
altrated you, that though they are brethren of one religion
and faith, such vicious discord has sprung up among them, that
ever since then until the present day, heavy streams of Italian
blood have flowed over their own lands as also over foreign
parts. Of Spain, then, we can say that Italy is her tobe; of
France, that Spain is the instrument of her tribulation; of
Germany, that all the surrounding countries, together with
the Turk, are her executioners, and she is the wall which
their artillery is battering; and of England, that an unceas-
ing pestilence and warlike Scotland are her scourge.

Thus it is that these as well as other distinct divine
judgments, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, which you
have seen in this matter, and which you continue to see
every day with your own eyes, take place in order that the
King Dom João the Second, of Portugal, who sent the children to the alligators, afterward married his son Dom Afonso to the daughter of King Don Ferdinand of Castile. At the height of his pleasure, the bridegroom was enjoying a ride, when the devil stepped across his path and threw him from his horse, whereupon he died the following day. As the king still refused to recognize the punishment, he was soon after given poison, by means of which he was deprived of both life and dignity, for his sins having previously killed his heirs, his kingdom fell into the hand of his greatest enemy.

In order not to take you far afield with particulars of this kind, I can say to you in general of all those who have maltreated you, that though they are brethren of one religion and faith, such vicious discord has sprung up among them, that ever since then until the present day, heavy streams of Italian blood have flowed over their own lands as also over foreign parts. Of Spain, then, we can say that Italy is her tomb; of France, that Spain is the instrument of her tribulation; of Germany, that all the surrounding countries, together with the Turk, are her executioners, and she is the wall which their artillery is battering; and of England, that an unceasing pestilence and warlike Sötland are her scourge.

Thus it is that these as well as other distinct divine judgments, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, which you have seen in this matter, and which you continue to see every day with your own eyes, take place in order that the
4) See U 27.

5) This statement is curiously inaccurate. The marriage of the Infante of Portugal with Isabella took place in 1491, and the bridegroom's death eight months later, on July 9th, 1491, one year before the admission of the Spanish Jews to Portugal, and two years before the incident of the island of San Thome. The "Deflogia em abono dos Christaos cognominados Novos" (quoted by Remedios, 275, n.1) connects the two events similarly, and indeed, this belief seems to have been current among the exiles. (Cf. Nomologia, 331) That mistake may have originated in the following manner. Don Juan, the Infante of Castile and Aragon, the heir to the thrones of Ferdinand and Isabella, died October 4, 1497. The news of his illness reached his parents at Valencia de Alcantara, where the marriage between Manuel and Portugal and Isabella, Affonso's widow, had just been solemnized. (See Wm.H.Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, Philadelphia 1872, II, 356f.) Cf. also Kayserling,II,99,n.3.

6) For a discussion of the theories about João's death and the suspicion of poisoning, see Almeida, op.cit., II, 193ff., and esp. 197, n.1, where the theory of poisoning is disproved. -- This list of punishments inflicted upon the persecutors of Israel is reproduced by Cardoso, 387b f.; and Menasseh ben Israel, Sopes Israelis, Amsterdam 1650, Sect.XXXIII, p.97.

7) So also Nomologia, 331 ("don Manuel su cunado, a quien no poco aborrecia"), and Zurita, op.cit., V Book II, ch.XV, 78b. In the beginning of his reign João killed off the house of
Fernando of Braganza, sparing only Manuel. After the death of his only legitimate son, Joao appointed Manuel, the Duke of Beja (U:"Aueiro" ?), heir to the throne. (See Pina, op.cit., ch.LXXVI, 186)
prophetic words of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, saying: "All they that devour thee shall be devoured, and they that prey upon thee shall be a prey, and all that spoil thee will I give for spoil." (Jer.30:16) Ease, then, the burden of your suffering with this easement; rest your weary spirit em quanto ymaginar na vingança.

The fifth way is the great benefit resulting from the calamities of Spain and Portugal, which you bewail so piteously. For when the limbs are being eaten up by herpes, it is right that they should be cut off with steel or fire, to save the remainder of the body and to arrest the spread of this terrible disease, and/such a time the cruel surgeon is the medicine. Thus, when you had become oblivious of your ancient Law, feigning Christianity with all your might for the sole purpose of saving your life and property, without regard for the soul which you periled thereby, it was right that the Lord should not hesitate, in such dangerous and mortal sickness, to cure you/with a cautining-iron. And indeed, if you consider well, great was His mercy in being cruel to you, for as the poisoned wound was penetrating into your entrails, in a few more years it would have killed the memory of Judaism in your children. As for those limbs of yours which are now out of danger, no other more merciful remedy would have availed to save them. Suffer then the flesh which is rotting away to be amputated, if you desire life. Booth the smart pain brought on by the severe cure with the great benefit which you are gaining. And throw
these waters of consolation on the flames of the Inquisition to weaken the heat which you suffer.

The sixth way consists of the assistance which you have enjoyed in the hardships which you say to have suffered in the wanderings from Portugal in search of safety. Who has ever seen divine mercy reveal itself to anyone in human form, as it has shown, and still shows itself to you, to aid you in these afflictions? Who has seen the intrinsic compassion of Miriam come to life again in the sacrifice of her life to save her brethren? Or the great wisdom of Deborah in ruling her people? Or the infinite virtues and holiness of Esther in aiding those persecuted? Or the praiseworthy courage of the chaste and magnanimous widow Judith in delivering the besieged from anguish? Such as the Lord has sent down to you, in your own days, from the midst of the sublime company of His hosts, uniting all these treasures in one single soul, which to your supreme good fortune it pleased Him to place in the honorable feminine form of the blessed Jewess Nas 1. She it was who, in the beginning of the wandering, gave with her hope great strength to your needy children who, because of scant means, were despairing to escape the fire and undertake so long a journey. She it was who with bountiful hand aided those who had already set out on their wanderings and had arrived in Flanders and in other parts, weakened by poverty, overcome by the horrors of the sea, and were in danger of getting no further, and supplied them in their destitution with money and many other remedies. She gave
then protection from the rigors of the rugged German Alps and of other lands, and with her resources flew to their aid in their extreme poverty overcome as they were with the numerous hardships and perils of the long journey. She assisted you with tender love and divine liberality in the most hazardous and momentous emergency which arose upon you by the unexpected expulsion from that Italian city\(^1\). She provided for all the mighty at a time when they were unable to avail themselves of their riches, assisted the multitude of the needy and the wretched poor, not denying any favor even to those who were her enemies; and supplied whole shiploads of bread and provisions with which she almost snatched them from their graves with which hunger was threatening them on those seas. Thus she raised up, with her arm of gold and heavenly resolution, a large part of these people from the depths of these and other miseries, whither they had been pulled down by their poverty and by their sin in Europe. She did not cease leading them until she brought them into safe lands and gathered them together under the obedience and precepts of their ancient Law.\(^2\) She has thus been your strength in your weakness, the support on which the weary have leaned, a fountain of clear water of which the thirsty have drunk, a tree rich with fruit and shade, of which the starved have eaten and where the destitute have found shelter; and to make partly the account of so much goodness short, she has been and continues to be a beautiful summer, the compensation of all the miseries suffered by this Portuguese nation,
1) A reference to the expulsion of the Portuguese Jews from Ferrara. (See U 36) Probably out of consideration for the Duke Ercole, the city remains unnamed.

2) It is quite obvious (despite the contention of Levy, op.cit, 44, n.42, to the contrary) that in 1551 Gracia was still in Ferrara, whither she had come after leaving Venice in 1548. Graetz (IX, 534) is wrong, however, when he states that she must have been there in September 1552(!) when Samuel Usque dedicated his work to her, and as late as March 1st, 1553, when the Spanish Bible was dedicated to her. Apart from the chronological inaccuracy involved in this argument (cf. Introd., 21, n.13), it can be argued that it was not at all necessary for Gracia to be present in Ferrara at the time of the dedication publication of the books of the Usques. In fact, the opposite must be maintained. While in Ferrara, Gracia lived as a Christian. (But cf. Kayserling, Die juedische Frauen, Leipzig 1879, 24) For this there is ample evidence. The contemporary "Informationi" (in Graetz, IX, 532) state that she "e stata molto tempo a Ferrara et a Venetia come Christiana, et poi se n' ando in Turchia ... et vive nelle legge di Moise lei et tutta la sua famiglia." Also Joseph Caro, ________, No.80, p.49d, referring to Gracia, says:

Gracia, who obtained her release from the Venetian prison through the intervention of Sultan Suleiman, could not afford to jeopardize her fortune and her freedom by openly professing Judaism
while still in Italy. Her best interests would have been similarly endangered, had Usque proclaimed her Jewish affiliations, while she was residing as a Christian in any part of Christendom. From the above passage in Ut it follows that she had actually left Italy before September 7, 1553, gone to Turkey, and professed Judaism there. Cf. Graetz, IX, 329 and 533 (Note 6); and Levy, op. cit., 14, 40, 44 (n.42), and 45 (n.45).

The seventh word which leads you to a great consolation is the safe and quiet haven which the infinite compassion of Heaven prepared for you as a shelter for the weary members of your body, your ailing children, from the storms of the sea and the land, in the blessed soul of that exalted prince of Italian blood, the most sublime and generous, whose house stands at the head of his benevolent and plenteous people. Who can recall, since the beginning of your exile, a stranger fortune and wanderings, anyone who was as eager to your Law, to be so kind to you in your loneliness, to gather up your dispersion with so much love, to embrace your outcasts and your afflicted ones, to restore to you that breath of life taken from you by the fatigues of the long journeying, with such a beautiful and marvellous hand and with such kind affection, with such generous and manifest love, as did he? Surely, a spirit more blessed, or a soul more noble.
and a great pillar for many to lean against it and prosper by it, and to find maintenance in its resources. In fine, there has been saved, on the broad and outspread wings of this eagle, a large part of your children fleeing from the cruelty of the Portuguese, in imitation of the Lord at the departure from Egypt, as is witnessed thereto by the prophetic words of Mose: "As an eagle that stirreth up her nest, hovereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her pinions - the Lord alone did lead them him, and there was no strange god with Him." (Deut. 32:11f.)

