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Studies in the Sources of
Samuel Usque's
CONSOLAÇAM AS TRIBULAÇOENS DE ISRAEL

by

Martin A. Cohen

Thesis submitted in partial
fulfillment of the require-
ments for the Master of Arts
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To My Mother

ADA COHEN

and

To the Memory of My Father

JOSEPH JONATHAN COHEN

This thesis is dedicated in grateful reverence.

19 Sh'vet 5717

21 January 1957

This thesis is devoted to a consideration of a basic problem concerning Samuel Usque's monumental history of the Jewish people, the Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel, and to a translation of the section containing medieval material. The problem is that of the literary sources Usque utilized in composing the chapters on medieval history. Although he cites these in the book's margins, they are seldom written in full and are in some cases abbreviated beyond conclusive identification. Included in the latter group is a major source, listed simply as L.I.E.B. or Li. Eb.

The study shows that Usque, in composing this material, depended on two major sources. One was Alfonso de Spina's anti-Jewish Fortalitium Fidei; the other, the L.I.E.B. was a Hebrew manuscript. Although Usque cites numerous secondary sources, Jewish and Christian, there is ample evidence to prove that he did not consult these directly, but copied their reference from the major sources he utilized. The resolution of the perplexing abbreviations of secondary sources leaves this conclusion intact.

Of especial difficulty is the resolution of the abbreviation of the major Jewish source, whose contents can be determined by subtracting from Usque's medieval history those strata borrowed from the Fortalitium Fidei. A careful examination of the L.I.E.B. material and all related evidence invalidates theories proposed by Graetz, Loeh, Baer and others to identify this source. It leads, however, to the conclusion that L.I.E.B. refers to Leon Iehuda Ebreo (Judah Abravanel), who was either the manuscript's author or transmitter. Evidence available favors the latter possibility and points to the Yemot Olam of Isaac Abravanel as the work in question.

The translation covers chapters 1-24 of the Third Dialogue of the Consolaçam, which contains the historical material whose sources are analyzed in this thesis.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

What is perhaps the most significant Jewish historical work of the sixteenth century is still comparatively unknown. The Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel by Samuel Usque¹, a Portuguese marrano who reverted to Judaism after his flight from the Iberian peninsula, has been nearly relegated to an undeserved oblivion by two extrinsic factors: its rarity and the language in which it was composed. Only few copies of the two sixteenth century editions, the princeps at Ferrara in 1553² and the second at Amsterdam in 1597,³ are extant. The work was not republished until Mendes dos Remedios reproduced the almost identical texts of Ferrara and Amsterdam in the present century;⁴ this edition, however, has received neither sufficient distribution nor appropriate attention.

The linguistic barrier has presented even greater difficulties than the rarity of this literary and historical masterpiece. Composed in Renaissance Portuguese, a supple and developing language which Usque helped convert into a brilliant medium for literary expression, and written in a poetic idyllic style characteristic of the belles-lettres of the period, the Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel in the original has found few

¹There is as yet no complete monograph on Samuel Usque. It is the intention of the present writer to prepare such a study.

²Mendes dos Remedios, J., Os judeos em Portugal, Vol. 2., p. 342.

³This was not, as has often been averred, a reprint, but a completely new edition. Mendes dos Remedios, J., op. cit., pp. 349-352.

⁴Coimbra, 1906-1908. The three parts of Usque's work were published separately, with separate folio pagination for each volume.

readers among the students of Jewish history and has presented serious obstacles to potential translators. Kayserling's promise of a German translation never materialized.⁵ Steinschneider did not go beyond the translation of a limited number of excerpts which appear in his general and elementary study on Usque.⁶ A much more significant undertaking, however, has been the recent partial translation into Yiddish, by Elias Lipiner.⁷ This represents a praiseworthy attempt at bringing Usque's work within the focus of Jewish readers. However, despite its occasional brilliant renderings, it is as often marred by a misunderstanding of the language and concepts of the original text.⁸ Another partial translation, into English, was attempted by Gerson Gelbart at Dropsie College, but has remained unpublished except for a few random quotations which appear in a very brief general article by Abraham Neuman.⁹ These quotations, however,

⁵Rabinowitz, S., Motzoei Golah, p. 308, n. 1.

⁶Steinschneider, J., "Zur Geschichte jüdischer Martyrologien (R. Samuel Usque's 'Trost Israels in seinen Trübsalen')", in Festschrift zum X. Stiftungsfest des Akademischen Vereins für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur an der kgl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, pp. 24-27.

⁷op.cit.

