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A STUDY OF KLIMATH HA-GOYIM OF ISAAC PROFIAT DURAN

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TO MY PARENTS

This first fruit

is

affectionately

dedicated

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

If the writer were to select the ten most significant dates of Jewish history, he would regretfully include the year 1391, for that year marks, in his opinion, the beginning of the end of Jewish life in Spain. For many centuries the Jew had been developing culturally and at the same time spreading westward--a process which reached its denouement in 1492. The germs of the denouement had been working for a number of centuries, but it is in 1391 that tangible and graphic evidence or the impending doom makes itself apparent.

Because of the significance of 1391 for our study, we shall attempt to construct a picture of the milieu of this profoundly important period. A century had elapsed since England had initiated the policy of complete expulsion. For practical purposes it may be said that there had been no Jewish history in England during this century. In Germany, Jews existed under the constant fear that the Damoclian sword would fall on them. The past century had ended with unspeakable Rindfleisch atrocities;¹ the first third of the century had ended with fearful persecutions in Alsace, Swabia, and Franconia led by two adventurous noblemen. A decade later, while the Black Death raged, the credulous and superstitious minds of the terror-stricken masses eagerly

snatched up the report that Jews had poisoned wells. The report developed into the idea that poisoning the wells was part of an international Jewish conspiracy to extirpate Christendom. The idea grew into an obsession² and the obsession led to systematic massacres executed by the order of the city councils. The massacres began in northern Spain, spread to Switzerland, then to Bavaria, then up the Rhine, on to Breslau, later to Magdeburg and Berlin.³ The blood-bath finally ended in Austria thanks to the enlightened rule of Duke Albert II. Another third of a century led to a social revolution in which some Swabian cities overthrew the patrician rulers. The result: Jewish blood flowed. Complete remission of debts due to Jews followed. It had now become a matter of policy. When Jews became too impoverished to be of any economic value, they were expelled from the various communities. In 1389, Prague celebrated the resurrection with a blood bath and property confiscation. Pretext: Jewish children throwing sand at each other in play, accidentally sprinkled some on the host which was passing in procession.⁴

The everyday lot of the Jew in France was not as harassing as that in Germany. The French Jews were relatively so free of the concern of external pressure that they could afford to quarrel about the merits and demerits attached to the study of philosophy and science. They had split up into liberal and conservative wings and had placed the ban on each other. The argument still waxed warm when French Jewry was stunned by an edict of expulsion in July, 1306. The emperor had come upon this

decision in an effort to fill his empty coffers. All Jewish property was confiscated to the crown and the entire Jewish population left with but the clothes on their backs.⁵ During the century, the Jews were recalled and expelled from France, twice more. Each invitation as well as expulsion was motivated by economic interests. Each intermittent stay was occasioned by anti-Jewish outbreaks, the shepherd revolt, 1320, the leper uprising, 1321, and frequent revolts against heavy taxation, in the latter half of the century.⁶ The sorry mess was settled with the final edict of expulsion of all the Jews within the king's realm, signed on the Day of Atonement, 1394.⁷

Spain treated her Jews more hospitably. For a number of centuries the Jews had flourished in Spain until they had assimilated her culture and in return enriched it with their own contribution. The Jews of Germany were crushed spiritually by constant persecution; the Jews of France could never feel sure of their status. The Jews of Spain, alone, could look forward with security. It is true that they lived under the customary medieval disabilities, but influence and affluence had softened these disabilities until the Jews could feel most secure in the home of the Moor and the Christian. We observe, that while Rhine Jews did not produce as great men and scholars as Spain they were much more successful in communal organization.⁸ Perhaps the feeling of confidence which the Spanish Jew had, contributed to this fact. It may be that Jews hesitated about organizing because of the high offices which they held. Perhaps the fact

that Spain was not united made it difficult for the Jews to organize. Certainly the constant wars between Christians and Mohammedans made union very difficult. But we do find beginnings toward organization during the thirteenth century. They were probably influenced to a certain extent by the success of the Jews further North and north-east of them. Through students who went to the Tosafistic schools of France to complete their education and the gradual influx of Jews from the north, news of the unions in Troyes, the "shum" communities and elsewhere, finally reached Spain and left their effect. More significant, however, were the exigencies of the times. After the Black Death, the Jews of Spain began to sense the need for some sort of union. This need first crystallized itself in the Synod of 1354 which probably met in Barcelona.⁹ But let us look more closely at the state of political affairs in Spain before we proceed. It

It is hard to exaggerate the disorder pervading the Castillian kingdoms when the Spanish monarchy began with the union of Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon. Needless to say, this condition had its roots in factors and circumstances which affected Spanish history for many centuries.

The crown itself had contributed greatly to its own abasement. San Fernando III, in the thirteenth century made the laws of Castille respected, and extended the boundary of Christianity--a fact which gave promise of development in Castillian power and culture. But the rebellion of Sancho el Bravo against his father, Alfonso, in 1282, began the decline.

Sancho had to buy the allegiance of the nobles by tax privileges and alienating the crown lands. This power was continued by Fernando IV and Alfonso XI, both of whom assumed the crown in their minorities. The latter, when he reached maturity, made an effort to regain the prestige of the crown; his son, Don Pedro, was so determined, that he earned the epithet of Pedro the Cruel because of his ruthless methods of subjecting the nobles--an effort which led to the usurpation of the throne, with the support of the nobles, by his bastard brother, Henry of Trastamara. But Henry could hold his power only through concessions to the nobles--a fact which greatly diminished his prestige. This was the heritage that was left to Juan I, his son, who in the Cortes of Valladolid in 1385 describes how he "wore mourning in his heart because of his powerlessness to administer justice and to govern as he ought in consequence of the evil customs which he was unable to correct."¹⁰

Not only was there constant friction between nobles and crown but also friction (at least financial competition) between the church (which implied a loyalty to Rome) and the other powers.

There was so much corruption in the church that any confidence in it had been lost. Nobles and others assumed the cloth in order to attain all the privileges attached to it, without fulfilling any of its obligations. It was not until 1473 that the council of Aranda was able to put in reforms in the clergy, and these were: (a) an ability to speak Latin, (b) parting with their concubines, (c) abstaining from dicing, (d) the celebration of mass at least four times a year.¹¹

We can well see how conditions were during this period which we are considering, before the unification of Church and State. The popular temper was wrought up against clerical financial corruption so that the prohibition to carry money out of the kingdom to the pope, was even more emphatic than in England.¹²

In Castille the Cortes of 1390 forcibly showed to Juan I the evils resulting from the foisting of strangers on the Spanish church, but his speedy death prevented action. The young Henry III, promptly placed an embargo upon the revenues of foreign benefice-holders and forbade the admission of subsequent appointees. By 1393 a compromise had been reached. The Avignonese curia secured the recognition of incumbents on the basis of the promise that no more nominations of foreigners will take place. But since the Roman curia did not accept the Avignonese promise, the quarrel continued.

There was so little respect felt for the immunity of ecclesiastics from secular law that as late as 1351 Pedro the Cruel had found it necessary to conceive that they shall not be cited before secular judges except in accordance with law. That the church had some authority can be seen from the fact that at an early stage it insisted that at least the Jews and the Moslems should be bound by canon law.¹³ The king granted this request probably because it was an easy concession for him to make. This was certainly not true, however, of Christians. Laymen were jealously protected from the ecclesiastical courts. "The crown was declared to be the sole judge of its own jurisdiction and no appeal from it was allowed."¹⁴

It was possible to avoid all the legal tangles of conflicting clerical and royal courts. Many laymen, without abandoning worldly pursuits, adopted the Tonsure "in order to enjoy the irresponsibility afforded by the claim acquired to spiritual jurisdiction, whether as criminals or as traders. The Cortes of Tordesillos, in 1401, declared that the greater portions of the rufianes and malefactors of the kingdom wore the Tonsure; when arrested by the secular officials, the spiritual courts demanded them and enforced their claims with excommunication, after which they freely discharged the evildoers."¹⁵

Things had gotten so chaotic that the idea of the need of vigilance brotherhoods or associations, called Hermandades, had grown up. The idea originated as a result of the troubles in 1282 and was first tried in 1302. After a century of royal support, a law was framed in 1386 by Juan I, "providing for the organization and function of the Hermandades." But the laws had no effect and the Hermandades did not become coordinated till another century passed.¹⁶

During this entire period, when no one group, the crown, the nobles, or the church had complete authority, persecution of minorities could not be very effective or lasting. Legally, of course, the Jews of Aragon were no better off than those of any other part of Europe. They might be driven out at any time.¹⁷ ~~Actually, however, The crown and the nobility, although they~~ ~~may have~~ used the Jew as a football, kicking and tossing him about from time to time, but financial and personal influence

plus the fact that the interests of nobility and the crown often conflicted, limited these hardships. It is true, for instance that certain nobles had control over Jews in their vicinity, often as part of a compromise arrangement with the king.¹⁸ At the same time, however, it was similarly true that as early as the twelfth century nobles and kings were somewhat dependent on the Jews for financial loans. This state of affairs continued.¹⁹ The church too as far as its early tradition was concerned might have been friendly to the Jew. In fact there was a feeling of equality, if not cordiality, between Christian and Jew in the primitive Church. Even the restrictions of intercourse between Jew and Christian, found in the Apostolic canons, refer only to religious fellowship. Christians may remain on friendly terms with Jews, socially but both clergy and laymen must be careful not to observe fasts or celebrate feasts with Jews. Nor may they partake of unleavened bread or give aid to the synagogues, lest this type of friendliness may lead to religious fellowship with Jews.²⁰ As Henry C. Lea points out so excellently in his "A History of the Inquisition of Spain," the more Gentile the Church became the more did the prejudice existing against the Jew in the Gentile world, gather strength until the Jew was finally considered as an outcast.²¹ It is interesting to note, for instance, that ⁱⁿ Saracen Spain ^{al} though it was a confused medley of races and faiths, subject to no guiding principle and swayed by the policy or the prejudices of the moment, yet outbursts of favoritism were lacking. The same is true of the Christian kingdoms during the early Middle Ages. It was not the warriors

who demonstrated their hatreds; they usually respected each other. It was rather the non-combatants, Christian priests and Moslem faquis who retained their virulence.²² It was this fact that brought about constant intermingling between Christian and Moslem and a spirit of cooperation between both of these groups and the Jews. The Church, slowly growing in power, was committed to a policy of creating a cleavage between the faithful and the infidels. It was not sufficient that the Jews suffered numerous legal disabilities. The chasm must be made complete. Jews must not be allowed consideration as Spaniards.

The Jews of Spain, nevertheless, were Spaniards, "both as regards their customs and their language. They owned real estate, and they cultivated their land with their own hands; they filled public offices, and on account of their industry they became wealthy, while their knowledge and ability won them respect and influence."²³ This prosperity roused the jealousy of the people and was a contributing factor in the hatred of the clergy. The crown considered the Jew (as well as the Moslem) as personal property, referring to "their" Jews and "their" Juderias.²⁴ Thus although the Jews were utilized for the king's purpose they also gained the king's protection thereby. Jaime I, king of Aragon issued the following typical decree: "All Jews and Saracens dwelling in our domains belong to the king and are, with all their possessions, under the king's special protection. Any one of them who shall place himself under the protection of a nobleman shall lose his head; and all his possessions, wherever they be, shall be forfeited to the king." As a result, not Jew

could, of his own free will become the bondman of a noble.²⁵ From the king's point of view, however, it was not so easy to pacify the nobles. From time to time the nobles would gather strength and the crown would have to make some concessions. To keep the nobles in check, the king would grant them gifts or mercedes. These mercedes, technically called encomiendas were of two kinds--(1) encomiendas de honor--when the king ceded to the noble the final rights of a town or a district (2) encomiendas de tierra--when the king granted a rent or sum to be raised from one or various places, or from the Jewish or Moorish quarter of a city.²⁶

A perusal of the laws in the Archives of Aragon, found at one of the Royal Palaces in Barcelona, tells some interesting facts. We find a law dated 1364-74, declaring that the king could grant Jewish houses to his nobles.²⁷ We find no record of an earlier law but we do find between 1387 and 1394, a veritable stream of such legislation--significant characteristics of the period.²⁸ The privileges granted by the king to the nobles of having Jews as their fiefs date back at least to 1324-25²⁹ and are documented in this period by deeds dated for 1373-7 and 1383-4.³⁰ The deeds gathered from the various Spanish archives by Joseph Jacobs, in his work, "An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain" demonstrates quite graphically the fact that Jewish disabilities had existed long before 1391. There is a document in the Library of Pamplona, the former capital of Navarre, of a deed enforcing the carrying of the badge upon Jews, dated June 1227.³¹ But this effort was not successful and

must have fallen into desuetude by 1234, for at that time Pope Gregory IX requested the new ruler D. Theobald I to force the Jews to wear a badge to distinguish them from the Christians, but Theobald refused to pursue this policy.³²

We shall observe as we continue this study that the crown imposed or removed disabilities of the Jews only insofar as it affected the crown's economic policy. The crown had a hard enough time keeping above water and thus wisely exploited the Jew for its own economic welfare. The badge, having no economic value (in fact, it might create a cleavage which would lead to loss of revenue) did not attract the king. When he resorted to it, it was only because of the pressure of the Church which "viewed with repugnance the policy of conciliation and toleration" existing between the Christian and the infidel.³³ It discouraged all intercourse between the races and endeavored to keep them separate. Even the indispensable freedom of ordinary commercial dealings was frowned upon and in 1250 the Order of Santiago had to receive the permission of Innocent IV to trade with Moors. The Church saw the badge as the most efficacious means of establishing and perpetuating the distinction, since it was not only a work of inferiority and stigma, but it exposed the wearer to insults and outrages, rendering life humiliating and the business of merchants who had to travel on the unsafe highways, most dangerous. The Church was not concerned with the economic losses that would follow such a policy. When the Lateran Council made the badge regulation a part of canon law in 1216, the alleged cause given was that it would prevent miscegenation. In 1217

Honorius III ordered the enforcement of this decree in Castille but consented to suspend it within two years after Rodrigo, the archbishop of Toledo, concurred with him as to the folly of it. The king felt that the Jews would abandon the kingdom or resort to plots and conspiracies rather than wear the badge, and since the greater part of his revenue came from the Jews, their absence would be keenly felt.³⁴

The Church found it quite difficult to arouse intolerance and race hatred in Spain. Its attempts were either ignored or unenforced. After a century of persistent effort in Castille the council of Zomora in January 1313 ordered the badge to be worn but the regent ignored it. In 1371, when Henry II finally acceded to the request of the Cortes of Toro, the injunction was short-lived, had to be frequently repeated and was slenderly obeyed. The same was true of Aragon especially in the thirteenth century³⁵ while during the fourteenth century we have definite documents of royal exemption to the Jews from wearing the badge.³⁶

When it came to other matters, however, Jews were certainly discriminated against. They could not change their place of residence without permission³⁷ and even when they changed their residences they had to pay a tax³⁸ and did not enjoy the rights of the local community without special concessions.³⁹ They were limited to Ghettoes⁴⁰ and had to obtain special permission and safeguard to live outside the Jewish quarter or "Juderia."⁴¹ They had to pay a tax for the general right of residence.⁴² They had to register their possessions⁴³ and could not rent out property.⁴⁴ A royal license was required to build a synagogue,⁴⁵ to

purchase a cemetery,⁴⁶ to establish a Jewish school,⁴⁷ or to restore the Beth Hamidrash.⁴⁸ Even synagogue services on the days of a festival had to be regulated by the king.⁴⁹ The whole principle of taxation was worked out for the king's convenience. Congregations were grouped together for purposes of payment of taxes.⁵⁰ The Jewry could be farmed out to a Jew,⁵¹ to the Knights Templars,⁵² and other nobles.⁵³ These were special taxes for war,⁵⁴ in anticipation of future taxation⁵⁵ for the king's dinner,⁵⁶ for the king's journeys,⁵⁷ and to provide the royal bedding.⁵⁸ Finally, the king could abolish his indebtedness as well as that of his subjects to Jews.⁵⁹

Conversion was very much encouraged, special protection being given to converted Jews.⁶⁰ Converts were allowed to preach to and convert Jews⁶¹ and baptized children could not live with Jewish parents.⁶² Thus, we observe that whatever privileges were given to the Jews, such as special Jewish judges for cases involving Jews on both sides, or the selection of Jewish tax collectors, were all given because the king did not care to trouble with these problems. The state was so disorganized that for the right of taxing them, the king was willing to give the Jews whatever local autonomy they wished just so they didn't interfere with the other members of the community. The principle of Jewish social isolation was in time made basic. Not only was conversion encouraged but a sharp line of demarcation began to grow between Jews and Christians. In attempting to carry this policy out the Spanish Church pursued its course with characteristic energy. It continued to fan hatred and discontent between Christian and Jew until it

had finally achieved its desideratum in 1492. Whatever one might say of the ethics or spirituality of the Church's activities, one must confess that as a bit of persistent propaganda the project of the Church was most efficiently executed.

It is appropriate that we analyze at this point some of the causes for enmity which were making themselves more and more apparent during the fourteenth century. It must be realized that throughout the century the Church, in its effort to arouse popular hatred was aided by the reputation that the Jews had won for themselves through their ostentation, usury, and public office.

It would be natural for a people with a glorious history, having an ancient lineage and boasting of the purity of their descent from the heroes of the Bible, to look down with scorn upon the hidlagos who could at best boast of a lineage from barbarians or semi-civilized, not so many centuries before. If this people was fortunate enough to have a large portion of the country's wealth in their hands,⁶³ if these people had the king's favor to the extent of assuring security, and if, furthermore, they adorned themselves, their women and their retainers, while many Christians languished in virtual peonage, it is quite understandable how anti-Jewish enmity fomented by the Church's activities might arise. Even at the end of the fifteenth century when it seemed quite apparent that the Jews of Spain were doomed, when Alfonso V, of Portugal, who was favorably disposed toward the Jews, asked the chief-rabbi Joseph Ibn Yachya why he does not prevent the Jewish community from being too ostentatious, the rabbi replied: "Nothing but massacre and spoliation will prevent this tendency."⁶⁴

Perhaps the most effective and extensive cause for enmity was usury, the chief Jewish occupation. The money-lender has never been popular; during the Middle Ages he was despised. Canon law forced the faithful to deal with the infidel when it came to money matters, a fact which fanned the hatred toward the infidel even more. The problem was accentuated by the fact that coin was scarce and the risks attendant to money lending were great. All this led to an exorbitantly excessive rate of interest. The Jews of Aragon were entitled to charge twenty per-cent interest while those of Castille, charged thirty-three and one-third per-cent,⁶⁵ but the Jews of the Castillian aljama of Cuena were not content with thirty-three and one-third per-cent in 1326. The Jewish community went on strike refusing to lend at so low a rate, thereby holding up all trade and the sowing of wheat. The strike caused such great distress that after extensive negotiations an agreement was made by which the Jews were permitted to charge forty-per-cent.⁶⁶ Needless to say, action of this sort did not bring about good will toward the Jew. The masses were embittered but they were helpless. All they could do was await an opportunity or occasion when they could revenge such exploitation. The nobles, who often needed coin, could resort to the semi-legislative pronouncements of the Cortes which were not always binding.

The kings, too, were hard-pressed. They might, from time to time declare moratoria or remission from indebtedness to Jews but they could not permit themselves the luxury of remitting their indebtedness to the Jews too often inasmuch as they were

themselves financially dependent on their sources of funds for their various expenses, foreign expeditions, wars, and the various projects for appeasing the nobility.

The Jews held the purse-strings but were dependent for their social security upon the legislative acts of the Cortes and the king while the latter in turn were dependent financially upon the Jews. There thus existed a constant state of affairs in which the Jew through his financial control bargained for his social security.

Although, king and nobles, were usually friendly disposed to the Jew only insofar as they were dependent upon them, it must also be admitted that individual Jews very often made capital of their financial privileges and opportunities, giving little consideration to the consequences that their acts may bring upon all of Jewry. The bull-headedness with which the Jews, who felt entrenched, refused to see the hand-writing on the wall is really surprising. Much of the responsibility for the consequences must certainly fall upon the Jews themselves. There were so many complaints from farmers, prelates and noblemen that the Cortes made some sort of reference to the Jews at almost every significant session.

In retaliation to the Jew, the king and the Cortes expressed themselves by putting whatever disabilities--especially in the matter of occupations and economic pursuits--(upon the Jews) that they could.⁶⁷ This intensified matters even more since it forced more Jews to go into usury than before. In 1371, the Cortes of Toro seems to have been especially embittered. It complained of the high offices Jews acquire with which they persecute

Christians. They demanded that the Jews be eliminated from the high offices, that they be segregated in ghettos, that they wear the badge, that they do not parade in ostentatious garments publicly, and that they give up their Christian names. The king realized he had to accept some of the demands and so he acceded to the suggestions that the Jews wear the badge and give up their Christian names.⁶⁸ He also had to accede in part to the Cortes of Burgos in 1379 in his decree that the Jews should neither carry arms nor sell weapons.⁶⁹ The request that the Jews be deprived of the exercise of criminal jurisprudence was not granted until the following year when as a result of the Joseph Pichon scandal the Jews had demonstrated that they were not sufficiently responsible to be entitled to the exercise of criminal jurisprudence. In 1385 the Cortes of Valladolid complained that it had to submit to whatever exactions the Jews saw fit to impose, the peasants being forced to give up whatever land they had, to the Jews, to avoid being imprisoned.⁷⁰ It was the same year that John, very much against his will, was obliged to issue an order prohibiting the employment of Jews as financial agents or tax farmers to the king, queen, infantes, or grandees. As a result of the resolution of the Council of Palencia came also the order of complete separation of Jews and Christians and the prevention of any association between them.⁷¹

Interrelated with the evils of the institution of usury were the offices of almojarifes--farmers of the revenues and recabdores--collectors of taxes, positions which brought Jews into a very close and provoking relation with the Christians. Because of an uncentralized state, rude financial expedients,

and impoverished treasuries, tax farming was the easiest and most effective method of raising money. The highest bidder received the right to farm taxes for a specific guarantee which he gave to the crown. All that he could wring out of the people above the guarantee served as his profit. Jews who received this office fattened on the accumulating lucre while their subordinate collectors inquisitorially tracked down delinquents and made merciless exactions. Although the crown, for political reasons, held these officials in high esteem, the inevitable results of such a policy led to a bitter enmity of all Jews. The kings had to be friendly. These officials not only guaranteed them their taxes but also made special loans when necessary. But even kings were not exempted from the excessive usury of the Jewish money-lenders. Carlos III of Navarre, made a loan of 1000 florins in 1399 and had to pay 20% interest. While two years later he had to pay 35% for another loan.⁷²

The Church tried repeatedly to prohibit the employment of Jews in public office but monarchs, taking a leaf from the little respect archbishops had for the Church, were hardly disposed to give up the services of accomplished financiers.

With the Jews giving so much reason for popular dislike it is a real tribute to the friendliness existing between Jew and non-Jew to observe that the efforts of the Church to excite intolerance and enmity made such slow progress. The fact that the Council of Le'rida in 1325 had to forbid Christians to be present at Jewish weddings and circumcisions⁷³ is an indication of the slow head-way the Church made in executing its desideratum.

The inevitable results could not long be staved off. Navarre suffered early--a precursor, so to speak, of what was destined to take place in Castille and Aragon. When Charles le Bel died in 1328, a zealous Franciscan, Fray Pedro Alligeyen took advantage of the interregnum, stirred up the masses to go forth to slaughter and pillage the Jews. Soon the storm broke loose on the Aljama of Estella which was completely burned while all its inhabitants were slaughtered. Slaughters followed in Tudela, Viana, Falces, Funes, Marcilla and elsewhere. It is recorded that more than 6000 lost their lives.⁷⁴

When order was finally brought about through the ascension of Philip III to the throne, the yoke of the Jews was made even more difficult through taxation which was virtually confiscating. As a result of the Black Death, taxes were remitted in 1350.⁷⁵ In addition they were forced to pay subsidies and lend money to the impoverished king. Everything they bought or sold was subject to heavy taxation, even the clothes on their backs. It became almost impossible for them to remain. After 1366 there were scarcely 450 Jewish families left in the entire kingdom. The crown tried to discourage emigration by forbidding the sale of real-estate by Jews, without the king's permission and by insisting that the property of all Jews leaving the country fall into his hands.⁷⁶ Yet though the state did not want the Jews to leave and though it realized the poor state of the Jewish community, the Jews were nevertheless expected to contribute to the coronation of the king, June 10, 1389. They did, to the extent of 1000 florins.⁷⁷

The extreme poverty of the Jewish community saved ~~Brit.~~ from the bloody persecutions of 1391,⁷⁸ but if ~~their~~ lives were spared, ~~their~~ limited funds were not. On July 28 and on August 21, 1391 decrees were issued that the king could remit debts to the Jews.⁷⁹ But even one's life could not be assured in unfortunate Navarre. Many Jews fell victims to the plague in 1401, 1410-11, 1422, 1423, 1434, 1435. The few that remained were huddled together in ghettos and expelled at the end of the century.

In Castille and Aragon the Black Death caused massacres of Jews, as elsewhere throughout Europe, though not so widespread and terrible. When Pedro the Cruel ascended the throne of Castille, in 1350 the Jews were optimistic,^{but} ~~though~~ history tells us that his reign proved to be the turning point in their fortunes. Pedro was a very good friend of the Jews, appointing them to offices of responsibility and trust. The rebel party, headed by his bastard brother, Henry of Trastamara, adopted an anti-Semitic platform using Pedro's friendliness to the Jews as a pretext. When they entered Toledo, in 1355, they saved the smaller Juderia and slew its 1200 inhabitants without sparing age or sex. In 1360 when Henry invaded Castille and reached Najara he commanded a massacre of the Jews to appease the feelings of his army. When in 1366 he came in with Bertrand du Guesclin and his hordes of Free Companions there ensued a terrible massacre. The Aljama of Toledo purchased exemption with a million maravedises raised in a fortnight to pacify the mercenaries; it helped somewhat, for since anarchy reigned plunder and slaughter were inevitable.⁸⁰ With the assassination of Pedro in 1369 Henry was

left sole master of the land.

The people were thus becoming adjusted to slaughtering Jews, and the policy would have been continued had not the services of the Jew still remained a necessity. They were not only indispensable to the royal finances, but the heavy taxation levied upon them comprised a significant portion of the revenues of the crown, the nobles, the churches and the municipalities. It was this reason perhaps that may have motivated Henry to take a most conciliatory attitude toward them. A ruthless enemy of the Jews while aspiring to the throne, he changed his attitude when he assumed power, even complimenting them by saying that a people which could remain so loyal to Pedro, as they had, ought not be punished.⁸¹ As contador mayor he appointed Joseph Pichon, a Jew of an extremely fine temper. Due to a petty communal quarrel, some members of the Jewish community accused him to the king and Joseph was obliged to pay 40,000 dobles to the king. But Joseph's enemies were still unsatisfied. When Henry died in 1379 and his son Juan I came to be crowned, the Jews went through the formality of a trial and found Joseph Pichon worthy of death. They came to Juan I and asked for his permission to execute "a mischief making Jew." Juan I, being concerned with the coronation hastily signed the death warrant and Joseph was put to death. When Juan I learned who had been executed he was greatly angered, the Rabbinical judge of the Juderia of Burgos was put to death and the Jews of Castile were deprived of jurisdiction over the lives of fellow Jews.

Castilian Jewry was in a state of spiritual degeneration.

The impoverished multitudes especially those in the rural districts, were shockingly ignorant. The grandees always intrigued against one another, living a life of luxury, idleness, and ostentation. The leaders of the communities unashamedly threw the burden of taxation upon the poor and scholarship was held in disrepute.⁸²

The Jews, not without sin, were now being attacked by the church with a tremendous barrage of adverse propaganda. For a century unfavorable legislation had been accumulating. An attempt at a compromise turned out to be most advantageous to the Jews. Giving the Church a somewhat freer scope meant that popular prejudice would be fanned. Despite the fact that the Cortes of Valladolid had, in 1385, obtained Juan's consent to an act eliminating Jews from government financial positions and from money-lending, the king declined to act upon the demand. He tried to show his friendship to the Jews by retaining them as tax-collectors and permitting them to continue their money-lending. This was hardly a favor, for it angered the populace and the nobles even more. The time was ripe for a catastrophe if there would appear a leader who might crystallize anti-Jewish enmity. The man to precipitate the catastrophe came just in time.

Ferrand Martinez, the archdeacon of Enja, was canon of the cathedral of Seville and judicial representative of the archbishop, Pedro Barroso. Though not a man of scholarship he had a very strong character and was highly regarded for his great piety and charity. But he was a fanatic and the

Jews were his constant target. His position gave him excellent opportunity to express his feelings. He denounced the Jews most savagely in his sermons and excited the feelings of the populace toward them. As ecclesiastical judge he overstepped his bounds, rendering all decisions to conform to his prejudice rather than to law and precedent. As a Church official he sent letters to all towns within the Seville diocese to expel all Jews. The powerful Aljama of Seville became alarmed and petitioned to Henry of Trastamasa, who for political reasons asked Ferrand to desist from his activities. Ferrand ignored the king, continuing to influence the passions of the masses and to exploit his judicial powers. When the Aljama procured bulls from the Holy See, Ferrand ignored them too. Complaints to Juan I brought forth a royal command to cease his activities in 1382. Another command was made in 1383. Ferrand was threatened with severe punishment but he didn't heed it. When, in 1388, he was brought before the City Council, he replied that this was the only way he could preach, that he was saying of the Jews what Jews and the prophets had said of them. In wanting to separate Christian and Jew he was but obeying the command of the archbishop for if he were to execute the law he would have to tear down all the twenty-three synagogues in the diocese of Seville because they were all illegally erected.⁸³

The dean and chapter became alarmed and appealed to the king to suppress the archdeacon but Juan said he would look into the matter and finally reported that the archdeacon was well meaning, merely somewhat overzealous. This encouraged Ferrand Martinez even more. He now became more inflammatory than ever. In his

enthusiasm he once made the statement in a sermon that the Pope had no power to license the erection of synagogues. This was no longer a Jewish issue; it involved the theological problem of papal authority. The opportunity was immediately seized of summoning him before an assembly of doctors and theologians. He also made the statement that the Pope could not grant dispensations to the clergy to marry and that he could not absolve from sin. The archbishop therefore, suspended him on August 2, 1389 as judge and preacher until after the trial. The suspension brought great relief to the Jews but their joy was short lived for Archbishop Barraso died, July 7, 1390, followed October 9, 1390 by Juan I.

The chapter must have secretly sympathized with Martinez, electing him one of the provisors of the diocese, which gave him more authority than ever and dropped the case. Juan's son was a child of eleven and required a regency. While the problem concerned politicians, Martinez went ahead with his activities. On December 8, 1390 he sent letters to the clergy of the various towns to tear down, within three hours, under pain of excommunication the synagogues and use the building materials for the repair of Churches. The orders were not universally carried out but enough damage was done. The aljama of Seville appealed to the regency, threatening to emigrate.

This time the regency realized that the matter was grave and therefore acted with force. On December 22 a statement was sent to the dean and chapter which was read at a special meeting, January 10, 1391. The statement held the chapter completely responsible for all of Ferrand's acts since they knew his

character before they selected him provisor and demanded payment for all past and future damages. The chapter was most submissive in its reply, accepting all the demands of the regency. All damages were to be compensated and Martinez was to lose his status, or be excommunicated. Ferrand's answer was a gem of self-confidence and fanaticism. He insisted that the secular sword...was in the hands of the king to coerce his lay subjects and defend the faith. The spiritual sword was in the hands of prelates, who were not subject to the royal jurisdiction; the royal letters had invaded the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and were invalid.⁸⁴ Nothing but Christ and the holy Catholic faith could stand in his way, since the judges were not his judges and therefore he needed no appeal. No official body in the world could force him to rebuild the synagogues of Satan, where thrice daily, Christ, the king, and all the Christian people were cursed. "Let Christ be my judge," he said, "I repent nothing."