The seventh road which leads you to a great consolation is the safe and quiet haven which the infinite compassion of Heaven prepared for you as a shelter for the weary members of your body, your exiled children, from the storms of the sea and the land, in the blessed soul of that exalted prince of Italian blood, the most sublime and generous, whose house stands at the head of his beauteous and plenteous people. Who can recall, since the beginning of your misfortunes and wanderings, anyone who was so eager to your Law, to be so kind to you in your lowliness, to gather up your dispersion with so much love, to embrace your outcasts and your afflicted ones, to restore to you that breath of life taken from you by the fatigues of the long journeying, such a bountiful bountiful hand, with such kind affection, with such generous and manifest love, as did he? Surely, a spirit more blessed, or a soul more noble,
1) Once more Usque sings the praises of Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. (Cf. U 36). In spite of the obvious tone of exaggeration, which is in accordance with the courtly manners of the Italian Renaissance, the words have a sincere ring. Indeed, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ferrara was one of the most ardent centres of Italian life and culture, the seat of a refined and brilliant court." (Gardner, op.cit., 9)
Heaven has never introduced into earthly limbs, among His nations; and of this nation he is not a mortal, but a divine prince. With his wings spread abroad, he has been, and still is, looking out to give you loving shelter beneath them. With great terror and heavy sadness you travel over Spanish lands, but you reach his domain with great joy and without fear. Your spirit, which is so startled and over precarious in your wanderings through the perilous paths of the Flemish and French kingdoms, finds rest in this quiet and happy harbor. Imprisoned and abused in Germany and Milan, here you are left free to enjoy that liberty which you crave so. Lastly, here cease all those miseries that batter you in this Portuguese exile, and you remove the burdensome cloak which you wear, and clothe your soul with the other one, which is your natural and true garb.

If therefore, you have suffered until now bitter tribulations, these remedies begin to be so sweet that they cannot but stir in you great hopes for greater blessings. Apply then this healing plaster to your wounds, for you are sure to derive therefrom much consolation and profit.

The eighth and most excellent road, by which you shall attain yet another degree of solace for your troubles, is the great land of Turkey, a vast and expansive sea which our Lord has opened up with the rod of His compassion (as did Moses for you at the departure from Egypt), that there might cease and perish therein (similarly to the abundance countless multitude of the Egyptians) the great
2) Possibly an allusion to the wings of the white eagle, the emblem of the house of Este.

3) The modern historian is inclined to agree with Usque's enthusiastic assertions. Balletti (op. cit., 78) writes: "Gli Estensi ... accoglievano i fuggiaschi a braccia aperte, e loro rendevano quella giustizia e sicurezza che, fatta ragione dei tempi, meglio si non poteva sperare." (Further (p. 88): "Sta di fatto che nel proteggere gli Ebrei gli Estensi superarono tutti i Principi de loro tempo." (Cf. also REJ, XV(18), 117, and XX(18), 37 and 54, for documents illustrating the attitude of Ercole I to the Spanish exiles. Ferrara was one of the very few places in Christendom where the Marranos could openly profess Judaism. A contemporary document (in Graetz, IX, 532) declares that "molti se ne (i.e. from Portugal) vanno in Turchia, dove publicamente sono Giudei: altri stanno in Ferrara, et vivano come gli altri Giudei." On Feb. 12, 1550, the Duke issued a "salvocondotto generale" to the "nazione hebraica lusitana et spagnola", promising them freedom of worship, and that they would not be molested if "per qual si sia stato rispetto havessero detto non essere hebrei et servitisi del nome christiano." (Balletti, 77)
of your present perils that follow you continually out of all the kingdoms of Europe. Here, as for a citizen, the gates of liberty are wide open for you, for a perfect observance of Judaism, without ever closing. Here you renew your heart, change your condition, abandon your habits, banish ancient the false and mistaken beliefs, and embrace your true truth, leaving behind practices that are so much at variance with the divine will, such as you have been forced to imitate by the nations among whom you are wandering. It is a great favor that is being conferred on you by the Lord, for He has granted to you in this country a freedom so full and generous, that you may now commence your belated repentance. Accept this as a great consolation and comfort, to find for your tribulations a refuge as sure and safe as that, where you may make a reckoning with your soul, without fearing lest some force drag you away from your Law, as it has befallen you in all the other kingdoms.

Aside from all these manifest deliverances, the Lord makes for you yet many more, secret ones, which you cannot apprehend, for as your merits are small, even so does He communicate to you His mysteries in obscure terms.

Let me now give you a full and complete answer to the course of doubts which you have raised in your lament. As regards the Holy Land, concerning which you said that the Lord should restore to it its fertile nature it once had, since being inanimate it could have been guilty of no sin; in the great suffering and excruciating pain of your wounds,
you speak in contradiction to yourself. I am confident that it was for a good reason that its fertility was converted into barrenness.

For since the beginning, when the Lord of Heaven created the world and gave to all the nations their possessions and portions therein, the Holy Land fell to your lot and heritage, O Israel. And all the advantages, small and great alike, which He granted to it over and above all the other lands in the world, were for the sake of the inhabitant that was to come thither and to enjoy its splendid abundance. And even as a mother eager to behold her beloved son, she was waiting, while in the hands of the Canaanites, Hittites and the other nations, until you should arrive, her its rightful inhabitant, to take possession of her, when putting you tenderly in her lap, she would give you the full sweet milk of her exuberant breasts. And so, indeed, she did on your arrival from Egypt. But now, seeing that her children are away and wander over the world exiled, sad, covered with anguish, and in captivity, and herself likewise captured in the hands of strange nations, what reason is there for this disconsolate mother to clothe herself with but gladness? Nay, mourning is her proper garb.

And apart from this true reason, furthermore, the Lord's express desire that the land should not be fertile for any other people, nor that strange nations should enjoy its abundance, seeing that you yourself were deprived of it. And as though He had endowed it with a rational soul
1) Cf. V, p.24: to discern, and along with it with the five senses, as He did to human beings, to sense with. He bade it show sadness because of your absence; that it should feel the grave hardships of its own captivity and of yours; that it should discern and mistreat the strangers who took possession of it, as being unworthy of its noble fruit, the most excellent in the whole world. This was clearly seen in the case of the nations which Shalmanesser and Bearhadon, kings of Assyria, brought over to it, after having evacuated from it the ten tribes, your brethren. Against these nations there came forth lions out of the forest which entered into their very houses tearing and devouring them.

See, therefore, how little men were in the right in what you said. There is, on the contrary, a good deal of reason for you to thank the Lord for this favor, in that He has NOT given none of your possessions to another nation, to this very day. This He did NOHXX as much with a view to prevent them from defiling them, because of the sanctity that they all possess, as to spare you the grief of seeing them in strange and unworthy hands.

Isaiah 43:1

Verily, your lofty and excellent arguments have illuminated the eyes of my understanding, and now I see with how great an ingratitude we are repaying the Lord, by keeping always before us the afflictions suffered, unsinful of the benefits bestowed upon us and passing over them lightly. Many of us, it should be said, ignore them alto-
with which to discern, and along with it with the five senses, as He did to human beings, to sense with, He bade it show sadness because of your absence; that it should feel the grave hardships of its own captivity and of yours; that it should disown and mistreat the strangers who took possession of it, as being unworthy of its noble fruit, the most excellent in the whole world. This was clearly seen in the case of the nations which Shalmaneser and Esarhaddon, kings of Assyria, brought over to it, after having evacuated from it the ten tribes, your brethren. Against these nations there came forth lions out of the forests which entered into their very houses tearing and devouring them. See, therefore, how little you were in the right in what you said. There is, on the contrary, a good deal of reason for you to thank the Lord for this favor, in that He has given none of your possessions to another nation, to this very day. This He did as much with a view to prevent them from defiling them, because of the sanctity that they all possess, as to spare you the grief of seeing them in strange and unworthy hands.

Icabod:

Verily, your lofty and excellent arguments have illuminated the eyes of my understanding, and now I see with how great an ingratitude we are repaying the Lord, by keeping always before us the afflictions suffered, unmindful of the benefits bestowed upon us and passing over them lightly. Many of us, it should be said, ignore them alto-
together, the more to condemn our lowly condition, and to complain of the scant attention given by Heaven to our afflictions. Without a doubt, if your words were weighed properly, certain of my members would not grow so indignant over the chastisement, and also less sensitive of the hardships of the captivity. Speaking however once more for these people, in order to satisfy them, I say that I am aware that the benefits which you have enumerated are highly effective means for diminishing the grief and for soothing the pain of my sorrowful existence, but they are not adequate for it ending them altogether, which I am so sorely in need of.

It seems, on the contrary, that my misfortunes are getting to be everlasting and without end. How is that? Did you not console me before, regarding the loss of my ten brothers who were carried away into exile by Sennacherib and Shalmaneser, that the Lord would not forsake Israel for ever, nor pass over to another nation? Why is it then that now, that so many generations have elapsed since that time, there is not yet forthcoming a complete relief for my tribulations, and a perfect cure? Indeed, I fear that the persistence of untempered my rebellious actions till now, as they have been with repentance, may have caused that utterance to be withdrawn, and that "the Lord hath forsaken me, and the Lord hath forgotten me."(Isa.49:14) "We have declined; we will Him come no more unto Thee."(Jer.2:31)

Were you to tell me that even as the captivities which I endured in the power of the Egyptians and the Babylonians
came to an end, so shall this one, in which I find myself at present, come to an end, the comparison is not a valid one. For the Egyptian captivity lasted two hundred and ten years, or let us say, four hundred and thirty, according to the sages; the Babylonian only seventy, whereas the present captivity has already lasted one thousand and three hundred years. Moreover, while the nations that subjected me then perished speedily, and because of their false beliefs and their wicked laws, their memory was wiped out of the world and they were consumed, those among whom I find myself captured today, do not perish thus. On the contrary, it is a long time that they have held sway over the earth, after they still endure and a huge number of years and seasons has rolled past, yet I nevertheless go on and on, with their heavy yoke on my neck. Since this is so, I should like you to inform me whether you have any signs to give me, whereby I may know that the Lord has not yet cast me off, nor has passed over to another nation, and that He still is my God, as of old. Thus I might once more appease my soul, which is so torn by troubles and doubts, and so sorely tried every day by these long tribulations. I beg you therefore, do not disdain this my request.

Zicareo:

In reply to this does the Lord now command to say to you: "If My covenant be not with day and night, if I have not appointed the ordinances of heaven and earth; then will I also cast away the seed of Jacob, and of David My servant,
1) See Dial.II, VIb.