⁸Thus, by way of example, Lipiner translates Usaue's phrase, "Quando este veo" (Dialogue III, chapter 8, f. 22v., by ווען דער דאזיקער האט באזוכט). At the beginning of the same chapter, the proper noun "Samamaria" appears in Mendes' text. This is an error for "Samaria", as Mendes himself notes in the errata listed at the end of the book. Lipiner, failing to pay attention to this, transcribes into Yiddish the name "Samamaria".

These are but two of numerous errors. There are, in addition, frequent examples of infelicitous renderings and failure to see the point of a passage. On Lipiner's misunderstanding of the term "o imigo", see translation, chapter 1, note 4, below.

⁹Neuman, A., "Samuel Usque: Marrano Historian of the Sixteenth Century", in Landmarks and Goals.

are sufficient to reveal the inadequacy of the translation, for they evidence gross errors¹⁰ and an inability to render the complexities of Usque's style into current narrative English.¹¹ The need has been recognized for an accurate, modern translation of the entire Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel,¹² and the present rendering of a significant portion of Usque's third dialogue is intended as a step in this direction.

The Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel forms part of a major trilogy in Jewish historiography of the sixteenth century. The other two books, the Shevet Yehuda, generally attributed to Jehuda ibn Verga,¹³ and the Emek ha-Bacha by Joseph ha-Cohen of Avignon, are written in Hebrew.¹⁴

¹⁰One of the most flagrant mistranslations occurs in the case of the following sentence from Dialogue III, chapter 10, f. 9v.: "Mandou Elrei sobre ysso destruir todalas Esnogas onde a oração nos reduziamos". Here Gelbart translates the last phrase "where we had (!) made our prayers scarce" (!) (Neuman, A., op.cit., p. 122). The words quiserom dizer found in the statement in Usque's prologue (f.5r) that "Algũs señores quiserom dizer antes que soubesem minha razam, que fora milhor auer cõposto em lingua castelhana" are translated as "were pleased to say". Similar examples are not difficult to find.

¹¹His poverty of style can be recognized from the following rendering, which, incidentally, shows no regard for English grammar: "As for my sin, whose outcry was demanding from the Lord a chastisement, He satisfied it with the mortal agony which I suffered." Op.cit., p. 131, note 37. The selection is taken from Usque's Dialogue III, chapter 4, f. 9.

¹²Neuman, A., op.cit., p. 117: "A complete translation of the Consolaçam into one of the present world languages, preferably English - and, most of all, also into the living Hebrew of today - should not be long delayed".

¹³The first edition of the Shevet Yehuda lacks a title page, and it has often been assumed that the place and date of publication was Adrianopole, 1550. See Cantera, F., Chébet Jehudá (La vara de Judá), pp. 41-42. There is, however, no evidence to prove that this work is earlier than Usque's.

¹⁴See Wiener, M., Emek Habacha... aus dem hebräischen ins Deutsche übertragen, pp. vii-xiv. The most complete study is that of Julien Sée, La vallée des pleurs. The best Hebrew edition, which is in need of improvement, is the one by M. Letteris, Cracow, 1895.

All three contain narratives of the misfortunes of the Jews, with especial emphasis on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and are characterized by inaccuracies in facts and dating, extensive borrowing from other works and uncritical approach. Usque shows himself somewhat superior to his contemporaries by his attempt at a systematic chronological arrangement of his material on the basis of the often inaccurate dates he has at hand. He has the honesty to quote his sources. He is relatively free from the fictitious dialogues and monologues which color Verga's work.

But it is neither here nor in his brilliant style that Usque's claim to greatness lies, but rather in the freshness of his approach to history and his deviation from the major tendencies of Jewish historiography in the Middle Ages.

The Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel is more than a chain of personalities or a study of tradition, which represented the predominant form of the chronicles of the Middle Ages.¹⁵ Its protagonists are not individuals, nor scholars, saints or martyrs, but the entire Jewish people. Nor is it a partial history, like the Shevet Yehuda or the Emek Ha-Bacha, which begin in the Middle Ages and continue to the authors's own time. Rather Usque attempted a complete history from biblical times to the year in which his book left the press at Ferrara.¹⁶

But above all, Usque was the first Jewish historian since the era of the Temple who saw in the odyssey of his people a divine plan and purpose. It was the plan outlined in Deuteronomy and the other biblical

¹⁵Neubauer, A., Medieval Jewish Chronicles, pp. vii-xix.

¹⁶Chapter 37 of the third dialogue of the Consolaçam is dated (correctly) 5313 (1553).

books written in its spirit. In accordance with this scheme, Usque could explain calamities as punishment for defection from God's will and could promise prosperity and plenty in return for a whole hearted acceptance of the yoke of the Law.