The self-confidence of a fanatic who dared defy royal authority proved justified. We do not know what answer the regency gave to his defence but we can assume that it was not a very forceful one for we observe that from now on Martinez was unlicensed in his activities. The regency probably realized that Martinez had too much popular support to be suppressed. They therefore permitted things to drift. But there was no drifting for Martinez. He now became more active than ever. His preaching grew more and more violent and incendiary from day to day, while the Seville mob became progressively frenzied at the prospect of satisfying a zeal for the faith coupled with a passion for

pillage and plunder.

By March, the situation was most alarming, the Juderia being in constant danger of attack. The ruler of the province and the mayor of Seville decided to stem the tide. On March 15 they seized some of the most active members of the mob^b and began scourging two of them. Instead of forcing the mob into submission, it led to open opposition. The Guzman's (the ruler and the mayor) chose to escape with their lives and popular anger was directed against the Jews. Considerable bloodshed and plunder followed but order finally prevailed, when the forces of the local authorities and the nobles overawed the mob.

The agitators, however, were not sated. They realized that they must perfect their organization and make their movement a national one. They apparently realized that the state was either not strong or sincere enough to quell the movement.⁸⁵ The agitators, therefore, spread their activities to Cordova, Toledo, Burgos and other cities. Everywhere fanaticism and passion was aroused while the Council of Regency sent commands to all the large towns to attempt to avoid the catastrophe.⁸⁶

On April 15 a royal order was issued withdrawing any building permit within cross-bow-shot of the Juderia in Seville. This was a concession to the mob. The archdeacon grew more inflammatory than ever, insisting on a forcible conversion of all Jews. By June 9 the excitement was no longer controllable. The populace sacked the Juderia and left it desolate. Four thousand were slain and the remainder saved their lives through baptism. Two of the three synagogues became churches; the

third was left for whatever straggling Jews might return.

From Seville the pogroms spread. In Ecija and Carmona not a single Jew was left.⁸⁷ Cordova was next. The entire Juderia was burned down; factories and warehouses were destroyed and every person, regardless of age or sex was slain.⁸⁸ Toledo followed, on June 20, with a horrible butchery which left to some the choice of baptism. Other large Castillian cities in which the mob released its passions were Huete, Lagrouo, Carrion, Ocana, and Madrid and seventy other towns. The total number of victims in Castile is numbered at 50,000 and the baptisms at 200,000.

No effort was made to punish the guilty. Complete immunity was granted to the agitators. When Henry attained his majority in 1395 he inflicted upon Ferrand Martinez a trivial penalty which is not even recorded and the latter died in 1404 amidst glory, adoration, and extremely high praise for his piety and charity.⁸⁹ In 1396 Henry bestowed all the houses and the lands of the Jews of Seville to two of his favorites and immediately forbade the punishment of any individual involved in the murder and pillage. The same year and the previous one he had countenanced the order of the Archbishop of Toledo to dismantle three synagogues.⁹⁰ That the agitation was directed by the church from above and that it was not an exclusively religious crusade is made quite clear from the fact that the Church did not permit the marauders to harm the Moors, lest the Moslems retaliate on Christian captives in Africa and Granada.⁹¹

The king of Aragon was prepared for the possibility of an uprising. The Jewish communities of Aragon were also somewhat

organized for the emergency of an outbreak. As a result of the incidents subsequent to the Black Death, they decided to organize communally for mutual protection. The Synod, which met in 1354, appointed a Commission, to remain in power for five years, which was to attempt to gain certain privileges from the Pope.⁹² Although there were assaults, robberies, and murders in a number of places, the king held off a general massacre. In Valencia, which had a large Jewish population special preventive steps were taken. Gallows were erected in the streets and a guard made nightly rounds along the walls of the Juderia.⁹³ These precautions avoided the explosion but not for long.

On Sunday July 9, 1391 a crowd of boys with improvised crosses marched to the gates of the Juderia shouting, "Ferrand Martinez is arriving to baptize you."⁹⁴ By the time the gates were closed some of the boys were inside. Immediately a mob gathered and insisted upon releasing the boys but the frightened Jews would not open the gates. A rumor spread that the boys were being murdered and the attack began. The Juderia was sacked and several hundred Jews murdered before disorders were suppressed. About eighty arrests were made and an investigation next day led to the recovery of much of the plunder.⁹⁵

All this naturally led to more agitation. A belated celebration of the feast of St. Dominic took place on August 5 when the mob broke in upon the Jewish quarter of Barcelona but much of the slaughter was halted through the intervention of civic officials. Members of the mob who had come from Castile, aiding their brethren in Aragon in carrying out the good work, were arrested and condemned to death, but the mob broke into the

jail and freed the prisoners. All the remaining Jews were now in the fortress Castillo Nuevo which was besieged. Unsuccessful, the mob first destroyed the royal records in the hope of evading taxation. On August 8, the mob finally broke into the fortress and murdered all the rest of the Jews who would not baptize themselves, among these being the son of Haisdai Crescas.

A number of days before, the movement had spread to Palma, in Majorca, where hundreds were slain and the rest baptized. The Queen Violante levied a fine of 150,000 gold florins on the island. When the inhabitants protested she reduced the fine to 120,000 and swore by the life of her unborn child that she would have justice. The fine was paid and soon afterward she gave birth to a still-born infant.⁹⁶

It seems almost incredible that the outrages continued even after the crown was determined to protect the unfortunates, but apparently the passions of fanaticism, greed, and hatred could not be stilled by fiat. The basic passions involved in this mass movement are demonstrated in the observation that Castile and Aragon were completely separate and had very little in common, state and church organization being separated and non-cooperating. Yet, in the passion of hatred, boundary lines were completely ignored.

Yet if these facts are demonstrable of the strong passion which swept away the masses in 1391, even more remarkable is the fact that the feelings associated with the events did not change after the heat of the events had passed, that through the centuries, it was felt by Spaniards that the massacres of 1391

had been justifiable and necessary. Even in the nineteenth century, a cultured scholar like Villanueva, having supposedly the scientific perspective of an historian, characterized the massacres of 1391 as a guerra sacra contra los Judíos.⁹⁷

In a few places where local authorities were extremely determined to avoid uprisings such as Murviedro and Castellón de la Plana, they were able to do so, but such places were not many. By the report of so reliable a letter as that of Don Hasdai Crescas, to the community of Aragon, we learn that in the entire province of Valencia not a Jew was left except in Murviedro, while in the province of Catalonia no Jew survived except in the smaller minor towns which the mob did not reach.⁹⁸ He also reports that the Jewish community in the provinces of Aragon was extremely fortunate, for there were no outbreaks there due to the fact that the Jews bought the right of government protection at the sacrifice of their entire wealth.⁹⁹ At the time of writing, in the late fall of 1391 the Jewish community still feared the possibility of outbreaks, although the outbreaks had been over since early August.

The last towns to be attacked were the Catalan cities of Gerona and Lerida. The Jews of Gerona were attacked on August 10; most of them chose death. After three months, the bloody epidemic subsided. Except in Granada and Portugal hardly a single community was spared.¹⁰⁰ For the only time in Jewish history, perhaps, Jewish morale broke.¹⁰¹

It is appropriate to present here the estimate of a great Christian scholar on fifteen centuries of Jewish suffering.

"The vicissitudes endured by the Jewish race, from the period when Christianity became dominant, may well be a subject of pride to the Hebrew and of shame to the Christian. The annals of mankind afford no more brilliant instance of steadfastness under adversity, of unconquerable strength through centuries of hopeless oppression, of inexhaustible elasticity in recuperating from apparent destruction, and of conscientious adherence to a faith whose only portion in this life was contempt and suffering. Nor does the long record of human perversity present a more damning illustration of the facility with which the evil passions of man can justify themselves with the pretext of duty, than the manner in which the Church, assuming to represent Him who died to redeem mankind, deliberately planted the seeds of intolerance and persecution and assiduously cultivated the harvest of nearly fifteen hundred years. It was in vain that Jesus on the cross had said "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do;" it was in vain that St. Peter was recorded as urging, in excuse for the Crucifixion, 'And now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers'; the Church taught that, short of murder, no punishment, no suffering, no obloquy was too severe for the descendants of those who had refused to recognize the Messiah, and had treated him as a rebel against human and divine authority. Under the canon law the Jew was a being who had scarce the right to existence and could only enjoy it under conditions of virtual slavery. As recently as 1581, Gregory XIII declared that the guilt of the race in rejecting and crucifying Christ only grows deeper with successive

generations, entailing on its members perpetual servitude, and this authoritative assertion was embodied in an appendix to the Corpus Juris."¹⁰²

As true as the above words are and as fine a tribute as we have here we must confess that in 1391 the Jewish spirit disintegrated, for although we have observed roots and causes showing a growing spirit of enmity, the Jews of Spain were too near these circumstances to realize their significance until it was too late. They knew the glorious days of Pedro the Cruel during which they felt complete security and their confidence was once more renewed when they found their arch-enemy Henry of Trastamara ~~was~~ forced to befriend them because of their financial position. It was inevitable that they should consider themselves indispensable. They were aware of the Church opposition, the jealousy of the nobles and the prejudices of the masses but they had held these off for centuries. How could they then foresee the fact that within a decade they would topple from their position and become henceforth not only a hated but also a persecuted people? When the excesses of the First Crusade came upon the Jews of Germany they were somewhat prepared for the consequences; the Jews of Spain were not prepared for 1391.

The psychological effect of these massacres was heart-rending. Joy had departed from their lives. Like their brethren in Germany they now learned to ^{as}compare lamentations. They had lost their pride and their self-confidence. Cowed and meek they went about fearing the glance of a passing Catholic for in the psychotic phobia which gripped the Jewish in the period after 1391 every Catholic looked like a murderer. ~~and~~ ^{hustling} for Jewish

blood.¹⁰³

We may consider 1391 so definite a line of demarcation for the Jews of Spain as the First Crusade was for the Jews of Germany. It marks the end of the period of toleration during which the Iberian Peninsula served as a refuge for persecuted Jews throughout Europe. It marks the beginning of the persecution which inevitably led to the Inquisition and in time to the material and spiritual decadence of Spain.

The Massacres of 1391 served not only as a line of spiritual demarcation; by their very fact, they served to affect Spain materially. The physical effect of the destruction of so much Jewish property was bound to be felt by the country at large. Thousands of non-Jewish employees who had previously worked in Jewish yarn and leather factories, were now unemployed. Commerce received a set-back; the revenue of the crown suffered tremendously. The very churches which hitherto had depended on the Jews were now impoverished.

The last town attacked in the Massacres of 1391 was that of Lerida on August 13. Seventy-five Jews lost their lives and all the rest baptized themselves. These converted their synagogue into a church and continued to worship there as Maranos.¹⁰⁴ Here indeed is a very interesting coincidence of history for the Massacres were hardly over when the Maranos were born. One of the most serious losses sustained by the Jewish community as a result of the events of 1391 was the baptism of more than 200,000 ~~2,000,000~~ Jews. Most of these no doubt had baptized themselves to save their lives, and we can be sure that the vast majority

suffered bitterly the hypocrisy of being forced to enter within the fold of Christianity. Had it been at all possible, thousands would have thrown off their masks and returned to Judaism. Those who could, left the country, going to Portugal, Granada, or to North Africa, to rejoin fellow-Jews. The vast majority, however, had to remain in the country and practice their Judaism secretly. Of course, it could not long remain secret. The civil and religious authorities soon found it out and the masses showed their contempt for these Crypto-Jews by calling them "swine" or "accursed"--^RMaranos.¹⁰⁵

The Church had thus won its first great victory over the Jews. For centuries it had been striving through devious methods to get the Jews to accept Christianity. All sorts of inducements were made for converts, as we have already seen. Not only were converts put on a plane of social equality with Christians but they were privileged to preach and attempt to convert, unmolested, their Jewish brethren who had not yet seen the light.¹⁰⁶ Now the attitude had changed. The Church was jubilant over its great victory.¹⁰⁷ The old friendliness between Jew and Christian, was now fast disappearing. Fanaticism and intolerance were growing apace, developing with each generation, while men of God preached that mercy to the Jew was a sin against God.

Thus far the prejudice against the Jew had been purely religious. It was for this reason that many Jews, who had grown indifferent to their religion whether for opportunistic reasons or no, now viewed the entire scene as favoring them. Having been forced to accept baptism and feeling that it is just as easy, or

hard, to offer lip-service to Christianity, they broke definitely with the Jewish group, neglecting to practise Judaism even in secret. They felt that this was the only way to insure their wealth and social position and so in devout fashion they outwardly professed Christianity and disparaged Judaism though actually they were indifferent to both. This, too, is a type of Mar^rano.

There were others, who for one reason or another, (sometimes sincere, in other cases opportunistic) threw themselves quite enthusiastically into the requirements of their new milieu. The deed having been done, they made the most of it, arranging matrimonial alliances with the noble families, prospering in the high-offices of the state, church, universities, law-courts and other fields of professional activity. All this they could continue to do as long as the opposition of the masses remained a religious one--i.e., during the generation following the events of 1391. During this period, while the recently converted Jews (Mar^ranos as well as bonafide Christians) were establishing themselves in the highest Christian circles, the Church made a tremendous effort to finish the work it had begun, the conversion of all the Jews. A small segment had remained faithful to Judaism. If these could but be won over, the totalitarian state and the Kingdom of God will have been achieved.

While the massacres of 1391 had grown and spread largely because of disorder and the promise of pillage there was a religious element in them, the stipulation that baptism would atone for the perfidy of being a Jew and we do know that whenever there

was a willingness to embrace Christianity, the slaughter was at once suspended. It is for these reasons that Jews demanding baptism came in such droves that in all the churches, the holy chrism was exhausted and the priests didn't know where to get more, but each morning the crismera would be found miraculously filled so that the supply held out.¹⁰⁸ The terror of the massacres was so great that even Jewish communal and religious leaders accepted baptism. The good work seemed to go on by itself. The slaughter had been so relentless that very often entire communities, although not within the scene of massacre, would clamor to be admitted to the Church at the first anticipation of outbreaks.¹⁰⁹

The psychological effect having been created, the Church was determined to continue God's work although the coercive motivation of slaughter was no longer there. The central figure in the tempest of proselytism which followed was San Vincente Ferrer, a preacher whose oratory was so moving that the popular mind, unhistorically attributed the events of 1391 to him. In fact even Jewish sources seem to have recorded him as the cause of the Massacres of 1391. In the *Sefer Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir Ha Cohen, the Sephardi*, which is translated by C. H. F. Bialloblotzky, we find the following excerpts of sections 353 and 354:

"He was unto them a Satan (adversary) and stirred up against them all the inhabitants of the country, and they arose to swallow them up alive, and slew many with the edge of the sword, and many they burned with fire, and many they turned away with the power of the sword from the Lord, the God of Israel. And they

burned the books of the Law of our God, and trampled upon them as upon the mire in the streets; and the mother they dashed in pieces upon her children in the day of the Lord's wrath....And some of them killed their sons and daughters that they might not be defiled....Those who ^{were} ~~are~~ compelled to be baptized became numerous in the land of Sphard (Spain) and they put upon them a mark of distinction unto this day....And the Jews went out from that accursed country which the Lord had cursed....Also upon the Jews that were in Savoy did this grievous oppressor turn his line of desolation. And I have seen in the book Mischath Marehu how they hid themselves in the castles of Savoy in those evil days. And this Belial was in their sight a saint; and the Pope Calixtus wrote his memory among the saints and appointed feast-days unto his name, on the fifth day of the month of April. May God recompense him according to his deeds!"¹¹⁰

Although, as we have seen, he was present at Valencia when the Jewish community was trapped by a ruse¹¹¹ due credit for the Massacres of 1391 must, if individualized, be granted, unreservedly to Ferrand Martinez. San Vincente Ferrer apparently assisted, in a more or less minor role during the outbreaks but he does not come into his own until after the events of 1391. It was destined that he should continue the work so efficiently initiated by Ferrand Martinez.

Vincente Ferrer was a Dominican friar who was a very close friend of the antipope Benedict XIV¹¹² Pope Benedict (1394-1417) the Pope of Avignon had lost his position because of the efforts of the Church to eliminate the papal schism. Benedict was, there-

fore, forced to come to Spain, in 1408 to regain his status. The best technique of bringing this about was through taking an active role in the persecution of the Jews.¹¹³ His supporter, Ferrer, travelled from one end of Castile to the other, zealously urging the Jews to embrace Christianity, while holding the cross in one hand and the Torah in the other. Fanatic, honest and sincere, he was extremely successful. Together with a crowd of flagellants which followed him from town to town he went into Jewish quarters where he would preach in the streets and the synagogues. His impassioned sermons were very effective; his eloquence was unrivalled. In Toledo alone he is reputed to have converted 4000 Jews. Thousands assembled to drink in his words. It is said that his oratory was so persuasive that his Catalan was intelligible to Moor, Greek, German, Frenchman, Italian and Hungarian while "the virtue which flowed from him on these occasions healed the infirm and repeatedly restored the dead to life."¹¹⁴

Ferrer succeeded in having laws passed in Castile which humiliated the Jews and reduced them to abject poverty. (January, 1412) They were completely ghettoized. They were prohibited from practising medicine, surgery, chemistry, etc., dealing in bread, wine, flour, meat, etc., engaging in handicrafts or trades, act as money brokers or agents or fill any public offices. They had to wear the badge and could neither employ nor have any contact with Christians. Even their self-jurisdiction was taken away. Finally, they could not leave the country, anybody who sheltered them being heavily fined. These laws, in contrast to

previous legislation were very rigidly enforced, punishable by flagellation and heavy fines. Such laws, it was felt, would certainly compel Jews to convert themselves.

Ferrer's successful evangelism led him next to Aragon where his missionary zeal achieved remarkable success. It is estimated that this man may have converted 35,000 to Christianity.¹¹⁵

Ferrer was ably assisted by two conversos, Pablo de Santa Maria of Burgos, formerly Solomon Halevi and Geronimo de Santafe, formerly Joshua Halorqui. Rabbi Solomon Halevi had been a prominently successful rabbi in Burgos. He was a man of learning who up to his conversion was very much devoted to Judaism. Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet, great Jewish spirit of the time, praises him very highly in his writings.¹¹⁶ Although a very faithful Jew, he was also very ambitious, hoping to become the tax-collector or treasurer of the state. Through his wealth, he could contact Christians and royalty. As conditions became progressively worse, with the approach of 1391, Solomon came to the conclusion that one's life and ambitions are too cramped if one is to remain a Jew; he therefore converted himself.¹¹⁷ Immediately after converting himself he went to the University of Paris to study theology. With his excellent knowledge of Hebrew he made rapid progress, completed his studies, went to Avignon where he found favor with the Pope and high clergymen who hoped he could get other Jews to follow in his footsteps. He rose to the see of Cartagena and later became bishop of Burgos, where but a few years before he had been the rabbi. Extremely ambitious, he soon rose high in the state, becoming in a short time the

confidential advisor of Henry III of Castile. He was constantly scheming against the Jews but as long as Henry lived he could do little due to Henry's influential Jewish courtiers.

When Henry died, in 1406, the crown prince was but four years old and Paul, as tutor, became a member of the regency--a position which gave him the opportunity to shape the policy of the government. He is supposed to have brought about the death of Don Meir, court physician and chief rabbi of Seville. Ridiculed in a number of witty Hebrew tracts of the time, his antipathy to his former correligionists grew all the more. In 1412, under the influence of Vincente Ferrer, he succeeded in putting through the legal disabilities to the Jews which we have already discussed.¹¹⁸ Paul realized, however, that legal disabilities were not sufficient. He, therefore, tried to win over converts peacefully. His most successful convert was Joshua Halarqui, his student from former rabbinical days, who wrote to him seeking an explanation for his conversion. Pablo's reply, which is colorless and pointless, seems to have influenced Joshua for he became a very active convert.¹¹⁹ Joshua, was a great physician and Arabist. He was one of Vincente Ferrer's most zealous assistants, a super-salesman who gloried in mass baptism. He soon became the body-physician of Pepe Benedict XIII and convinced the latter of the dramatic value of public religious disputations. Fernando, who but a few years before was a co-regent with Paul Burginsis in Castile was now King of Aragon. The friendship of these men made plans for a gigantic disputation possible. This was the most remarkable disputation ever held. It took place at Tortosa from February 7,

1413 until November 12, 1414. Joshua Lorqui attempted to prove that according to the Talmud the Messiah had already arrived. He was opposed by twenty-two of the greatest scholars of Aragon and Catalonia headed by Don Vidal ben Beneveniste. Among the scholars was Joseph Albo who was inspired to write his *Sefer Or Penei* as a result of this disputation.

The Disputation was a very sad experience for the Jewish leaders. Times had changed since the days of Nachmanides. It was impossible now for a Jew to speak even half-frankly on the entire subject. Most of the time they had to assent to the Christian arguments, disagreeing meekly on points which involved fundamental Jewish doctrine. They were very much in the position of the citizens of a dictatorship who are entitled to the franchise provided they vote, "yes," to the dictator's policies.

For dramatic effect, Vincente Ferrer transferred his activities to the neighborhood and punctuated each argument given by Lorqui with the presentation of new converts to the assembly,--a fact which had a most depressing effect upon the Jews. It is said that some 3,000 Jews were converted in Aragon in 1414 alone.

The results of the Disputation were to be expected. Pope Benedict issued a Bull in 1415 forbidding the study of Talmud in Castile and Aragon. The other portions of the Bull corresponded to the laws issued against the Jews in Castile in 1412 and were placed on the statutes of Aragon by Fernando.

The year 1415 marks the end of a period. The Church had succeeded in bringing about all the necessary legislation against the Jews. The generation of active proselytization following 1391

was now over. The Church continued its activities, of course, but it was no longer an up-hill battle. The Church had achieved its desiderata. It now hoped to complete its task on the basis of existing legislation. All the world knows of course that by the end of the century, despite all advantages in its favor the Church conceded its failure. It declared its own bankruptcy as a missionizing institution by being forced to expel the Jews in 1492. It is a real tribute to the Jews of Spain that they were able to repel the influence of the Church even after the terrible catastrophe of 1391.

But in the meantime, the Church had a new problem--the conversas. In its myopic perspective the Church had thought that it could solve its problem through a totalitarian Christian state. What it did not realize was that once a large number of Jews convert themselves, the opposition to them, hitherto religious, would then become racial. This is precisely what happened. Although many had successfully assimilated themselves and found access to the highest circles, most of the Mar^ranos were looked down upon and despised. The very origin of the term, be it "swine" or "accursed" is indicative of the feeling toward them. By the middle of the fifteenth century public sentiment was much stronger against the Mar^ranos than against the Jews.

In 1449 the homes of the conversas of Toledo were sacked and destroyed by a mob just because the local tax-gatherers happened to be conversas. Thereafter there continued acts of violence and even legal disabilities against Mar^ranos.¹²⁰ The Maranos found themselves in a deplorable dilemma--scorned by Jews and detested by Christians. Soon the Church found out that thousands of conversas

were secretly practising Judaism.

Secret practice of Judaism was not a new phenomenon. Even in the days before the mass baptisms of 1391 the Church had found it necessary to persecute Jewish converts to Christianity. There seems to have been no such policy in Castile, probably because it was the state most independent of Rome,¹²¹ but in Aragon we do observe an effort on the part of the Church to establish some form of Inquisition. By the end of the thirteenth century the Aragonian Inquisition had already begun. By 1302 it already involved Jews while in 1311 the Inquisitor Juan Llotzer tried to act against the Jews of Barcelona and its vicinity. Sporadic cases of heresy continued.¹²² In the sixties of the fourteenth century, Eymerich was appointed as chief Inquisitor but we know from his lament over the difficulty "of providing for the expenses of an institution so necessary to the Church, (the Inquisition which he tried to push) it is evident that the kings of Aragon had not felt their duty to support the Holy Office, while the bishops, he tells us, were as firm as their brethren in other lands in evading the responsibility which by right was incumbent upon them. The confiscations, he adds, amounted to little or nothing, for heretics were poor folks....Occasional Fraticelli and Waldenses and renegade Jews and Saracens were all that rewarded the Inquisitor.....

In 1371 he had the gratification of silencing, by a decision of Gregory XI, a Franciscan, Pedro Bonageta. The exact relation between the physical matter of the consecrated host and the body of Christ under certain circumstances had long been

a source of disputation in the Church, and Fray Pedro taught that if it fell into the mud or other unclean place, or if it were gnawed by a mouse, the body of Christ flew to heaven and the wafer became simple; and so also when it was ground under the teeth of the recipient, before he swallowed it. Gregory did not venture to pronounce this heretical, but he forbade its public enunciation.¹²³

About the same time Eymerich had a good deal of trouble with Fray Ramonde Tarroza, a Jew turned Dominican, whose numerous philosophical writings savored of heresy. After he had been kept in prison for a couple of years, Gregory ordered him to have a speedy trial, and threatened Eymerich with punishment for contumacy if his commands were disobeyed. Ramon must have had powerful friends in the Order whom Eymerich feared to provoke, for six months later Gregory wrote again, saying that if Ramon could not be punished according to the law in Aragon, he must be sent to the papal court under good guard with all the papers of the process duly sealed. In fact, the Inquisition was not established for the trial of Dominicans. At the same time another Jew, Astruchio de Piera, held by Eymerich on an accusation of sorcery and the invocation of demons, was claimed as justiciable by the civil power, and was sequestered until Gregory ordered his delivery to the inquisitor, who forced him to abjure, and imprisoned him for life.¹²⁴

The cases cited are, of course, sporadic examples. It was not until after the forced baptisms of 1391 that the problem became serious. It was the seriousness of this problem, not acted upon

very energetically by their predecessors, that led Ferdinand and Isabella, in January 1481, to the definite establishment of the Inquisition. Here, too, was a sign of defeat, for with the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain the Church confessed, at least by implication, that it could not hold even those who already had partaken of the benefits of the baptismal font.

CHAPTER II

POLEMICAL BACKGROUND

A mere reference to Medieval Jewish History brings to mind the ever present problem of Jewish-Christian relations. The entire chronicle of Jewish events during the Middle Ages is a record of Jewish persecutions alleviated by periods of respite. From the mass of events one generalization may be hazarded, namely, that Jewish persecution increased with the growth and strengthening of the power of the Church. We have already seen¹ how by the logic of circumstances Jews and Christians should have remained friendly to one another and how, during the early period of the Church, they lived together in cooperative fashion. We have also seen how the Church, looked at this fact most disapprovingly and how it continually sponsored anti-Jewish hatred for both sincere and strategic reasons.

It is clear, of course, that during the first few centuries of its existence the Church was so near its mother religion that it could not possibly oppose it in official terms. In time, however, as the daughter religion became completely emancipated of its parental bonds, it dared express itself officially. We observe the beginnings in the third and fourth centuries when a number of Jews became apostates and were subjected to great criticism and abuse at the hands of former Jewish correligionists.

The decree of Constantine in 315, decreeing the death penalty to all who attack apostates physically, indicates that their number must have been greater than usual. This is understandable inasmuch as the Synagogue did not welcome proselytes while the Church was ready to make all sorts of concessions to win them over. ?

These converts often did much damage to their former fellow-Jews. No zeal or passion is greater than that of the recent convert. We learn, for instance, that in 336 Constantine had to issue a decree attempting to pacify both Jews and Christians. It prohibited converts from insulting Judaism, disturbing Jewish worship, and destroying Synagogues. The Jews, on the other hand, had to restrain their activities toward Christian converts.² This apparently did not limit the authority of the Jewish community to excommunicate erring brethren who felt attracted to Christianity,³ although Constantine had previously, in 319 decreed death by burning for Jews if they stone "a convert to the worship of God."⁴

After the end of the fourth century, the Church started its active campaign throughout Europe to win over Jewish converts through legal limitations and disabilities. For a number of centuries the Church had tried to win over Jews on the basis of what Christianity offered. A number of Jews did accept the offer since it meant the lightening of the "burden of the Law" but the vast majority of Jewry chose to continue assuming the "burden."

This was most disappointing for it implied that the Church, despite its lucrative offer of a lighter burden, lacked something

which Judaism already had. The natural reaction of the Church was that of resentment and as it grew more powerful that resentment grew into the desire to win the Jew over by unfair means , if necessary. Of course, the unfairness of Church tactics was glossed over or sublimated through the application of the theological dogma of salvation which made it a holy duty to win over the Jew regardless of the means. The first method that the Church attempted was that of legal and economic pressure. If the Jews, of themselves, could not see that Christianity was preferable then it would be necessary to impose so many legal and economic restrictions upon them that they might, through economic pressure, see religious light.

The Christianization of Europe may be said to have begun with Constantine. As the state became more and more Christian it was natural that legislation would favor the Church and assume an anti-Jewish character. It was the Church's intent to create a social cleavage between Jew and Christian--a division in which the Jew would be subjected to a relationship of inferiority. In order to follow this philosophy through it was necessary to enforce all types of disabilities throughout the Middle Ages. Since it seemed hateful for Jews to give orders to Christians it was decided at the beginning of the fifth century that Jews could not hold public office. Their own judicial autonomy was reduced. To meet the possible menace of the spread of Judaism at the expense of Christianity, it was decreed that no new synagogues could be built, conversion to Judaism, the ownership of Christian slaves, and intermarriage were forbidden. The social breach

between Jew and Gentile was widened as much as possible, i.e., Jews and heretics could not testify against Christians, while conversion to Christianity was zealously encouraged, i.e., Jews could not disinherit, even in part, converted children.⁵

In time the Jew came to be considered as a perpetual alien, wherever he lived. He had none of the privileges of the native excepting those specifically granted by nobles or king. As the king's chattel, the Jew could be pawned for political and financial favors. If legislation favored the Jew, it was usually because the powers that were, benefited from such good-will. As soon as the Jew lost his usefulness to the particular ruler or rulers he was cast away like a squeezed orange. Thus, the Jews, through their activities, had made the rise of trade, municipal corporations, and trade-guilds possible. Once these were established, however, the usefulness of the Jew was dispensed with and he was forbidden to enter the very trades which he had helped build up. The Crusades intensified conditions, further, by weakening the kings and nobles, the only protectors the Jews had had.

The number of Jewish converts to Christianity had always been negligible. Of these few, the greater number were not individuals who had as a result of logical ratiocination accepted the new faith, but rather small groups of Jews who had baptized themselves because of the fear of mob violence. It may be for this reason that the Church did not always discourage the raving mad mobs, during the Crusades, from attacking the Jews. But whatever the facts or motives may have been, the results were

certainly most disappointing to the Church. The horrors of the Crusade atrocities have, perhaps, never been equalled in "human" history. Certainly if mob violence was necessary to win the Jews over, the Crusades should have been most effective, yet it is at that time that the Jews showed their greatest strength.

The Church had trained them through many centuries of discipline to bear insults and sufferings for their faith; now they were ready to make the supreme sacrifice. The Church was extremely disappointed. It had originally resorted to anti-Jewish legislation as a matter of self-defense. Having succeeded in holding its own Christians and in restricting conversions to Judaism, it felt that the task would soon be complete, but to its keen disappointment, it discovered that while the Church had been strengthening itself temporally the Jew had been strengthening himself inwardly, so that even the threat of mob-violence could no longer move him.