2) Possibly a mistake for "one thousand and five hundred years".

Again, Usque may have had the date of the destruction of the Second Temple according to the Seleucid Era, 380, and confused it with the year of the Common Era; but even so his figure is inaccurate.
so that I will not take of his seed to be rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for I will cause their captivity to return, and will have compassion on them." (Jer.33:25f.) Fear not, "for thou, Israel, art My servant; thou art Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham My friend; whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the highest parts thereof, and said unto thee: Thou shalt be My servant, I have chosen thee, and I will never cast thee away. Fear thou not, for I am with thee, look not about, for I am thy God; I strengthen thee, yea, I make thee glorious with my righteous right hand." (Isa.41:8ff.) "Can a woman forget her suckling child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? (Certainly not!) Yea, she may forget, yet will I not forget thee." (ibid.49:15) Therefore take heart, O brother, "for Israel shall not be widowed, nor Judah, of his God, of the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel; even though their land be full of guilt." (Jer.51:5*)

Contemplate now the marvelous words of this message which the Lord sends unto you, and see how far-reaching is His infinite love which He has bestowed upon you, and how generously does He wash away all the stains and all the doubts which you have raised, and which may occur in your imagination.

And in order that you may see more clearly how this is being fulfilled in your days, mark and see, what nation, whether in times past, or at present, has ever obtained, or doe
now obtain, the signs that you used to receive, wherewith they might know if the Lord walketh among it, and if it is favored by Heaven, even as you were? Who is there among the nations today, that could cause heavenly fire to descend, when in need of it? That could go over rivers by means of his mantle? That could hold back the rain and bring it down with his word, as did Elijah? Or one that could make the dead live again? That could make the bitter waters sweet? That could cause barren earth to turn fertile, even as Elisha did? Someone that could behold the glory of the Lord, as did Ezekiel? Someone that could prophesy that which is to come, as did Isaiah and all the rest of the divine host of prophets? What prince now receives from the Most High the assurance (no matter how great be his earthly power) to go up to battle and win? Such as was given to David, when he inquired: "Shall I go up against the Philistines? wilt Thou deliver them into my hand? And the Lord said unto David: Go up; for I will certainly deliver the Philistines into thy hand." (2 Sam. 5:19) What holy man is there today among the nations, on earth, that could assure the kings of victory in their wars? As the man of the Lord assured Ahab (though he was a wicked king of Israel), when Benhadad, king of Syria, came upon him with thirty two kings that helped him, saying to him in the name of the Lord: "Hast thou seen all this great multitude? Behold, I will deliver it into thy hand this day." (1 Kings 20:13)
Surely, there is no one in the world to whom we know this to have happened in the past, save to Israel, nor is there any one in the present time that enjoys it. On the contrary, it seems to be manifest from Micah that howsoever and crushed you are, nevertheless it is on account of you that good things come to the world, and let these words be witness of it: "The remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many peoples, as dew from the Lord, as showers upon the earth grass." (Micah 5:6) Mark well that He did not even say "Israel", which is your designation in your righteousness, but "Jacob", which describes your sinful state, such as you are now walking in, among the nations. Now this being the case, since that spiritual things which you lost, no one has gotten them; and the Holy Land with its earthly blessings, such as it was in your possession, likewise no one has possessed, while on the other hand the world receives benefits on your account; therefore, strengthen yourself in the Lord's estimate more fully than you have until now, endeavor to do good, and you shall not fear, Israel. For He who gave power to Elijah to make the rain come down on the dry earth; and to Elisha, to bring back the soul to the dead; and to the other great righteous men and prophets, to perform so many miracles; He is still alive, and walks with you, and He will rain upon you works of mercy and compassion, revive the already dead memory of the ten tribes that are hidden away, and raise up the lowliness of the others who are wandering throughout the world, and even though this tarry, wait for it, for His pro-
mise made to your forefathers must needs be fulfilled, see-
ing that yourself you have no merits. For so did the Lord
promise in these words: "I do not this for your sake, O house
of Israel, but for My holy name, which ye have profaned
among the nations, whither ye came." (Ezek. 36:22)

Icabo:

O exalted Lord, whose compassion is more vast than the
heavens, and at the same time embraces the whole earth!
shall
When will arrive the hour of my liberation? Forsooth,
brethren, deep is the impression which your arguments make
on my soul, and without doubt I regard you as divine mess-
sengers. Yet, to put my spirit completely at rest, this
one matter still remains for me to question you about. Per-
chance you will be able to tell me, when is this compassion
come to pass
that you say to take effect? Or the misfortunes which I
endure at present, when is their end to come?

Numeo:

To a question of such importance, as this, we shall be
unable to give you the sort of reply that you might desire.
However, besides the various lengthy arguments given in an-
swer by those who have endeavored to gain this knowledge,
we will state to you one, the most palpable of them, which
we have ourselves reached by conjecture.

The most authentic of all the prophets who have fore-
seen Israel's vicissitudes was our master Moses. As you
know full well, after he had prophesied in the order in which
our misfortunes were to occur, at the weary end of them he
said the following words: "The Lord shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; and there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers, (etc.) And among these nations shalt thou have no repose, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot; but the Lord shall give thee there an trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and languishing of soul. And thy life shall hang by a slender thread before thee; and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have no assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say; Would it were even! and at even thou shalt say: Would it were morning! for the fear of thy heart which thou shalt fear, and for (the strange cruelties) which thou shalt see with thine eyes (committed against thee)." (Deut.28:64-67) With this calamity he concludes all the curses, as well as the chapter. And he resumes shortly after: "And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, thou shalt thyself among all the nations (concerning thy condition, and concerning the reason wherefor so many misfortunes befall thee), and thou shalt do penitence, that then the Lord thy God will have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the peoples, whither He had scattered thee," etc. (ibid.30:1-3#)

Icabo:

I admit that it is happening thus. But what is it that you wish to infer from these words?
Numeo:

A very evident proof. These were the last curses uttered by Moses; you have already endured all the others, and now at last you are suffering these also in the Inquisition of Spain and Portugal, which are called the end of the earth (and which indeed they are), where he said they were to take place. With these you have now completed the whole of your journey, and find yourself at the end of your tribulations. As there is no other province beyond it whither you might proceed further, your wanderings have come to a finish there, and you begin to turn your face and your heart, and to go back to your ancient land, which for which you have longed so fervently, and whence you were cast forth so long ago, that you may do there penitence for your sins. This is seen in reality at the present time, as your children are returning thither. Both from all the corners of Europe, as well as from all the other parts of the world, there is now flowing thither at the present time a larger number of them by far than has ever been seen in the past. This proof could not have been arrived at by the ancients so well as by ourselves, who are living in the midst of its realization. For reality is the mirror in which the truths are reflected with the utmost clarity.

Icabo:

Indeed, that which you have pointed out gives my soul a good deal of comfort, owing to the obvious fact that the aims of that prophecy have been fulfilled so exactly in
the miseries of Spain and Portugal. The exactness indeed is such that it seems well-nigh impossible to apply them with greater certainty to any other misfortunes, since in the point of it being the end of the earth, they fulfill and realize this whole prophecy completely.

Such being the case, now that I have shown you all my balms wounds and you have anointed them with such excellent salves, particulars novas I beg you to complete their cure with new particulars, pro-
vided they are of the quality which my rightful medicine must possess. When that so longed-for hour arrives, what favors obtain are the benefits that I am to possess? I hope that its effects will be visible to the world and to myself as much, or more, as those that the Lord is bestowing upon me at present are obscure and hidden. And in passing, brethren, keep not from me your names, that you may satisfy me more completely, even though a good treacle may be accepted from the hand of anyone whatever.

THE LAST, THE DIVINE CONSOLATION, WITH ALL THE PRO-
PHECIES OF THE HAPPINESS WHICH ISRAEL HOPES TO BE HIS THE TRUE CURE AND THE FULL COMPENSATION FOR ALL ITS WORS.

Numelo:

Hear, O Israel, new miracles, now that you have already banished your false beliefs. "For the day of the Lord is near upon all the nations; as they have done unto thee, it shall be done unto them." (Obad.15*)
Wash your heart with waters of gladness, that none remain of the past sorrow that occupied it. Spread wide the wings of the five senses which are now gathered up, and throw open wide the gates of your afflicted soul (the port at which all your griefs used to land), and let mighty hosts of gladness enter on land, and mighty fleets of contentment - by the sea, for the tidings that I bear you come from the spring from which the truths and certainties emanate, and from which a medicine used to be concocted for you even before you would sustain the injury, as is witnessed to by these words of Jeremiah: "Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man-child." (Jer. 66:7)

In order to keep you in suspense no longer, and to inspire in you faith in our prophetic discourses, know that I am the prophet Nahum, and my companion is Zechariah. We are sent to you by divine decree; he - to remind you of all the advantages and compensations which you have received on the score of your misfortunes, and I - to comfort you in them. The moment we arrived here, we had accomplished the greatest journey that was ever undertaken. For we had traversed all the celestial worlds, then descended hither to this terrestrial world, which we had circled all around in very little time, visiting your children who are scattered throughout of it. From all these worlds we bear you very secret and good tidings regarding your hopes.

In the last circle which with its wondrous magnitude...
encompasses and contains all the other heavens, and which by the force of its rotation rules all the circles from the east to the west, there are the three patriarchs, and among them Abraham occupies the highest position. He has charge of opening the treasure-house of lives, that there may enter thither the fortunate pilgrims of the Law, those who by sheer dint of their own speculation, without the aid of parents or of any other means, attain the knowledge of the First Cause and proclaim their law and doctrine in the world.

His son Isaac is surrounded by Israelite souls that attained supreme beatitude by their fear of Heaven and their obedience to their fathers. On his right are all the great and righteous men that sacrificed themselves for the sake of the Law of the Lord.

Jacob, our righteous ancestor, is followed by a larger company, for he is the monarch of all the remaining great multitude of Israel. Their garments are all of one color, but their shapes and designs differ. Some are covered with coats of zeal and jealousy in God's service, and among these Pinhas has the chiefest place. Others are clad in robes of Law and learning in which they had spent their days when living on earth, among whom the seventy elders and the authors of the Talmud wear the most splendid crowns of all the company.