It is significant that this concern with the role of the Jew on the stage of history should have been awakened in the spirit of one who knew so well the calamity of the expulsion from Spain and Portugal, and personally experienced the bitterness, grief and feelings of guilt which were those of the marranos who were learning that the flight from their ancient faith had brought them no safety from peril.

Addressing himself to this people, whose dream of security and prosperity on the Iberian soil had turned into a bitter nightmare, Usque reviews their complete history, to show that their calamities were divinely ordained and to strengthen them with the trust that their return to Judaism assured the fulfillment of glowing messianic promises for a glorious future of redemption and salvation.¹⁷

The Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel is written in the form of a pastoral novel, a genre which had enjoyed great vogue in Europe since the appearance of Sannazzaro's Arcadia in 1504.¹⁸ Usque was among the earliest representatives of this genre in the Iberian Peninsula. Like

¹⁷A full and documented treatment of this and related themes must await the fuller study proposed in note 1 above.

¹⁸A translation of the Arcadia by Diego López de Ayala, Diego de Salazar and Blasco de Garay appeared in Spain as early as 1549. Even before this translation, the Arcadia greatly influenced the eclogues of Garcilaso de la Vega. Hurtado, J., and González-Palencia, A., Historia de la literatura española, p. 345.

the other pastoral novels, the Consolaçam is written in the form of an autobiography of its protagonist, Ycabo, whose name, like those of other pastoral heroes, thinly veils his real identity. Ycabo is really the patriarch Jacob, or Israel, the representative of the people called by his name.¹⁹

The Consolaçam is divided into three books, or dialogues, as Usque calls them, each containing historical sections and theological interpretations.¹ Of the historical sections, the one in the first dialogue is devoted to the history of the Jewish people from its beginnings until the destruction of the First Temple; it is a summary of biblical history. The second dialogue reviews the history of the Jews during the Second Temple and is based chiefly on the accounts found in the works of Josephus. In the utilization of these sources, Usque manifested a selectivity and arrangement which reveal his purpose and his ideology.

The third dialogue, the most lengthy, is of significance for the history of the Jews in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. Its historical material is contained in thirty-seven numbered chapters or episodes which scan this period from the time of Sisebut the Goth in the seventh century until the year 1553. Each of these deals with a different tragic episode of Jewish history. Blood libels, charges of ritual murder, persecutions and expulsions are its themes. Almost half of the accounts are based on events which took place in Spain or Portugal, while others describe events occurring in England, France, Germany, the Italian cities and even Bohemia, Constantinople and Salonika. One of the chapters, the eighth, relates the

¹⁹Graetz., op.cit., vol. 8, pp. 381ff.

famous story of David Alroy, the pseudo-Messiah at the Persian court, a story which ultimately derives from the travels of Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century.

This historical material may be conveniently divided into two sections. The first of these, comprising chapters one through twenty-four, includes material culled from literary sources. In the second section, chapters twenty-five through thirty-seven, the material presented is contemporary and represents events either witnessed by the author or narrated to him by other contemporaries of the events described.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN CHAPTERS 1-24 OF DIALOGUE III

In the margins of his book Usque lists the literary sources from which he derives his narratives.¹ In the first two dialogues the identity of the sources and the extent of their utilization can readily be determined. Not so, however, in the case of the historical material contained in the first twenty-four chapters of the third dialogue. Here the sources listed are numerous and often enigmatic. Seldom cited in full, they are frequently abbreviated beyond certain identification. Included in this group is one of Usque's major sources, listed as L.I.E.B. or Li. Eb.² In three cases, chapters 14 to 16, there is an unusual omission of the source.

Of all problems related to Usque, that of his sources is one of the few which has received a modicum of attention. For the most part, this has been due not to a direct interest in Usque, but to the fact that his third dialogue contains numerous passages which are paralleled in the Shevet Yehuda and copied in Emek ha-Bacha. Studies comparing Usque, Verga and Ha-Cohen have shed considerable light on the problem, but have been inadequate. They have limited themselves to a consideration of passages common to the three authors, and avoided many additional basic problems

¹The statement by Mendes dos Remedios that Usque fails to cite all his sources is not the result of serious study. Mendes dos Remedios, J., ed. Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel, Notas, p. 7. See also Usque, ed. cit., prologue, p. 3v.

²Unless otherwise noted, the abbreviation L.I.E.B. in this study will refer to material listed under the abbreviation Li. Eb. as well.

with regard to Usque's sources, a study of which would have led to a better understanding not only of his historiography but of his relation to Verga and Ha-Cohen as well. This factor, coupled with gross errors in the evaluation of the material found in these studies, greatly circumscribes their utility. The present study represents the first attempt at a full consideration of the sources of the historical material in the third dialogue.