The Church could not, of course, admit defeat. A liberal policy toward the Jew, in the opinion of the Church, would be a concession of defeat. The Jew had not been scared into submission. There seemed only one course open--to force him into defeat. A more intensive anti-Jewish policy followed. Old laws were resurrected, disabilities were increased and made more rigid. The badge was rigidly enforced and the Jew was being pressed economically more and more. Economic conditions were gradually limiting him to money-lending. They were "led to these pursuits by the force of circumstances, by exclusive laws, and by the express desire of kings and peoples. The Jews were constrained to adopt these modes of obtaining a livelihood by the

irresistable material and moral forces opposed to them."⁶

At the same time, strenuous efforts were made to win over converts. Various types of laws were enacted protecting the new convert from the attack of Jews, and other laws were decreed making the acceptance of Christianity as lucrative as possible. Apostates were treated most gently. A number of opportunists availed themselves of the privilege. Some were quite well learned. They knew the Jewish milieu whence they had come and realized that the Jew could not be won over through physical and economic pressure alone. It was necessary to strike at the Jew's inner life, to knock down the props of his faith, to demonstrate to him that Christianity is the superior religion and to discourage his learning. If all these should fail the Church could then exert its force and forbid Jewish learning on the ground that it is anti-Christian. Though the Jew has survived physical oppression, he certainly would not be able to withstand the logic of Christian polemics. It is true that the Jew had been subjected to Christian polemics for many centuries but now they become more intense and were made much more dangerous by the dramatic spectacle of disputations. The germs of these are to be found in pre-Crusade days but they did not carry with them the views and fanaticism which they connote until after the Crusades.

We shall view Christian polemics first, inasmuch as they represent practically the only type of Christian opinion of the Jew.⁷ From the writers of the New Testament who set out to demonstrate that Jesus was the expected Messiah until modern times, Christianity's comments upon Judaism have been primarily of a polemical and missionary nature. The earliest polemic we

know of is a discussion between a Jewish-Christian, Jason and an Alexandrian Jew called Papiscus, probably written shortly after the Hadrian revolt. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with the Jew, Trypho is a famous early apologetic work. All the early Christian works of this nature seem to be more apologetic than polemic. The Jewish view is presented in as weak a manner as possible so that it might be answered without difficulty and give the protagonist for Christianity an opportunity to present as good a case for his faith as possible. It is clear that these are not actual records of discussions; they are literary devices written not to convert Jews but to strengthen wavering Christians in their beliefs.⁸

During the first few centuries Christianity could not concern itself with attacks on the mother-religion. It found it necessary to devote its energies toward the repair of its own fences. Judaism was attacking Christians and potential-Christians; it was, therefore, necessary to concentrate on works of apology. The Church knew also that when it came to matters of disputations pertaining to proofs from scriptures, the Jews were their masters. Jerome, in the preface to his commentary to Psalms says that it was considered a great undertaking to enter into polemics with the Jews--a statement which implies that Jews were frequent victors of these polemics.⁹ The Christians did wisely in shunning this type of discussion but in limiting themselves to apologetic works. However, as the Church became definitely established and more powerful, Christians defiantly attacked Judaism. During most of this time, Jews were forced to defend Judaism but they chose not to become vituperative toward Christianity. Apologetics

and polemics had really begun with the diaspora. They were more or less inevitable wherever Jewry found itself subordinated or in a minority. Jews tried to avoid polemics as long as possible but in time they were dragged into the unavoidable discussions.¹⁰ They could not stomach the idea of the trinity, the immaculate conception and other Christian theological dogmas but their attitude toward Christianity was always one of high respect.

Halevi and Maimonides considered Christianity as a preparatory step toward the Messianic age. Rashi and many other commentators respected Christians as 'Gere Toshav' ("Proselytes of the Gate").¹¹ Christianity never held such a view toward Judaism. No sooner did it recover from the shock of Moslem conquests in Europe, than it expressed its contempt and hatred for Judaism.¹² However, it was not enough for Christian polemicists to assert their interpretation of the Old Testament. They had to demonstrate it--a problem which required a thorough knowledge of Jewish literature. They had to show how their particular interpretation, although rejected by Jewish contemporaries, was upheld by the Targum, the Talmud, the Midrash, and by more recent Jewish exegetes.¹³ This required an assiduous knowledge of Jewish literature. In this work Jewish apostates proved of very great help. They brought their knowledge over to the Christian camp and through their polemics convinced both (suspecting) sides of their sincerity. The first polemic of this sort that is preserved is that of Petres Alphonsi (d 1110). His work is in the form of dialogues which give a mental autobiography of how, through theological speculation, Moses Sephardi becomes

Petrus Alphonsi.¹⁴

In the thirteenth century, converts become more numerous. The Dominicans, with the support of Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) set out to win over as many converts as possible. Raymond de Pennafort (died January, 1275), the general of the order, felt that conviction rather than persecution would win non-believers over to Christianity. He, therefore, established a college in which the more promising members of the order studied Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Moslem, and Jewish literature to prepare themselves for active missionizing.

De Pennafort's best student was Raimundus Martini whose Pugio Fidei is the outstanding Christian anti-Jewish polemic. To whatever uses the book may have been put, it must be conceded that it is a scholarly masterpiece. It is divided into three parts, the first dealing with philosophy, chiefly the Arab Aristotelians and the second and third with the Jews. The second part tries to prove that the Messiah has already arrived, anticipating contrary Jewish arguments. The third part deals with three problems, the Trinity, the Fall of Man, and the Rejection of Israel. Martini meets Judaism on the basis of Jewish sources, quoting extensively from Jewish authorities. He quotes from the various Targumim, both Talmudim, the Seder Olam, the various parts of Midrash Rabba, the Midrash on Psalms, the Mechilta and others. He refers to many commentaries especially those of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Redak and his own contemporary, Nachmanides. He cites the "Moreh Nevuchim" of Maimonides quite frequently.¹⁵ Some of the works from which he quotes are not completely extant, namely a Bereshit Rabbah attributed to Rabbi Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne (Middle

of the eleventh century) and the Yosifan. The "Pugio Fidei" may well be called a monumental task for all the literature which followed was dependent upon it. "Victoria" by Parchetus de Salvatims, completed in 1303 and published in 1520 was to a large extent excerpted from the "Pugio" as were similar works used up to modern times.

Although the polemicist always feels that he has given the better argument, the Church found that its polemics, too, were not as effective as they might be. Before the Crusades the Jews had demonstrated their superiority over the Christians in scriptural knowledge, as evidenced in their discussions. In the centuries that followed the work of Raymond Martin and the Jewish apostates was of some help but apparently of little practical effect, i.e., conversion of Jews.

The Church began to wonder whether a theological presentation was very effective. They realized that persecution alone was not enough. They knew that it was necessary to break down the spiritual life of the Jew. They could now see clearly that polemics alone would not do it. It would be necessary to add the power and pressure of the Church behind the polemics.¹⁶ The most effective means would be the use of the Public Disputation. It would be dramatic; it would have an official sanction being held under the auspices of both the Church and the State; and it would place the Jewish disputant because of his immediate audience under a very difficult handicap. Furthermore, the Christian would now have not only the psychological advantage but he would not have to prove as much. If the Christian should find it

difficult to prove the superiority of Christianity, he could change his tactics. He need but prove, to the satisfaction of his Christian audience, that Jewish works are anti-Christian and therefore ought to be destroyed. If he could destroy Jewish education and stifle Jewish learning the Jew's spiritual life would be bankrupt and conversion would follow as a matter of course. Theoretically, it certainly seemed as if the disputation would achieve its aim for the Church. Fortunately, results were not as satisfactory as prospects indicated. The Church had not reckoned with the fact that the Jew has a remarkable faculty of adjustment.

Turning back, we find that the Jew has a tremendous literature of polemics and apologetics. In looking over the literature, we discover that it becomes more serious and heated as we progress chronologically. This is quite understandable. The Jews had little to gain from polemics or apologetics. They resorted to them only in order to answer Christian attacks.¹⁷ As the attacks became more virulent Jewish apologetics and polemics had to become more forceful.

The first significant polemical work of the Christian period is The Book of Twenty Tractates of David Al-Mukamis, written toward the end of the ninth century. The work is a defence of monotheism and the unity of God as against the concept of the trinity.¹⁸ The first systematic work of Jewish Theology, the Emunoth we-Deoth was motivated to a large extent by polemical needs. Saadia, not only defends monotheism but also refutes the claim of Christianity and Islam that the Law is no longer binding. Halevi's

Kuzari was also written originally for apologetical reasons, being directed to a large extent against Islam. He refutes the famous argument that the low state of the Jews demonstrates that God has forsaken them, by pointing to the fact that all three major religions refer to poverty and humility as being nearer to God than prosperity and power.¹⁹ Halevi attacks both Mohammedanism and Christianity as for their idolatry. Maimonides in his Iggeret Teman deals with the problem of whether the Messiah has yet arrived, alluding, however, not to Jesus or Mohammed but to a contemporary false Messiah.²⁰

We have observed thus far a number of significant works which include polemical portions. In his Milhmot Adonai,^{the} twelfth century Karaite, Jacob ben Reuben tries to show from the Christian as well as the Jewish Scriptures that the Messiah had not yet arrived.²¹ With the end of the twelfth century we notice a distinctive polemical literature consisting of works devoted exclusively to polemics. The center of interests shifts to the West. The works are therefore written in Hebrew and directed primarily against Christianity. The first of the new works is Joseph Kimhi's Sepher ha-Berith, written in the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian in which all issues are settled on the basis of Biblical exegesis. This significant book was used as a basis by all succeeding polemicists.

Rabbi Yehiel of Paris is the author of a book called Vikkuah which records the disputation held in 1240 in the presence of the king and queen of France and high officials of the Church. The disputants were an apostate, Nicholas Dunia, on one side with

Rabbi Yehiel of Paris and three other rabbis on the other. Two main charges were leveled against the Talmud--that it is anti-Christian and that it contains many irrational statements. The rabbis pointed out that the seemingly anti-Christian references in the Talmud refer to a Jesus who lived a century and a half before the founder of Christianity. The irrational statements belong to the Aggadah and are, therefore, not necessarily binding.²²

Another very significant Vikkuah is that of Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides) which records the disputation with the convert Pablo Christiano at Barcelona in 1263. The disputation called by king Jayme I, was held before dignitaries of Church and state and dealt with two associated problems--Has the Messiah arrived? Is he human or divine? The opinions of Nachmanides on the Messiah arguments served as basic arguments for succeeding polemicists.

A short work called Maase Yeshu or Toldoth Yeshu may be said to belong to the thirteenth century although it has elements that go back a number of centuries. It is a ridiculous concoction of legends and tales about Jesus as he was known by the masses who were ignorant of the gospel stories. This short pamphlet served as a sort of ^{psychological} release for the mass of Jewry who could not retaliate against Christianity in any other way.

We have seen the medieval background which produced polemics and disputations. We have seen how the Church, at first friendly, gradually distanced itself as it grew in power, imposing with the aid of the state, disabilities and limitations on the Jew. We have observed the strenuous efforts to win over converts and the

disillusionment of the Church at its own failure and the resulting intensification of polemics and disputations in the thirteenth century and coming to a culmination at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries.

The same story may be told of Spain. We have seen in the first chapter the gradual growth of Church power and the concomitant anti-Jewish policy. We have observed a passion for gaining converts pursued to a greater extreme than anywhere else. (There had been constant legislation for keeping recent converts from moving from their particular neighborhood.) Disputations became a matter of common occurrence. From time to time the king of Aragon would proclaim a disputation to take place in his Court to which the Jews would be expected to send worthy representatives.²³

Two significant disputations were held in 1375. A public disputation which is recorded in Ezer HaEmunah by Moses Cohen de Tardesillas took place in Burgos and Avilla between the author and the apostates John of Valladolid and Abner of Burgos.²⁴ The latter had written a strong anti-Jewish work entitled nmn

nsip.²⁵ About the same time another disputation was taking place at Pampeluna between Shem-Tob ben Isaac Shaprut of Tudela and Cardinal Don Pedro de Luna, afterward Pope Benedict XIII.²⁶ This disputation has been recorded by Shem Tob in Eben Bohan.²⁷

Sixteen years later all of Spain was swept into a mass hysteria which produced the massacres of 1391. In 1413 there was held at Tortosa at the summons of Pope Benedict XIII, who in 1375 had taken part in the disputation with Shem Tob, the most remarkable disputation of Jewish history. A whole generation

had passed since the events of 1391. It had indeed been a very sad generation. The morale of Jewry had been broken. The death of 50,000 and the conversion of four times that number had left the Jewish population most feeble. Resolutely, the surviving leaders determined to build Jewish life anew. Not only must the entire Jewish community reorganize itself but it must be ready to meet the challenge of tremendous campaign that the Church had initiated to win over those Jews who had survived the onslaught of 1391.

It was indeed a perplexing generation. It seemed as if all of Spanish Jewish life would be swept away by the effect of the events of 1391. It seemed that the world had turned topsy-turvy. Joshua Lorqui, ^{one of the} most brilliant among the Jews of his day, wrote a letter to Paul Burgenses desiring to know the cause of his conversion.²⁸ Paul's answer was weak and unconvincing. Joshua's epistle was a masterpiece of veiled irony which strikes at the selfish causes which motivated Paul's conversion to Christianity.²⁹ He follows this up with a critique of the concept of Jesus as Messiah. Certainly here was a man whose pen might serve to comfort and support the faith of the Jews.³⁰ But it was not destined to be so. This same Joshua sometime afterward became Paul's most zealous disciple. Assuming the name of Geronimo de Santa Fe, after his conversion, he became the body physician of Pope Benedict XIII and devoted himself most enthusiastically to the conversion of Jews to Christianity.³¹ It was he who convinced the Pope in 1413 to stage at Tortosa the most dramatic disputation ever enacted. These were indeed sad days for Judaism.

The problem of holding fellow Jews to the fold concerned Hasdai Crescas, the acknowledged head of Spanish Jewry, keenly. If only it could be demonstrated that the premises upon which Christianity had built its case, (were false, then perhaps the drift to apostasy might be checked. It was this thought that permeated Crescas when he asked Maestro Profiat Duran to write a new type of polemic--not one that would attack Christianity as an illegitimate child of the Old Testament--that had been done now for many years. A new polemic was necessary, one that would analyze the sources of Christian claims in the New Testament and demonstrate the falseness of the Christian interpretation of their own scriptures.

CHAPTER III

DURAN - THE MAN AND HIS WORKS

Maestro Profiat Duran, with whose work we now concern ourselves, is relatively unknown to us. We hear nothing of him until 1391 nor after 1403 (and perhaps 1409).¹ During this short period we have but a few stray references on the basis of which we must reconstruct the story of his life.

Although we know little of Duran's life, we find him listed under a number of different names:

Maestro Profiat Duran or Don Profiat Duran

מאסטרו פרופייט דוראן or דון פרופייט דוראן

Maestro Profiat Duran Halevi

מאסטרו פרופייט דוראן הלוי

(Rabbi) Isaac ben Moses

(רבי) יצחק בן משה

(Rabbi) Isaac ben Moses Halevi

(רבי) יצחק בן משה הלוי

(Rabbi) Isaac ben Moses de la Guna³

(רבי) יצחק בן משה מלגונה

(Rabbi) Isaac ben Mose de Melqueil⁴

(רבי) יצחק בן משה מלנויר

(Rabbi) Isaac ben Moses, called Profiat Duran

(רבי) יצחק בן משה המכונה פרופייט דוראן

Ephod, Ephodi, Ephodaeus

אפוד, אפודי, אפודאוס

(Profiat) Duran, Isaac ben Moses, called Ephodi

(פרופייט) דוראן, יצחק בן משה, המכונה אפודי

Duran's Hebrew name appears rarely. We know his Hebrew name to have been Isaac ben Moses (Halevi) from his song which appears at the end of Chapter 23 of his astronomical work Hesheb Haephod חשב האפוד.⁶ Our writer's provincial name, Profiat

Duran, also called אפוד as a possible abbreviation of אפודי פרומ"ם דוראן , or אפר פרומ"ם דוראן or אפודי פרומ"ם דוראן most likely the last, appear much more frequently than his Hebrew name.⁷ De Rossi, although he had an extensive collection of Hebrew manuscripts which included many of Duran's manuscripts which have the signature of אפר , feels that Duran was given the name of Efodi as a result of his book אפר --referring probably to the grammar. He seems to imply that the name was given to Duran rather than that he himself chose it.⁸ At the end of his introduction to his astronomical work, Hesheb Haephod חשב האפר , however, Duran explains that he assumed the abbreviation אפ as a result of the persecutions of 1391. ואני מיום שפך השם על גלות ירושלים אשר בספר כמים עברו זה שמו לעולם באפר תמורתו⁹ while Duran closes his Elegy (1394 with the words: אחיך הלו' שחלקל שירו זה שמו לעולם וזה זכרו. אפר.

It may well be that he assumed the pseudonym of his provincial name's abbreviation so that he would not be recognized as a Jew by the authorities, after he was obliged to convert himself outwardly.¹¹

There is reason to believe that the pseudonym was quite effective if that was its purpose. Whatever the causes may have been, Duran has gone down in history with that surname.¹²

Friedlander and Kohn conjecture¹³ that Duran may have assumed the pseudonym אפר because of the talmudical statement¹⁴ that the ephod worn by the High Priest excuses the sin of idolatry . It is interesting to note that אפר מכפר על עבודה זרה . Duran uses this very phrase in his Elegy for the poet Don Abraham Isaac Halevi of Gerona, in 1394.¹⁵ Neubauer and Renan in their

"Les Ecrivains Juifs Francais" cast doubt on this theory--putting more trust in the theory that he assumed this convenient Biblical pseudonym to avoid the suspicion that he was secretly practising Judaism.

Zunz,¹⁶ referring to the name found as מִי־שָׁרָן פְּרוֹפִיָּה מְלֻנֶּה in the manuscript of the Divan of Soloman Bonfeld, interprets that as another name but seems to be frankly confused as are all other scholars. It has been suggested that מְלֻנֶּה is a scribal corruption of מֵאֲרָגוֹן, pointing to Duran's origin as being from Aragon.¹⁷ In connection with this point Renan-Neubauer disagree, accepting Dukes' reading of the word as מְלֻנֶּה --implying that Duran came from Melegueil.¹⁸ Gross does not seem to be so positive. He feels that Duran came from מְלֻנֶּה on the basis of the statement in the Divan of Solomon ben Reuben Bonfed which says לַחֲכָם הַבּוֹלֵל קְרוֹנִי מֵאֲשֵׁם פְּרוֹפִיָּה מְלֻנֶּה נֶעַל הָאֶפֶר עָבְרוּ יָמִים וְאֵל רֵאִתִּי Gross definitely identifies Maestro Profiat (מֵאֲשֵׁם פְּרוֹפִיָּה מְלֻנֶּה) with Duran.¹⁹ Gross, however, points out that Duran is also to be associated with Perpignan²⁰ pointing to the copyists' statement in the Bodleian Manuscript No. 2155 Khitmat Ha Goyim which attributes it to • מֵאֲשֵׁרָן פְּרוֹפִיָּה מְלֻנֶּה

Returning to the various names we find that פְּרוֹפִיָּה, with the possible variations of פְּרוֹפִיָּה and פְּרוֹפִיָּה is also rendered by the copyists פְּרוֹפִיָּה, פְּרוֹפִיָּה, פְּרוֹפִיָּה, and פְּרוֹפִיָּה with or without the addition of וֵי. ²¹ The transcriptions, of course, follow these variants and are Periphot, Prifoth, Periphet, Parfait, Pourphet, Prophiat, Prophet, Propheta, and others.²² In western France the epithet, נָבִי or prophet has been given to many

rabbis but not as a proper name.²³ Most scholars seem to be agreed on פרופ"ם, although we do find the name פרופ"אם as written by Munk. The Latin Profiatiles came from פרופיאנ while פרופ"ג is to be transcribed as Profegue (in French).²⁴

We have already mentioned the Renan-Neubauer speculations as to Duran's place of birth as being in Catalonia, probably Perpignan but with the possibility of Melqueil. M. Kayserling says²⁵ that he was "born in the second half of the fourteenth century, of parents from the south of France. It is not known whether he was born at Perpignan, where he lived for some years, or in a town of Catalonia." Paznovsky suggests that his origin may have been in Provence but that he himself must surely have been born in Catalonia. He refers to a manuscript of ספר

ספר כל"מ הנו"ם which says: ספר פרופ"ם ספר פרופ"אם

On the significance of ספר פרופ"אם he speculates that it may be, as Steinschneider thinks, a corruption of פרופ"ם or it may allude to the fact that Duran did tarry somewhat in Perpignan planning to go from there by boat to Palestine, as Nahmanides did.²⁷

Due to the fact that we know so little of Duran's life every stray reference has been used to build up a theory as to his origin or a possible center of his activities sometime during his life time. In the Vienna manuscript of ספר כל"מ הנו"ם at the beginning of the second chapter which deals with the problem of the trinity, Duran writes:

שמו"ה נזמן הכתוב בה"ח' ב"ש"ב רבנ"ה באשכנז

On the basis of these words much ink has been spilt trying to demonstrate that Duran apparently spent his youth studying

Talmud in Germany. However, the fact that Duran was not particularly interested in Talmudical learning, if his writings are to be judged as criteria, has given the scholars some cause for concern. Kayserling²⁸ reconciles the difficulty by stating that "In his youth he (Duran) attended a Talmudic school in Germany for a short time, but instead of confining his studies to the Talmud, he took philosophy and other sciences also, inspite of the interdiction of his teachers." Jacobs²⁹ merely states that he belongs in Aragon (La Guna) but that he was also at certain times in Provence, Perpignan, and Germany.

Renan-Neubauer build quite a fantastic theory of Duran's mental biography. They refer to his study of Talmud in Germany and point out that Duran was opposed to the Talmudical studies, perhaps because he observed the false dialectical methods used in Germany.³⁰ On the basis of Duran's praise for Halevi and Maimonides, at the end of the introduction to the *ḥasidim*,³¹ Renan-Neubauer assume that Duran had early vowed himself to non-Talmudical studies after reading the Cuzari and the More Nebuchim. He felt, Renan-Neubauer continue, that if these studies (philosophy) were error he had chosen them of his own free will against the will of his teachers. He, therefore, occupied himself with philosophy, astronomy, and medicine and it seems that he was not partial to astrology.³²

It may be that Duran's interests in philosophy and the sciences met with opposition on the part of his teachers but the scene was not as dramatic as Renan-Neubauer would portray, for in all likelihood Duran was never in Germany. The words

which are the basis for the opinion that Duran studied Talmud in Germany in his youth were miscopied as Poznansky has shown quite clearly.³³ In stead of שמעת' בזמן החרות בהיות' נישבת רבות' באשכנז

the second chapter should begin, as it does in a number of manuscripts: שמעת' --a

simple change which clarifies the entire problem. Thus we learn that Duran did not spend his youth studying Talmud in Germany but that in his youth he heard the point he wishes to make from a German Talmudist who had apparently come to Spain to study.

While Zunz³⁴ and De Rossi³⁵ assign Duran to Aragon, Graetz seems to be quite sure that Duran was in Catalonia--certainly during the events of 1391. He points to two editions of Al Thi Kaabotecha which tell in the introduction concerning Duran and his friend David. One version says they were in Catalonia while the other says they were in Aragon. Graetz disregards the Aragon version because the Epistle of Hasdai Crescas and the introduction to the Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim point out that the massacres of 1391 spread to Catalonia but that the Jews of Aragon bought off their freedom. Besides, Duran says himself in his Introduction to Maase Efod that the Jews of Aragon saved themselves from the onslaught because of their great piety and religiosity ומ' יודע אם לא הצלת קהלת ארנון אשר הם העקר שומלים כולות ספרד היתה לרוב שקידתם על החפילה ולקום בלילה אשמורות.³⁶

This would tend to prove that Duran was a Catalanian. In his Elegy (1394) Duran refers to persecutions in Castille and Catalonia but says no word about Aragon. Since he had to convert himself the implication is that he was either in Castile or Catalonia.

Since there is absolutely no evidence that he was ever in Castile, it seems quite definite that he must have been in Catalonia. This opinion is confirmed by the most recent scholarly history of the Jews.³⁷

Excepting the single item to the effect that Duran was a tutor in the Crescas family³⁸ we have no more information concerning Duran until the events of 1391. We do not know when Duran was born but we can assume with Friedlander and Kohn³⁹ that it must have been near the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century. We make this assumption on the basis of two statements. Sepher Klimat Ha Goyim which was written in 1397 or thereabouts, ~~he~~ refers to "the period of his youth" in a manner that would suggest that he was at least in his forties.⁴⁰

At the end of his epistle Al Thi Kaabotecha which was written before Klimath Ha Goyim he refers to opinions he has held for twenty years.⁴¹ ואשר אאמ'ונו עתה הוא אשר האמנתי'ן זה ל' עשרים שנה

It is obvious that a young man could not have made this statement.

We come now to the events of 1391. Duran, wherever he may have been at the time, had to convert himself to save his life. The conversion probably took place under pressure but as the danger passed and Duran found himself forced by the laws of the land to remain a Christian he was filled with great remorse. He felt himself a Jew and the simple ceremony of baptism could not alter his feeling. In order to outwit the Christians he adopted the pseudonym יבס or Ephodi so that he could retain a Christian front while keeping contact with his fellow-Jews. But his soul was still not satisfied with this arrangement for when he wrote

his Elegy to the memory of the Jewish poet, Don Abraham Isaac Halevi of Gerona he signed himself as אהרן הלוי שוהקלסל ש"ר . He finally became most dissatisfied with the duplicity of staying in Spain and resolved to emigrate to Palestine where he could freely practise the religion which he had given up through necessity. It is quite possible, as has been pointed out by Friedlander and Kahn,⁴² that he believed after rabbinic tradition that his sojourn in the Holy Land would help atone for the sin he had committed under duress. It may well be that Deuteronomy 32:43 *אמרו/י נא*

יִי , which he quotes in his Elegy may refer to this.⁴³

To carry out his plan, Druan arranged to meet his friend, David Bonet Bonjorn or David, son of Benet Yomtob, who had also been converted by force and who was to accompany him on his trip to Palestine, with the same purpose in mind.

Bongoren or Bengoren (בן בנגור or בן בנגור) is "Buen Giorno" in Latin which is a translation of the Hebrew name יום טוב (Yomtob). Graetz believes that he may have been the son of the astronomer Jacob Peel who prepared the astronomical tablets in Perpignon in 1361. He bases his theory on the fact that Jacob Peel is also called Jacob ben David ben Yomtob as well as Goren.⁴⁴

According to the record, after the two had agreed to leave for Palestine, Duran started first by going to "the southern boundary (coast) town of France" probably Marseilles⁴⁶ expecting to meet David there. While waiting for David, Don Solomon Halevi who, after conversion had become Paul de Santa Maria⁴⁷ and was later to be called Paul Burgensis, came to Avignon to see the Pope. While there he met David and convinced him to remain a Christian. He must have left quite an influence on David for he

immediately wrote to Duran telling him of his decision to remain a Christian and trying to convince Duran to follow the same policy. David apparently tried to win Duran over as he had been won over, i.e., by pointing to the great possibilities of success for a scholarly apostate, Paul Burgensis, being the example. Duran was not intrigued by the promise of high church office and success. He answered his friend David in a biting and sharp sarcastic letter entitled Al Thi Kaabotecha אל תהי כאבותיך. In an ironic fashion which retained the tone of ambiguity, Duran begins each section of his letter with the bitter words "Be not like thy Forefathers." He satirizes the dogmas of "incarnation, original sin, transubstantiation, and the abrogation of the Law. He urges his friend not to be like his ancestors who believed in pure unity and spirituality of God, but accept His corporeal incarnation; not to explain philosophically the sin of Adam and his punishment but take it literally, and believe that this sin clung to all his descendants. He advises him not to follow the ancestors who accepted the principles of logic and mathematics, but to throw these to the winds and believe that the large body of the Messiah can enter into a small wafer, or to assume that Jesus can be simultaneously present in the wafer and in heaven. He further advises him not to observe the precepts of Judaism like his father but reminds him that the leading apostles did observe them. He ends with a request to Goren that henceforth in his letter to him, he shall not sign the name of his father, saying that 'were he alive he would rather have chosen the loss of a son like thee, than his existence.'"48

The letter was so excellently written and so ambiguous in its ironic garb that the Church believed it was written by Duran to convince David not to return to Judaism. They were proud of this letter which they used to bolster up their own faith. The title became corrupted and was known as Alteca Boteca throughout the Middle Ages. When the explanatory commentary of Jacob ben Shem Tob, appeared, the Church realized that it was a satiric work directed against Christianity and the letter was repudiated and publicly burnt.

Duran was not satisfied that David alone should get the letter. Feeling that its diffusion might bolster up Jewish courage, he sent the letter to Don Meir Algundis, chief rabbi of Castile and body physician to Henry III of Castile.⁴⁹ Excepting for the fact that Duran had contact with certain prominent Jewish leaders in Spain, we do not know what happened to Duran after this epistle was written. There is no record that Duran went to Palestine as he had intended, although some scholars believe that he did.⁵⁰ If Duran did become a Jew again--and certainly his subsequent writings would indicate that he practised his Judaism openly--we certainly do not know how he managed to return to Spain or to Perpignan as a Jew.⁵¹ We are forced to assume from his activities that he became a Jew. However, as it has been suggested by Steinschneider it may be that he never did practise his Judaism openly.⁵² All that we know definitely after the writing of אל חת' כמנח'ך is that Duran's grammatical work ("Maase Ephod" (מאסה אפר) was finished in 1403. In his seventh chapter which deals with the vicissitudes

of the Hebrew language, Duran expresses the feeling that there has not been sufficient emphasis on the sacred language of the Bible--a fact which explains Israel's dispersion and humiliation.⁵³ That Duran could continue to write material of this nature and still maintain his Judaism as a secret, is most improbable. Yet the problem of how he was permitted to return to Judaism is just as mysterious.

The date 1403 is the last positive date of which we have a record. It may be, however, that Duran was still alive in 1409 for in a certain Latin document written by St. Paul Trois Chateaux, in 1409, a convert, formerly Jewish, by the name of Isaquetus Profiat Judaeus is mentioned.⁵⁴ If this person is Profiat Duran (whose Hebrew name was Isaac) then it would indicate that not only was Duran alive in 1409 but that the Christians considered him even at that time a faithful Christian.

It is unfortunate that we have so few positive references on Duran. We are forced to reconstruct whatever else we know of his life on the basis of information concerning his various works. It is best, therefore, to present, as far as it is possible, chronologically, the various writings of Duran in the hope of getting from them a more complete picture of the life and activities of this interesting personality.

Of all Duran's writings there is only one collection of three letters addressed to his student, Meir Crescas, which we know more or less definitely to have been written before 1391. We arrive at this conclusion on the basis of the fact that Duran signs the first and third letters ה'ק"ט . This

implication that these letters were written before 1391 is made because we know that after 1391 Duran deemed it wise to use the pseudonym דאן . The second letter is unsigned. It would seem that the three letters belong together inasmuch as they allude to each other. The first letter deals with the symbolic significance of the number seven, with special reference to Abraham ibn Ezra in his commentary on Exodus. Duran also quotes Levi ben Gerson. At the conclusion of his answer, Duran asks not to be addressed on matters of this nature. He stands ready, however, to answer questions on other subjects.