Among the kings of Israel and of Judah, David occupies the highest throne, while Hezekiah and Josiah are close by.

In the band of the prophets the highest seat is occupied
by Moses; on his left is Samuel, and round about is all the rest of the host, fired with the exalted spirit of prophecy. Aaron, his brother, is over all the priests.

In none of these blessed companies does there prevail any envy because of the advantage which each beholds his fellow to enjoy over him. On the contrary, they live merry and rejoicing together with their whole party, filled with glory, and with their faces and their eyes of understanding all intent upon the highest good, unceasing praise on their lips. And once every day they pray for perpetual remission for you, O Israel. The force of this prayer has helped your supplications and clamorings to go up thither.

The outcries made by you in the fifth age, when most of your children went captive to Assyria, and the rest to Babylon, ascended to the first heaven, where the moon has its habitation. Those raised in the sixth age, when your children were cleansed so harshly by the destruction of the Second Temple by Titus, passed from thence to the second circle, which is called the Heaven of Mercury. And the laments uttered by you for the afflictions of the seventh age, which began at that time and has continued till this day, soared to various greater heights.

First, the doleful wails and shrieks uttered by you in the midst of the cruelties which you have suffered on your sad arrival in Rome, penetrated from the second into the third circle, called the Heaven of Venus.

The plaints over the mortal wounds which you have
sustained in your weary body subsequently throughout Italy, passed on from the third to the fourth circle, the abode of the great planet, the sun, the greatest of all the lu-
corpo
minaries, the size of which surpasses that of the earth one hundred and seventy times.

The cries which you raised in your misfortunes in France flew from the fourth up to the fifth circle, the Heaven of Mars.

The groans uttered by you because of the bitter potions of England ascended from the fifth to the sixth, the Heaven of Jupiter.

The howls which issued from your soul in the cruel calamities of harsh and haughty Germany reached from the sixth to the seventh, the Heaven of Saturn.

The pitiful outcries which you have been making in this day in the endlessness of your woes in Spain, rose from the sinos seventh to the eighth of the twelve constellations.

The shrieks which you are uttering in these burnings and tribulations of Portugal have flown up from the eighth to the ninth of the Pleiades. And here we leave all this great host assembled.

As the Most High Lord sees that with these chastisements inflicted upon you you are already attaining the ultimate condition for your redemption, His divine justice sends now to notify you, as the beginning of this redemption, of the vengeance which He is determined, for your sake, to work first upon your enemies, in compensation of that
which you have suffered from them. And He says thus:

CHAPTER ON VENGEANCE.

"Come near, ye nations, to hear, and attend, ye peoples; let the earth hear, and the fulness thereof, the world, and all things that come forth of it. For the Lord hath indignation against all the nations, and fury against all their host; he hath sacrificed them with curses, he hath delivered them to the slaughter. Their slain also shall be cast out, and the stench of their carcasses shall come up, and the mountains shall be melted with their blood. And all the host of heaven shall moulder away, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll; and all their host shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the figtree. For My sword hath drunk its fill in heaven; behold, it shall come down upon Edom, and upon the people whom I have devoted (to My vengeance), for judgment. The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams; for the Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Edom. And the unicorns shall come down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls (which are their princes and nobles); and their land shall be drunken with blood, and their dust made fat with fatness. For the Lord hath a day of vengeance, a year of recompense, that Zion may have vengeance on her enemies. And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch,
and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day, the smoke thereof shall go up for ever; from generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the pelican (bird of Egypt) and the bittern shall possess it, and the owl and the raven shall dwell therein; and He shall stretch over it the line of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof, but there shall be no kingdom; and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and thistles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be a habitation of dragons, a portal for the young of the ostriches. There they shall meet the spirit of the fearful howling, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech owl also shall repose there, and shall find her a place of rest. There shall the vulture make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and brood under her shadow; there shall the kites also be gathered, every one with her mate. Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read; no one of these shall be missing, none (of these animals) shall want her mate; it for the mouth (of the Lord) hath commanded, and He, the spirit it hath gathered them. And He hath cast the lot for them, and His hand hath divided it unto them by line; (Bozrah and the land of Edom) they shall possess for ever, from generation to generation shall they dwell therein." (Isa. 34)

"Though thou make thy nest as high as the eagle, O

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Edom) and though thou set it among the stars, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord." (Obad.4) "Shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, destroy the wise men out of Edom, and discernment out of the mount of Esau?"

(Obad.8) "For the violence done to thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever." (ibid.10) "Bozrah shall become a desolation, a reproach, a waste, and a curse; and all the cities thereof shall be perpetual wastes." (Jer.49:13) "I will make Mine arrows drunk with blood, and My sword shall devour flesh, because of the blood of the slain (of the children of Israel) and their captives. And the blood of His servants shall be avenged, and the Lord will render vengeance to His adversaries, and will be merciful unto His land, and to His people." (Deut.32:42f.) "Thus saith the Lord: As for all Mine evil neighbors that touch and defile the inheritance which I have inherited by right, (that is) My people Israel, behold, I will pluck them up from off their land, and will pluck up the house of Judah from among them." (Jer.12:14*) "For as ye have drunk My holy mountain, (saith the continually Lord) so shall all the nations drink the bitterness, yea, they shall drink, and swallow down, and shall be as though they had not been." (Obad.16*)

Thus far is the manner of vengeance that the Lord will render for you with His hand. But in order that you may glory yourself against those who have gloried, and do still glory, themselves on burning and destroying you,
and that they may pay with the measure with which they measured unto you, says the Lord: "The house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Edom for stubble, and they shall kindle in them, and devour them; and there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau; for the Lord hath spoken." (Obad. 18)

This is the first gift that our Lord sends now to you, offering it as compensation of the infinite multitude of evils which you have reported to have endured at the hands of Edom and of all the other nations of the world. Take heart therefore, for it is with the same scales that the Lord rewards every one for his deeds. Now Zicareo, do you likewise deliver your message, since insofar as it concerns this part, I have concluded mine.

Zicareo:

"Woe unto the shepherds that destroy and scatter the sheep of My pasture (that is Israel)! saith the Lord; shepherds that (ill) pasture My people. Ye have destroyed My flock; behold, I will visit upon you the evil of your thoughts. And I will gather the remnant of My flock out of all the countries whither I have driven them back to their abundant pastures; and they shall be fruitful and multiply. And I will set up shepherds over them, who shall feed them (tenderly); and they shall fear no more (the wolves and the wild beasts), nor be dismayed (when they graze, as they are now), neither shall any be lacking (because of the abundance that shall be theirs). Behold,
the days come, saith the Lord. that I will raise unto David a righteous shoot, and he shall reign and govern wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In his days Judah and Israel shall be saved, and they shall dwell safely (in their lands); and this is the name whereby he shall be called, the Lord is our righteousness."(Jer. 23:1-6*) (At that time) "it shall no more be said: As the Lord liveth, that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but: As the Lord liveth, that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the north, and from all the countries whither He had driven them;"(ibid.16:14f.) "For, lo, I will turn the captivity of My people Israel and Judah to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it."(ibid.30:3*)

HA? P INESS UNTO THE PEOP LE.

Numeo:

Do not proceed, Zicareo. Allow me to console this shepherd, for seeing that my name is Nahum, it behooves me to do so; and if I forget anything, do you remind me of it.

"The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to bring good tidings unto the humble; He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the eyes to them that are blind; to proclaim the year of the Lord's good pleasure, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn for Zion, to give unto them a rich ornament
for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the mantle of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called te-
rebinths of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, wherein He might glory. And they shall build/old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall renew the waste cities, the desolations of many generations. And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers. But ye shall be named the priests of the Lord, and ye shall be called the ministers of our God, (and ye shall not be occupied with lowly things;) ye shall eat the wealth of the nations, and in their splen-
dour shall ye revel. For your penalty (that you suffered) ye shall receive a double reward, everlasting joy shall be unto you. For I the Lord love justice, I hate robbery in the offering; I will render their work (of thy children) secure, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them among the nations. And all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed."

(ISA.61:1-9*) Even as they regard them as accursed for their sins.

HAPPINESS UNTO JERUSALEM

AND THE HOLY LAND.

Zicareo:

You tell me, Numeo, to hold my peace, but "for Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her justice go forth as brightness,
and her salvation as a torch that burneth. And the nations shall see thy salvation, and all the kings thy glory, (O Jerusalem;) and thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall mark out. Thou shalt be a crown of splendour in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the open hand of thy God. Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken, neither shall they insult thee any more with that (onerous) name of Desolate; but thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah, the Lord's desire to thee, and He delighteth in thee; and thy land shall be espoused. For as a young man espouseth a virgin, so shall thy sons espouse thee; and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall God rejoice over thee. I shall set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, they shall never hold their peace day nor night. O ye that have again bethought yourself of the Lord, take ye no rest, and give Him no rest (with your pleadings and supplications), till He establish, and till He make Jerusalem a praise in the earth."(Isa.62:1-7*)
the harassed spirit, used to the violence of such prolonged
misfortunes and miseries, deixar ja mais com elle de dar
voltas continuo pella tribulacoes? And what garment of li-
berty can I wear, large enough to cover up a body of such
lengthy and protracted captivity? What dominion, reign or
a lowliness
power can be founded upon so ancient and rooted
as mine is, upon so wretched a servant and so afflicted
unless
a slave as I am? Forsooth, if the divine hand, which can
do all, does not divest me of this garb which I am wearing
among the nations, without leaving on me any part of it,
and does not refashion my form within as well as without,
from top to bottom, I find myself incapable of receiving all
the good fortune that you spoke to me about.

And as for the Holy Land and the divine city of Jeru-
salem, for which you are prophesying the same happiness,
what shall I say? For it finds itself subjected to the same
state and captivity as mine, accustomed to strange feet,
and so completely given to barrenness and aridity, used to
the vain ceremonies and rites of the population which has
had it in its possession for so long a time, nearly oblivious
of her natural children, due to the length of their absence
which has destroyed all memories. What feast will it be
able to make for them, when it shall behold them? If it will
scarcely know them any more as its children. With what
herbs and pleasant trees will it know to dress itself, now
that for a long time its dress has been thorns and thistles?
What clear waters can flow forth from the dry and sterile
exercises
desert? Or, when divine ceremonies are solemnized therein, will it know to honor them and to distinguish them from the foul and impure practices to which it has been accustomed heretofore? Woe to me, that each of these things requires a miraculous and supernatural power for its correction, new souls and new qualities, in order to receive the impress of these new blessings.