1. The Fortalitium Fidei.

Usque utilized two major sources. One of them, the unidentified L.I.E.B.,³ is a Jewish source. The other, readily identifiable, is one of the most violent anti-Jewish works ever written, the Fortalitium Fidei contra Iudeos, Sarracenos, aliosque Christiane fidei inimicos. The book, which bears the year 1459 on its rubric, was probably finished a year or two later,⁴ and therefore considerably before the first printed edition in Nuremburg, 1485.⁵ This edition was anonymous, but the book is almost universally attributed to the Spanish Franciscan, Alonso de Spina.⁶ Though the fanaticism and malignant vehemence of his work call

³See below, p. 33.

⁴Lea, H., A History of the Inquisition in Spain, Vol. 1, p. 148, note 2.

⁵There is considerable confusion as to the date and place of the first edition. Amador de los Ríos, J. in his Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España, p. 339, maintains it was first printed in Nuremburg in 1485. M. Kayserling, in "Spina, Alfonso de" in the Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 11, p. 510, states it was Nuremburg, 1495. The edition of Lyons, 1511, was utilized for this study.

⁶Robinson, P., "Alonso de Spina", in the Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 10, p. 216.

to mind the venomous outpourings of die-hard apostates like Pablo de Santa María (Shelomo ha-Levi) or his disciple, Geronimo de Santa Fe (Joshua Lorqui),⁷ there is no basis to assume, as Jost⁸ and Graetz⁹ do, that Spina was a Jew.

The third book of the Fortalitium Fidei , which Lea calls "a deplorable exhibition of the fanatic passions which finally dominated Spain",¹⁰ is devoted to a scathing denunciation of Judaism and the Jews. It includes a refutation of Jewish philosophical and theological objections to Christianity, a discussion of the evil traits of the Jews, and above all a collection of the most vicious libels concocted against the Jews throughout the Middle Ages. These are concentrated in two sections of the book, the Seventh Consideration, entitled "De crudelitatibus Iudaeorum" and the ninth, entitled "De Iudaeorum expulsionibus", the latter discussing the motives for several expulsions of the Jews from European countries.

It is primarily from these sections that Usque culls his material from the Fortalitium Fidei . However, while Spina narrated these libels as evidence of the barbarity of the Jews which occasioned the calamities that befell them, Usque repeats them as examples of the embittered and

⁷Mendes dos Remedios, J., Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal, Vol. 3, pp. 129, 142ff; Estudios, p. 434.

⁸Jost, M., Geschichte des Judentums und seiner Secten, Vol. 3, p. 96.

⁹Graetz, H., Geschichte der Juden, Vol. 8, p. 236.

¹⁰op.cit., p. 149. There is a trend in Spain today to restore this work to credence. See, for example, López-Martínez, N., Los judaizantes castellanos y la Inquisición en tiempo de Isabel la Católica, p. 20.

deceitful charges made against his people and as diabolical schemes to excite the populace to mistreat them and persecute them. In his masterful repetition of these tales from the Jewish point of view and unmasking of the falsehoods of Spina's book, Usque made² significant contribution to the field of Jewish polemics.

Two aspects of Usque's utilization of the Fortalitium Fidei are basic to an understanding of the other sources cited in his third dialogue.

First is a consideration of Usque's method of citing the Fortalitium Fidei. The book is listed as a source no less than fourteen times, always in abbreviated form, and is utilized on one other occasion where the reference to it was somehow omitted.¹¹ The following table gives the methods of abbreviation and the chapters in which they are found:

Abbreviation	Chapters
For. fi.	1, 19
For. f.	4, 5, 6
For. F.	7
For.	2, 3
F. F.	10, 13, 19, 20, 22, 23
F. f.	13

¹¹See below, p. 12.

In addition, Usque cites the number of the book of the Fortalitium Fidei, which of course is always the third. This notation however, is not made consistently. The indication, appearing as "3 L." (tercer livro) is omitted on five occasions (chapters 2, 4, 19, 20, 23), while in chapter one, there is a lower case "l" followed by a meaningless "f" and indicating what is surely a printer's error.

Further, there are numerous inaccuracies in the citation of the pages of the Fortalitium Fidei. Most of these stem from Usque's listing of the recto of the following leaf when his account begins on a verso in Spina's book. Thus, chapter 3 is taken from Fortalitium Fidei 185v, not 186 as quoted; chapter 5 from 186v, not 187; chapter 7 from 189v, not 190 and chapter 22 from 190v, not 191. In the citation of chapter 13 there is a more serious error: though listed as deriving from folio 211 of the Fortalitium Fidei, the narrative is really taken from f. 219.