The second question is whether immortality and consequently, the belief in reward and punishment is a Jewish dogma while the third concerns itself with a passage in a work entitled The Book of the Palm ספר החמר by אנו אפ"ה which Steinschneider concludes is really Abu Aflah (אנו אפלא אלטרקסטי)⁵⁵ One of the manuscripts refers to these three letters as the "Reply from the great sage, my master, the accomplished Maestro Profiat Duran Halevi, to me the scribe, the smallest of his pupils." חסות החכם הגדול מורי השלם מאשרי פרופיית דוראן הלוי ל-אני הכותב הקטן בסמי' חלמידין

The "Book of the Palm" is a pseudopigraphal work which is attributed to King Solomon.⁵⁶ The third letter was originally printed in the יסודות,⁵⁷ and with the other two letters it is now published as one of the appendices to Friedländer and Kahn's edition of the "Maase Efod."⁵⁸

Belonging to the period preceding 1391 and coming in part perhaps even earlier than the three letters we have already

described are six comments or commentaries on different selections of Abraham ibn Ezra.⁵⁹ These comments were written at the request of some members of the Beneveniste family. The first comment was an explanation of a piyut of Abraham ibn Ezra called נידן. It was found in the manuscript of de Rossi No. 833 at Parma and was published twice by the scholar Leopold Dukes. It is found in the Literaturblatt des Orients⁶⁰ and in the modern edition of Eliezer ben Solomon's דברי יצחק.⁶¹

The second comment attempted to explain Ibn Ezra's solution of the four quiescent letters (ו' ח' ט' ק'). There are quite a number of manuscripts extant. This comment was printed in the journal, Beth Talmud.⁶² It was quoted by Immanuel Benvenuto in his grammar "Levyat Hen" Montua, 1557, without mentioning Duran.⁶³

The third commentary deals with Leviticus 23 and the story of Balak (Numbers 22). The first part of it seems to be astrologico--mystic. The copyist says he did not want to copy any more from Duran because he did not agree with him. Besides the book was given to him in secret.⁶⁴ The second part is more rational excepting near the end. A large part of this commentary, following the Parma Manuscript No. 800 is found in the Einleitung of the Maase Efod.⁶⁵

These three commentaries are the only ones discussed under this category by Friedländer and Kahn. roznansky adds a fourth, which is also given by Renan-Neubauer, who attribute two additional commentaries to this collection. The fourth is called חשובה לחכם אפר על פנים הראשון לשמות כ"ה פסוק מ"ה.⁶⁶

This is evidently the title given by the copyist. It is found in the Manuscript of Paris No. 831, 6 and the Oxford Manuscript No. 236. In the same manuscript of Paris No. 831, 6 is found a commentary of Duran on a passage of Ibn Ezra.⁶⁶ The final comment deals with the mystery of numbers and is a second responsum to Meir Crescas, who apparently did not heed the request^{of Duran} that he ask not questions of this nature.⁶⁷ In all these comments we notice the signature, "your brother, Profiat Duran Halevi." We therefore assume that they belong to the period prior to 1391.⁶⁸

Related to the three letters first mentioned are two letters sent in reply to one of Duran's students, perhaps Meir Crescas,⁶⁹ concerning the woman of Tekoa and the counsels of Achitofel and Hushai the Archite (II Samuel, 14, 16, 17). These letters are in reality commentaries of these three chapters and serve to give us an idea of the method Duran would have employed had he written a commentary on the Bible for it is very rational, avoiding all mysticism and allegory. The two letters are also published now together in the Friedländer-Kohn edition of Maase Efid.⁷⁰ Inasmuch as Duran signs himself TM we must assume that these letters belong after 1391.

In Marcheshvan, 5154 (October, 1393) Duran wrote an elegy and words of condolence on the occasion of the death of the poet Don Abraham ben Isaac Halevi of Gerona to his son Don Joseph Abraham.⁷¹ The deceased poet was one of the chief rabbis of Gerona, an extremely fine spirit and of great learning--a scholar, poet, and communal leader who had seen

all his colleagues killed and who himself was left destitute by the massacres of 1391.⁷² Overburdened by his activities and weighed down by grief, he joined his colleagues two years later. A marginal gloss to the manuscript alludes to the last treatise called "Chapters of Moses Narboni." In the elegy, Duran cites the opinion of a scholar by the name of Bonet David, perhaps the father of Jacob Poel. The author's name is given in the superscription, probably at the hand of a copyist, as *מאשרי פרופייט הלוי* but at the end Duran signs the elegy as follows: "Your brother, Halevi, whose poetry is spoilt. This is his name forever and his memorial, Ephod." *אחיך הלוי שנחלקל שירו זה שמו לעולם וזה זכרו אפר*

The entire elegy is published as one of the appendices of the Maase Efod.⁷³ Kayserling believes that Don Abraham was probably a relative⁷⁴ while Neubauer⁷⁵ identifies Abraham with a man by the same name who lived at Narbonne and received a famous letter from Don Vidal Levi. Duran, who must have been an intimate friend of Abraham, explains in the elegy why he could not publicly mourn the deceased. He bewails his sad state, having been forced to accept Christianity outwardly and being unable now to cast it off.⁷⁶ This is indeed a very human document.

Duran demonstrated his scientific proclivities in Hesheb Haephod (*חשב האפר*)--an astronomical treatise on the Jewish Calendar. Although we know from internal and external evidence that it was written in 1395, scholars do not seem to be fully agreed. Zunz puts it in 1394⁷⁷ and Steinschneider opines

that it was written in Provence in 1392.⁷⁸ This astronomical work was dedicated to a Moses, probably Don Moses Zorgal, of the family of Hasdai Halevi, chief rabbi of Castile and physician to Henry III. The book was recognized by Christians as being that of Duran as early as the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ It is divided into twenty-nine chapters, of which the twenty-third on the conjunctions and intercalations is in verse. This chapter and the preface are published in Maase Ephod.⁸⁰ The Rabbi Solomon Halberstam presents a summary of the contents of the Hesheb Ephod (a manuscript of which is in his possession) in the Maase Ephod.⁸¹

In the Oxford library, Mss Con. misc. 479, folio 26b we find a reply by Duran (תשובת אפר) to the astronomical book of Joseph ben Nahmias, entitled The Light of the World (אור עולם). Unfortunately we know no more about this manuscript.⁸²

Similarly, uninvestigated is a letter from Maestro Profiat Duran Halevi, signed פרפיית דוראן הלוי to Maestro Shealtiel Gracian, in response to some astrological questions. This is the Paris Manuscript No. 1048, 6 which in the catalog index is wrongly listed as a letter addressed to Bonet.⁸³ The Vienna Manuscript No. 201, p. 100a - 100b under the following heading is probably the same-- אורח החכם מאישתר' פרופיית הלוי
ו"י אל הישיש הונכר מאישתר' גרסיאן ו"י

We have several astronomical observations written by a scholar in the name of his master, כפי שלמדני האמר החפץ אשר שאלתי
in the Paris Manuscript No. 1023, 3. The first piece offers

a marginal note, perhaps by the same scholar כפ' ששקעה' מהאמר
~~(xxx xxx 598)~~ Manuscript No. 1026, 1 has notes on the abridgement
 of l'Almageste d' Averroes, (Anatoli text) which is probably
 identical with those in the Bodleian Manuscript No. 2011,2.
 "Ptolmay's astronomy abridged by Averroes," copied by Jacob
 Anatoli, with the note upon it: "Comments of Ephod." (הנהות אפר))
 In both manuscripts the name אפר is given. The work is credited
 to Duran by Steinschneider.⁸⁵ The second piece of the manu-
 script includes a dissertation on the astronomical day and on
 the length of days and nights in the different periods of the
 year and in the various latitudes. Here too the name of the
 author is given as אפר .

We have already traced the narrative associated with
Be not like thy Forefathers (אל תהי' כאבותיך) which Duran
 sent to his old friend David Bonet Benjorn. It was written
 between 1391, when Duran was forcibly converted to Christianity
 and 1397 when ספר בליטת הנזירים which refers to this work,
 was probably written.⁸⁶ We can, however, date this letter on
 the basis of internal evidence. Referring to Jesus, it says,
 "since his ascension to heaven up to the present is about 1360
 years" שנים עלותו לשמים עד עתה אלף וש"ס שנה קרוב

, ספר בליטת הנזירים ,
 The Jewish chroniclers and Duran in his
 believed that Jesus died at the age of thirty. This would set
 our document at 1390 which is impossible.⁸⁷ Graetz points out,
 rather cleverly, that all three letters "וש" (and 360") must be
 reckoned which would make 366 and give the year of composition
 as 1396, a date which seems most reasonable when we remember

that it could not have been written right after 1391 because it refers to Paul Burgensis as being in a high church office. Since Paul's Church career began in 1391 it is reasonable to assume that this epistle was written very near to 1396.⁸⁸ As we have already pointed out, this epistle "Be not like thy Forefathers" was so cunningly composed that Christian authors accepted it at first as favorable to Christianity and quoted it under the corrupted title of Alteca Boteca (אלטע בױטעקא) until the appearance of the commentary of Joseph ben Shem Tob.

That the Church was fooled by the clever irony of Duran's epistle is not so surprising when we realize that Al Thi Kaabotecha is certainly one of the finest epistles of its kind. Even competent scientific modern Jewish scholarship sets it up as a standard by which parodies and literature of this nature is to be compared.⁸⁹

The epistle is found in almost all the great libraries of Hebrew manuscripts and was apparently very popular.⁹⁰ Most of the manuscripts have the commentary of Joseph while many include a letter of an apostate to R. Solomon Borfid and his answer.⁹¹ There have been quite a number of editions of it in various forms. It first appeared with a number of other epistles, in Constantinople about 1577, edited by Isaac Akrish.⁹² Three modern editions were published last century.⁹³ Heilpern's edition included a Yiddish translation⁹⁴ and it was translated into German by Geiger⁹⁵ and by B. Badt Strauss.⁹⁶ A partial English translation is found in Fleg's the "Jewish Anthology."⁹⁷ The story of this epistle and its vicissitudes almost parallel in interest the events which produced the letter.⁹⁸

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Duran's Sepher Klimat Ha Goyim was written in 1397. It will not be analyzed here inasmuch as we shall have the opportunity to pass judgment upon it in the next chapter. Six years after Klimat Ha Goyim was written, Duran finished his greatest work, the grammar, Maase Efod.

Maase Efod or "The Work of Efod" is a grammar of thirty-three chapters. The title has been variously explained. It might very simply mean the Work (or perhaps the great work, i.e., Magnum Opus) of Ephod. It may be related to the biblical verse, Exodus 28:15 "And thou shalt make a breastplate of judgment, the work of the skillful workman, like the work of the ephod thou shalt make it...." The implication is of course that the grammar is so called because in its delicate composition, it is similar to the fine woven garment of the High Priest. The author offers an explanation at the end of his preface where he says: "Grammar, which is the science of language is ordinarily called (מלצה) "action"--a word synonymous with (עשה) "work."⁹⁹ We learn in the thirty-second chapter that the work was completed in the 1335th year after the destruction of the second Temple which would date it as 1403.¹⁰⁰

At the request of his students, sons of the Crescas family, he composed a treatise which serves as an introduction to the Hebrew language and constitutes the Preface of the Grammar. In the Preface, he speaks of three types of scholars among the Jews--the Talmudists, the philosophers, and the Cabbalists. Duran cannot align himself with any one of these classes for

he feels that they all neglect true Biblical studies because of their ignorance of grammar. While the Talmudists follow legal methodology, the philosophers resort to allegories and the Cabbalists emphasize mysticism. It is the simple meaning of the Biblical word that we must understand.¹⁰¹ Duran recommends the study of language and literature very strongly and then presents his own methodology in the form of fifteen rules for study:¹⁰²

1. Study with a good master and with serious co-disciples.
2. Choose good reference works and commentaries, i.e.,
Rashi, Alfasi, "Mishneh Torah", etc.
3. Understand clearly what you read.
4. Take notes on what you study.
5. Don't scatter your notes; keep a notebook.
6. Have a fine library and a physically attractive school.
7. Study aloud.
8. Prepare lessons in a chant to facilitate pronunciations.
9. Prefer square writing for books.
10. Employ large rather than small letters.
11. Teach in order to learn.
12. Prepare your studies calmly.
13. Study for the sake of study.
14. Fix a definite period of daily study.
15. Pray for success in study.

Duran knew his predecessors. He realized that Hayyuj, Ibn Jannah, Ibn Ezra, the Kimhi's and others had covered the subject but he felt that some errors had to be corrected and that Hebrew grammar could be placed on a more firm philosophical and logical

basis . He also cleared up some important grammatical points, observing that the Niphal conjugation is not the passive of the Kal but an independent conjugation.

The first eight chapters deal with introductory and general matters--a definition of language, the efficient and final causes of language, parts of speech, an analysis of letters, vowels and organs of speech and finally the state of Hebrew and the development of its grammar. The next twenty-four chapters deal with more specific grammatical points and the final chapter discusses why Hebrew is considered the sacred tongue. Duran did not write a comprehensive grammar but he did introduce a depth of logic and understanding into his work which has rendered it an extremely valuable contribution to the literature in its field.

This greatest work of Duran has much of the apologetic and polemic in it. The apologetic is to be seen in the very exalted attitude that Duran held toward Hebrew, considering it the most perfect of languages. Duran's entire work was motivated by this feeling. He often despaired producing this book,¹⁰³ but the constant feeling that in Hebrew lies the salvation of his people motivated him to press on to finish this great work. His polemical nature expresses itself in his attacks on theories and grammarians, regardless how well-recognized and distinguished, when he feels that they cannot be reconciled with the logic of his scientific procedure. Thus he does not hesitate to criticize the Kimhi's where their theories fall down. However, the Kimhis, especially David had so fine a reputation that they managed to ward off Duran's

attacks even when they were so cogent as to be incontrovertible.¹⁰⁴ Elisha ben Abraham ben Mattithiah, wrote Sepher Magen David דבר אברהם בן מתייהב, which is a defence of David Kimhi's Grammar against the strictuals of Duran and David ben Yahya.¹⁰⁵ Duran frequently cites Samuel Benveniste, practically unknown to us, as a great grammarian.

The grammar was very widespread judging from the great number of manuscripts there are of it. The National Library of Paris alone possesses four manuscripts,¹⁰⁶ and there are many more. The work is mentioned by the Christian scholars Bartolucci and Wolf as that of Duran, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁷ The Grammar was translated to Latin by Pagnino.¹⁰⁸

We have referred frequently to the excellent edition of the grammar which was edited by Jonathan Friedländer and Jacob Kohn, in Vienna, in 1865, under the title: Maase Efod, Einleitung in das Studium und Grammatik der hebraeischen Sprache von Profiat Duran. This edition contains the grammar, the sets of three and two responsa, the elegy and a thorough introduction by the editors dealing with the grammar and to a lesser extent with the life and works of Duran. It is a very fine contribution toward the understanding of Profiat Duran.

Steinschneider¹⁰⁹ refers ambiguously to a work by Duran written in 1403 in which Duran inserts an essay on the terminology of philosophy. A thorough search through all the bibliographers including Steinschneider's own bibliographical catalogues, yields no information concerning such a work.

We know of only one work of Duran which can be dated at 1403 and that is the Maase Efod. The writer conjectures that Steinschneider refers to this work but it is hard to estimate to what particular essay he might be alluding. Duran demonstrates in his Grammar a thorough grounding in philosophy and the logical discipline but it is difficult to find a specific essay on the terminology of Philosophy. Some chapters, notably the fourth, are most philosophical in nature but none as far as we could find correspond to Steinschneider's description.

But if there is any doubt of Duran's knowledge of philosophy it is immediately dispelled by a reading of his very fine commentary to the More Nebuchim of Maimonides. Although Steinschneider believes it to have been written in 1394¹¹⁰ it is difficult to see how he arrives at any date at all. Most scholars feel that it is impossible to define the date of the Commentary,¹¹¹ except that the feeling prevails that it is one of Duran's latest works which would put it pretty much after 1394. It has been observed that Duran treats certain sections of the Guide at greater length in the Grammar than he does in his Commentary which may justify Jellinek in the theory that copyists abridged the work to give room to other commentaries of the "Guide." We know, for instance, that two manuscripts at Paris¹¹² contain material that does not seem to be found in the published commentary. Generally speaking, however, that where the commentary makes shorter comments than the Grammar, it may well be that it is so because the Commentary was written later and Duran did not wish to repeat

what he had already written in the Grammar. The fact that in the Grammar Duran never quotes the Commentary indicates to us that the Commentary must have been written after the Grammar, while the lengthy comments on the "Guide" found in the Grammar might well suggest that while writing the Grammar Duran had not yet conceived of the idea of writing a commentary to Maimonides.

Duran shows himself to be well versed in Aristotle, as interpreted by both Arabic and Jewish philosophers. The first three commentators on the "Guide" were Shem Tob Ibn Falaquera, (מורה המורה), Joseph Ibn Kaspi (1280-1340) נפתלי קספי and שמעון קספי, and Moses ben Abba Mori of Narbonne. Their commentaries, however, were very technical and of little value to one who is not himself well versed in philosophy. It was not till the beginning of the fifteenth century that a commentary appropriate and understandable to the layman was written. Duran's commentary covering every chapter, is brief, limiting itself, as did Rashi's commentary to the Bible, to brief notes on the difficult terms and short comments on passages which require explanation. In his pithy statements he demonstrates a thoroughgoing grasp of the subject and deep profundity. Duran demonstrates here a remarkable reserve. He does not permit himself, as did other commentators, to be sidetracked and to deal with tangential problems, often foreign to the opinion and spirit of Maimonides. Duran interpreted his task as the simple one of throwing light on a great work.¹¹³

All this becomes even more interesting when we consider

the fact that Duran was such an intimate friend of Don Hāsdai Crescas and respected him very highly as we can see in his dedication of the Klimat Ha Goyim to Crescas¹¹⁴ where he addresses him

ספר החכמים הפאר הרבנים ונזר המאמרים

Duran must have known of the great antagonism of Crescas for Maimonides, yet he was sufficiently open minded to write a commentary on the very man whose influence his intimate friend Crescas was trying so hard to demolish.

We have a very interesting statement in the Michtab Ahuz אוזר אהוז of Rabbi Joseph Solomon Delmedego¹¹⁵ which shows the high respect for Duran's Commentary. Four famous commentaries on the Guide are compared to the four sons of Haggada fame. The wicked one is Moses of Narbonne, the wise son is Shem Tob, the simple son is Crescas, while Duran is the one who is unable to question for he answers in a simple fashion which obviates the need for future questions.

There are not many manuscripts of the Commentary, probably because it was printed with the early editions of the "Guide" and has been published quite consistently in editions of the "Guide" to this day.¹¹⁶ The first three editions of the "Guide" with the Commentary of Duran were published at Venedig, 1551, Sabionetta, 1553, and Jesuitz, 1742,¹¹⁷ and it is mentioned by Wolf in his Bibliotheca hebraea.¹¹⁸ On the basis of the Oxford Manuscript No. 2422, 16 in which is found an Arabic fragment of this Commentary, it might be assumed that at least part of it was translated to Arabic.¹¹⁹

The Bodleinn Manuscript No. 1230 which is the Cuzari of Rabbi Halevi, (translated by Ibn Tibbon) has at the end the following words

לאמורי פירוש על ספר כוזר

a fact which leads us to suppose that Duran may have written a Commentary on the Cuzari.¹²⁰ There is no further evidence on this theory except that we know that Duran held both Maimonides and Halevi in very high esteem, as seen, for instance, in his preface to Maase Efod.¹²¹

Duran's knowledge of the Arabic philosophers might well include the possibility that he is the author of Notes on the first book of the Cannon of Avicenna, 31 Chapters, which are found in the Paris Manuscript No. 1047,¹⁵ and are attributed to דאס.¹²²

The Cambridge Manuscript R 8, 19 contains a commentary on the Middle Commentary of Averroes to Aristotle's Physics which is attributed to a Don Profiat who may be Duran.¹²³

The work which we assume to be the last that Duran wrote, זכרון חסדיו, shows our versatile author to have been a historian as well as a grammarian, exegete, astronomer, mathematician, controversialist, philosopher, and poet. This Chronicle of which we have but a fragment is mentioned by Don Isaac Abarbanel in his work called ישועות משיח ("Victories of his Messiah"), written in 1497, which gives a number of excerpts dealing with the expulsion of Jews from England and of the expulsions and readmissions of the Jews from France stating his source as כל זה במאמר זכרון חסדיו ב' ישראל אחרו החרבן שעשה וקבץ האמורי.¹²⁴

Another author, Solomon Alammal who flourished about 1400 in his ethical epistle, edited by Jelinek, says: "Remember and do not forget the severe decrees and the evil times which came upon us since 4905 (1145) as it is recorded in the Book of Memories (ספר הזכרונות)." This allusion seems to be to Duran's work.¹²⁵

Graetz is to be credited with the discovery of the existence of this book, following traces of it in other chronicles which used it. He first established the thesis that both "Consalaes as tribulacoeus de Israel" written in Portuguese by the exile, Samuel Usque and published at Ferrare in 1553, and Rabbi Joseph Ibn Varga's Shebet Yehudah (שבט יהודה) which appeared at the same time (the Shebet Yehudah perhaps a year later), seem to have culled their information from one common source.¹²⁶ The Spanish Chronicle seems to be more reliable, an indication that both were dependent upon Duran's work. This he does by presenting in three parallel columns the passages of Duran's history which are cited by Abarbanel and the corresponding passages in the books of Usque and Joseph Ibn Varga.¹²⁷ Thus by showing wherein two Chroniclers used the same source and how one of them erred, the case is made quite conclusive. Graetz shows how the story concerning Vincent Ferrer in 1412--that he went about converting Jews, holding the Torah in one hand and a crucifix in the other--must have had its source in Duran's history. This would date Duran's work as 1412 at the earliest.

Neubauer has published in the Revue etudes juives a fragment which he believes to be an abridged extract from the

history of Duran. Neubauer attempts to prove the relationship, demonstrating among other things that the writer of the source of the fragment must have been well informed on the persecutions of Catalonia. Duran seems to fit into that category well having lived some time in Perpignan.¹²⁸

* * * * *

We have attempted to reconstruct a picture of the historical and polemical background of our period. On the basis of a few references and what we can gather from his books and manuscripts, we have essayed a picture of the life and work of Maestro Pofiat Duran. It would seem that he was an extremely versatile man, recognized as a scholar in the field of Judaica, and a savant in non-Jewish scientific fields as well. He was passionately devoted to the Hebrew language which he knew well and utilized it for his writings on Bible, grammar, philosophy, history, and astronomy. His scholarship was so great that he was sent questions by legal students even after his conversion to Christianity and kept up a constant record of responsa. He was an intimate of the greatest men of his generation who apparently respected his sincerity, clear principles, and rational approach to life and studies.

Despite his rational approach he was also a man of deep feelings. His attitude toward the Hebrew language, his historical chronicle, his Elegy and his spiritual wrestling with himself, after the events of 1391 had enforced baptism upon him, demonstrates to us that Duran was a truly fine specimen of a devoted Jew, rational and philosophical in his outlook yet

loyal and sympathetic to his people. Duran was not a vicious polemicist. He was most noble in spirit but when his faith was being tested he left no doubt as to his sincere strainings.¹²⁹ Apparently, Hásdai Crescas, the greatest man of his generation, felt similarly for at this crucial time when the entire morale of Judaism in Spain was being seriously threatened, out of all Spain's Jewish scholars, he chose this former convert to Christianity to present a clear-cut incisive analysis of the principles of Christianity and their relation to Judaism. The choice was a good one. Duran may well be said clearly to typify his period.¹³⁰

CHAPTER IV. SEPHER KLIMATH HAGOYIM

Although Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim is an extremely significant work we know relatively little of it. It was not published till 1914 and for many years was considered the work of another writer. Even modern scholarship is not fully agreed that it is the work of Duran. Benjacob¹ refers to the statement at the beginning of the second chapter to the effect that the writer had heard a certain matter in his youth while studying in Germany (ושמעתי בנעורי הנהגותיהם נישנית רבות באשכנז), and conjectures that the writer must have been a German or a Frenchman but not a Spaniard. Hence it may not have been Duran. We have already seen² that the reading given by Benjacob is incorrect--that Duran spent his youth in Spain and learned the particular point alluded to, from a German student who came to Spain to study.

Benjacob presents a second suggestion even weaker than the first. He tells us that some think that Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim was written by Rav Hisdai Gaon because of the reference in the introduction to a Hisdai (חסדאי); the case is somewhat aided by the fact that there is a manuscript which specifically attributes this work to Rav Hisdai Gaon. It's hardly necessary to show the weakness of these arguments. The reference to Hisdai, as we shall soon see, alludes to Hisdai Crescas and

the fact that one manuscript attributes it to Rav Hisdai Gaon is obviously a scribal error. We have ample evidence that our work belongs not earlier than the end of the fourteenth century. Needless to say, Benjacob himself does not hold these theories but presents them as suggestions of other students.

Fuerst lists Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim in two places. Under the name of "Chasdai Crescas" he³ describes the Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim and says it was written anonymously in honor of Crescas, apparently in 1419 (1349 years after the destruction of the Temple). He also informs us that the twelfth chapter was written against Geronymo de Santa Fe. Fuerst is quite clearly confused. He arrives at the number 1349 on the basis of the value of the letters בשנת סה חר' האף which sum up 349. This estimate, as we shall see later, is inaccurate despite the fact that the various manuscripts do record the fact that it was written בשנת סה חר' האף. We do not know the source of Fuerst's error that the twelfth chapter was directed against Geronymo de Santa Fe, but it is quite clear that his contact, if any, with a manuscript of Klimath Ha Goyim must have been very superficial. The twelfth chapter of this work deals with the errors, deliberate and otherwise, made by Jerome in his translation of the Bible. It has nothing to do with Geronymo de Santa Fe.

Although he refers to Klimath Ha Goyim as an anonymous work, Fuerst lists it again elsewhere⁴ as the work of R'uben ha-Sefardi, supposedly a contemporary of Crescas. Here, too, Fuerst seems to be laboring under a confusion. In connection with this problem it is interesting to note that the ספר חר' האף

of Rabbi Shabtai, a bibliographical work which preceded modern bibliographical science, lists a Sepher Ha Klimah as a polemical work, found with Rabbi Joseph ben Shem Tob's commentary to Al Thi Kaabotecha. Immediately following, it lists another Sepher Ha Klimah, a kabbalistic work by Rabbi Reuben Ha Sephardi.⁵ These comments are copied by Heilprin in his Sepher Seder Ha Doroth.⁶ Poznansky suggests⁷ that the original error may have been made by Buxtorf.⁸ We do not know exactly who R'uben ha Sephardi may be but Fuerst may be thinking of the famous Karaite polemicist Jacob ben Reuben who wrote Milhmoth Adonai, a work used by other writers and sometimes confused with Klimath Ha Goyim.⁹ We shall deal with the relationship of these two works at a later opportunity.¹⁰

Actual doubt as to the authorship of Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim no longer exists among scientific scholars. Many of the manuscripts have the superscription that "This book was written by a great scholar who was forced to become converted during the persecutions which raged in Seville and spread through Spain into Catalonia, in the year מה חר' האף".¹¹ The superscription of the Oxford Manuscript No. 2155 describes it as a: "Letter to the noble man ibn-Hasdai, composed by Maestro Profiat of Perpignan, who was also forced to become converted."¹² Steinschneider shows quite conclusively on the basis of a number of manuscripts that Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim is really the work of Profiat Duran.¹³

There are various factors which link our work with the shorter epistle Al Thi Kaabotecha. The argument on the eternity

of the Torah and the recognition of that fact by the apostles, discussed in the fourth chapter of Klimath Ha Goyim¹⁴ is found in a most similar form in the epistle. In discussing wrongly quoted Old Testament passages in the New Testament, Duran laughs at the ignorance of Stephen of a simple Genesis story as evidenced in Acts 7:2f.¹⁵ His derision of Stephen in regard to the same passage is almost identically stated in Al Thi Kaabotecha. A more general phrase, כְּכִי תִּשְׁמַח בְּכִסְיִי, very typical of Duran, is also found in Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim. There are similar passages that link our work quite clearly to passages in the Maase Efod.¹⁷

If further evidence is necessary there is the fact that Maestro Hasdai Crescas did ask Don Profiat Duran to write an earnest critique of Christian Theology on the basis of Christian scriptures. The period was one of storm and stress. It had produced a number of witty and satiric anti-Christian works but the time had come, Crescas felt, for a serious work that would get to the roots of Christian belief and demonstrate their fallacy. This critique would have to be systematic and would require a thoroughgoing knowledge of the New Testament and Christian Theological Literature. For this difficult task Crescas selected Duran.

The exact setting of the date of the writing of Klimath Ha Goyim is somewhat difficult and is bound up with considerable speculation. Yet despite the variety of opinions offered, there is relative agreement on the date of the book.

It seems most clear that Klimath Ha Goyim was written after Al Thi Kaabotecha. The latter was written before Duran had yet returned to Judaism. Klimath Ha Goyim seems to have been written after Duran had already definitely re-established himself as a public Jew.¹⁸ More definite evidence that Klimath Ha Goyim is the later book can be seen through a comparison of the two works. Gronemann does this quite well. Through parallel quotations he demonstrates the interrelationship of these works and the dependence of Klimath Ha Goyim upon the existence of Al Thi Kaabotecha.¹⁹ A very good example is the case where Duran ridicules the Christian dogma, that any priest, through the ceremony of ordination, assumes the power to perform the miracle of the eucharist. He deals with this unacceptable notion at length in his Al Thi Kaabotecha while in his Klimath Ha Goyim he takes a different aspect of this same problem and closes his remarks by referring to Al Thi Kaabotecha and saying: "As I have explained in a certain epistle."²⁰

Since we have already set Al Thi Kaabotecha as having been written in 1396,²¹ Klimath Ha Goyim may have well been written about 1397. Although scholars disagree as to why they arrive at this date, there is almost unanimity as to 1397. Zunz developed the most ingenious theory that the date 1397 can be arrived at through the computation of the numerical value of the letters אמנו סה נה which totals 349. The first digit representing one thousand years is of course taken for granted and is omitted as a matter of convenience.²² This gives us the total of 1349. We have observed Fuerst's error

in adding 70 (the year of the Destruction of the Temple) and his arrival at the conclusion that the book was written in 1419. Zunz does something far wiser. He adds the word הגדול found in the original phrase מה חר' האף הגדול, in Deuteronomy 29:23. The numerical value of the letters הגדול being 48, Zunz now arrives at the total of 1397. Zunz seems to have struck upon a fortuitous conjecture inasmuch as the Vienna Manuscript No. 95, as published by Poznansky²³ contains the complete phrase. מה חר' האף הגדול in the superscription.

There are, however, some very valid objections to Zunz's novel computation. Not only is the use of the Christian date uncommon in Jewish literature but its use through Hebrew letters²⁴ is perhaps unparalleled. The omission of a thousand years (the first digit) is certainly not a Christian practise and the entire computation in a treatise of controversy is certainly out of place.²⁵

These arguments of objection are given by Renan-Neubauer and by Graetz. Poznansky, however,²⁶ with Steinschneider, is inclined to accept the reckoning of Zunz on the theory that such an exception (the reckoning according to the Christian Calendar) might be expected in a polemical work. Whatever our opinion on this matter may be, it is interesting to note that the majority of scholars, Steinschneider, Renan-Neubauer, Graetz, Friedlander-Kohn,²⁷ Poznansky, Kayserling,²⁸ and others, whether they accept Zunz's method of reckoning or no, do arrive at the same conclusion--that our work was written in 1397.

Just as most scholars accept 1397 as the date of the writing of Klimath Ha Goyim, despite different approaches, so most scholars recognize a definite relationship between Duran's Klimath Ha Goyim and Crescas' shorter work Bittul Ikkere Ha Notzrim,²⁹ originally written in Spanish under the title Tratado. On this question as on that of Zunz's reckoning of 1397 there is disagreement. Some scholars feel that Duran's work influenced Crescas while others feel that Crescas, having written a short work, called upon Duran to write a more thorough work. Friedländer-Kohn³⁰ and Renan-Neubauer³¹ feel that Crescas wrote his work first. They, therefore, date the Tratado, as 1396. They point out that the Tratado was written in Spanish as a good will gesture to win over the confidence of Christian nobles and the aristocracy in general. Having completed his work, Crescas realized that it is just as necessary to fortify Jews with arguments as it is to pacify non-Jews. This would explain Duran's own words of conclusion of Klimath Ha Goyim:³² "I thought that, should my treatise come into the hands of those who have not thy (Crescas) depth, their eyes would be somewhat cleared." Thus Crescas' desire of a treatise in Hebrew understandable to Jews in all countries was satisfied.