CHAPTER. HOW, FOR THE GOOD OF ISRAEL, HIS NATURE AND THE NATURE OF THE HOLY LAND SHALL BE CHANGED.

Numeo:

"The Lord said unto me: Arise and go down to the potter’s house, and there I will cause thee to hear My words. Then I went down to the potter’s house, and, behold, he was at his work on the wheels. And a vessel broke in his hand, he made it again another vessel. When I had seen this, the Lord said unto me: (Dost thou not believe that as the potter makes over his vessel, so can I make you over, O house of Israel? Seeing that, as the clay in the potter’s hand, so are ye in My hand?" (Jer. 18:1-6) Certainly, it ought to be believed out of that He who created you from nothing, can shape you and make you over from any form whatever. Therefore, after the manner of the broken vessel will the Lord refashion you, O house of Israel.

"Thus saith the Lord God: I will even gather you from the peoples, and assemble you out of the countries where ye have been scattered, and I will give you the land of
Israel (for your habitation)." (Ezek. 11:17) "And I will give you them a new heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; your and I will remove the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh; that you may walk (with this habito) in My statutes, and keep Mine ordinances, and do them; and you shall be (for a juster reason) My people, and I will be your God." (ibid. 11:19f.*

"Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing; In the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the parched land shall become a pool, and thirsty ground springs of water; in the place where serpents lay down, there shall be reeds and rushes. And a highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but the Lord walk will go by that road with thy children, that fools may not err therein. No lion shall be there, nor shall the charge of a beast be thereon; but the redeemed shall walk there (in safety); and the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion, and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads; they shall (always) obtain gladness and joy, and (their present) sorrow and sighing shall flee away." (Isa. 35:5-10*)

"I will plant in the wilderness (that is now the Holy Land) the (tall and beautiful) cedar, the (delicate) acacia-tree, and the myrtle, and the (blessed) oil-tree; I will
set in the desert the cypress, the (pleasant) plane-tree, and great multitudes; that they may (without any doubt) see, and know and consider, that the hand of the Lord (alone) hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it, "(ibid. 41:19f.*) by a miracle, in the sight of all living things, and that it is not a fraudulent work nor a deceitful absolution.

You see, therefore, that our Lord will change you from what you are now, and instill into you and into the land a new nature, unlike your present one, that you may receive fitting His new favors therein, and become capable for the infinite good which He is going to shower upon you both. Furthermore, "the Lord hath sworn by His right hand, and by the arm of His strength: Surely I will no more give thy corn to be food for thine enemies, (O Holy Land;) and strangers shall not drink thy wine, for which thou hast laboured; but they that have garnered it shall eat it, and praise the Lord, and they that have gathered it shall drink it in the courts of My sanctuary." (Isa. 62:8f.) Therefore, O ye "that are of an abject heart: Be strong, fear not! Behold, your God will come with vengeance, with the recompense of God, He will come (shortly) and save you." (ibid. 35:4) At that time, "saith the Lord God, I will lift up My hand to the nations, and set up Mine ensign to the peoples, and they shall bring their sons in their bosom, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy foster-fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to
thee with their face to the earth, and lick the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know (perfectly) that I am the Lord, for they shall not be ashamed that wait for Me."

(1bid.49:22f.)

"And I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood; and all flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy Saviour, and thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob." (1bid.49:25f.)

Do you think, Israel, that your lowliness shall be sufficiently removed, wherein you now live, and of which you are complaining? You ought surely to content yourself with this portion, and praise the Lord for these supreme and signal favors which are already on the way.

Icabo:

"I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom He hath adorned me with ornaments; and as a bride bedecked with her jewels (He hath clothed my ancient mother.) For as the earth bringeth forth her growth, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations." (Isa.61:10f.)

But as for the holy city of Jerusalem, I ask you, brethren, do you now comfort her, together with all the other good tidings which you have learned, for she is fallen to
unto thee. The caravan of camels shall cover thee, and of the young camels of Midian and Ephah, all coming from Sheba; they shall bring gold and frankincense, and shall proclaim the praises of the Lord. All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee; they shall come up with acceptance on Mine altar, and I will adorn and embellish My glorious house. Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their cotes? (They are the scattered children of Israel whom the Lord is gathering together with joyous haste unto Jerusalem, their natural and ancient habitation.) For the isles wait for me, and the ships of the sea, as of old, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, for the name of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because He hath glorified thee. And the sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee; for in My wrath I smote thee, but in My favour I had compassion on thee. Thy gates also shall be open continually, day and night, they shall not be shut; that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations, and that their kings may be brought (into thy power). For that nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. The glory of the Lebanon shall come unto thee, the cypress, the fir-tree, and the box together; to beautify the place of My sanctuary, and I will make the place of My feet glorious. And the sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto
the earth, disconsolate and yearning, and covered with garments of mourning, like a widow.

Zicareo:

"Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city; for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean. Shake thyself from the dust; arise, and sit down (with ease), O Jerusalem; loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion. (And to you also, His children,) thus saith the Lord: Ye were sold for nought, (when the Romans took you captive, for there was none who wanted to give money for you; therefore,) ye shall now be redeemed without money." (Isa. 52:1-3) "Let the words break forth, which you have held back in your breast (from fear of the nations), in praise of thy Redeemer; and ye also, that mourn for Jerusalem, rejoice." (Isa. 52:10-11)

Icabo:

Unless the Mighty One brings us forth into liberty, as He did in Egypt, what strength is there in us that we may depart from among the nations, so that it should not be necessary to flee from their power by cunning?
thee, and all they that despised thee shall bow down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee The city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel. Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man passed through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. Thou shalt also suck the milk of the nations, and shalt suck the breast of kings; and thou shalt know (in truth) that I am the Lord thy Saviour, and I, the Mighty One of Jacob, thy Redeemer. For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for dtones iron; I will also give peace to them that have charge (of building thee), and justice to thy labourers. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, desolation nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy Praise. walls Salvation, and thy gates Paradise. The sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy [long] mourning (until now) shall be recompensed, all Thy people also shall be righteous, they shall inherit the the land for ever; the branch of My planting, the work of My hands, wherein I glory. The smallest shall become a thousand, and the least a mighty nation; I the Lord will hasten it in its time." (Isa.60)
Zicarceo:

leisurely

Your second deliverance shall be far more peaceful and miraculous than was the first one, "for ye shall not go out in haste, nor shall ye go by flight; for the Lord will go recolhendo before you, and the God of Israel will gather up your company of people." (Isa. 52:12) "And the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all the faces (of thy children, O Israel,) and the reproach of His people will He take away from off all the earth. And it shall be said in that day: Lo, this is our God, for whom we have waited, that He might save us; this is the Lord, for whom we have waited (for so long); Let us be glad and rejoice in His salvation." (ibid. 25:8f.)

HAPPINESS UPON JERUSALEM.

Numeo:

"Arise, (O Jerusalem,) shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples; but upon thee the Lord will arise, and His glory shall be seen upon thee. And nations shall walk at thy light, and kings at the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: they all that are gathered together, shall have come to thee; thy sons/come from far, and thy daughters shall be amply protected. Then thou shalt see and abundance (of every good thing), and thy heart shall throb and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be turned
HAPPINESS UNTO JERUSALEM AND UNTO THE PEOPLE.

Zicareo:

Thou hast said a good deal, Numen; however, the Lord of hosts sends unto him, by my hand, yet another gift, saying: "I care for Zion with a great care, and I am inflamed with a great ardour (de bem querença e cego de sua fortuna), and I cannot endure to have it assim A fortunada tanto tempo. Therefore, say to Zion that I return it (into My grace), and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem; and Jerusalem shall be called The faithful city, and the mountain of the Lord of hosts the holy mountain. There shall yet old men and old women sit in the broad places of Jerusalem, (so old, that) every man shall lean on his staff for very age. And the broad places of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing therein. If it be marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of this people in these (present) days, should it also be marvellous in Mine eyes? saith the Lord of hosts? (Certainly not.) Behold, I will save My people from the east country, and from the country of the rising sun; and I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem; and they shall be My people, and I will be their God, in truth and in righteousness. (Wherefore) thus saith the Lord of hosts: Let your hands be strong, ye that hear in these days the words from the mouths of the prophets that have been since the day that the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts was destroyed, and since
the day that the Temple began to be built." (Zech. 8:2-9*)  
"And it shall come to pass that, as ye were a curse among the nations, O house of Judah and house of Israel, so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing; fear not, but let your hands be strong. For thus saith the Lord of hosts: As I purposed to do evil unto you, when your fathers provoked Me, and I repented not; so again do I purpose in these days to do good unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah. These are the things that ye shall do (that this may be speedily confirmed): Speak ye every man the truth with his neighbour; execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates; and let none of you devise evil in your hearts against his neighbour; and love no false oath; for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord." (ibid. 8:13-17)  
Finally, "love ye truth and peace." (ibid. 8:19) "In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold, out of all the languages of the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying: We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." (ibid. 8:23)  

Icabo:  
Now, brethren, that you have given so many ample consolations to Jerusalem and to the holy mountain of Zion, recall once more all of the Holy Land. For since it finds itself at the present time, it alone in the midst of all the other countries, barren and childless, it is in a hopeful suspense that you may give it some satisfaction and comfort for this particular affliction, as also for the others from
which it is suffering; and that you may dispel its despair, shall
if there will yet be a time when she will bear children, like
the other countries, her neighbors, so that she may dry her
tears from her eyes, and throw off her present mourning.

HAPPINESS UNTO THE HOLY LAND.

Numeo:

"Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear, break
forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not con-
ceive; for more the children of the desolate than the
children of the married wife, saith the Lord. Enlarge the
place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains
of thy pavilions, spare not; lengthen thy cords, and fasten
them with thy stakes. For on the right hand and on the left
thou shalt go forth (free with a great force of joy), and thy
seed shall possess (countless) nations, and make the desolate
cities to be inhabited. Fear not, for thou shalt not be
ashamed, nor confounded, neither shalt thou blush with shame;
for thou shalt forget the disgrace (and the outrage) of thy
youth, and the reproach of thy widowhood shalt thou remember
no more. For thy Maker is thy husband, the Lord of hosts
is His name; And the Holy One of Israel is thy Redeemer, the
God of the whole earth shall He be called. For the Lord
hath called thee as a wife forsaken and grieved in spirit,
and as a wife of youth that is rejected, saith thy Lord.
For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great com-
passion will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid My face
from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this shall be as the waters of Noah unto Me; for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For the mountains may depart and be removed, (and the valleys may move to the summâts,) but My kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall My covenant of peace be removed, saith the Lord that will have compassion on thee. (Hear, hear,) O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, Behold, I will cast thy (false) stones to the earth, and I will lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of crystal, precious and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy border of sapphire stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, (and He will be their teacher;) and great shall be the peace of thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established, and thou shalt be far from oppression, (as none shall oppress thee,) for thou shalt not fear, and terror shall not come near thee. (Consider hence and) behold, if a band of people will then gather together (against thee), but it shall not by Me; whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall." (Isa. 54:1-15)

You see therefore, Israel, respecting your Holy Land, which today so poor that your children refuse to go and live in it because of its great misery, in which it surpasses all the other countries in the world, that the Lord will
surely compensate it for its wretchedness and disgrace by means of a manifold prosperity and magnificent glory.

SOLACE UNTO THE LAND.

Zicareo:

Since you have forgotten, Numeo, to announce this further blessing unto the Holy Land, "therefore, "ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God to the mountains and to the hills, to the streams and to the valleys, to the desolate wastes and to the cities that are forsaken, which are become a prey and booty to the residue of the nations that are round about; therefore thus saith the Lord God: Surely in the fire of My jealousy have I spoken against all Edom that have appointed My land unto themselves for a possession with the joy of all their heart, with disdain of soul at the sight of the overthrow (of Israel); therefore prophesy against the land of Israel, and say unto the mountains and to the hills, to the streams and to the valleys: Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I have spoken in My jealousy and in My fury, because ye have borne the shame of the nations; therefore thus saith the Lord God: I have lifted up My hand, that the nations that are round about you, they shall also bear their shame. But ye, O mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to My people Israel." (Ezek. 36:4-8)

Icabo:

O Lord, and when shall it be?
Zicareo:

"It is at hand to come. For, behold, I come unto you, (O mountains of Israel,) and I will look after you, and ye shall be tilled and sown; and I will multiply men upon you, all the house of Israel, even all of it; and they shall in-the habit/(new) cities (that shall be builded), and the waste places (which) shall be restored; and I will multiply upon you man and beast, and they shall increase and be fruitful; settle and I will \textit{settle} you in your former settlements, and will do better unto you than at your beginnings; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. Yea, I will cause men to walk upon you, even My people Israel, and they shall possess thee, and thou shalt be their inheritance; and thou shalt no more henceforth bereave them. And whereas they say unto you: Thou, (Holy) Land, art a devourer of men, and hast been a be- then reaver of thine own nations; therefore thou shalt devour men no more. Neither will I suffer the shame of the nations any more to be heard against thee, neither shalt thou bear the reproach of the peoples any more, neither shalt thou bereave thy nations any more, saith the Lord." (ibid. 36:8\&15)

HAPPINESS UNTO ISRAEL.

Numeo:

While you, Zicareo, remembered to give the glad message to the Holy Land, I cannot pass over in silence these good people tidings for its inhabitants, saying: "Behold, here am I the Lord, and I will search for My sheep, and seek them out
(with great diligence). As a shepherd seeketh out his flock separated, in the day that he is among his sheep that are scattered, so will I seek out My sheep; and I will deliver them out of all places whither they have been scattered in the day of clouds and thick darkness. And I will bring them out from the peoples, and gather them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land; and I will feed them upon the mountains of Israel, by the streams, and in all the habitable places of the country. I will feed them in a good pasture, and (in the pleasant valleys and) upon the mountains of Israel shall their fold be; there shall they lie down in a good fold, and in a fat pasture shall they feed upon the mountains of Israel. I will feed My sheep, and I will cause the to lie down (in peace), saith the Lord God. I will strengthen that which is sick, and the fat and mightily restrain the strong I will destroy; and I will feed them in justice."

(Ezek.34:11-16) "And I will save My flock, and they shall no more be a prey; and I will judge between cattle and cattle. And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even My servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and My servant David prince among them; I the Lord have spoken. And I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause evil beasts to cease out of the land; and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the woods (without fear). And I will encompass them with a blessing upon My (holy) mountain; and will cause the shower to come
down in its season; there shall be showers of blessing. And the tree shall yield its fruit, and the earth shall yield her produce, and they shall be safe in their land; and they shall know that I am the Lord, (when they behold this.) And when I have broken the bars of their yoke, and have delivered them out of the hands of those that made bondmen of them; they shall no more be a prey to the nations, neither shall the beast of the earth devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. And I will also raise up unto them a plantation of a wondrous name, and they shall be no more consumed with hunger in the land, neither bear the shame of the nations any more. And they shall know that I the Lord their God am with them, and that they, the house of Israel, are My people, saith the Lord God. And ye My sheep, the sheep of My pasture, are men, and I am the Lord your God." (1bid.34:22-31)

SOLACE UNTO THE PEOPLE.

Zacreo:

"The word of the Lord came unto me also, saying: Son of man, when the house of Israel dwelt in their own land, they defiled it by their (evil) way and by their doings; their way before Me was as the uncleanness of a woman in her impurity. Wherefore I poured out My fury upon them for the blood which they had shed upon the land, and because they had defiled it with idols; and I scattered them among the nations, and they are now dispersed through the countries;
according to their ways and according to their doings
I judged them. And when they came unto the nations, whither
they had (endeavoured to) come (with their evil doings),
they profaned My holy name; in that men said of them (point-
ing at them with a finger): These are the people of the Lord,
and are gone forth out of His land. But (now) I had pity
for My holy name, which the house of Israel hath profaned
among the nations, whither they came. Therefore say unto
the house of Israel: Thus saith the Lord God: I do not this
for your sake, O house of Israel, but for My holy name,
which ye have profaned among the nations, whither ye came.
Therefore will I sanctify My great name, which hath been
profaned among the nations, which ye have profaned in the
midst of them; and the nations shall know that I am the Lord
your God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes.
For I will take you from among the nations, and gather you
out of all the countries, and will bring you into your own
land. And I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall
be clean; from all your uncleannesses, and from all your
idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give
you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take
away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you
a heart of flesh. And I will put My spirit within you, and
cause you to walk in My statues, and ye shall keep My or-
dinances, and do them. And ye shall dwell in the land that
I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be My people, and
I will be your God. For I will save you from all your un-
cleannesses; and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you. And I will multiply the fruit of the tree, and the increase of the field, that ye may receive no more the reproach of famine among the nations. Then shall ye remember your evil ways, and your doings that were not good. Not for your sake do I this, saith the Lord God, be it known unto you; be ashamed and confounded for your ways, O house of Israel. For in the day that I cleanse you from all your iniquities, I will cause the cities to be inhabited, and the waste places shall be builded. And the land that was desolate shall be tilled, whereas it was a desolation in the sight of all that passed by. And (the wayfarers) shall say: This land that was desolate is become like a garden of delight, and the waste and desolate and ruined cities are fortified and inhabited. Then the nations that are left round about you shall know that I am the Lord have builded the ruined places, and planted that which was desolate; I the Lord have spoken, and I will do it. I will yet for this be inquired of by the house of Israel, to do (good) for them; I will increase them with men like a flock. holy As the flock of Jerusalem in her appointed seasons, so shall the waste cities be filled with flocks of men; and they shall know that I am the Lord." (ibid. 36:16-38)
HAPPINESS UNTO THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

Numeo:

You have dwelt on this matter, Zicareo, at great length, but I do not wish to be outstripped in this respect by you. Yet other

Listen, therefore, Israel, to further divine arguments, coming from my mouth, but inspired by the prophetic spirit.

"The days come, saith the Lord, that I will turn the captivity of My people Israel and Judah; and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it.

And these are the words that the Lord spoke concerning the Israel and concerning Judah. We have heard a voice of a sword, of fear, and not of peace. Ask ye now, and see whether a man doth travail with child; wherefore do I see every man with his hands on his loins, as a woman in travail, and all faces are turned into paleness? Alas! for that day is great, so that none is like it; and it is a time of trouble unto Jacob, but out of it shall he be saved. And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord of hosts, that I will break his yoke from off thy neck, and will burst thy bands; and strangers shall no more make thee their bondman; but thy children shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them. Therefore fear thou not, O Jacob My servant, saith the Lord; neither be dismayed, O Israel; for, lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return (to his land) and shall be quiet and at ease,
and none shall make him afraid. For I am with thee, saith all the Lord, to save thee; for I will make a full end of them the nations whither I have scattered thee, but I will not make a full end of thee; for I will correct thee in judgment, but I will not utterly destroy thee. Though thy hurt is incurable, and thy wound is grievous, there is none to judge thy cause that thy wound may be bound up; thou hast no healing medicines. All thy lovers have forgotten thee, they seek thee not; for I have wounded thee with the wound of an enemy, with a cruel chastisement; for the greatness of thine iniquity, because thy sins increased (more than thy good doings). Why criest thou for thy hurt? Thy pain is unbearable, for the greatness of thine iniquity; because thy sins were increased, I have done these things unto thee.