Not
Exact

The writer, however, does not accept the above interpretation. With Waxman he feels that Duran's work preceded that of Crescas. He feels that there is as much logic on one side as on the other. It seems just as acceptable to say that Crescas was concerned first with his own people who needed some strengthening work that would demonstrate that Christianity,

which each year was luring thousands of Jews away from their faith, was despite its temporal power, theologically indefensible on the basis of Christian Scriptures. After Duran's work was finished, Crescas may have decided to go deeper into the problem and to present a more philosophical statement of the entire case. It is a matter of conjecture as to whether Crescas had the thorough grounding in Catholic theology that Duran had. It is to be doubted as to whether a careful scholar as Crescas could have written a philosophical work of the type of Tratado without reading something of the nature of Klimath Ha Goyim which would organize for him the material he planned to use. Crescas deepened the basis upon which Klimath Ha Goyim had been established,³³ but before he could do his share, Duran's work had to be finished.

Duran's statement, at the end of his work, which we have quoted above, could have been said by Duran to Crescas either before or after he wrote the Tratado but there is a statement in the dedicatory preface which could have been written only before the Tratado. "I have written little, as is acceptable to you, because I know that in your great wisdom, in your breadth of mind and in your depth of intellect you will expand these things according to your philosophical abilities."³⁴ These words seem to imply to us quite convincingly that Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim preceded the Tratado. We shall observe later in our analysis the informational dependence of the Tratado upon Klimath Ha Goyim.

There are many manuscripts of Klimath Ha Goyim extant.³⁵

The finest manuscripts were brought together and compared to make up Poznansky's edition which appeared serially in הצופה בארץ חגור in 1913 and 1914.³⁶ The edition is well edited but unfortunately numerous typographical errors--some of them serious--have crept in. A reprint of this edition, not edited very well, appeared in Eisenstein's Ozar Vikuhim.³⁷ A printed but unpublished edition of Klimath Ha Goyim, based on a manuscript found at the Jewish Theological Library is extant.³⁸

Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim consists of twelve chapters written with the view of demonstrating, on the basis of Christian Scriptures, that Christianity has not superseded Judaism. The Chapters may be summarized as follows:

Chapter I - Neither Jesus nor his Disciples considered him Divine.

Chapter II - The Trinity.

Chapter III - Original Sin and Salvation.

Chapter IV - Jesus never intended to break with the Law; he considered it eternal for Judaism.

Chapter V - Later Christianity breaks with the Law.

Chapter VI - The Eucharist.

Chapter VII - Baptism.

Chapter VIII - The Papacy

Chapter IX - The Immaculate Conception and the Sacraments.

Chapter X - Erroneous Quotations of the Old Testament in the New Testament.

Chapter XI - Dates and figures concerning Jesus.

Chapter XII - Jerome's unconscious errors and deliberate mistranslations.

Duran's approach is very logical. He begins each chapter by presenting the case or theory as the Christians view it. He presents the main passages upon which Christians base themselves and follows these with significant passages discrediting such a belief, and continues with a barrage of evidence, in the form of arguments based on Christian Scriptures, which leaves one convinced of the untenability or inconsistency of the particular Christian view discussed.

Duran's approach, as far as we know, is original. He was the first to present so convincingly the thesis that even the early Christians accepted the Torah as eternal and binding for Judaism--an observation which proved to be a very powerful talking point in Christian-Jewish polemics. He was also the first, it would seem, to present on such a scientific basis, the conclusion, developed more fully by Christian scholars of the nineteenth century, that many incidents found in the New Testament are fiction or fantasy, composed by its writers to fit the fulfillment of some Old Testament verse.³⁹ Duran does not dare say this openly because of Christian opposition but the implications of this opinion are quite clear, after we see the mass of examples he brings showing erroneous Old Testament quotations and the many distortions by New Testament writers.

We have already observed the opinion that the Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim is the work of Rabbi Reuben Ha Sephardi.⁴⁰ We've observed that Fuerst lists it as such in his Bibliotheca Judaica⁴¹ and that he became confused because ס'ל"ח' נחמ and other bibliographical works list two works entitled Sepher

Ha Klimah one of which is ours and the other, a kabbalistic work, by a Rabbi Reuben Ha Sephardi. It is not necessary here to prove at length an error which comes as a result of a confusion of two similar titles. We have proven quite adequately, we feel, that the Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim is the work of Duran. Steinschneider and Zunz make the statement that the opinion that Klimath Ha Goyim belongs to Rabbi Reuben Ha Sephardi is based on a forgery.⁴² The scholarship of these men may be said, perhaps, to settle this particular point.

A much more difficult point to prove or disprove is the opinion that Duran in writing this work was, at least somewhat, dependent on the Karaite Jacob ben Reuben's twelfth century polemical work, Milhmot Adonai. The difficulty here is based on the fact that so little information seems to be available on this work. Friedberg merely says that it is a polemical discussion, by ~~the~~ ^{then} Karaite Jacob ben Reuben, on matters of faith between a believer and a non-believer.⁴³ Ben Jacob says the same, adding that it consists of twelve chapters. Steinschneider, in his Ozrat Chayim,⁴⁵ publishes the introduction to this work in which the writer points out his purpose as that of demonstrating the untenability of Christian belief. He tells of his friendliness with a Catholic priest who chided him for not accepting Christianity while pointing to the sad state of Judaism and the prosperous condition of Christianity. In order to win Jacob over, to the new faith, he gave him a work including within it the arguments and statements of the three men who did more than any others to establish Christianity, i.e., Paul, Jerome, and Augustine. Jacob studied the book and other materials very

He lists in
Amsterdam
ed. of 1843

assiduously and having grounded himself in Christian Theology, he sets out to refute it. Each chapter is an analysis of a list of evidences which Christians give to prove their views. He enumerates his chapters as follows:

Chapter I - Non-Scriptural Evidences (emotional and logical arguments)

Chapter II - Evidence from the Pentateuch.

" III - " " Psalms and Proverbs.

" IV - " " Jeremiah (passages which are not there).

Chapter V - Evidence from Isaiah.

Chapter VI - " " Ezekiel.

" VII - " " the Minor Prophets.

" VIII - " " Daniel.

" IX - " " Job.

" X - " " Ecclesiastes and the other works of Solomon.

Chapter XI - Critique of the Gospels.

" XII - Evidences that the Messiah has not yet arrived.

It is quite clear that the first ten chapters are really in the form of a rebuttal to the various evidences that Christians give to justify their faith while the last two deal with more concrete problems. Jacob mentions the problems of the Immaculate Conception and the Trinity in his Introduction, by way of passing,⁴⁶ but since the organization of his book, except the last chapter, is not by topics there is no way of knowing how he dealt with these problems.

Fuerst, in his Geschichte der Koraerthums,⁴⁷ says that

Jacob ben Reuben was born about 1150 and knew Jewish and Christian sources well. He claims that Shem Tob ben Isaac Shaprut's anti-Christian work, Eben Bohan, written in Tudela in 1385 as well as Duran's Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim, written in 1397, was based upon Jacob ben Reuben's work but he gives no tangible evidence. Dr. S. Baeck in Winter and Wuensch's Die Jüdische Litteratur⁴⁸ mentions the Milhmoth Adonai as a work which tries to show from both Christian and Jewish Scriptures that the Messiah has not yet arrived. It is quite clear that Baeck is speaking not of the entire book but of the twelfth chapter alone, which was published and edited by Steinschneider.⁴⁹ A reading of the twelfth chapter, however, shows us that Jacob does not refer to Christian Scriptures but is dependent mostly on the Jewish Scriptures. Dr. Baeck seems to have confused what he may have learned concerning the earlier chapters with what he found in the final chapter.

A final consideration of the entire problem leads us to the conclusion that any dependence of Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim on Jacob ben Reuben's Milhmoth Adonai is extremely conjectural. The organization of the two works is radically different. Jacob dealt for the most part with the disputation of Christian evidences from the Old Testament while Duran systematized and organized the entire subject into problems. The one chapter that we have seen of the Milhmot Adonai, dealing with the problem of the Messiah is not found as a specific problem in Duran's work. The reason is clear. Jacob's work is rejoinder polemics while Duran's is a scientific critique of Christian ideology.

The method Jacob uses is certainly not that of Duran. He gives fifteen arguments that the Messiah is yet to arrive. Five are based on scripture; five, on tradition; and five on observation. This is not Duran's method at all. It is rather suggestive of the approach of Saadia who is often quoted by Jacob. We shall see later, however, that Jacob did influence Shem Tob ben Isaac Shaprut's Eben Bohan.

Poznansky's excellent editing of the Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim shows quite clearly many of the sources of Duran's work. It is quite clear that Duran had a thorough grounding in Jewish literature. He knew the Bible very well, and although we know that he was not interested in Talmudical studies, a reading of Klimath Ha Goyim indicates a dependence on the Talmud Babli and a fair knowledge of the Talmud Yerushalmi. He knew the Rabbinical literature well, especially the Mechilta and the Seder Olam Rabba. He demonstrates a knowledge of Josephus, and of course, a thorough knowledge of the Commentators and the philosophers. Our work reflects a philosophical knowledge at least of the Emunot Deah, the Cuzari, and the More Nebuchim. Of the commentators we can recognize Rashi and Redak. (David Kimhi) We know from his discussion at the beginning of the second chapter that he must have been acquainted with mystical literature and we can assume, of course, that he knew the polemical literature, although we can trace definitely only the Vikuah Ha Rambam, Toldoth Yeshu and Rabbi Levi ben Abraham ben Hayyim's "Livyat Hen". Generally speaking, we learn from Klimath Ha Goyim very little of Duran's Jewish background that is not already apparent from a reading

of his other works. Our work is interesting in that it helps fill in a few details pertaining to subjects that we may have well assumed, from our previous analysis, that Duran knew. This adds one bit more of evidence, if such evidence is still necessary, that Duran is the author of Klimath Ha Goyim. Had we not known the author of this work we would have recognized that he was no ordinary man, for the book indicates a knowledge of the Bible, Talmud, Commentaries, Rabbinical, philosophical, mystical and polemical literatures.

Most revealing is Klimath Ha Goyim in that it shows our writer to have had a thorough knowledge of Christian sources. He not only knew the New Testament thoroughly but shows a mastery of the translation and commentaries of Jerome and Nicolas de Li^yva on the Old as well as the New Testament. He was well acquainted with the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius and shows a great dependence on Vincens de Beauvais, Speculum historiale.⁵⁰ He probably knew material of general background such as Johannes' De transitu Maria⁵¹ and Gregory's De gloria beatorum martyrum.⁵² He knew St. Augustine's De doctrina Christina⁵³ and used the Duodecim dialogi cum Mayse Judaeo of Petrus Alfonsi extensively not only because it is a well written book but because it was written by Moshe Ha Sephardi of Huesca, a convert to Christianity who knew both faiths.⁵⁴

Even a superficial acquaintance with our work impresses one with the thoroughness and honesty of Duran's procedure. He prepared himself very carefully for his task and went about it in a most scientific manner. He aimed to present an analysis of Christian dogma and practise so honest and so scientific that

argumentation over minor points might be eliminated and differences in ideology between Jews and Christians might be seen as differences of opinion and no more. The accuracy of his scholarship and his honest use of the sources makes this work an extremely valuable one even as a present day introduction to Catholic theology. There is but one chapter in the entire work⁵⁶ which is not thoroughly reliable. This is the chapter dealing with the dates of Jesus--a rather unimportant aspect of the entire study.

Poznansky, who has carefully checked the sources of Duran's work indicates but three cases of error on the part of Duran. In one case⁵⁷ Duran refers to an incorrectly quoted Old Testament verse which Poznansky discovers is translated in the Septuagint^t in the same way as it is quoted in the New Testament--a fact which Duran should have observed. In two other cases Duran makes references which Poznansky cannot locate--in the one case to a comment by Nicolas de Lira⁵⁸ and in the other to a statement by Rabbi Levi ben Abraham ben Hayyim in Livyat Hen.⁵⁹ The fact that modern scholarship could not track down these references does not mean, of course, that Duran did not have them. He may have had manuscripts containing material that were not included in these works when they were published. These examples may give us an idea of the careful scholarship of Duran. It is truly remarkable that he made as few errors as he did.

Duran's work left an immediate impression. Within a generation at least three works were written which were dependent

to a significant degree on the Klimath Ha Goyim. We have observed Fuerst's opinion⁶⁰ that Duran's work and Shem Tob ibn Isaac Shaprut's Eben Bohan are based on Jacob ben Reuben's Milhmoth Adonai. We have already demonstrated that Duran's work was not based on Jacob's. It seemed to be commonly taken for granted, however, as evidenced in Ben Jacob,⁶¹ that the Eben Bohan is merely a digest of the Milhmoth Adonai plus certain additions. Steinschneider, however, awakened the slumber of the peaceful by demonstrating that the Eben Bohan is really a digest of Klimath Ha Goyim. This complicated matters tremendously inasmuch as there seems to be evidence to justify both opinions. Loeb had edited a part of the Eben Bohan but this threw no light on this particular problem.⁶³ Neither does the statement of Gedaliah ben Yehya in his Sha'asheleth Ha Kabbalah⁶⁴ where he informs us that Shaprut died in 1374 (an impossible date!) and that according to the responsa of Rav Sheshet Shaprut's name had been שפ"ר. Heilprin, in Sepher Seder Ha Doroth,⁶⁵ gives the same information concerning Shaprut's name.

Alexander Marx through his access to various manuscripts in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America has finally resolved the difficulty in a manner that is both scientific and yet has within it the fairy-tale happy ending which leaves all scholars satisfied. He points out that originally it consisted of twelve chapters, the first dealing with Biblical verses causing contention between Jews and non-Jews, based very much on the Milhmoth Adonai, which the author modifies in language and wrongly ascribes to Joseph Kimhi.

Chapter XI discusses Talmudic Haggadahs used for polemical purposes and the last chapter is a translation of Matthew. The author, born in Tudela, added Chapter XIII on Resurrection and XIV on the Messiah at Tarazona in 1385. A fifteenth chapter which defends the Milhmoh Adonai against a book by Alfonso of Valladolid attacking it, was added at Lucena in 1400. About the same time Shemtob compiled a treatise in nine chapters against the Christian creed, which concludes with a Hebrew translation of the text of the mass. At the end of Chapter III he expressly refers to his Eben Bohan as an independent book.⁶⁶ It is this separate epistle, not intended to be part of Eben Bohan, that Steinschneider discovered to be based on Duran's Klimath Ha Goyim. In fact in the Cod. Casanata, in Rome, it is found as a separate work which follows the Eben Bohan. It begins with an introduction in which Shemtob tells of seeing a very fine polemical work, undermining Christian principles, upon which he is going to base himself. He then lists his chapter headings:⁶⁷

- Chapter I - Immaculate Conception
- " II - The Divinity of Jesus
- " III - The Trinity
- " IV - The Eucharist (already referred to by this writer in another epistle of his)⁶⁸
- Chapter V - Baptism
- " VI - The Giving up of Circumcision
- " VII - Original Sin
- " VIII - Did Jesus bring a new law; did he permit forbidden foods?
- Chapter IX - The Papacy

A comparison of these chapters with those of Duran's demonstrates that Shemtob has merely changed the order. A rearrangement will show that:

Shemtob's Chapter	I	corresponds to	Duran's Chapter	IX
"	II	"	"	I
"	III	"	"	II
"	IV	"	"	VI
"	V	"	"	VII
"	VI	"	"	IV, first half
"	VII	"	"	III
"	VIII	"	"	IV second half
"	IX	"	"	VIII

The dependence of Shemtob on Duran is thus unquestioned if we are careful not to confuse Eben Bohan with the work which follows it in some manuscripts and erroneously incorporated in the body of the Eben Bohan in other manuscripts. This work, untitled, should be considered as an independent work which is based largely on Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim.

Another book based to an extremely great extent on the Klimath Ha Goyim is the book Kesheth U'Magen of Simon ben Zemach Duran,⁶⁹ which is a part of his larger work Magen Aboth. There is more than similarity of name between Profiat Duran and Zemach Duran. Two thirds of the Kesheth U'Magen is literally copied from Klimath Ha Goyim without any mention whatsoever of the author. This is certainly one of the worst examples of plagiarism we have observed. Most of the scholars of last century observed a close relationship but Saenger was the only one before Poznański to make a very careful study.⁷⁰ The study was so revealing that he remarked that he could correct the manuscript of Klimath Ha Goyim on the basis of his edition of Kesheth U'Magen. Many elements not taken from Profiat Duran have been established as copied from the Emunoth we Deah.⁷¹

A work undoubtedly influenced by Duran is the Tratado, written by Hasdai Crescas, originally in Spanish, sometime after

the Klimath Ha Goyim and translated to Hebrew by Joseph ben Shem Tob in 1451 under the title Bittul Ikre Ha Notzrim.⁷² His approach is logical and philosophical rather than one of mass evidence. The short work is divided into ten sections--each a basic dogma of Christianity--Original Sin, Salvation, Trinity, Incarnation, Immaculate Conception, Eucharist, Baptism, The Messiah, New Covenant, Fallen Angels.⁷³ In each case he considers all the philosophical implications of the idea first and then fortifies his philosophical conclusions with evidence which he seems to have borrowed from Duran. In no case does he borrow blatantly from Duran inasmuch as his approach is entirely different. He does seem to rest, however, on the basis that Duran had built. The sections dealing with the Eucharist and Baptism, for instance, seem to be very much influenced by Duran's work. In other cases Crescas takes a more independent approach. He never contents himself with mere statements. He is very careful to delve into all the possible ramifications of each problem.

There has been quite a bit of speculation concerning Chapter XXV of the Third Book of Albo's Sepher Ha Ikkarim. The particular discussion as to whether it really represents a part of the famous Disputation at Tortosa or whether it is the result of a private disputation need not concern us here. It was motivated by an attack made by a Christian upon the Torah. The first part of this chapter which is apologetic, attempting to show that the Torah suffices all demands made by Christians, is certainly not based on Klimath Ha Goyim. The second part,

however, deleted after the first edition because of the danger of the censor, shows at least some dependence upon Duran's work. An interesting parallel is found between Albo's critic^{ism}/of the Eucharist and that of Duran.⁷⁴ Albo's account is so short, however, that it is impossible to establish any positive correlation.

In the sixteenth century David Nasi wrote his famous defense of Judaism and Critique of Christian dogma entitled Sepher Hodaat Baal Din. In writing this book he used the work by Shemtob which we have already found was based on Klimath Ha Goyim.⁷⁵ He himself mentions in the Introduction to his work that he used the Klimath Ha Goyim and other works.⁷⁶

Rabbi Joshua Sagri, (1717-1802 in Asham Taluy,⁷⁷ written in 1770 tells of using the Klimath Ha Goyim.⁷⁸

If we may be permitted to conjecture, we may say that through Crescas, Albo, Rakhbaz, and Nasi the work of Duran became diffused so that we often find approaches similar to Duran's. Abraham Farissal in Magen Abraham shows some similarity of organization. Definite relationship, however, has not been established. Similarly it might be said that other polemical works tended to repeat the older arguments, many of which came from Duran.

Duran is recorded in the various Hebrew bibliographical works which preceded the nineteenth century. Abraham Zaccutto's Sepher Hayachasin Hashalem⁷⁹ refers to Joseph ben Shemtob's commentary to Duran's Epistle. Gedaliah ibn Yohya in the Shalshleth Ha Kabbalah⁸⁰ mentions Duran as the author of the

Grammar while Rabbi Shabbatai, in his Sepher Sifthey Y'shainim,⁸¹ gives a long account of the story of the Epistle and a description of Klimath Ha Goyim. Most of this bibliographical information is collated in Yehiel Heilprin's Sepher Seder Ha Doroth, and, of course, fuller information is given in the most recent standard bibliographical works, such as Friedberg, Benjacob, Steinschneider, Zidner, and Cowley.

A STUDY OF SEPHER KLIMATH HAGOYIM

(continued)

CHAPTER V
THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY AND ITS THEOLOGICAL
DEVELOPMENT

Duran's first problem is that of the self-consciousness of Jesus. Appropriately, he begins his first chapter¹ with the emphatic statement that neither Jesus nor his disciples considered him divine. He devotes the entire chapter to the proof of this point. He begins his observation by pointing out that the disciples always say "Master Jesus," "Our Master Jesus," or "Good Master" (Mark 10:17)² but they never called him "Our Lord Jesus". In Matthew 16:13-7³ Jesus asks his disciples what people say of him. Of the various answers that of Peter is accepted by Jesus as correct: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." As we can see in Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews 3:5-6 the disciples considered him the highest type of human--"the son of God," setting him even higher than Moses who is "the servant of God" (Numbers 12:7 and Joshua 1:1).

In Matthew 4:18 we find the story of how the devil tried to test Jesus--to see whether he was the son of God. Certainly, this type of story could not be told by anybody who assumed Jesus to be God. In Matthew 21:18-20, the disciples express great amazement at Jesus causing a fig tree to wither after he had angrily discovered it had no figs. If they considered him as a God, surely he should have known that the tree had no fruit.

Two accounts (Matt. 19:16-17, Mark 10:17-18) tell us of Jesus answering a disciple by asking: "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God." This would indicate that Jesus did not consider himself God. On another occasion (Mark 10:37-40) when the disciples asked him to place them to his right and left in the kingdom of heaven, he answered them that he does not yet have the authority in this matter--that it lies in the hands of God. When the devil says to Jesus as he was hungry (Matt. 4:3-4, Luke 3:4): "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread," Jesus answered, quoting Deut. 8:3 that "man doth not live by bread only but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." Jesus said (Mark 10:45) specifically "For even the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" and at another time (John 5:30) expanded on this statement by saying, "I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear, I judge; and my judgment is just; because I seek not mine own will but the will of the Father which hath sent me."

Jesus always calls himself the son of Man, as did Ezekiel,⁴ but Christian interpreters, trying to prove the virgin birth, say that "man" is a collective term for both men and women. They base themselves on Numbers ³21:35 וַיִּפֹּשׁ אֶלְדָּם בֶּן הַנְּשִׁים "and the number of women", Jesus, however, seems to assume that Joseph was his physical father. On one occasion, his mother, referring to Joseph, said to Jesus, that his father was calling him. In Luke 2:42-48 is recorded the story of how Mary and

Joseph took Jesus up to Jerusalem and lost him, and how after they finally found him, his mother said: "thy father and I have sought thee."

We have observed the attitude of Jesus on this matter. Let us note some passages which misled later generations to think that Jesus was a God. In John 10:30, Jesus says, "I and my Father are one" and in John 14:9-10, "he that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, show as the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" These passages have to be understood as poetic inasmuch as Jesus was accustomed to give parables and speak figuratively. Continuing the very same passage (John 14:20) he said to his disciples, "at that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me and I in you." This, too, is poetic. Otherwise, we would be forced to assume that all his disciples are Gods. John 10:19-36 tells us the story of a discussion which Jesus had with Jews who wanted to stone him for blasphemy, "because that thou being a man, makest thyself God." Jesus, in answering them, goes to great trouble to prove that he is speaking figuratively, quoting Psalms 82:6 "Ye are gods" which cannot, of course, be taken literally, and pointing out that he merely calls himself the son of God.⁵

Duran quotes a number of statements by disciples, which have led their successors to think that Jesus was God. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (9:4-5), referring to the Israelites says: "Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen."

In his Epistle to the Colossians, (2:8-9), Paul said, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men after the rudiments of the world and not after Christ. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." I John 3:16 says "Hereby perceive the love of God, because he laid down his life for us," while Revelations 1:17-18 proclaims: "I am the first and the last: I am he that liveth and was dead; and behold I am alive evermore." Duran does not answer these passages at length, although people interpret him falsely to imply the divinity of Jesus. He merely stresses the statement of Jesus: "Ye are gods" as definite evidence that he did not intend to be considered as a God."

There are many cases of wrong interpretation of the Messiah, on the basis of prophetic statements. Jeremiah 23:6 "And this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord is our righteousness" is an example. Duran points out that very often altars are given similar names (Ex. 17:15; Gen. 33:20). Therefore, nothing Messianic can be attached to this statement. Another verse quoted is Isaiah 9:5, "and his name is called בְּלִא יוֹעַן אֶל נְבוֹר אֲנִי עַר שָׂר שְׁלוֹם. This verse, according to Christian scholars refers to the Messiah and indicates his divinity. This is a title appropriate only for a God. Duran answers this opinion by saying that this title was given to Hezekiah. He first justifies his opinion historically and then develops a most ingenious Midrash in which he shows that Hezekiah had been called, at one time or another, by every one of the names within the title. He does similarly with Zechariah 4:7.

Much more significant, however, is Isaiah 7:14..."behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." Christians try to build two arguments from this verse. They say that the word *na'ar* means virgin, thus ignoring the accepted meaning (Proverbs 30:19) of the word as "young woman," and they interpret Immanuel as referring to Jesus. Matthew 1:22-3 tries to make a case for the virgin birth on the basis of this verse, ignoring the discrepancy of over 500 years⁶ and ignoring the verses which follow (Isa. 7:16): "Yea, before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou hast a horror of shall be forsaken." They also ignore the fact that Isa. 7:14 *הנה וילדה בן* which is in the present tense, makes the prophecy contemporaneous.⁷ To eliminate this difficulty, Jerome rendered the verse as if it had said *הנה וילד בן*. Another difficulty is to be found in reconciling the verse with Luke 1:28, in which the angel said to Mary "the Lord is with thee" instead of "the Lord is with us."

The interpreters continued to find so many difficulties in reconciling the New Testament to Old Testament prophecies that Nicholas de Lira presented the theory that the entire Old Testament is but a literary and figurative introduction to the life of Jesus. Thus the story of Isa. 7:14f. although very early, is a sort of poetic analogy to Jesus. Duran claims that this is not true. Signs which God gives are never so remote. There is usually a short period between a sign and its fulfillment (Ex. 4:1-3, Judges 6:38-40, II Kings 20:9-11). If the Christians insist that *na'ar* means virgin they must conclude that an

immaculate conception took place in the days of Isaiah. If so, the significance of Mary's immaculate conception is lost.

When the scholars realized that the references indicating the divinity of Jesus really proved that he was human and that there were contradictory verses, they divided Jesus into two aspects, Jesus as a human and Jesus as divine. Jesus is both; the divine in him, however, is dominant while the human is recessive, just as in the human being the human is dominant and the animal aspect is recessive. Jesus needed the human aspect to complete his divinity just as the human needs the animal to complete his human-ness.⁸ Duran answers this thesis by asking why Jesus cried (Matt. 27:46) "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" If it was the human that was crucified, can it be that the Divine called unto the Divine?

That the apostles considered Jesus merely as a great prophet is to be seen in their statement after the death of Jesus (Acts 3:20-22) in which they quote Deuteronomy 18:15, "A prophet will the Lord raise up unto thee, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me (Moses); unto him shall ye hearken." The fact that Jesus called himself the son of God does not indicate his divinity since Deuteronomy 14:1 says: "Ye are the children of the Lord your God." Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (8:14-16) said, "For as many as are led by the spirit of God they are the children of God....The spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God." John 1:12 says: "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe in his name."

Having demonstrated that neither Jesus nor his disciples considered him divine, Duran goes ahead to prove that Jesus never intended to break with the Law.⁹ He begins by citing references that prove his point. Matthew 5:17-22 begins with "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfill" and continues in the same strain. (See also Matt. 5:27-30, 5:33-44.) In Luke 16:17, he says: "And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail" while on another occasion (Matthew 23:2-3), he says: "Therefore, whatsoever they (the Pharisees) bid you, observe." In Matthew 5:31-32 where he deals with divorce, he does not mean to disagree with Jewish law but merely to explain the law in Dt. 24:1-2 as he understood it. Finally, we know that he was given the death penalty not for trying to break or abrogate the Torah but because he claimed himself the Messiah and the son of God. (Matt. 26:63-66.)

Christian theologians attempt to prove that he attempted to destroy the Torah. They base themselves on two passages. (Matt. 15:1-3, 11 and Luke 10:3-7). Dealing on one occasion with the matter of washing the hands before eating (נטילת ידים), he said: "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man." What he meant was that the eating itself does not defile, were it not for the fact that there is a divine prohibition. We know this because his disciples continued to keep all the legal restrictions. At another time, in giving advice as to visiting strange places or fleeing from persecution, he said, "And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they

give." From this it is assumed that he permitted prohibited foods. This is false because the parallel passage to this one in Matt. 10:5ff. says specifically, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not." Thus, he meant that they should eat only what they find in the houses of Jews. Naturally, when he permits eating in the houses of non-Jews, he alludes to those things which are permissible.

Jesus was not particularly interested in non-Jews. When a non-Jewish woman came to him, (Mark 7:25-27) asking that the devil be taken out of her daughter he answers: "Let the child be filled; for it is not meet to take the child's bread and to cast it unto the dogs." When the Pharisees told him that his disciples had desecrated the Sabbath by plucking the ears of corn, (Matt. 12:1-4) he cited the example of David eating the shew-bread (I Sam. 21:50) when he was hungry. He did not try to break with the Law but attempted to show that sometimes it requires re-interpretation. In fact, when he describes the approachable doom (quoting Daniel 9:27) he expresses the hope (Matt. 24:15-21) that his disciples will not have to flee on the Sabbath. Jesus wanted the Law preserved even for the Gentiles. "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations....teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you...." "I have commanded you," obviously includes the Pharisaic Law which he insisted upon in Matt. 23:3.

Even the disciples wanted to keep the Law. Simon has a vision (Acts 10:11-16, 28) which demonstrates quite clearly that he would not partake of prohibited food. Paul and a

number of men, basing themselves on Numbers 6:13-18, partake of a Nazirite ritual, after the death of Jesus. (Acts 21:26) When Paul was brought to Rome he called the chief of the Jews together, (Acts 28:16-18) and said: "Men and brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people or customs of our fathers yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans." On another occasion, he said (Acts 25:10-11), "to the Jews I have done no wrong as thou very well knowest. For if I be an offender, or have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die." "So worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets." (Acts 24:14). If he had broken the Law, he would not have felt free to make such a statement when faced with a possible sentence of death. We read in Acts (22:12) of "Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there." Elsewhere, (Acts 7:53) Stephen criticizes the priests who have received the law by the disposition of angels, and have not left it." James (2:10) says: "For whosoever shall keep the whole law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." These passages indicate quite clearly that the Jews respected the early Christians as good professing Jews, considering them merely as members of a different sect. It is equally clear that the disciples accepted the Law most seriously. They erred in considering Jesus the Messiah and in entertaining the opinion that he would atone for the original sin and would bring back the kingdom to Israel (although Jesus said nothing specific of the last point, Acts 1:6-7.)

Paul sent out his Epistles to strengthen the faith of the people. Finding that the obligation of works was too great and was not holding the recent converts, he began stressing Faith and belittling Works. Since it was customary for Jews to baptize converts as well as ask for circumcision, Paul simplified things by insisting only on faith and baptism. There was a Conference to consider this radical departure (Acts 15:1-11) and Paul won his point, being permitted to speak authoritatively as apostle to the nations. (Romans 11:13). With this Conference, a definite ideological break was made with Judaism. Henceforth, Paul contented himself to limit his preaching to the heathen and said definitely that the Christian message is not binding upon the Jews, who of their own free will accept the burden of circumcision and other obligations and thus are "debtors to the whole law."¹⁰

The last point made by Duran is perhaps one of the most powerful polemical weapons that he produced--for if it can be demonstrated that Paul regarded Judaism as acceptable for the Jews and resorted to Faith and Baptism only to win over the heathen, future generations of Christians have no raison d'aitre at all for their anti-Jewish polemics. Duran, however, carries the point further. He shows why the opinion of Paul regarding the Jewish right to practise Judaism was disregarded.

When later theologians realized that the disciples did stand for the perpetuation of the Law, they developed a new philosophy. Augustine, for instance, divided world history into three periods. The first period, from Moses to the Crucifixion, during which the Law was binding on all was similar to a living person who needs both body and soul. The second period, from the

crucifixion to the announcement of the gospel, is similar to a dying man; the Law was not very binding. The third period, since the announcement of the gospel, similar to the state when the physical body is dead but the spirit lives on, is one in which the Law is no longer of any authority. Only the spiritual and moral aspects are still necessary. The weakness of this theory requires some support which is granted through the theory that all reforms and revisions are possible inasmuch as Jesus gave the keys of heaven to the Pope, who may do whatever he wants.