Therefore all they that devour thee shall be devoured, also all thine adversaries; and they also shall go into captivity; and they that spoil thee shall be a spoil, and all that prey upon thee will I give for prey. For I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds, saith the Lord; (indeed,) they have called thee an outcast, saying: Jerusalem none. This is Zion, whom seeketh after. (Therefore, behold,) thus saith the Lord: I will turn the captivity of Jacob's tents, and have compassion on his dwelling-places; and the city (of Jerusalem) shall be built upon her own mountain, (as of old,) and the palace shall be established upon its wanted place. And out of them shall proceed thanksgiving and the voice of them that make merry; and I will multiply
them, and they shall not be diminished; I will also glorify them, and they shall not be lowly any more. Their children shall be as aforetime, and their congregation shall walk before Me in righteousness, and I will punish all that oppress Israel. And there shall be a mighty leader from among themselves, and their ruler shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto Me, he that pledged his heart to approach unto Me, saith the Lord. And ye shall be My people, and I will be your God." (Jer. 30:3-22)

"Await, therefore, Israel, all this good, and in the end of days ye shall understand (that it shall be thus)." (ibid. 30:24) "At that time, saith the Lord, will I be the God of all the families of Israel, and they shall be My people; for the people that were left of the sword have found grace in the wilderness." (ibid. 31:1f.) "Yet will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel; yet shalt thou be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry. Yet shalt thou plant vineyards upon the mountains of Samaria. For there shall be a day, that the watchmen shall call upon the mount Ephraim: Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion, unto the Lord our God! For thus saith the Lord: Sing with gladness for Jacob, and shout in (Jerusalem,) the chief of the nations; announce ye, praise ye, and say: O Lord, save Thy people, the remnant of Israel! (And the Lord answereth thee:)

Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the uttermost parts of the earth, and with them
the blind and the lame, the woman with child and her that travaileth with child together; a great company shall they return hither. They shall come with weeping, and with favours will I lead them; I will cause them to walk by rivers of waters (of understanding of My holy Law), in a straight way wherein they shall not stumble; for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is My first-born. Hear the word of the Lord, O ye nations, and declare it in the isles afar off, and say: He that scattereth Israel will gather him, and keep him, as a shepherd doth his flock. For the Lord hath ransomed Jacob, (when he came forth with all his wealth from the house of Laban,) and redeemed him from the hand of (Esau who was) stronger than he."

Even so will He do unto his children now, for He will redeem them from the power of this enemy and offall the others whose might prevails over the might of Jacob. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man, and with the seed of beast. And it shall come to pass, that like as I have watched over them to pluck up and to break down, and to overthrow and to destroy, and to afflict; so will I watch over them to build and to plant, saith the Lord. In those days they shall say no more: The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge."
Icabo:

The abundant good fortune which you offer me in my present misery, fills me with fear of losing it later, as I lost it in the past. There is no doubt that were it not that the Lord has to execute upon me the punishment of my sins, as He has done hitherto, I should soon perish. Likewise, if He leaves me with this wicked disposition, I shall briefly abide but little in His worship, and in my happiness. I do not believe, however, that this shall be as I imagine. I beg you, brother, do enlighten me fully in this matter.

ESTREMAO
BOUNDLESS HAPPINESS UNTO ALL.

Numeo:

Fear not, O fortunate nation! "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I brought them out of the land of Egypt; forasmuch as they broke My covenant, and I showed that I was a lord over them (by the penalty that I gave them). But in those days I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people; and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying: Know the Lord; for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more, (so that
though they still be sinners, they shall be redeemed.) Fur-
giveth
thermore,) thus saith the (inscrutable) Lord, who the sun for
a light by day, and the moon and the ordinances
of the stars for a light by night, who stirreth up the sea,
that the waves thereof roar, the Lord of hosts is His name;
if these ordinances depart from before Me,(which is impos-
sible, for I have ordained it from the beginning,) then the
seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before
Me for ever. Thus saith the Lord: If heaven above can be
measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out be-
neath, then will I also cast off all the seed of Israel for
all that they have done, saith the Lord. Behold, the days
come that the city shall be built to the Lord from the Tow-
er of Hananel unto the Gate of the Corner. And the measur-
ing line shall yet go out straight forward unto the hill
Gareb, and turn about unto Goath. And the whole valley of
the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto
the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the Horse Gate toward
the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked
up, nor thrown down any more forever."(Ezek.31:31-38)

SUBLIME AND MIRACULOUS MANNERS OF
CONSOLATION UNTO ISRAEL.

Zicareo:

I also wish to answer the doubt raised by Cabbao with
that which I was commanded.

"I, even I, who am (always the same,) saith the Lord,
will blot out thy transgressions for Mine own sake; and thy
now
sins will I not remember." (Isa.43:25) "And/furthermore,
thus saith the Lord that created thee, and formed thee: Fear
not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy
passest
name, thou art Mine. When thou didst pass through the wa-
ters, I was with thee, and through the rivers, they did not
overflow thee; when thou didst walk through the fire, thou
wert not burned, neither did the flame kindle upon thee.
For I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Sav-
iour; I have consumed all manner of men for thee, and I have
given all sort of peoples for thy life. Fear not, for I am
with thee; I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather
thee from the west; I will say to the north: Give up! and
to the south: Keep not back, bring My sons from far, and My
daughters from the end of the earth; Every one that is called
created formed
by My name, him have I formed, yea, I have made him, and
I have made him for My glory." (ibid.43:1-7) "I am the Lord,
is My name; and My glory will I not give to another, nei-
ther My praise to graven images. Behold, the former things
are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they
spring forth I tell you of them." (ibid.42:8f.) "I will
pour water upon the thirsty land, and streams upon the dry
ground; I will pour My spirit upon thy seed, and My blessing
upon thine offspring; and (thy children, O Israel,) shall
spring up among the grass, as willows by the water courses."
(ibid.44:4f.) "Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel,
and his Redeemer the Lord of hosts: I am the first, and I am
the last, and beside Me there is no God. For who is like unto Me? (Surely, no one.)"(ibid.44:6f.) "They that fashion even a graven image are all of them vanity, and the most excellent of them do not profit; and they are their own witnesses; they see not, nor know; that they (that worship them) may be ashamed."(ibid.44:9) "Remember these things, O Jacob, and Israel, for thou art My servant; that thou be Mine own servant, O Israel, that thou shouldst not forget Me. I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins; return unto Me, for I have redeemed thee."(ibid.44:21f.) "Look unto Me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else. By Myself have I sworn, the righteous word is gone forth from My mouth, and shall not come back."(ibid.45:22f.) "They shall be ashamed, yea, confounded, all of them, that are makers of idols. But Israel is saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation; they shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end. For thus saith the Lord that created the heavens, He is the God that formed the earth and made it, He established it: I have created it not a waste, I have formed it to be inhabited; I am the Lord, and there is none else. (I speak, and I will do it.) I have not spoken in secret, in a place of the earth; I said not unto the seed of Jacob in vain (and without cause): Seek ye Me! For I the Lord speak righteousness, I declare things that are right. (Therefore,) assemble yourselves and come unto your Lord, draw near together, ye children of Israel, that
are escaped of the nations." (Ibid. 45:16-20)

**HAPPINESS UNTO ISRAEL, AND A WARNING THAT HE SHOULD REPENT.**

**Num. 41:**

"Return, O Israel, unto the Lord thy God; for thou hast stumbled in thine iniquity. Take with you (at least,) words, Take away and return unto the Lord; say unto Him: Take away all our iniquity, and accept that which is good (in us); and in place of the sacrifice of bullocks, accept in payment the word of our lips." (Hos. 14:2f.) And because of these words of the heart alone, and because of truth, saith the Most High, "I will heal their affliction, and I will love them freely, for My anger is turned away from them. I will be as the dew unto Israel; he shall blossom as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon. His chastisement shall change from bad into good, and his splendour shall be as the olive-tree, Lebanon and his fragrance as frankincense. They that dwell under His shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and blossom as the vine; their memory shall be as the wine of Lebanon." (Ibid. 14:5-8) "And My people (of Israel) shall never be ashamed. And ye shall know (clearly) that I the Lord am in the midst of you, and that I am (and always have been) the Lord your God, and there is none else, and My people thenceforth shall never be ashamed." And it shall come to pass commonly, that I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions; and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out My spirit. And I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered; for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance unto the remnant of Israel whom the Lord shall call." (Joel 2:28-31)

Icabo:

The Lord is promising me such ample benefits for my scant merits, that it gives me courage to ask you if this deliverance salvation shall extend to the dead of Israel (of whom there are such large numbers beneath the earth), for they died with the hope of seeing these promises of the Lord fulfilled. Tell it to me, por vossa fe, brethren, if you know it.

CHAPTER 6: HOW ALL THE DEAD OF ISRAEL come back to life. SHALL LIVE AGAIN.

Numeo: passei

From the following argument that I had with the Lord, you shall see that His compassion for you has gone even as far as this.

"The hand of the Lord was upon me, and the Lord carried me out in the spirit, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones. And He caused me to pass
your graves, O my people; and I will bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, and caused you to come up out of your graves, O my people. And I will put My spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I will place you in your own land; and ye shall know that I am the Lord, I have spoken, and I will perform it." (Ezek. 37:1-14)

Ioabo:

This favor surpasses, I believe, beyond any comparison, all the others which I hope to receive at the hand of God. It satisfies many doubts that had engaged my thoughts and made me discontented. Now that He has put this seal on all my hopes and blessings, I will ask you this remaining question, daa seus passos but as one who walks without a fear, and wends his way with a confident spirit. In the time of the First Temple, I remember, because of Solomon's sins, the Lord divided our kingdom into two parts; mæ of ten tribes, which were called, Israel, He made a kingdom by itself, and the other two tribes remained separated with the name of Judah. This was the cause for many continuous wars and contentions between them. for In those happy days, which we are hoping, shall there be any change respecting these kingdoms?

CHAPTER. THAT THERE SHALL BE A SINGLE KING OVER ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

Numeo:

You will now learn about it from the words that I had
in this matter with the Lord. "The word of the Lord came unto me (again), saying: And thou, son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it:) For Joseph, the tree of Ephraim, and of all the house of Israel his companions. And join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thy hand. And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying: Wilt thou not tell us what thou meanest by these? say unto them:Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his companions; and I will put them unto the tree of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in My hand. (Ezek.37:15-19) For I will take the children of Israel from among the nations, whither they were cast, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall be king to them all; and there shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all. Neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things wherein have they sinned; but I will cleanse them; and they shall be My people, and I will be their God. And My servant David shall be king over them, and they all shall have one shepherd; they shall also walk in My ordinances, and observe My statues, and do them. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob My servant, wherein your fathers dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, they, and
their grandchildren, for ever and ever; and David My servant shall be their prince for ever. And I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them. And I will place them, and multiply them, and will set My sanctuary in the midst of them for ever. My dwelling-place also shall be among them; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people. And the nations shall know that I am the Lord that sanctify Israel, when My sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore." (ibid. 37:21-28)

THE GREAT AND MOST NOTEWORTHY VENGEANCE ON THE NATIONS BY THE NAME OF GOG AND MAGOG.