To strengthen themselves, theologians used prophetic statements as supports. "Teach me Thy way, O Lord" (Ps. 27:11) was changed by Jerome to read, "Give me, O Lord, a Law." The prophecy in Isa. 42:1-4, "Behold My servant, whom I uphold..... and the isles shall wait for his teaching" was felt to refer to Jesus who misquotes the conclusion (Matt. 12:18-21) as "And in his name shall the Gentiles trust." Obviously, a false quotation cannot be considered as proof. Another prophetic passage frequently cited is Jeremiah 31:31-33, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant...." In Hebrews 8:10 Paul perverted the text to imply that the covenant will be broken rather than renewed. Jerome changed the tense of the verb to make it fit Jesus, if possible. Duran points out that the effort to prove that the covenant alludes to Christians is forced, since they were never in Egypt and a previous covenant had not been made with them.¹¹

A Christian argument often given is that they have taken

the place of Israel and Judah who rebelled by crucifying their own Messiah. Hence, God has placed them as a mockery to the people. This is false, says Duran, inasmuch as God has promised (Dt. 30:4-6, 8; Jerem. 32:37-40) that in the days of the true Messiah, the Jews will accept him. It would, therefore, seem that he has not yet arrived.

"....And all the nations shall be gathered unto it to the name of the Lord, to Jerusalem....." (Jer. 3:12-17). Nicholas de Lina interpreted this verse as referring to the coming of Jesus, at which time the people of the earth gave up paganism. Duran shows the falseness of this reasoning by pointing out that Constantine who established Christianity, lived more than two centuries after Jesus. Further, all the Gentiles have not gathered to Jerusalem nor have the Jews returned thither. The point really brought out by the passage is that when the redemption will take place Jerusalem will be the center of religious worship.

Christian theologians have tried to demonstrate that the Old Testament (the Law of Moses) is inadequate and must be superseded by the New Testament (The Law of Jesus). Their biased analysis leads them to conclude that the Old Testament lacks the three basic elements, found in the New Testament, i.e., moralistic or ethical, Judicial, and ceremonial matters. Because of this the Old Testament is not even worthy of being called The Law. It is for this reason that the Christian scriptures are not called the "New Law" but the "New Covenant" or "Testament." Duran does not attempt to defend the Old Testament from

from this prejudiced Christian attack. Without any comment, he makes a few quotations (Ps. 19:8, Levit. 4:13-31, Dt. 4:8), feeling that the Old Testament requires no defense from such a stupid attack.

As we turn from the opinion of Duran to more recent opinions on the same problems, we find a tremendous variety of thought and speculation on the subject of Jesus. Let us consider the Jewish views first. Enelow views Jesus as one who was very much impressed with the work of John and, therefore, began preaching that the Kingdom of God was at hand. It was inevitable that he should be asked about the nature of the Kingdom and his relation to it. The question crystallized his thinking for, thereafter, Jesus proclaimed that the Kingdom was to be a spiritual one. Furthermore, Jesus felt that if to realize inwardly the kingdom of God meant to be the Messiah, the Anointed of God, God's Son, he was the Messiah.¹² Goodman sees Jesus as one who felt inspired to proclaim a new era such as the prophets had foretold, but fell victim to the turbulence of the times, being charged with sedition against the Roman authorities.¹³ Friedlander does not consider Jesus a prophet but an apocalyptic dreamer who in the course of time applied his teaching to himself and believed himself to be the Messiah.¹⁴ Klausner points out that at the beginning of his ministry Jesus realized he could not be the Messiah because of his limited knowledge; it was only, in time, after he had been a preacher for a while that he decided he was the Messiah.¹⁵ Montefiore points out that he constantly thought of God as his Father and the Father of other men,

using the term only figuratively.

Naturally enough, most Jewish writers do not feel that Jesus wanted to break with the Law. Abrahams^a points out that he not only did not wish to break with the Law but that even Jews did not view him as one who wished to break with the Law.¹⁷ There is not a scrap of evidence, says Abrahams^a, to show that Jesus ever attempted to teach in any synagogue and was met with a refusal. Jacobs¹⁸ and Klausner¹⁹ take similar views. Montefiore tries to outdo Christian scholars in insisting that Jesus came, in the tradition of the prophets, to rebel against the Law which was now complete. A most convincing harmonization of the various Jewish views is presented by Professor Cohon who points out that originally Jesus had no conflict with the Pharisees but distanced himself because of their refusal to heed his Messianic claim, a point of friction which caused Jesus to clash with them in certain aspects of the Law. As one who did not come to break the Law but who at the same time did not want to submit himself completely to the Pharisaic restriction, Professor Cohon places him in the category of the Am Ha Aretz, the technical meaning of which is, non-Pharisee.²⁰ What we know of his life makes it possible for us to identify him more definitely as an Am-Ha Aretz Hasid.

Among Christians we find a huge divergence of views. W. Douglas Mackenzie points out that Jesus in all his contacts with his disciples does not include himself as a recipient in the glory that will come with the coming Kingdom. His definite tone and sense of authority suggest that he realized

he was more than just an individual.²¹ He rejects what he considers the impossible opinion of Schmidt who claims that Jesus never called himself the Son of God and was never addressed by that title. He also disagrees with those who say that the Son of God was only equivalent to the Messiah. The self-consciousness of Jesus was a basic element from the beginning.²² Sanday, who accepts the deity of Jesus, thinks that "from the baptism he had a clear consciousness that He was Himself the promised Messiah--yet He did not press His claim, but deliberately sought rather to conceal than to assert it."²³ A similar view is held by Headlam.²⁴

The official Catholic view insists, of course, on the self-consciousness of Jesus. The sanctity of Jesus and his realization of it, consists, negatively, in his unspotted sinlessness. He can defy his enemies by asking, "which of you shall convince me of sin" (John 8:46). Even Jewish authorities could find nothing wrong with him except that he claimed to be the Son of God; he is not merely content with adoptive sonship.²⁵

Turning to the more liberal view, we find a host of writers, representing all the various shadings. Schweitzer warns us to beware of the universal modern theology which tries to find its world-accepting ethic in the teaching of Jesus.²⁶ He points out that the liberals retain just what they want to retain and the rest they reinterpret or throw out.²⁷ Thus Singer says that the story of the real Jesus is overlaid by that of the mythical Christ. Jesus should be seen "not as a glorified Messiah but as a modest Jewish" rabbi ~~going about~~

going about his work.²⁸ Although he realizes that the materials for an objective life of Jesus do not exist,²⁹ Gardner, does perceive the fact that Jesus apparently took the Messianic ideas of his day and transformed them, although he is not sure of the process. Walker stresses the fact that Jesus seldom referred to "the Anointed" and never used the term directly of himself. He was, however, conscious of possessing leadership in the experience of divine sonship among men. It is of himself as a prophet of God par excellence that he thinks, when he sets himself to pay the full price of martyrdom.³⁰ In a later work he calls upon Christians to accept a view nearer to the Jewish interpretation, namely that Jesus was no more than a prophet.³¹ Warschauer similarly demonstrates how Jesus himself was shy of all terms except "Son of Man" in reference to himself.³²

Two recent works summarize the liberal view very well. Mackinzen views Jesus merely as an historic personality, the highest manifestation of the divine in the human--which definitely asserted its subordination to God.³³ He shows how his message was at first only partly messianic³⁴ and how it gradually developed. The concept of hypostasis, which was later developed can certainly not be accepted as historically binding. "There is no authentic utterance that involves such a claim. Jesus' sonship is religious and ethical, not metaphysical; functional, not essential."³⁵ "Even Paul, who has little to tell us of the historic Jesus, does not go to the length of equating the exalted Christ with God in the absolute sense."³⁶

cf. Tute

Goguel, fortified with great scholarship and acumen, approximates the Jewish view most. He points out that we do not know at what precise moment Jesus felt called upon to be the Son of Men³⁷ but that it is quite definite that there is nothing to show that at the outset, Jesus had the idea that he would be called to play the part of the Messiah³⁸--Jesus never intended to found a new religion. He sincerely felt when he was on the cross, that his life mission had failed.³⁹

There is not quite as much division of opinion on the question of breaking with the Law as there is of the self-consciousness of Jesus. Even the extremely conservative view of Headlom makes an adjustment here. He does not say that Jesus came to break with the Law; he accepted but also wished to improve it and expand it. While the old law is expressed through its maxim, "Thou shalt not," as in "Thou shalt not kill," the new law says, "Thou shalt love."⁴⁰ Mackenzie, who accepts the self-consciousness of Jesus, feels that Jesus never broke with Israel and that his appeals to them to see his view never ceased.⁴¹ He admits, however, that we have no definite record of the personal experiences of the disciples in connection with Jesus. They had a general inchoate idea of him. Paul, for instance, received from the Primitive Church the opinion that Christ could be called Messiah (Christ), Son of God and Lord. The rest of his theology he worked out himself.⁴²

The official Catholic view is that Jesus did not want to break with the Law. The Jewish Law, however, has needed a constant reinterpretation. "The Catholic Church, by virtue

of the commission given to her by Christ is the divinely constituted interpreter of the Divine Law of both the Old Testament and the New."⁴³

Of the liberal scholars, Case points out that Jesus thought himself an approved spokesman for God, but not a traditional Jewish pedagogue.⁴⁴ This does not mean, however, that he tried to break with the Law. He merely realized that he was not a thoroughgoing conformist. In another work, he shows how this view prevailed even after the death of Jesus and how the Apostles considered themselves as Jews until the latter pressed the point. The Jews were the first to force the breach because they saw the danger of an heretical movement within Judaism.⁴⁵

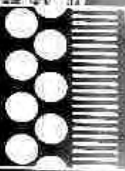
Biltzman insists quite vigorously that "Jesus agreed always with the scribes of his time in accepting without question the authority of the (Old Testament) Law."⁴⁶ It is evident, he feels, that the idea that Jesus had attacked the authority of the Law was wholly unknown to the Christian community.⁴⁷ Menzies⁴⁸ differentiates between Paul and Stephen who were accused of attacks on the Law, and Jesus who was never thus accused. Having been brought up in a pious Jewish home he could not conceive of the Law as a burden. Although not a very great student of the Law he respected it highly. He regarded it as a moral code and as a system of ritual. He knew very little of its great tradition. Walker points out that Jesus believed in the permanent value of much that was in Judaism; "whatever modifications or developments might come,

the essential matters would not be altered."⁴⁹ He never seems to "have intended any abrogation of those customs of his own people, which had ~~had~~ done so much to keep them unspotted from the world....In all probability he observed the Mosaic Law himself, and did not directly urge or desire his disciples to break any definite injunction."

Branscomb, in a special study of this problem, demonstrates convincingly that, basically, Jesus is a product of the Jewish milieu--one who imbibed the truth of Pharisaism and accepted it. He appreciated especially the moral and ethical elements within it,⁵¹ but his spirit rebelled, after a while, against the priestly and legalistic elements in the Pharisaic program and the effort to ritualize matters of ethics. He accepted much of the oral law, of course, but on certain matters of oral law he differed radically with the Pharisees.⁵² Mackinnon, referring similarly to this problem, says that the antagonism between Jesus and the Pharisees is wrongly portrayed in the Gospels as fundamental.⁵³ "It was against the excessive externalism and legalism which undoubtedly entered into the religious profession of the time...that he protested."⁵⁴

We can finish our account with the words of Goguel:
"Although he may have, at times, despaired of the Jews, he never condemned Judaism⁵⁵....He never went to the large towns, like Tiberias and Sepphoris where there were large gentile populations. During the entire ministry he confined himself to the Jews⁵⁶....He criticized them (the Pharisees) on several points, but he was not opposed to Pharisaism. He saw in them--what they really were--the religious elite of Israel and he

would have liked to have gained their support.⁵⁷



CHAPTER VI

PROBLEMS OF CHRISTIAN DOGMA

Of the problems of Dogma that of the Immaculate Conception concerns us first.¹ Duran points out that the entire theory is based on one passage in Matthew (1:20-23) to the effect that Mary bore Jesus as a virgin, having conceived of the Holy Ghost. The passage points to the Immaculate Conception as a fulfillment of the prophecy in Isaiah 7:14 which we have already analyzed.² There are but a few other references to Mary. We have already noted some in the last chapter.³ In addition, John (19:25-27) tells us that at the crucifixion Jesus asks that Mary become John's mother, while in Acts (1:14) Mary is mentioned as joining other people in prayer.

Later Christians exaggerated Mary's position. Jerome, in his Introduction to the Vulgate, tells that Mary remains a virgin to this very day, being to the right of Jesus in heaven, and answering prayers. But Matthew (1:25) tells us of Joseph, "And knew her not till she had brought forth his firstborn son," which would imply that he did have intercourse with her after that. They, therefore, claim that a ray of light shone from her face so that nobody, not even Joseph, could recognize her. They interpret the verse to read ~~and~~ recognize rather than knew.⁴ Others try to claim that till does not necessarily imply that he knew her after that--using Genesis 49:10 as an

example תָּכֵן כִּי יָבֹאוּ שִׁילֹה "As long as men come to Shiloh."

Duran thinks they are stretching the meaning of the verse.⁵ Perhaps the most conclusive evidence is to be found in a later passage in Matthew (13:54-57) where we learn that Jesus teaches in the synagogue and people wonder saying: "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James and Joseph, and Simon and Judah? and his sisters are they not all with us?"

Having already dealt with the problem of the Virgin Birth in the first chapter of his work⁶ Duran does not discuss the problem at length here. He feels it is more or less a theoretical problem. He goes ahead to the more important discussion of Original Sin and the role that Jesus plays in connection with it.⁷ Duran presents, first, the classical Christian view of original sin--that death was made the heritage of man through Adam because he rebelled against the command prohibiting eating from the tree of knowledge. Death is the punishment of the soul which goes down to Hell. The sin is transferred to all men--whose spiritual form has become diminished because of original sin--and all men will die even if they have no actual personal sin. Hence the verse (Ps. 51:7) "Behold I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." But Divine Wisdom, because of love for humanity, decided to save the human species so that those who deserve it may return to Paradise and it appeared, therefore, in a Divine form, in a Son who was to die--only a drop would have saved humanity; yet all his blood was shed--to save mankind. But, wishing to do

more, it was decreed that by identification with the deity through the son, even the sinner could attain salvation. Because of Original Sin man lacked the Grace of God and went to Hell. Through circumcision, Abraham brought man to partial grace but the crucifixion of Jesus completed the process.⁸

Christians ignore the oft repeated statement of Jesus (Matt. 17:21-22, 20:18, 26:2, 24) that "the son of man shall be betrayed....and they shall condemn him to death." Rather do they put their view on a number of passages that suggest salvation. "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ, our Lord" (Romans 7:24-25). "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all be made alive." (I Corinthians 15:21-22)⁹ Only believers can achieve salvation. "He that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." (John 3:36).

There are quite a number of passages which make the concept of original sin difficult to accept. When criticized by the Pharisees for associating with sinners (Matt. 9:12) Jesus replied: "They that be whole need not a physician but they that are sick," and on another occasion (Matt. 9:13) he said to them "for I am not come to call the righteous but the sinners to repentance," while at another time (Matt. 15:24) he said, "I am not come but unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel." If Jesus came to save the entire genus of man, righteous as well as sinners, these verses offer irreconcilable

difficulty. Jesus seems to have felt that there was a heaven even in his day, before his crucifixion. He chides the Pharisees for "shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men" (Matt. 23:13); recommending meekness, he said: "Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 18:2-4); he recommended the keeping of the ten commandments as an assurance (Matt. 19:16-17) for eternal life. The famous passage, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Luke 18:25, Matt. 19:24) is expressed in the present with the assumption that there is a heaven--even before the crucifixion.

Jesus not only did not accept the concept of original sin; on the contrary, he exhorted good deeds (Matt. 19:17) in order to attain Paradise. "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they did you observe, that observe and do." (Matt. 23:2-3). Jesus presented this illustration and others (Luke 16:23, Matt. 26:64, Mark 14:62, Luke 33:69) as figurative but his successors accepted these as literal and built up concepts of a physical heavenly hierarchy.

The successors of Jesus interpreted Gen. 2:17 "for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die" not as a spiritual penalty but as a physical torture in Hell, which would be atoned for by the death of Jesus.¹⁰ They thought that Jesus would return and live with them relatively soon and that at least some of them would witness it. He thought so himself, describing the end of the world and the day of judgment

in Matt. 24:1-31. In his statement (Matt. 24:34) "This generation shall not pass till all things be fulfilled," he implied that the human species would disappear within that generation. This prediction troubled the Christians and so they divided the history of the world into three generations, from Adam to Moses, from Moses to Jesus and from Jesus to the end of the world and the day of judgment. But soon Christian theology had to conclude that there had been a resurrection--a conclusion which was forced by the statement of Jesus, (Matt. 16:28) "There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom."¹¹

When the disciples saw that their hopes of an immediate second coming were being deceived they made up fancies. Thus John (Revelations 20:1-14) extends the generation to a thousand years, at the end of which the anti-Christ will rule for a short period and confuse the faith of Jesus, etc. Duran points out that even in his day, Christians realized how silly all this speculation really is and that it was commonly accepted that these stories had been told to the early Christians in order to bolster up their faith.

Duran now concerns himself with the interesting theory of the trinity.¹² He begins by pointing out the close relationship between Jesus and mystical literature. A fuller study, however, leads Duran to believe that Jesus performed his miracles not through a knowledge of Jewish mystical writing but from magic and sorcery which he learned in Egypt. Duran supplies evidence to prove his point.¹³

The main source for the theory of the trinity is found in

John (5:7) "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these are one."

Duran points out that the classic Christian conclusion is far fetched. Since it has to do with testimony the writer meant that these three witnesses are one in the sense that they agree. Evidence for this is found in the verse which follows: "And there are three that bear witness in the earth, the spirit and the water, and the blood and these three agree in one."

This verse is extremely embarrassing for the trinitarian hypothesis inasmuch as we know that the earth, spirit and water, and blood are not the same. Since this verse threatens to destroy the entire structure on which they build their theory they have tried to insist that it does not exist. Duran, however, points to Nicolas de Lira's involved make-shift comment on the verse, as proof that the verse exists.

In attempting to prove the unity of Father and Son, they are assisted by the first statement in John (1:1-2): "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God," and in a later passage (John 1:14): "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth." The Son is the "Word of God." Through the explanation of "Hypostasis," they explained that the bearer, having the divine characteristic assumed flesh (the Son) although it had not flesh in its attribute. This reasoning, which is hardly worth following, makes no mention at all of the Holy Ghost. In their metaphysical speculations they try to explain the trinity in terms of

wisdom, potentiality, and will. Wisdom becomes the Son; potentiality, the Father; and will, the Holy Ghost. Duran shows how the Christian metaphysical approach to the trinitarian problem is not germane.

Christians use the plural form Elohim and Adonai to demonstrate the plurality of God. The fact that "Holy, Holy, Holy" appears in Isaiah 6:3 is used as evidence of the trinity. They also point to the declaration שָׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד (Dt. 6:4) and argue that the first יהוה is the Father from which comes the son (אֱלֹהֵינוּ) and these develop into a third יהוה which is the Holy Ghost. Duran demonstrates the folly of such reasoning for if Adonai or Elohim stand for two or three, there is much more than a trinity expressed in this declaration.

From the problem of the Trinity, Duran turns to the Papacy.¹⁴ He informs us that the authority was given to the Pope, as the shepherd of the flock of believers, who has received the keys and has through them, control over the punishment which the individual will get in Purgatory, in preparation for Heaven. The Pope has complete authority but may not alter anything which Jesus said although he might change, if necessary, what the disciples might have said. Christians base themselves on Matthew 16:13-20 in which Jesus asks the disciples what people say of him and after getting an adequate answer from Peter, he hands him the keys of Heaven.

There are a number of weaknesses in the Papacy thesis. First of all, there is no record that Peter gave this power or authority to anybody else or that he made anybody his messenger

just before he was executed by Nero. Even according to their claim, if there was a messenger one must pause to question the authority of the messenger since, according to canon law, one is not a bona fide representative unless the sender specifies him as such in the contract. Furthermore the authority was given not only to Peter, for we read in a later passage (Matt. 18:18) that Jesus said: "Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Jesus may have been referring to his powers of sorcery which he was transferring, or perhaps he was not quite rational on the occasion on which he said this. In any case, the argument is a weak one and has very little to stand on. Since Christians realized this they've offered another explanation. They feel that anybody who would make the sacrifice that Jesus made and one who loved humanity so, would surely not have his people stranded without a shepherd. The pope is thus the leader for each generation who takes the place of Peter. Duran does not comment on this last point. As long as Christians concede that there is no scriptural evidence for the institution of the papacy, he has no argument.

Turning to the modern scene, we observe that one's attitude toward matters of dogma depends pretty much on what one's relation to the dogma is. Judaism, of course, could hardly be expected to accept these concepts, even academically. It has not only a rich tradition and background of its own, but its contacts with Christianity, often on these very points, have

been far from pleasant. Judaism points to the concept of Immaculate Conception as just one more story which may be added to the host of folk-lore on the subject of virgin-birth-- "a legend which is common to almost all folk heroes as indicating their superiority to the rest of their people."¹⁵ The Jewish view is summarized more facetiously but realistically in the words of Paul Goodman: "The virgin-birth rests on a very doubtful dream and the conflicting testimonies of still more doubtful angels."¹⁶

In the matter of original sin, Judaism must perforce give a more philosophical answer. It admits having flirted with the concept during certain periods of its development.¹⁷ The concept must have been at its height at the time Christianity took it over. The test of time, in Jewish theological development, has favored the concept that man is responsible for sin because he is endowed with free will (behirah); due to man's tendency to sin, however, God allows man to repent and be forgiven. Judaism views the concept of one individual bringing salvation to humanity, stepped in sin because of the Original Sin, as it does upon the virgin birth. It is but a survival of ancient folk-lore.

The Jewish attitude toward the concept of the Trinity is one of keen opposition. Judaism has fought most fiercely for the concept of unity of God. It has always viewed the trinity as a serious threat to the cardinal Jewish principle of one God. Although the concept of the trinity has lost much of its meaning for Christianity, Judaism makes no compromise on this point but continues to stress the Unity of God. Judaism

resents especially the Christian boldness of pointing to the Shema--the solemn confession of the Unity of God, and the symbol of great martyrdom for the Unity of God--as a proof for the trinity.¹⁸ In the same tradition, Judaism still views the concept of the trinity as a stumbling block in the path of a purer and finer religion.

Inasmuch as the papacy, by its own admission, concerns itself only with the believers, Judaism has^{shied} from contact with it. With Protestantism, it views the papacy as a survival of the Roman governmental organization long outmoded. It rejects, of course, the concept of infallibility and refuses to respect the undemocratic principle of religious regimentation.

Christian views on the problem of the Immaculate Conception differ radically. Warschauer¹⁹ shows how a generation after the death of Jesus the desire arose to know more of his origin. Two traditions developed, one, that Jesus as the Messiah, was descended from David and, the other, that he was born of the Virgin Mary, conceived of the Holy Ghost. Warschauer points to the frequency of the virgin-birth in ancient lore. The births of Isaac, Samson, and Samuel are somewhat wondrous. A legend in the Talmud speaks of Moses as born of a virgin mother. Zipporah and Tamar are supposed to have been impregnated "by no human." The concept, he points out further, was quite prevalent among the Greeks. Early Christianity was bound to be influenced by these two main streams of thought and the concept of the virgin-birth is the result.

Mackinnon, following along critical lines, points out that the various narratives which include the virgin birth

story demonstrate a marked Jewish-Christian character. The sections dealing with the virgin-birth are Gentile-Christian and are not necessary for the continuation of the narrative. They are obviously late interpolations.²⁰ Walker suggests that the virgin-birth may have been historically misunderstood. It may well be that no idea of a virgin-birth is intended in the gospel story, especially Luke. He quotes The Syrian Christ by A. M. Ribbany, which tells us that the habit of mind in Syria to this very day is to think of every birth as miraculous.²¹ As to the Matthew story, scholars are beginning to accept the Syriac version that Joseph was the father of Jesus.

Martin deals with this problem very thoroughly. He observes that neither Jesus nor Mary allude to the subject and Paul states that Jesus was "made of the seed of David, according to the flesh." He thinks that Paul would surely have expressed the concept of the virgin birth to bolster faith in Jesus if such a concept were extant. Mark has no record of the virgin birth, yet all three tell of the baptism of Jesus in "the Holy Spirit"--a fact which clearly suggests to the Bible critic that the birth narratives of Matthew and Luke formed no part of the original text.²² Martin continues his analysis and demonstrates, from silence, of course, that the virgin-birth concept is a later concept.

Two interesting works are devoted completely to this problem. Bishop Cooke takes a very conservative view. He attempts to prove that despite the silence of Paul he knew about the virgin birth. He suggests that it may never have

occurred to Paul that his silence would raise any question in the Church,²³ or perhaps a mention of the virgin birth was not germane to any of his discussions, on there may have been a prudential reason. "Christianity was an absolutely new religion. It came into a world already grown old in sin....The moral darkness of milleniums had so blinded the spiritual perception in the men of that world that when the pure and holy truths of Christianity were announced, they aroused antagonism."²⁴ Needless to say, this is not a thoroughly scientific work. The writer has begun with a bias which he seems unable to overcome.

Taylor's work is much more carefully worked out. His analysis is very scientific. In fact he goes to the extreme of considering every possibility so that finally he comes to no definite conclusions.²⁵ He deals, first, with the argument from silence and then analyzes very minutely the story of the virgin as found in the two gospels and finally concludes that there can be no scientific conclusion as yet. He points out that the critics cannot agree on any one alternative theory and concludes that the opinion one holds is pretty much a matter of doctrine. The view with which we come to the problem is bound to influence us. Perhaps, future study will emancipate us from this dilemma.

A few words concerning the Catholic view are apropos. Catholicism says that there are two types of conception--active and passive. The active is the usual physical formation of body; the passive is the infusion of rational soul into the body of God. In Mary's case it was passive. All descendants

of Adam are born in original sin and are granted grace only through baptism, unless God interposes, which He did in Mary's case, purifying her at the moment of conception. She was, therefore, born without sin.²⁶ This view has been held by Catholicism only since the twelfth century through the influence of the popular Feast of the Conception of Mary, a medieval celebration, based on a legend found in the Protoevangelium of James, a second century apocryphal work.²⁷

It is hardly necessary to deal at length with the problem of Original Sin. Broadly speaking, Christianity is split on on this problem as it is on the entire matter of orthodoxy and liberalism. Catholicism and fundamentalist Protestantism accept the concept with its many ramifications while liberal Christians reject or reinterpret the entire concept. The Catholic Church views Original Sin as the privation of Original Justice, granted as a free gift to Adam and violated by him. Because of his error we are all born in Original Sin. Man is not born evil; he is born without grace. Through baptism we can regain the grace which gives us entry into Heaven.²⁸ The same general view is expressed by an extremely anti-Catholic handbook of religion.²⁹

The liberal view realizes that Genesis III has no basis for the concept of Original Sin and that the Biblical compiler probably had no such thought in mind.³⁰ It observes the historical development and realizes that it cannot be of the nature of an observed fact not only because of biblical and historical

science but also because of the impact of anthropological, psychological and biological research. The concept can be retained by the liberal only if reinterpreted broadly as a social problem, as Royce does in The Problem of Christianity in which he attempts to show how all of society must labor to conquer original social sin. The moral self must be bred through social conflict.

We find Christian thinking divided on the matter of the trinity as it is on Original Sin. Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants accept the principle while liberals reject or take very modified positions. The Catholics view the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the last being begotten by the Father and the Son, as "three individual, complete units, each God, the three containing a single essence and being together one God."³¹ Catholicism develops this thesis philosophically but does not become too specific. Lest the student be concerned over his difficulty to understand the problem it informs him that is not possible to understand these things.³²

The orthodox Protestant view also accepts the dogma without questioning. Shedd in his "History of Christian Doctrine" defends Nicene trinitarianism,³³ throughout the work. Buck, in the afore-mentioned, anti-Catholic Dictionary, also defends the concept of the Trinity strongly.³⁴ In a very interesting historical discussion, Harnack, in his "History of Dogma" shows the lateness of the concept. The Apostles Creed, which includes the Trinity was very much post-Apostolic while the Athanasian Creed, which finally crystallized the dogma, is Augustinian.³⁵

The liberal attitude is definitely expressed in the opinion of Mackinnon who insists that Jesus entertained no concept of the Trinity as was later developed.³⁶ W. Fulton points out that the term seems to have been first used by Tertullian. "In the New Testament we do not find the doctrinal Trinity in anything like its developed form, not even in the Pauline and Johannine theology,"³⁷ although we can see the basis upon which the dogma was erected. The modern tendency is to make much of the microcosm of human personality as carrying traces of macro-cosmic reality.

That one's opinions are quite clearly reflected by one's domination and its doctrines is seen in the attitude of Christians toward the Papacy. That which the Catholics so strongly defend is rejected as unacceptable by the most conservative of Protestants. Catholicism sees the pope as the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ, the visible head of the Church, the Doctor and Teacher of all faithful.³⁸ The pope is divinely appointed as the supreme authority in faith and discipline over all pastors. He chooses officers and is infallible in definitions of doctrine of faith and morals by means of the divine assistance promised by Peter. If Peter and his successors are the founders of a Church that is infallible, the individuals imposing beliefs of faith must also be infallible. When Christ changed Peter to "confirm thy brethren" he meant to create an "office" through which Church unity might be maintained.

Buck, representing a view just as orthodox as Catholicism, eliminates the problem by saying that the authority of the pope is binding only on Catholics.³⁹ The liberal view is presented

by E. E. Nourse who defines papacy, theologically, as the formal completion of the hierarchal conception of Christianity, politically, as the survival of the Roman conception of universal sovereignty.⁴⁰ The exegetical and historical questions of which the papacy is the center, he continues, are best approached by regarding the alleged evidence not as the cause but as the effect of the institution, as an afterthought, the object of which was to account for the existing state of things.

CHAPTER VII

MATTERS OF PRACTISE AND GENERAL PROBLEMS

The second half of the ninth chapter deals with the Sacraments.¹ Duran presents them rather sympathetically, offering the material as an informational introduction. In other parts of the book he analyzes the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. Here, however, he merely makes a descriptive survey of the seven sacraments, seven sins, and seven types of "good deeds." By way of passing, he points out that asceticism should not belong in the Christian system since it is not found among the sacraments or good deeds. He informs us that asceticism was accepted by a few Christians who more than 700 years after Jesus, apparently ignored I Timothy 4:1-3 which says: "...In the latter times some shall depart from the faith.... Forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats which God had created to be received with thanksgiving..." Christians, hard pressed, say this prophecy alludes to the period of the anti-Christ.

Duran deals with the problem of baptism at length.² He begins with the story of John the Baptist who sought the "Baptism of Repentance." (Matt. 3:1-4,11) "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." According to Christian belief, "Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the

water; and lo, the heavens were opened unto him and he saw the spirit of God descending like a dove and lighting upon him.

"If this is so, how can it be that the Holy Spirit, which supposedly had been with him all the time, came upon him only after the baptism?

John's baptism was a "baptism of repentance"--which was Jewish--not the same as the later Christian baptism. As we've already observed, the institution of baptism was copied from the Jews. Jesus says to his disciples: (Matt. 28:19) "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son and of the Holy Ghost," but he never commanded that the Jews be baptized for even in his opinion the Jews were a holy people who required but faith or a Baptism of Repentance. Only the non-Jews were to be baptized inasmuch as the Jews were considered baptized since Sinai. Paul says: (I Corinthians 10:1-2)"....all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea."

There is no mention of any disciple keeping or breaking the law of baptism, except Paul, whose story (Acts 9:1-18; 22:3; 26:2-23; Philipians 3:5) informs us that at first he persecuted the Christians vigorously in an effort to destroy them, but further contact with the Christians impressed him so strongly that he converted himself and devoted the rest of his life zealously to the Christian cause. To indicate that he repented for all that he had done to the Christians, who were really fellow Jews, he baptized himself. This was consistent with

Jewish practice, since it was a baptism of repentance. The other Israelites, however, did not have to baptize themselves, because they were Jews.

Christian theologians believe that by means of baptism, original sin is eliminated through identification with Jesus. They use references pertaining to Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18-9, Ps. 110:4; as found in Heb. 7:1-11) as evidence. They point to the baptism in the Red Sea and the giving of Manna as symbolical acts. They say, further, that all baptisms mentioned in the Old Testament are not binding; they are all poetic. All ritual purifications are to be disregarded since "Jesus is become the first fruits (*חלה*) of them that slept." (I Corinthians 15:20) They similarly ignore the significance of the shew bread accepting it and similar manifestations (Ezek. 36:25, 47:1, 47:8,12) as allegorical. Duran points out that they are entitled by rabbinic interpretation (Berachot 32b) to consider, whatever they wish, allegorical. He, therefore, does not take issue with them on this ground but feels that they interpret Scriptures much more with an effort to harmonize than to understand. He takes the prophetic passage in Isaiah 55:1-4 and shows how Christian scholars interpret it midrashically to justify baptism and the eucharist, ignoring all the while that the exordium to this prophecy (Isa. 54:11-12) describing Israel's future at the time of redemption makes this verse applicable not to Christians but to Jews.

From baptism, Duran turns to the problem of transubstantiation or the eucharist³ in which water and bread are changed into

the blood and body of Jesus Christ. The theory assumes that while the change takes place, Jesus as God, comes down from heaven; he is everywhere the sacrament is being performed just as every piece of a broken mirror retains the power of reflection. Through the authority of the pope, furthermore, any priest can perform the ritual. Quoting the Sentences, Duran points out that Christian theologians refuse to analyze this ritual rationally.

The Eucharist is based on the story of the last supper as found in Matthew 26:17-28 in which, at the end, Jesus says.... "Take, (the bread), eat; this is my body....Drink ye all of it (the wine). For this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Duran demonstrates clearly that the last supper was a Seder service and that these words came at an appropriate part of the service. We learn from the story, similarly told in Mark 14:12-26 and Luke 22:19-20, that when they finished the Seder, they went to the Mount of Olives, where Jesus was caught. It is interesting to observe that the Gospel of John makes no mention of the story at all.

Even Christians realized the weakness of the argument, Jesus was a poetic person who was constantly composing parables. He said: "This is my body" so that his disciples would remember the incident dramatically. We have other similar examples. At one time, (Matt. 12:46-49) while Jesus was standing with a crowd when somebody said to him, "your mother and brothers are outside,"; he pointed to his disciples and said, "These are my mother and brethren." Certainly he did not believe

that they changed their form and flesh. At the time of the crucifixion, (John 19:26), he said to his mother, implying that she should adopt John as her son, "Here is your son," and to John, he said, "Here is your mother." Certainly he did not change form and flesh at that instance. Another difficulty is found in the absurdity of having any priest, whether righteous or not, possessing the power to perform this miracle. In the Luke rendering of this incident Jesus says: "This do in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19). These words explain what motivated Jesus in performing the ceremony. Christian scholars gloss over this passage by saying that what he really meant was "I hereby give you authority to do as I have done." If these words have this important significance is it not strange that they are not found in the Mark and Matthew accounts? Besides, even if we do concede that the authority was transferred to the disciples, wherein do we find evidence that it was transferred, in turn, to their successors?

Of course, the entire incident was a dramatic performance which must have left a profound impression on the disciples. For even they, when alluding to it, retain it as a figure and not as a real fact of eucharistic transubstantiation. In an effort to strengthen the faith of his people, Paul uses the same dramatic strategy as his master did. (I Corinthians 10:16-17, 20-21, 23-29). Metaphysicians try to make the story more elaborate by bringing in the philosophical elements of form, accident, etc. Yet they believe that if a mouse ate of the wafer it consumes the body of Jesus Christ.

John 6:47-67 relates how Jesus told Jews to consume of his body and blood and that they thought he was crazy. Duran thinks that Jesus was, at least at times, unbalanced, and points to a later passage in which we learn that (John 10:20) many of his disciples left him as a result of this talk. Jesus may not have meant that they should actually eat his body and blood; he may have been speaking figuratively for when he said that his words are spirit and life what he really meant was that his words are spiritual and through them, one can attain eternal life. He sought that they should follow him as did the Rabbis when they said that people should eat learning.⁴ Theologians, such as Lombard, admit that the "Body of Jesus" has two meanings, i.e., the actual body, and the congregation of believers. The head of the body is Jesus and the limbs are the congregation, as is found in the figurative statement: "For we, being many are one bread and one body" (I Corinthians 19:17). Further comment is hardly necessary if Christian theologians themselves concede the difficulty of reconciling these dogmas with their own scriptures.

We have discussed Duran's presentation of Christian theological development, Christian dogma and practise. There remain now a number of general and historical matters which might be discussed to make our study complete. Let us deal first with the problem of the dates of Jesus which is found in the eleventh chapter of our text.⁵ As we have already hinted, Duran is not very reliable in matters of history. Although he pursues his other problems with a scientific acumen that is incisive, his historical discussions are based to a certain

extent on generalizations and speculations. This is not difficult to understand if we realize that history did not become a science till the eighteenth century. Considering his lack of sources, Duran's estimates are relatively reliable. Duran felt that there were but 500 years between Isaiah's Immanuel prophecy and the birth of Jesus. Actually, of course, 735 years had passed.⁶ Similarly his estimate of the birth of Jesus according to the Jewish reckoning is incorrect.⁷ In dealing with asceticism, he says it was accepted officially 700 years after Jesus, but we know it was accepted at the Council of Mayence in 888.⁸ These estimates, as long as they are general, cannot be considered as errors. The difficulty arises when an attempt at a very specific date is made.

We know, of course, that Jesus died less than forty years before the destruction of the Temple. This fact is interesting in the light of certain passages in the Talmud mentioning that forty years before the destruction of the Temple, there were certain signs suggesting that the people had sinned and that the destruction was inevitable.⁹ These verses were used, of course, by Christians as references to the crucifixion and as polemical proofs that the destruction came because the Jews did not accept Jesus. This point troubled Duran as it did all Jewish polemicists before him and he fell into the same error of assuming that Jesus was crucified fifty years before the destruction. In his attempt to prove this point, he makes a careful study of the sources, but since they do not supply sufficient information he is forced to conjecture. He

does succeed in discrediting some of the chronological facts concerning Paul and others, but he does not establish his point pertaining to Jesus inasmuch as he does not have sufficient evidence. For the same reason, the Christians also could not prove their point historically. It is merely a matter of coincidence that some of their polemical arguments have been upheld by historical science.

Although Duran made a thorough study of the sources, he apparently realizes the weakness of his analysis, for after devoting the entire chapter to prove that Jesus died fifty years before the destruction he speculates with the possibility that Jesus may have preceded the destruction of the Temple by some 120 years in the days of Joshua ben Perachia as suggested in certain Talmudical passages.¹⁰ Duran can hardly be criticized for erring on these points. We, too, would be quite helpless in this matter were it not for the extensive nineteenth century research on this subject.

If Duran's historical speculations are weak, certainly his textual analysis is most commendable. In the tenth chapter he deals with general inconsistencies and erroneous quotations from Jewish Scriptures found in the New Testament.¹¹ Duran feels that Jesus and the early Christians were an ignorant lot who unconsciously demonstrated these inconsistencies and made erroneous quotations. There are a number of cases of texts being deliberately distorted to bring out a particular meaning but most of this type of casuistry came after the first generations when scholars attempted to justify the new faith.

Duran suggests that the earliest Christians were extremely simple and ignorant folk such as shepherds and fishermen. Even of the disciples he says that they probably visited the Beth Ha Midrash or the Synagogue on Saturdays and there heard a number of things which they later either confused or perverted.

Duran first dismisses unconvincing portions of Christian Scriptures. He observes that the passage concerning the wise men (Matt. 2:1-2) makes no mention of the number and that the theologians reasoned there must have been three because they gave three gifts. He shows that the Matthew story (26:17-20) is erroneous because there was no crucifixion on a Holy day, quoting Sanhedrin and the Mechilta to prove his point. He also points out that capital crimes were not settled in one day as one might believe from Matthew 26:31-57; 27:35. He cannot understand how one who could save others could not save himself. As to the accounts in Matthew (27:50-53) and Mark (15:33) that the curtain at the Temple was torn at the moment of crucifixion and that tombstones were broken and graves opened by earthquakes and that there was great darkness on the entire land, and the holy spirits resurrected, he comments that if this were true the Jews would have been impressed and repentingly followed Jesus.

The story of the two thieves at the crucifixion (Matt. 27:38) seems to have been inserted merely to fulfill a Biblical prediction, inasmuch as stealing was not punishable by death (Ex. 22:1-3) unless it was kidnaping (Ex. 21:6) which would have been specifically mentioned. Luke 3:23, 31 carries the

chronology back to Nathan, son of David (see II Sam. 5:10 and I Chron. 3:5) while Matthew (1:6-16) traces the genealogy back to Solomon. (II Sam. 12:24) Duran derides the concept of turning the other cheek (Luke 6:26-30) and rejection of the consideration of one's immediate wants. (6:31-34) Such a program, he feels, makes for anarchy rather than cooperation. He considers the statement that if one has as much faith as a seed of mustard one can command trees, as downright stupid. He also rejects the idea of the "inability of the rich man to enter heaven."

Duran points to a few examples of verses that seem to have been distorted. There is, for instance the passage in Matthew 1:22-23 which quotes Isaiah 7:14 and changes the tense of the verb. Matthew 2:5-6 almost negates the quotation of Micah 5:1.

Duran continues to discuss a number of New Testament verses which quote Old Testament verses incorrectly. We shall list them here, in order.

Matthew 2:17-18	quotes	Jeremiah 31:14-16;	Ruth 1:1	incorrectly
" 2:19-23	"	Isaiah 11:1;	14-19	"
" 4:7	"	Dt. 6:16		"
" 4:10	"	" 6:13		"
" 4:13-16	"	Isaiah 8:23		"
" 5:43	"	Levit. 19:18		"
" 11:10 and Mark 1:2	quotes	Malachi 3:1		"
" 12:15-21	quotes	Isaiah 42:1-4 ¹²		"
" 13:13-15	"	" 6:9-10		"
" 15:7-9 and Mark 9:6-7	quotes	Is. 29:13		"
" 19:3-5 and Mark 10:7	"	Gen. 2:24		"
" 21:1-5	quotes	Isa. 62:11 and Zech. 9:9		"
" 21:15-16	"	Ps. 8:3		"
" 23:35	quotes	II Chron. 24:20-21		
" 26:14-49, 27:3-10	(the story of Judas)	is supposed to		

fulfill a verse in Jeremiah but no such verse has been found. Jerome lied about this verse, saying he found it in a manuscript of Jeremiah, but if it were so why did he not include it in his translation of Jeremiah?

Mark 1:3 quotes Isa. 40:3 incorrectly
 " 12:28-30 and Luke 10:27 quotes Dt. 6:4-5 incorrectly
 " 14:27 quotes Zech. 13:7 "
 Luke 3:4-6 " Isa. 40:3-5 "
 " 4:17-19 " " 61:1-2 "
 " 4:25 and James 5:17 inform us that there was no rain in
 Elijah's time for three years; we learn in I Kings 18:1 that
 there was rain the third year.
 John 12:15-15 quotes Zeph. 3:17; 9:9 incorrectly
 " 12:37-40 " Isa. 53:1 and 6:10 "
 Romans 4:7-8 " Ps. 32:1-2¹³ "
 " 9:27-28 " Isa. 10:22 "
 " 9:33 " " 28:16¹⁴ "
 " 10:20 " " 65:1 "
 " 14:11 " " 45:23 "
 " 15:10 " " 67:5¹⁵ "
 I Corinthians 1:19 quotes Isa. 29:10 "
 " " 2:9 " " 64:3 "
 " " 3:19 " Job 5:13 "
 " " 14:21 " Isa. 28:11-12 "
 Hebrews 8:10 " Jer. 31:30-32¹⁶ "
 " 10:5-6 " Ps. 51:18 "
 Acts 1:11 " Amos 9:12¹⁷ "
 " 2:25-26 Ps. 16:8-9 "
 " 6:8-12 (Peter) " Dt. 18:15-16 "
 " 7:1-4 (Stephen) " " " " "
 " 7:14-16 is entirely confused¹⁸ "
 " 7:22-26 quotes Exodus 2:12 "
 " 13:27-38 Paul says Saul ruled for forty years--a
 statement which is incorrect.¹⁹
 Acts 13:34 quotes Isaiah 55:3 incorrectly²⁰
 " 13:40-49 quotes Habakuk 1-5 erroneously.

Having presented this formidable array of indicting verses,
 Duran turns to Jerome.²¹ He points out that even Christians
 admit that Jerome had a difficult time understanding the Targum
 of Jonathan ben Uzziel since he did not understand the language
 very well. He feels most of Jerome's errors to have been due
 to sheer ignorance but points to many which seem to be deliberate
 distortions. In answer to the charge that Jerome is more re-
 liable than the original Hebrew because the Jews are an obstinate
 people who distorted, omitted and added to the Bible, Duran
 gives two excellent examples in which Jerome's carelessness
 is exposed. In Matthew 13:10-15, Jesus paraphrases²² Isaiah 6:10

retaining the correct form of the verb. Jerome changed the form and the meaning through a change of the verb to an imperative. This is clearly a mistranslation. Similarly in Romans 10:19, where Paul quotes Deuteronomy 32:21 correctly Jerome mistranslates. At the end of his fourth chapter Duran points to a mistaken mistranslation by Jerome of Nahum 1:11.²³

There are other examples, however, in which Jerome seems to have distorted the translation intentionally. Habakuk 3:18 "Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will exult in the God of my salvation," ואני ביהוה אעלוזה אנילה באלהי שעי he translates as if the original passage read באלהי שלי.²⁴ Daniel 9:26 "...an anointed one shall be cut off and be no more," יכרת משיח , he translates as if it had יכרת משיח ואין לו

ועמו לא יהיה עוד העתיד לכפור בו .²⁵ He took ואני ידעתי נאלי חי ואחריו על עפר יקום Job 19:25 and translated it as if it read ובאחרית הימים על עפר יקום .²⁶

There are other deliberate distortions, which we have already observed. The change of tense in Isaiah 7:14 is a well known example.²⁷ Others are Psalms 27:11²⁸ and Jeremiah 31:32.²⁹

Duran concludes his work by demonstrating that the canon of the Bible was sealed before the coming of Jesus and was not changed thereafter. He attests to the reliability of the Old Testament by pointing out that the text of the Bible among Jews in non-Christian lands does not differ, according to Benjamin of Tudela, from the text found among Jews in Christian countries.

The Jewish attitude toward the problems discussed in this chapter has not changed very much since Duran's day. Judaism, today feels, as did Duran, that the Christian Baptism is but another form of the baptism practised by Jewry for converts and repentants. Today, with the aid of historical science, we are able the better to observe the development that took place. Similarly, the Jewish attitude toward the Eucharist remains the same. The logic of it seems just as difficult today as it did centuries ago. Now, however, we can observe how the various elements within it were borrowed and brought together. The relationship of Baptism and the Eucharist to their Jewish origins^{is} excellently developed by Frank Gavin in his work The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments.³⁰

The coming of modern historical science has changed the Jewish interpretation toward the reckoning when Jesus died and its relation to the destruction of the Temple. It is conceded by all that Jesus died approximately forty years before the Temple was destroyed. Strangely enough, the Christian attitude toward this whole matter has changed tremendously. Christians no longer use this argument as proof that the Talmud gives evidence of the superiority of Christianity. Even missionaries have, for the most part, given up this type of reasoning. Their approach has shifted in accordance with the exigencies of the times.

Biblical science now makes it quite clear to the Jew how it happened that so many erroneous quotations of the Jewish Scriptures are found in Christian Scriptures. It also recognizes

quite fully the relationship of Jerome to Jewish scholarship-- a fact which convinces us that many of his mistranslations were deliberate--that he ought to be respected perhaps for his scholarship, but not for his character.³¹

The Christian attitude toward baptism assumes many forms. Except for the very liberal wings and certain sects, such as the Quakers, most Christians retain baptism in one form or another and attach at least some significance to it. The development of the concept and practice is a long problem in itself--a problem which created great religious issues. The Catholic view on the subject has remained the same, of course. Baptism is recognized as a necessity for entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. It has replaced circumcision as a symbol of grace. Through baptism we link ourselves with Jesus and make it possible to attain salvation. It is the instrument which incorporates us into the mystical body of Christ. Through it, we are initiated into the new covenant which makes available for us, all the privileges of God's grace.³²

The more liberal approach views baptism more as a symbolic link with the faith and its members. It realizes that Christian baptism is but a development of earlier forms of Jewish baptism which went through many vicissitudes during Catholic history,³³ and it seeks to liberate itself from the new legalism that came with the Reformation, during which baptism was given a significance far out of its proportion.³⁴

The attitude toward the Eucharist is much more clear-cut. As a result of the Reformation, an almost thoroughgoing break was made with Catholicism on this point. Protestant sects

still have the communion, which is a pale form of the mass celebration, but the development of modernism is discouraging every form of the Eucharist--actual or symbolic. The Catholic view is decisive on this as on other problems. The statement made by Jesus at the Last Supper is accepted as having established the Eucharist. Numerous arguments are given pointing to the final conclusion that Christ's body is to Christians what the sacrifice of the paschal lamb was to the Jews. Christ is the true Paschal lamb. His presence does not depend upon the faith of the recipient; it is actually there. In the Eucharist, the senses are deceived. What they experience is the accident of bread and wine when it is really flesh and blood that is consumed. Christ in his entirety is contained in both the bread and the wine.³⁵

As can be seen quite clearly, one does not have to be a radical to accept a modified form of the Eucharist. People of various denominations and temperaments react differently to this sacrament. The more progressive view has sloughed off most of the communion but discussion and speculation concerning the problem is quite extensive.³⁶

The whole problem of the relationship of the New Testament to the Old and the quotations in it is very fascinating and can lead to extensive speculation. Although there has been considerable Christian scholarship on this matter there does not seem to be a full admission that New Testament writers deliberately perverted the text. Toy, who made a very thorough study of the subject,³⁷ points very frequently to unjustified and mistaken

quotations and discusses them fully, but he does not go more fully into the question.

Franklin Johnson,³⁸ does touch the problem somewhat in his consideration of whether there are double references. He quotes the opinion of Davidson that it is "an axiom of interpretation that no passage has more than one sense"--a statement that implies either ignorance or dishonesty on the part of the New Testament writers. To remedy the possible damage of such an opinion he brings to bear the views of many scholars who point out that it may well be that certain Old Testament prophecies may have had double meanings. More recent opinion, however, tends to accept to a modified degree the view that the New Testament writers may have in certain cases been "over-zealous" for the faith.

In a similar fashion, Jerome is not criticized for what seem to be deliberate distortions. Louis Salter in The Catholic Encyclopedia criticizes Jerome for not using the Septuagint more, because it was better than the Hebrew texts extant in the fourth century but finds no other complaint. Jerome is considered very careful as to his sources and ranked as first among ancient exegetes. "There are many subtilties or even contradictions in the explanation Jerome offers but we must bear in mind his evident sincerity."³⁹ Catholicism retains his translation as the standard Latin translation and the English Douay translation is based on Jerome rather than on the original Hebrew. The Protestant view of Jerome is not as critical as one might expect. It can be summarized in the words of Grützmacher: "In spite of numerous errors, Jerome's

translation of the Bible is a most praiseworthy achievement."40

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our task is finished. We have attempted to present a study of Profiat Duran's Sepher Kliiath Ha Goyim which would give more than the arguments offered in this polemical work. For the sake of perspective and clarity of understanding we have depicted the historical background of the environment which produced this work and the landscape of apologetics and polemics which made his work necessary. We have essayed to present to the reader as full a picture as it is possible to portray of the life of the writer and his works. In examining Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim we aimed to demonstrate the main thesis of Duran as reflected in some of his own statements and discussed briefly the ideas contained, in their relation to contemporary opinion.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Heinrich Graetz, דברי ימי ישראל, translated by S. P. Rabinowitz, with notes by A. A. Harkavy, 8 vols., Warsaw, 1890-1900, V, 222-223.
2. Rabbi Joseph Hacoheh, ספר חובת הלבבות, edited by Dr. M. Letteris, Vienna, 1852, p. 65-6.
3. Graetz, op. cit., V, 308-322.
4. Ibid., VI, 55 and Joseph Hacoheh, op. cit., p. 69-70.
5. Graetz, Dibre, V, 223-227.
6. Joseph Hacoheh, op. cit., p. 62-3.
7. Graetz, op. cit., VI, 72; also Joseph Hacoheh, op. cit., p. 72. There is probably a scribal error here.
8. Louis Finkelstein, Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages, N. Y., 1924, p. 100.
9. Dr. Fritz Baer discusses this important synod in his Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im Koenigreich Aragonien, Berlin, 1913, pp. 123-126; see also Finkelstein, op. cit., p. 101-2, Text. 328-35, 336-47.
10. Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, 4 volumes, N. Y., 1922, I, pp. 2-3.
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12. Ibid., p. 12.
13. Baer, Studien, p. 59.
14. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, p. 15.
15. Ibid., I, p. 17.
16. Ibid., I, p. 29.
17. Baer, Studien, pp. 11-12.
18. Ibid., pp. 174 ff.
20. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, p. 37.
21. Ibid., I, 37-44, 50 ff.
22. Ibid., I, 52.
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24. Ibid.
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26. Dr. Rafael Altamira, "Spain, 1252-1410", in Cambridge Medieval History, 7 volumes, N. Y., 1911-32, VII, 594.
27. Joseph Jacobs, An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain, London, 1894, Deed No. 1712; p. 126.
28. Ibid., Deed Nos. 1705, 1717, 1718, 1706, 1707, 1719, 1720, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1721, 1722, 1711; pp. 126-127.
29. Ibid., p. 49.
30. Ibid., Deed Nos. 1703, 1702; p. 126.
31. Ibid., Deed No. 1388; p. 82.
32. Moritz Kayserling, "Navarre," in The Jewish Encyclopedia, IX, p. 191.
33. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 68.
34. Ibid., I, p. 69.
35. Ibid., I, 69-70.

36. Jacobs, Inquiry, Deed No. 771, p. 46 (1318-19);
Deed No. 1080, p. 59 (1328-52);
Deed No. 1088, p. 59 (1336-52);
Deed No. 1147, p. 61 (1336).
37. Ibid., Deed No. 112, p. 10 (November 1257);
" " 334, p. 23 (June 1262);
" " 1038, p. 57 (1332-4);
" " 1104, p. 60 (1336);
" " 1126, p. 61 (1336);
" " 1142, p. 61 (1336);
" " 1201, p. 64 (1337-8);
" " 1208, p. 64 (1337-8);
" " 1209, p. 64 (1337-8).
38. Ibid., Deed No. 302, p. 21 (September, 1264).
39. Ibid., Deed No. 270, p. 19 (Feb. 1263);
" " 530, p. 33 (1273);
" " 736, p. 44 (May, 1273);
" " 1089, p. 59 (1333-6).
40. Ibid., Deed No. 913, p. 52 (1328);
" " 979, p. 54, (1330-1);
" " 1022, p. 56 (1332-4).
41. Ibid., Deed No. 123, p. 10, (Dec. 1257).
42. Ibid., Deed No. 218, p. 16 (June, 1262);
" " 235, p. 17 (July, 1263);
" " 302, p. 21 (Sept. 1264);
" " 421, p. 27 (July 1268);
" " 639, p. 39 (July 1272);
" " 751, p. 45 (1305-6).
43. Ibid., Deed No. 1036, p. 57, (1332-4).
44. Ibid., Deed No. 1073, p. 59 (1334-5).
45. Ibid., Deed No. 241, p. 18 (Sept. 1263);
" " 788, p. 46 (1320-1);
" " 900, p. 51 (1327-8).
46. Ibid., Deed No. 541, p. 34 (1274);
" " 791, p. 47 (1320-1);
" " 870, p. 50 (1325-7);
" " 930, p. 52 (1327-8);
" " 1039, p. 57 (1332-4).
47. Ibid., Deed No. 315, p. 22 (Oct. 1264).
48. Ibid., Deed No. 1177, p. 63 (1336-7).
49. Ibid., Deed No. 440, p. 28 (Feb. 1269).
50. Ibid., Deed No. 169a, p. 13 (June 1260);
" " 419, p. 27 (May 1268);
" " 479, p. 30 (C. 1270);
" " 1008, p. 56 (1331-2).
51. Ibid., Deed No. 337, p. 23 (June 1262);
" " 341, p. 24 (C. 1263).
52. Ibid., Deed No. 663, p. 40 (April 1273).
53. Ibid., Deed No. 724, p. 43 (Oct. 1271);
" " 837, p. 48 (1323-24).
54. Ibid., Deed No. 677, p. 41 (c. 1276);
" " 434a, p. 28 (c. 1268).
55. Ibid., Deed No. 441 (incorrectly listed as No. 451) p.28
(May, 1269);

55. (Cont.) Deed No. 596, pl 36 (1276);
" " 597, p. 36 (Oct. 1275).
56. Ibid., Deed No. 507, p. 32 (c. 1273).
57. Ibid., Deed No. 538, p. 33 (April 1273).
58. Ibid., Deed No. 1041, p. 57 (1332-4).
59. Ibid., Deed No. 117, p. 10 (Sept. 1257);
" " 119, p. 10 (Sept. 1257);
" " 125, p. 11 (Aug. 1257);
" " 127, p. 11 (Aug. 1257);
" " 193, p. 15 (Dec. 1262);
" " 194, p. 15 (Jan. 1262).
60. Ibid., Deed No. 744, p. 44 (1297).
61. Ibid., Deed No. 1033, p. 57 (1332-4).
62. Ibid., Deed No. 793, p. 47 (1321-22).
63. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, p. 96.
64. from התורה והמצוה, quoted in Graetz, Dibre, VI, pp. 341-2.
65. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 97.
66. Ibid.
67. Jacobs, "Spain", J. E., XI, 492.
68. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 20.
69. Jacobs, "Spain," XI, 494.
70. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 97-8.
71. Jacobs, "Spain," XI, 495.
72. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 98.
73. Ibid., p. 100.
74. Kayserling, "Navarre", IX, 192.
75. Jacobs, Inquiry, Deed. No. 1420, pp. 86-7.
76. Ibid., Deed No. 1459, p. 92 (Jan. 1380);
" " 1458, p. 92 (Aug. 1380);
" " 1436, p. 89 (March 2, 1365);
" " 1461, p. 93 (July 21, 1379).
77. Ibid., Deed No. 1526, p. 102.
78. Kayserling, "Navarre," IX, 192.
79. Jacobs, Inquiry, Deed No. 1535, p. 103 and Deed No. 1537, p. 104.
80. Lea, Henry Charles, "Ferrand Martinez and the Massacres of 1391," in the American Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 2 (January, 1896), p. 210-11.
81. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 17-19.
82. Max L. Margolis, and Alexander Marx, A History of the Jewish People, Philadelphia, 1927, p. 443.
83. In 423, Honorius decreed that no new synagogues may be erected. This became part of canon law and was retained through the middle ages. Lea, Ferrand, pp. 212-213.
84. Lea, Ferrand, p. 214.
85. Jacob Mann, Lectures on Jewish History Delivered at the Hebrew Union College, 1932-1933.
86. Lea, Ferrand, p. 215-216.
87. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 63.
88. Jacobs, "Spain," XI, 495.
89. It is interesting to note that official Catholicism tries to soft pedal the activities of Ferrand Martinez. Although he is undoubtedly the one man who did more than anybody else to bring about the events of 1391, a diligent searching of the Catholic Encyclopedia reveals no mention of him at all.

89. (Cont.) The Encyclopedia ignores his name although he held a very significant position in both the Castillian Church and State. The Catholic Encyclopedia makes a number of references to the Massacres of 1391 and to the good work of conversion by Saint Vincent Ferrer, subsequent to these massacres, but it chooses to gloss over in silence the initiator of the events that led up to the activities of the sainted Vincent Ferrer.
90. Jacobs, Inquiry, Deeds No. 1317, 1318, p. 76 (1395) and Deed No. 1297, p. 73 (1396).
91. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 107.
92. See above, p. 4; also Finkelstein, Jewish Self-Government, p. 101-2, Text. 328-35, 336, 47.
93. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 108. Graetz, (Dibre, VI, 64-5) holds the opinion that Juan I of Aragon was weak-willed and disinterested, and therefore permitted the outbreaks to take place. It seems more reasonable to say that, to a very large extent, the outbreaks in Aragon were unavoidable.
94. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 65. Ferrand Martinez was not there but Vincent Ferrer did come to proselytize them. See Jacobs, "Spain," XI, 495. The boys were either misleading or mistaken; perhaps the historical report is confused.
95. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 108.
96. Ibid., I, 109.
97. Lea, "Ferrand Martinez," p. 219.
98. כתב אשר שלח הרב ספרנוסא שמו דון "חטא" קרשק אל קהלה אוניונו
 על דבר הנזרות אשר היו בספרד בשנה קנא וכו'.
 found in ספר שנה by Solomon ibn Verga, edited by Dr. M. Wiener, Hanover, 1855, p. 130.
99. Ibid. It is quite clear that Crescas refers here to Aragon in the more limited sense, i.e., the section surrounding Saragossa, but not including Catalonia, Valencia, etc., inasmuch as he has already referred to outbreaks and massacres in those other sections of Spain which were later included under the name of Aragon.
100. See Simon Bernfeld, ספר חסידים, Three Vols., Berlin, 1924; II, 209-34 is an excellent collation of the sources on the Massacres of 1391.
101. Cecil Roth, "The Jews in the Middle Ages" in the Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. VII, 661.
102. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 35-6.
103. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 68.
104. Jacobs, "Spain," XI, 495.
105. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 79-80.
106. See above, page 13.
107. Mann, Lectures.
108. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 112.
109. Ibid.
110. Bialloblotsky, C. H. F. (Translator), The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua Ben Meir, the Sephardi, 2 Vols, London, 1835, I, 265-7, as quoted in Lea, "Ferrand Martinez," p. 218-9. An almost identical account stressing the importance of Vincent Ferrer's role and omitting Ferrand Martinez

110. (Cont.) completely, is found in Rabbi Joseph Hachohen's ^{הספד} *pay*, edited by Dr. M. Letteris, Vienna, 1852, pp.70-1.
111. See above, p. 28.
112. Jacobs, "Spain", XI, 496. The statement found here says: "The Dominican friar Vincente Ferrer, a friend and companion of the anti-Jewish Pedro de Luna, set himself up as anti-pope to Benedict XIII." This is a confusion; Vincente Ferrer never set himself up as anti-pope. He was a friend of Pedro de Luna who set himself up as anti-pope, assuming the name Benedict XIII. J. P. Kirsch, "Luna, Pedro De" in the Catholic Encyclopedia, N. Y., 15 Vols., 1907-12, Volume IX, p. 431, informs us that Pedro de Luna was born, 1328, at Illueca, Aragon and died at Peniscola, near Valencia, either November 29, 1422 or May 23, 1423. He was elected anti-pope at Avignon, September 28, 1394, and deposed at the Council of Constance, July 26, 1417.
113. Mann, Lectures.
114. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 112.
115. Jacobs, "Spain," XI, 497. Albert Reinhart, "Vincent Ferrer, Saint" in The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XV, pp. 437-8, states that Ronzano, Vincente's first biographer estimates the number of Jews converted by him at 25,000.
116. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 83.
117. There is considerable disagreement on this point. Lea in his Inquisition of Spain, I, 114, says that Pablo "professed conversion.....influenced by an opportune vision of the Virgin, in 1390," while Graetz, Dibre, VI, 84 expresses the opinion that Paul converted himself in 1391 during the massacres. There is also disagreement as to whether he really became converted as he claims, after a reading of Thomas Aquinas (Mann, Lectures). Albert Reinhart, "Vincent Ferrer, Saint," in The Catholic Encyclopedia, XV, 437-8, says that Vincent converted "a rabbi, later well known as Bishop Paul of Burgos at Valladolid." The date is not given but it seems to be either 1390 or 1391.
118. See above, pp. 38-9.
119. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 87-9.
120. Lea, Inquisition of Spain, I, 126ff.
121. Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, (3 volumes), N. Y., 1888, II, 184.
122. Baer, Studien, pp. 61ff.
123. Lea, Inquisition of the Middle Ages, II, 175.
124. Ibid., II, 175-6.