Zicareo:

And when, after all these things, you shall rest at ease in your Holy Land, and your safety shall be so great that you will have no walls in your cities, nor doors in your houses; then the Lord will accomplish an utter vengeance upon all the nations that had harmed you, and He will also cause to know thereby that He is the true Lord of all the world, and you His very own people. Hear therefore this message:

"Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I am against thee, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal; I will gather thee, and smite thee with six wounds; I will cause thee to come up from the uttermost parts of the north, and will bring thee upon the mountains of Israel. (Ezek. 39:1-2) Thou shalt
fall, thou, and all thy bands, and the peoples that are with thee; I will give thee unto flocks of birds and winged creatures and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured. Thou shalt fall upon the open field; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God. And I will send a fire on Magog, and on them that dwell safely in the isles; and they shall know that I am the Lord. And My holy name will I make known in the midst of My people Israel; and the nations shall know that I am the Lord, the Holy One in Israel. Behold, it is come, and it is done; this is the day whereof I have spoken, saith the Lord. And they that dwell in the cities shall go forth, and shall set on fire and burn weapons, both the shields and the lances, the bows and the arrows, and the handstaves, and the spears, and they shall make fires with them seven years; so that they shall take no wood out of the field, neither cut down any out of the forests, for they shall make fires of the weapons; and they shall spoil those that spoiled them, and rob those that robbed them, saith the Lord God. And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will give unto Gog a place of burial in (the land of) Israel, the valley of them that pass through to the east of the sea; and (so pestilential shall be that slaughter that) it shall stop the noses of them that pass through; and there shall they bury Gog and all his multitude; and they shall call it The valley of Hamon-Gog. And seven months shall the house of Israel be burying them, that they may cleanse the Land. And it shall be to them a renown, the day that I shall be
glorified, saith the Lord God. (ibid. 39:4-13) And I will set My glory among the nations, and all the nations shall see My judgment that I have executed, and My hand that I have laid upon them. And the house of Israel shall know (in truth) that I am the Lord their God, from that day and forward. And the nations shall also know that the house of Israel went into captivity for their iniquity, because they broke faith with Me, and I hid My face from them, and gave them into the hand of their adversaries (until now). According to their transgressions did I unto them. Therefore now thus saith the Lord God: I will bring back the captivity of Jacob, and have compassion upon the whole house of Israel; and I will be jealous for My holy name. After that they have borne their shame, and all their trespasses, whereby they have trespassed against Me, when they dwelt safely in their land, and none made them afraid. (This shall be) when I have brought them back from the peoples, and gathered them out of their enemies' lands, and am sanctified in them in the sight of many nations. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, in that I caused them to go into captivity among the nations, and have then gathered them unto their own land; and I will leave none of them any more there (in the strange land). Neither will I hide My face any more from them; for I have poured out My spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord." (ibid. 39:21-29)

Icabo:

As long as this good fortune is not come unto me, I can-
not stop fearing the enemies that persecute me with new temptations every day, in order to remove from me further my port, and to lengthen my voyage. Therefore, "awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in the days of old, from now for evermore, (for my protection.) Art thou not it that slew Fierceness, that wounded the dragon, (the king of Egypt?) Art thou not it that dried up the sea, and the waters of the great deep; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?" (Isa.51:9f.) Come therefore to our aid also in this long long captivity of ours, O Lord!

HAPPINESS UNTO THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

Numeo:

Take hope, O Israel, for "I, even I, am He that comforteth you." Who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of man that shall die, and of the son of man; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth? Fear not, for thine oppressor shall not last forever; he shall speedily vanish, and go down into the pit, and his memory shall perish. But I am the Lord thy God, who stirreth up the sea, that the waves thereof roar; the Lord of hosts is His name. And I have put My (holy) words in thy mouth, (O Israel,) and have covered thee in the shadow of My hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion: Thou art My people, (O Israel.)"(Isa.51:12-16*).
Fear thou not, therefore, "because the former troubles are forgotten, and because they are hid from Mine eyes. (Give heed,) for, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind.

But thy children shall be glad, in that (their oppressors shall be gone, and there shall rise a new people and a new world) which I will create, and they shall rejoice for build that she shall be ever. And even so will I Jerusalem/a rejoicing, and her people a joy. And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in My people; and the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man, that hath not filled his days; for the child shall die a hundred years old, and the sinner being a hundred years old shall be accursed.

And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit, (as they did in the time of the first and second Temple,) they shall not plant, and another eat; for as the days of a tree shall be the days of My people, and the work of their hands shall endure as Mine elect. They shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth in terror; for they shall be the seed/blessed of the Lord, and their offspring, so also shall it be with them. And it shall come to pass that, before they call, I will answer, and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and dust shall be the serpent's food. They
shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain, saith the Lord." (ibid. 65:16-25) For I will restore to them the merciful and meek nature that was theirs, before the sins had corrupted the earlier good property with which I endowed all thigs at their creation.

Zicareo:

Remember, O Israel, that as long as your deliverance has not yet arrived, your afflictions can effect a change in you and alter this divine disposition which you have attained at last. Wherefor, the Lord commands to warn you hope that you should have unfailing faith in Him, in spite of all your misfortunes, for He desires that the hour should come, when His bountiful compassion shall overtake you. And this one of the gates, through which it goes forth to visit the world, as I have already told you. Be not dejected, for they that scoff at your hopes shall be confounded and scoffed at.

Icabo:

"As for me, I will look unto the Lord; I will wait for the God of my salvation; my God will hear me. Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy (Bozrah), that I am fallen; for I shall arise (with the mercy of God); though I sit in the darkness, the Lord (will illuminate it,) for He is a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord (with patience), because I have sinned against Him; until He render execution cause a favourable verdict in my dispute, and judge my judgment, and bring me forth to the light (from the darkness of the
present time; and I shall behold His righteousness. I shall also see mine enemy (Bozrah), and shame shall cover her, which saith unto me (mocking): Where is the Lord thy God? (Wherefore doth He not save thee from thy troubles, and from my hand?) But I hope in the Lord of hosts that mine eyes shall gaze upon her; she shall be trodden down as the mire of the streets." (Micah 7:7-10) Who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the (mighty) transgression unto the remnant of Thy heritage (Israel)? (You shall not glory over me, O mine enemies, for the Lord my God) retaineth not His anger for ever, because He delighteth in mercy, He will turn again, He will have compassion upon us (the afflicted; He will subdue our iniquities. And Thou wilt cast, O Lord, all the sins (of Israel) into the depths of the sea. Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which Thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old." (ibid.7:18-20)

HAPPINESS UNTO ISRAEL.

Numeo:

Now that you have arrived at this excellent state of hopefulness which is accounted to you before the Lord for righteousness, as the faith of Abraham, "hearken unto Me, ye that follow this righteousness, ye that seek the Lord; sign and (for a proof and demonstration of that which you have heard hitherto.) Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye were digged. Look unto Abraham
your father, and unto Sarah that bore you; for when he was
but one I called him, and I made him wealthy, and multiplied
him. Thus will the Lord comfort Zion, He will comfort all
her waste places; He will make her wilderness like Paradise,
and her desert like Gan-Eden, the garden of the Lord; joy
and gladness shall be found in Jerusalem, and the voice of
melody. Attend unto Me, O My people, and give ear unto Me,
proceed O My nation; for a law shall from Me, and I will
bring forth My judgment for a light of the peoples. My righte-
ousness is near, My salvation is gone forth, and Mine arms
shall judge the peoples. Lift up your eyes to the heavens,
and look upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish
away like smoke, and the earth shall be consumed with age
like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like
manner, but My salvation shall be for ever. Therefore,
hearken unto Me, ye that know righteousness, My people, in
My whose hearts is law; fear ye not the taunt of men, neither
be ye dismayed at their revilings (and persecutions). For
the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall
eat them like wool; but My righteousness shall be for ever,
and My salvation (which I will perform unto thee, O Israel,)
unto all generations."(Isa.51:1-8)

And were it to occur to your mind that something could
intervene to hinder this, these prophetic words shall give
an answer to such doubts. "For as the rain cometh down, and
the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, except it
water the earth, and make it bring forth and bud, that it
may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater; so shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth; it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in thee, O Israel, unto whom I sent it." (ibid.55:10f.)

And since this is so, "sing unto the Lord a new song, and (announce) His praise to the end of the earth."(ibid.42:10)

Numeo:
It is late; let us retire.

Zicareo:
What think you, brother Jacob, of the vivid and sweet arguments which Numeo has presented to you? Surely they were divine.

Icabo:
Nor were yours of less importance. I hope unto the great and almighty Lord, that all these messages shall come to pass speedily.

Zicareo:
So I wish.

Icabo:
And so I do hope.

Numeo:
And I hold this for certain.

Zicareo:
Brother Jacob, to make this short walk pleasanter to pray us, sing, I beg you, some sweet canticle, of those which the maidens of your highlands were wont to sing, as they
drove their flocks on the hills of Zion; you still ought to
remember them well, for many of them were collected by the
son of Jesse.

Numeo:
You have spoken well, Zicareo. Let Israel go forth
rejoicing, for he has come in sad.

Icabo:
Who could refuse your bidding?

Zicareo:
Sing then.

Psalm CXXVI.

Icabo:
When our Lord will be pleased to return
The glory to Zion that was once her own,
We'll deem our bliss unreal, and will fear
That we are only dreaming at high noon.
But waking mem'ry soon shall make it known,
And the truth of our deliverance 't will discern.
Then shall our mouth be filled with laughing cheer,
Our tongue with melody and gladsome tune.

And then shall it be said among the nations:
The Lord hath done great miracles for these!
And we will also hasten to confess:
The Lord hath done for us some mighty things!
And though indeed we were once ill at ease,
Sad and disconsolate because of tribulations,
We now rejoice, exultant, sorrowless,
Bearing words of praise as our thanks-offerings.

No doubt, the Lord will graciously restore
Our large captivity unto its ancient soil,
As He brings water to a tree in a parched place.
And they that sow their seeds, yea, tearfully,
Shall reap in joy the blessed fruit of toil.
Weeping, along his way doth go the sower,
But he'll return with a beaming face,
Bearing his sheaves, and singing cheerfully.

FINIS LAUS DEO.