28. Winter und Wuensche, op. cit., III, 663.
29. This letter is published under the title of ר' שלמה הרב ר' יהושע אלורקי ז"ל לדון שלמון הלוי והוא מאשימו על שהמיר דתו דת ישראל
 in Eliezer Aschkenasi, ספרים ישנים Metz, 1849, pp. 41-6.
30. Duran had already cast doubt on Paul's sincerity in his epistle Al Thi Kaabotecha.
31. Winter und Wuensche, op. cit., III, 667.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1817

1. Z. A. Poznansky, מספר כליתת הנוים לפרופייט, edited by Judah Blau, Budapest, Volume IV, 1914, p. 126.
2. "פרופייט" is found recorded in the Hebrew under a host of various spellings as we shall see later. Because of this fact, "Profiat" is also transcribed in many different ways.
3. Julius Fuerst, Bibliotheca Judaica, 2 Vols., Leipzig, 1863, II, 215.
4. Ernest Renan and Adolf Neubauer, Les Ecrivains Juifs Français Du XIV Siecle (Extrait de l'Histoire littéraire de la France, tome XXXI) Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1893, p. 395.
5. This is the standard bibliographical classification.
6. Jonathan Friedländer and Jakob Kahn (editors) מספר מעשה אפר (Maase Efod, חורו ר' יצחק בן משה הסכונה פרופייט דוראן הלוי, Einleitung in das Studium und Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache von Profiat Duran), Wien, 1865.
7. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 395.
8. Giovanni Bernardo De-Rossi, Historisches Wörterbuch der jüdischen Schriftsteller und ihrer Werke, Zweite Auflage, Bautzen, 184-, p. 260.
9. Poznansky, op. cit., IV, 126; also observe the interesting parallel of Obadiah 20.
10. Friedländer und Kahn, Maase Efod, p. 197.
11. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 395.
12. Christian scholars, too, referred to him under the name of Efodaeus. Poznansky (IV, 126-7) has compiled the following list of Christian references to Duran:
 - a) Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629), Bibliotheca rabbinica, Basel, ed. 1708, p. 81, p. 132.
 - b) Giulio Bartolucci (1613-1687), Bibliotheca magna rabbinica, Rom, 1675-94. T. I. p. 98. 404.
 - c) Johann Christoph Meelführer, Dissertatio de fatis eruditiss or., Altdorf. 1702, Caput 16. Accessiones ad Almeloventi Bibliothecam promissam et latentem, p. 167.
 - d) Johaun Georg Schelhorn, Memmingen (1694-1773), Amoenitates litterariae, ed. Leipzig, 1725-1734, T. IX, p. 685.
 - e) Johann Christoph Wolf, (1683-1739), Bibliotheca hebraea, Hamburg, 1715-1733, T. I., p. 992; T. II, p. 1313; T. III, p. 950.
 - f) Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi (1742-1831). 1) Annales hebraeo-typographicae Sabionettae, Parma, 1795-99, T. I., Codd. 120-124; T. II, p. 17, Nr. XIII. 2) Dizionario storico degli autori Ebrei e delle loro opere, Parma, 1802, s. v.
 - 3) Bibliotheca judaica antichristiana, Parma. 1800, p. 87, Nr. 128; p. 90. Nr. 129; p. 122, Nr. 164.
 - 4) Codices mss. Bibliothecae de Rossi, Parma, 1803, T. I. 755. 84. 120. 124. 1269. 122. --
13. Friedlander-Kahn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, p. 41.
14. Talmud Babli, Zebachim, 88b.
15. קנה והספר אשר ילח החכם ר' פרופייט דוראן הלוי אל הנעלה אנוסף אברם על מות אביו המפורר דון אברהם יצחק הלוי מוירווה
found in Friedlander-Kahn, Maase Efod, p. 194.
16. Leopold Zunz, Zur Geschichte und Literatur, Band I, Berlin, 1845, p. 462.

17. Friedländer-Kahn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, p. 40.
18. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 395.
19. Henri Gross, Gallia Judaica, Paris, 1897, p. 358.
20. Ibid., p. 472.
21. M. Saenger, "Ueber die Aussprache und Bedeutung des Namens in Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums (herausgegeben vom Dr. Z. Frankel) IV (1855), pp. 199ff.
22. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 395.
23. Saenger, "Über die Aussprache" in Monatschrift, IV, 200-201. In another article entitled "Die Aussprache vom " " in Hebraische Bibliographie Blätter (herausgegeben von M. Steinschneider), Berlin, VIII (1865), pp. 126-7, Saenger revises some of his opinions written in the Monatschrift ten years earlier.
24. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 395.
25. Meyer Kayserling, "Duran, Profiat," in The Jewish Encyclopedia, V, 16.
26. Poznansky, op. cit., III, 99-102.
27. Poznansky, op. cit., IV, 125.
28. Kayserling, "Duran," V, 16.
29. Jacobs, Inquiry, p. 195.
30. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 396.
31. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, p. 25.
32. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 396.
33. Poznansky, op. cit. III, 143 and IV, 125.
34. Zunz, Zur Geschichte, 474-5.
35. De-Rossi, Historisches Wörterbuch, p. 260.
36. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, p. 14.
37. Simon Dubnow, Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes von seinen Urfängen bis zur Gegenwart (10 Vols.), Berlin, 1927, V, 378.
38. Kayserling, "Duran," V, 16.
39. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, p. 3.
40. The passage involved is the same one, we discussed above, which, some have been misled into thinking, brought Duran to Germany in his youth. Poznansky, III, 143.
41. דור דור ודורש in A. Geiger's Monatsschrift, Berlin, 1840, p. 49.
42. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, Noten zu Einleitung, p. 41.
43. Monatsschrift in Friedländer-Kahn, Maase Efod, p. 195.
44. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 404.
45. Ibid., VI, 89.
46. Mann, Lectures; Poznansky (IV, 125-6) although not very positive, believes it may have been Perpignan.
47. See above, pp. 39-40.
48. Waxman, A History of Jewish Literature, II, 542-3.
49. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 91.
50. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 396.
51. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 92.
52. Isaac Hirsch Weiss, דור דור ודורש 5 vols., Wilna, 1911, V, 200-1; see Shabattai, שבת' שנים which hints that he never returned to Judaism.
53. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, p. 40.

54. Henri Gross, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Arles" in Monatschrift, Krotoschin, XXXI, 1882, p. 499.
55. Moritz Steinschneider, Ozrot Chayim, Katalog der Michael'sehen Bibliothek, Hamburg, 1848, p. 349.
56. See Moritz Steinschneider's "Pseudepigraphischen Literatur des Mittelalters," in Wissenschaftliche Blätter aus der Beth Ha Midrash, Berlin, (Erste Sammlung) 182.
57. J. Kobak, (editor) Jeschurin Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums 9 volumes (1856-79), Lemberg, I, 17.
58. אנרות ר' פרימוס דוראן והן שלש תשובות על שאלת הוג'ד מאושטרו סא'ר
קרשקש
found in Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, pp. 181-7. Comment on these responsa is found in the Einleitung, pp. 10-11.
59. Poznansky (IV, 127) states that we do not know when these were written, but Renan-Neubauer (p. 398) point out, as we shall see later, that they belong to the period before 1391.
60. Edited by Dr. Julius Fuerst, Leipzig, 1847, p. 486.
61. Aschkenasi (Eliezer ben Solomon) מעם זקנים קבוצ חבורים וכתבים
ושירים מענייני חכמה וכו'.
edited by R. Kirchheim and E. Carmoly, Frankfort Am Main, 1854, p. 78.
62. Isaac Hirsch Weiss, (editor) בית הלל, 5 Vols. 1881-5, Vienna, II, 197.
63. Kayserling, "Duran", V, 16.
64. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 398.
65. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, p. 47-8; see also p. 11.
66. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 398.
67. Ms. of Parma, No. 835.
68. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 398.
69. Ibid., p. 399.
70. אנרות ר' פרימוס דוראן והן שתי תשובות בפ"י פרשת האשה החקעות ונפ"י
פרשת צח אחיהל וחושי הארכי
found in Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, pp. 198-209.
71. It is interesting to note that Zunz in his "Zur Geschichte und Literatur" (pp. 474-5) erroneously transposed Marhesvan 5754 as 1394. This error was either copied or repeated by Friedländer-Kohn in Maase Efod, Einleitung (p. 6).
72. Weiss, Dor Dor V'Dorshav, V, 200.
73. Found in Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, pp. 190-7.
74. Kayserling, "Duran" V, 16.
75. Revue des Etudes Juives, IX, p. 117.
76. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, p. 191.
77. Zunz, Zur Geschichte, pp. 474-5.
78. Moritz Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, London, 1857, p. 185; it is true that the Munich Ms. No. 299 gives the date of writing as 1391 but this is probably a scribal error, inasmuch as all the evidence points to 1395--a theory which is confirmed by every other actual dating. See Graetz, Dibre, VI, 403.
79. Johann Christoph Wolf, Bibliotheca hebraea, Hamburg, 1715-33, I, 992.
80. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, pp. 43-5; see also p. 7.

81. Friedländer-Kohn, Maase Efod, p. 224-26.
82. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 407.
83. Ibid., p. 398-9.
84. Poznansky, IV, 129.
85. Moritz Steinschneider, Die Hebraischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher, Berlin, 1893, p. 556.
86. See Selig Gronemann, Die Profetia Durani (Efodaei) Vita ac Studiis, Breslau, 1869, p. 26.
87. Fuerst (Bibliotheca Judaica, II, 215) thinks it was written in 1390.
88. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 404-5.
89. Israel Davidson, Parody in Jewish Literature, N. Y., 1907, pp. 41-42.
90. Poznansky, op. cit., IV, 128.
91. Steinschneider, Ozrot Chajim, p. 349.
92. פ'קדון ספרים ... See Arthur Ernest Cowley, A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew printed books in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1929, p. 583.
93. פ'קדון ספרים in Abraham Geiger's פ'קדון ספרים, p. 42-9 and notes, pp. 49-50, 102-2, N. Friedländer, Berlin, 1840; A. Ginzburg's modern critical edition of אכריש וכלאס'ס פ'קדון Breslau, 1844.
94. P. M. Heilprin, פ'קדון ספרים, Frankfurt am Main, 1846.
95. Abraham Geiger, "Periphat Duran's Schreiben an einen Abtrunnigen" in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie (herausgegeben von Abraham Geiger) IV, Stuttgart, 1839, p. 451-8.
96. Bertha Badt Strauss, "Sei nicht wie deine Väter" von Duran, Isaac ben Moses, Berlin, 1920.
97. Edmond Fleg, The Jewish Anthology (translated by Maurice Samuel), N. Y., 1933, pp. 229-31.
98. See Shabbatai, Sifthey Y'Shanim, p. 3 and Heilprin, Seder Hadoroth, III, 30; Filipowski (ed.) Sepher Ha Yuchasin, p. 226; Also Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, Bibliotheca judaica antichristiana, Parma, 1800, p. 88 and Guido Bartolocci, Bibliotheca magna rabbinica, Rom, 1675-94, I, p. 98. For listings of various editions see Benjacob, Ozar Ha-Sepharim, p. 9; Cowley, Cat. Hebrew books Bodl. Library, p. 583-4; Friedberg, Beth Eked Sepharim, p. 11, 535; Fuerst, Bibliotheca Judaica, II, 215 and Zedner, Cat. Hebrew books Brit. Museum, p. 375, 266, 362, 283.
99. Friedlander-Kohn, Maase Efod, p. 25.
100. Ibid., p. 177.
101. Ibid., pp. 3-17.
102. Ibid., pp. 17 & 25.
103. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
104. Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, pp. 137-8.
105. Constantinople, 1517....see Cowley, Cat. Heb. Badl. Lib., p. 186 and Zedner, Cat. Heb. Brit. Museum, p. 235.
106. Mss. No. 831, 1215, 1245, 1246. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivaines, p. 403; see Heilprin, Sepher Seder Hadoroth, III, p. 70.
107. Bartolocci, Bibliotheca magna rabbinica, I, 404 refers to Duran as the author of the book Haephod which is probably the grammar. Wolf, Bibliotheca hebraea, I, 992 mentions the grammar specifically, while in his third volume, p.

107. (Cont.) 951, he comments that Le Long accepts the idea that the Grammar is by Rabbi Isaac ben Moses Halevi.
108. Poznansky, op. cit., IV, 129 and De Rossi, Historisches Wörterbuch, p. 261.
109. Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, p. 104.
110. Ibid., p. 99.
111. Friedlander-Kohn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, p. 9.
112. No. 1021, 6 and 1026, 4 dealing with Book I, 73--the two paths of which one is curved and the other straight, contain a more fully developed note on this than does Levi ben Gerson on the same subject. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivaines, pp. 404-5.
113. Weiss, Dor Dor V'Dorshav, V, 201.
114. Poznansky, III, 102.
115. סכת אהון ל"ר יוסף שלמה דילמי'דון הרופא מקור'אה
in Abraham Geiger's קלא חכמים, p. 13 and 18.
116. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 403.
117. See Fuerst, Bibliotheca Judaica, II, 215 and Zedner, Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum (London, 1867), 579-80.
118. Hamburg, 1715-33, I, 992.
119. See Moritz Steinschneider, "Die Hebraischen Commentare zum 'Führer' des Maimonides," pp. 345-63 in Festschrift zum Siebzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner's edited by Dr. A. Freimann and Dr. H. Hildesheimer, Frankfurt Am Main, 1903, p. 353.
120. Poznansky, IV, 129 and Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivaines, 405.
121. Friedlander-Kohn, Maase Efod, p. 25.
122. Steinschneider, Hebraischen Uebersetzungen, p. 668 and Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivaines, P. 398.
123. Poznansky, IV, 129; see Steinschneider, Hebraischen Uebersetzungen, p. 14, 150.
124. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 402. The entire problem is discussed on pages 401-3 and more fully in his Geschichte, VIII, p. 403-10.
125. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 402.
126. Ibid., VI, 401.
127. Graetz, Geschichte, VIII, 405-7.
128. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivaines, p. 407.
129. Abraham Geiger, Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte (Dritte Abteilung), Breslau, 1871, p. 109.
130. Gustav Karpeles, Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur (2 Vols.), Berlin, 1909, II, 171.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Isaac Eisak Benjacob, Ozar Ha-Sepharim, Wilna, 1880, p. 241.
2. See above, pp. 65-7.
3. Fuerst, Bibliotheca Judaica, II, 209.
4. Ibid., III, 179.
5. Rabbi Shabbatai, ספר שבת' ישיב, Amsterdam, 1680, p. 32.
6. Yehiel Heilprin, Sepher Seder Hadoroth, 3 Vols., Warsaw, 1883, III, 56.
7. Op. cit., IV, 130.
8. Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629), Bibliotheca rabbinica, Basel, ed. 1708, page 99, on which he lists Duran's works and follows it up with a statement of a Mss. called a cabbalistic book by Rabbi Reuben, the Spaniard.
9. See B. Friedberg, Beth Eked Sepharim, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 373 and Benjacob, Ozar Ha-Sepharim, p. 3 and 333.
10. Discussed below, pp. 101-104.
11. Poznansky, III, 100.
12. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivaines, p. 404. The statement is also found in the Commentary of Rabbi Joseph ben Shem Tob to Duran's Al Thi Kaabotecha.
13. Steinschneider, Ozrot Chajim, pp. 319, 364-5.
14. Poznansky, Op. Cit., III, 162.
15. Ibid., IV, 95.
16. Ibid., III, 102; IV, 121.
17. Ibid., III, 163; III, 171; IV, 121.
18. We have already observed that we cannot be positive that Duran ever publicly returned to Judaism (see above, p. 71-2) but we may conjecture that some time after his Epistle to David Bonjorn, he did return.
19. Gronemann, De Profiatte Durani, pp. 25-29.
20. Ibid., p. 26 and Poznansky, III, 173.
21. See Chap. III, p. 24.
22. It is acceptable according to Jewish reckoning to omit the first digit inasmuch as errors due to a discrepancy of a thousand years are most unlikely.
23. Poznansky, III, 100.
24. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivaines, p. 404.
25. Graetz, Dibre, VI, 404.
26. Poznansky, IV, 128.
27. Friedlander-Kohn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, p. 8.
28. Kayserling, "Duran," V, 16.
29. Ephraim Dunard, חסדאי קצנאס of Hasdai Cestac, Kearny, N. J., 1904.
30. Friedlander-Kohn, Maase Efod, Einleitung, p. 8.
31. Renan-Neubauer, Les Ecrivains, p. 404.
32. Poznansky, op. cit., IV, 123.
33. Waxman, A History of Jewish Literature, II, 545.
34. Poznansky, op. cit., III, 103.
35. Klimath Ha Goyim is listed twice in Wolf's Bibliotheca hebraea, Hamburg, 1713-33, I, 992. It is given once as an anonymous work.

דוראן

36. Z. A. Poznansky, ספר כליתת הנו"ם שפרופ"ט, הצופה מארץ הנו"ם, edited by Judah Blau, Budapest, Volume III (1913), pp. 99-113, 143-80, Volume IV (1914), pp. 37-48, 81-96, 115-132.
37. J. D. Eisenstein, Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim in N. Y., 1928, p. 260-88.
38. Isaac Broyde (editor), Sepher Klimath Ha Goyim of Profiat Duran and הש"ס של יהודה בריאלי, based on manuscripts found in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Printed but unpublished), N. Y., 191--.
39. See Poznansky, IV, 87.
40. See, above, pp. 92-3.
41. III, 179.
42. Steinschneider, Ozrot Chajim, p. 364.
43. Friedberg, Beth Eked Sephorim, p. 373.
44. Benjacob, Ozar Ha-Sepharim, p. 333.
45. p. 370-3.
46. Steinschneider, Ozrot Chajim, p. 372.
47. 3 vols., 1862-9, Leipzig, II, 161.
48. III, 660.
49. Moritz Steinschneider, ספר כליתת הנו"ם, published as an appendix to ספר כליתת הנו"ם, published at Stettin and Berolini, 1860.
50. published, Strassburg, 1473.
51. published, Leipzig, 1866.
52. found in Patrologiae latina, edited by J. P. Migne, Paris, 1879, Vol. LXXI, pp. 706-800.
53. found in Patrologiae latina, edited by J. P. Migne, Paris, 1887, Volume XXXIV, pp. 15-122.
54. The Duodecim dialogi cum Moyse Judaeo is found in Patrologiae latina, edited by J. P. Migne, Paris, 1889, Volume CLVII, pp. 527-672.
55. found in Patrologiae latina, edited by J. P. Migne, Paris, 1880, Volume CXCI, pp. 519-962, 962-1112.
56. Chapter XI; Poznansky, IV, 115-120.
57. Poznansky, IV, 91.
58. Poznansky, IV, 91.
59. Ibid., IV, 119.
60. Geschichte der Karaesthums, 3 vols., 1862-9, Leipzig, II, 161; also see above, pp. 102-3.
61. Benjacob, Ozar Ha-Sepharim, p. 3.
62. Moritz Steinschneider, Catalogus Codicum Hebraeorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugdano-Batavae (Leyden, Holland), 1858, p. 117.
63. Isidor Loeb, "Polemistes Chretiens et juifs en France et en Espagne" in R.E.J., XVIII, (1889), p. 218-26.
64. Warsaw, 1881, p. 27.
65. Warsaw, 1883, Book I, 230.
66. Alexander Marx, "The Polemical Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America," in the A. S. Freidus Memorial Volume, N. Y. 1929, p. 267.
67. Poznansky, IV, 130-1.
68. This is obviously a reference to Al Thi Kaabotecha.
69. Simon ben Zemach Duran, ספר קשת יוסף, Leghorn, 1790.

70. M. Saenger, "Ueber den Verfassenden polemischen Werkes: Sepher Ha Klimath oder Klimath Ha Goyim." in Monatschrift, Leipzig, IV, (1854) p. 320-7.
71. Waxman, A History of Jewish Literature, II, 553. There is some poetic justice in this matter. The section of Kesheth U'Mogen dealing with Islam, which was not borrowed from Profiat Duran and may have been original with Zemach Duran was borrowed verbatim a century later by Abraham Farissal in his Magen Abraham.
72. See above, pp. 97-8.
73. Ephraim Deinard, (Ed.) of Hasdai Crescas, Kearny, N. J., 1904. פירוש קדמון לרמב"ם
74. J. D. Eisenstein, Ozar Vikkukhim, pp. 113-14 and Poznansky, III, 171-2; also Al Thi Kaabotecha in any of the editions.
75. Marx, "The Polemical Manuscripts", p. 267.
76. Don David Nasi, ספר הוועדה, Frankfort Am Main, 1866, p. 4.
77. Still in manuscript, Berlin Ms. No. 192, p. 5b.
78. Poznansky, IV, 131.
79. edited by Z. Filipowski, London, 1857, p. 226, column 1.
80. Warsaw, 1881, p. 28.
81. Amsterdam, 1680, p. 3, 32.
82. Book III, p. 30, 56, 70.

III

1. Poznansky, III, 104-113.
2. As a matter of convenience we shall henceforth incorporate references to biblical verses, which are germane to the discussion, in the body of the text.
3. We shall quote the Revised Version which capitalizes appellatives or pronouns for Jesus and often stresses concepts contrary to the point brought out by Duran. We have no choice in this matter inasmuch as there is no authorized Jewish translation to the New Testament.
4. Poznansky, III, 106 gives the following passages: Matthew 8:20; 9:6; 10:23; 11:19; 12:8, 32, 40; 13:36, 41; 16:13, 27, 28; 17:9, 12, 21; 18:11; 19:28; 20:18, 28; 24:27, 30, 37, 39, 44; 25:31; 26:2, 24, 45, 64.
5. The Jewish Publication Society translation is as follows: "I said: Ye are godlike beings, and all of you sons of the Most High."
6. Duran errs historically here; a period of 735 years separates the prophecy and the birth of Jesus.
7. This is not a valid objection. Despite his fine grammatical knowledge, Duran did not yet fully understand the use of the tenses.
8. Duran is referring here, of course, to the influence of Neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism upon Christian theology.
9. Chapters 4 and 5; Poznansky, III, 157-171.
10. The whole problem is dealt with more fully in the text. See Poznansky, III, 161-164.
11. Much of Duran's argument is weakened for present day purposes because of his apparent ignorance of the use of the tenses. In his day, however, his reasoning may have well been considered consistent.
12. H. G. Enelow, A Jewish View of Jesus, 1920, p. 130.
13. Thomas Walker, Jewish Views of Jesus, London, 1931, p. 25.
14. Ibid., p. 36.
15. Ibid., p. 96.
16. Ibid., p. 60.
17. Ibid., p. 67.
18. Joseph Jacobs, "Jesus of Nazareth, in the Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, 162.
19. "Walker, Jewish Views, p. 96.
20. Samuel S. Cohon, "The Place of Jesus in the Religious Life of His Day in the Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. XLVIII, (1929) p. 82-108.
21. W. Douglas Mackenzie, "Jesus Christ" in H. E. R. E., Vol. VII, p. 512-3.
22. Ibid., 516.
23. William Sanday, The Life of Christ in Recent Research, Oxford, 1907, p. 119.
24. Arthur C. Headlam, The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ, Oxford, 1923.
25. A. J. Maas, "Jesus Christ" in The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, p. 384.

26. Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, London, 1911, p. 400.
27. Ibid., p. 304.
28. Ignatius Singer, The Rival Philosophies of Jesus and Paul, London, 1919, p. 171.
29. Percy Gardner, A Historic View of the New Testament, London, 1901, p. 72.
30. Thomas Walker, The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age, London, 1923, pp. 180-1.
31. Walker, Jewish Views, p. 126.
32. J. Worschauer, The Historical Life of Christ, N. Y., 1926, p. 91.
33. James Mackinnon, The Historic Jesus, N. Y., 1931, pp. 379-92.
34. Ibid., pp. 105-6.
35. Ibid., 393.
36. Ibid., 394.
37. Maurice Goguel, The Life of Jesus, N. Y., 1933, p. 578.
38. Ibid., 319.
39. Ibid., 585.
40. Headlam, The Life and Teaching, 217.
41. Mackenzie, "Jesus Christ" in H. E. R. E., VII, 520.
42. Ibid., 523, 529.
43. T. Slater, "The Moral Aspect of Divine Law in The Catholic Encyclopedia, IX, 73.
44. Shirley Jackson Case, Jesus--A New Biography, Chicago, 1927, p. 388 ff.
45. Shirley Jackson Case, The Evolution of Early Christianity, Chicago, 1914, p. 123 f.
46. Rudolf Bultman, Jesus and the Word, N. Y., 1934, pp. 61-2.
47. Ibid., p. 63.
48. A. Menzies, "New Testament Law" in H.E.R.E., VII, 824-7.
49. Walker, The Teaching of Jesus, 263.
50. Ibid., 264-5.
51. Bennett Harvie Branscomb, Jesus and the Law of Moses, N. Y., 1930, p. 123ff.
52. Ibid., p. 126 ff.
53. Mackinnon, The Historic Jesus, 324-5.
54. Ibid., 327.
55. Goguel, The Life of Jesus, 324-5.
56. Ibid., 321.
57. Ibid., 344.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. The first two sections of Chapter IX deal with this problem; Poznansky, IV, 43-5.
2. See above, pp. 117-8.
3. See above, pp. 114-5.
4. The word "know" in Biblical linguistics, has the meaning of "intimate relationship," which includes also the concept of sexual relations.
5. It is interesting to note that the Jewish Publication Society Translation accepts the quoted Christian translation in this case. This does not mean, however, that it would accept such a translation of under different circumstances.
6. Above, p. 114-5; Poznansky, III, 106-7. Also, p. 117-8; Poznansky, III, 109-110.
7. Chapter III of our text. Poznansky, III, 149-57.
8. Duran points out that De Lina admits in his commentary on Romans III that circumcision brought about partial grace.
9. Other passages suggesting salvation are Romans 5:8-21; 6:5.
10. A fuller discussion is found in the text; see Poznansky, III, 154-5.
11. Duran adds a number of other references which demonstrate early Christian confusion on this point. I Thessalonians 4:14-6, Hebrews 10:37-8, Matt. 11:2-3, Acts 19:11 and Revelations 4:1.
12. Chapter two in our text; Poznansky, III, 143-9.
13. See Poznansky, III, 143-5 for more details.
14. Chapter VIII in our text; Poznansky, IV, 41-3.
15. Jacobs, "Jesus," VII, 161.
16. Walker, Jewish Views, p. 28.
17. See J. D. Eisenstein, "Sin" in J. E., XI, 377.
18. See S. Krauss, "Trinity," in J. E., XII, 260-1.
19. Warschauer, The Historical Life of Christ, p. 13.
20. Mackinnon, The Historic Jesus, p. 13.
21. Walker, Jewish Views, p. 120 f.
22. Alfred W. Martin, The Life of Jesus in the Light of the Higher Criticism, N. Y., 1913, pp. 45-9.
23. Richard J. Cooke, Did Paul Know of the Virgin Birth? N. Y., 1926, p. 135.
24. Ibid., 139.
25. Vincent Taylor, The Historical Evidence for the Virgin Birth, Oxford, 1920.
26. Addis and Arnold, A Catholic Dictionary, "Immaculate Conception," p. 427.
27. Turmel, "Immaculate Conception", in H. E. R. E., VII, 165.
28. Addis and Arnold, A Catholic Dictionary, p. 632-4.
29. Charles Buck, A Theological Dictionary, Philadelphia, 1851, p. 142-3, 422-3.
30. F. R. Tennant, "Original Sin" in H. E. R. E., IX, 558.
31. Addis and Arnold, op. cit., "Holy Trinity," p. 811-20.
32. Ibid.
33. William G. Shedd, A History of Christian Doctrine (2 vols.), N. Y. 1909, I, 374-5.
34. Buck, Op. Cit., 441.

35. Harnack, History of Dogma, IV, 136.
36. Mackinnon, The Historic Jesus, 390 f.
37. W. Fulton, "Trinity" in H. E. R. E., XII, 458.
38. Addis and Arnold, Op. Cit., "Pope", p. 667-80.
39. Buck, op. cit., 349-51.
40. E. E. Nourse, "Papacy," in H. E. R. E., IX, 620-31.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Poznansky, IV, 45-7.
2. Chapter VII of our text; Poznansky, III, 178-80; IV, 37-41.
3. Chapter VII in the text; Poznansky, III, 171-9.
4. Baba Bathra, 22a.
5. Poznansky, IV, 115-20.
6. Ibid., III, 109.
7. Ibid., III, 168-9.
8. Ibid., IV, 45.
9. Yoma 39b; Aboda Zara, 8b.
10. Sotah 47a, Sanhedrin 107b.
11. Poznansky, IV, 47-8, 81-96
12. Duran also deals with this passage in his fifth chapter; Poznansky, III, 166.
13. Nicholas de Lina claimed he found it so in the Septuagint.
14. Discussed more fully in Chapter III; See Poznansky III, 152.
15. Nicholas de Lina denies that Isaiah 35:1--just as incorrectly quoted--was meant.
16. The verb seems to have been deliberately changed. This is discussed more fully in his fifth chapter; Poznansky, III, 166-7.
17. This verse seems to have been misquoted deliberately. Nicholas de Lina tries to gloss over the difficulty by saying it is found so in the Septuagint but that is not correct. There's a fuller discussion in Chapter IV of the text; Poznansky, III, 163.
18. See Gen. 46:27, Gen. 23:17-8 and Joshua 24:32. This difficulty caused Christian commentators to enter into involved explanations.
19. Nicholas de Lina tries to correct it by saying that the years of Samuel are included--but they total only 37 (I Sam. 13:1) according to Duran. Josephus, however, arrived at the total of 40.
20. Nicholas de Lina claims it is found so in the Septuagint but his own translation of the Septuagint to Isa. 55:3 is not rendered so.
21. Chapter XII of our text; Poznansky, IV, 120-3.
22. He is really misquoting but for our present purposes we can say that he is paraphrasing.
23. Poznansky, III, 164.
24. Et Exultabo in Deo Jesu Meo.
25. Occiditur Christus, et non erit eius populus, qui eum negaturus est.
26. Scio enim, quod redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra resurrecturus sum.
27. Poznansky III, 109; see p. 117 of this study.

28. Discussed on p. 123; see Poznansky, III, 166.
29. Discussed on p. 123; see Poznansky, III, 167.
30. London, 1928.
31. S. Krauss, "Jerome," in J. E., VII, 118.
32. See Francis J. Hall, The Sacraments, N. Y., 1921, pp. 1-37.
33. W. Braudt, "Baptism, Jewish" in H. E. R. E., II, 408-9.
34. H. C. Wood, "Later Christian Baptism," in H. E. R. E., V, 540-70.
35. Addis and Arnold, A Catholic Dictionary, "Eucharist," pp. 311-321.
36. See J. H. Srawley and Hugh Watt, "Eucharist" in H. E. R. E., V, 540-70.
37. C. H. Troy, Quotations in the New Testament, N. Y., 1884.
38. The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old, Phila., 1895.
39. Louis Saltel, "Jerome, Saint," in The Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, 342.
40. G. Gruetzmacher, "Jerome," in H. E. R. E., VII, 497-500.

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