Moreover, some folio references are omitted entirely; thus chapter 2, where the correct folio is 216v; chapter 19, where it is 187v and chapter 23, where it is 190r.

In one case, chapter 15, where the account is derived from the Fortalitium Fidei, 187r, there is no source reference whatsoever, while in another, chapter 20, the reference to Spina's book (F. F.) is incorrect. It is likely that the reference in chapter 20 was mistakenly repeated from the F. F. of chapter 19; or it may represent a misplacement of the reference which belongs correctly in chapter 15.

The prevalence of these errors and discrepancies and especially the omission of the source in chapter 15 are important for the solution of the problem of the sources of chapters 14 and 16, discussed below.

A second basic understanding derives from a consideration of the extent of Usque's borrowing from the Fortalitium Fidei both in the sections where Spina's work is listed as a source as well as in chapter 15. Such an understanding is vital for the determination of the material in Usque which belongs to sources other than the Fortalitium Fidei and especially the L.I.E.B.

In the separation of this material, certain elements cannot be considered as deriving from literary sources. These include Usque's renditions of Spina's accounts from a Jewish point of view, provided the details in both narratives are not too dissimilar; instances of this sort point directly to Usque's own hand. Nor can definitive conclusions be drawn in cases where the details in Usque's narrative are identical to those in Spina's but where the arrangement of the data is sufficiently different to lead to the mere suspicion of another source. Working as we are with a major source which has not been identified, the only element of certainty lies in the separation from the Fortalitium Fidei of those areas and elements which can in no way be attributed either to rearrangement by Usque or to his reinterpretation without the intervention of another source.

Studied from this point of view,^a careful comparison of the accounts in the Fortalitium Fidei with the parallel texts in the Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel reveals that in every instance where both the Fortalitium Fidei and the L.I.E.B. are cited together, there is ample and significant material which can with certainty be attributed to the L.I.E.B. or to the secondary sources Usque utilized. Indeed, this material often forms a major stratum of Usque's accounts, especially in chapters 3, 5,

9, 10, 13, 19 and 22. In the case of chapter 15, where the abbreviation for Spina's work was somehow omitted, the indication of the source of the additional elements was likewise omitted, though their presence is undeniable. In another case, chapter 19, where the indication of the secondary source was taken directly from Spina, as will be shown,¹² there is yet material in excess of this source which is attributable to the L.I.E.B. Significantly, the only instances where Spina's work is cited without the mention of a secondary historical source, namely, chapters 2 and 5, there is no appreciable deviation in Usque from the text of the Fortalitium Fidei.¹³

This information permits certain noteworthy conclusions concerning Usque's sources. It demonstrates clearly that the citations of L.I.E.B. as a source are most reliable. Baer's statement concerning the L.I.E.B. that "sie findet sich auch bei Stucken, die U(sque) ganz und gar dem Fortalitium Fidei entnommen hat,"¹⁴ is clearly irresponsible, and any conclusions based on this view are erroneous. There can be no question as to Usque's honesty in his citation of his major sources, which, as will be shown, was not true in the case of his minor sources. Further, it points to the conclusion that the absence of L.I.E.B. in chapters 15 and 19 is to be regarded as examples of the same careless writing and printing in the case of these citations as have been observed in connection with the Fortalitium Fidei.

¹²See below, p. 20ff.

¹³Strangely enough, there is only one instance, that of chapter 12, where the L.I.E.B. is cited with a secondary source. For the listing of U.M. with L.I.E.B., see below, p. 32.

¹⁴Baer, H., Untersuchungen über Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda, p. 37.

2. The Secondary Historical Sources

In the third dialogue, Usque lists nine secondary sources. Eight of these appear only once; the other is cited four times. Of the nine, six are written out in full or nearly in full. Four refer to Christian works. These are cited as follows, the chapters appearing in parentheses:

- A. Cor. de España (1)
- B. Coron. dos empera. e dos papas (19)
- C. Vicencio manho no espelho das ystorias (5)
- D. Estorias de sam dinis de Frãça (5)

Two, similarly written out, are Jewish sources. These are:

- E. R. leui ben gersó e outros (10)
- F. R. abrahaó leui no liro de Cabala (24)

The remaining three are puzzling abbreviations:

- G. Cor. Ym. (12)
- H. A. F. 154 (5)
- I. U.M. (7,9,18,20)

While in the problem of the identity of the abbreviated sources has received but minimal attention, the study of the more clearly indicated minor sources has received even less; chiefly because critics in the past have misunderstood these citations, taken them at face value, or derived from them grandiose hypotheses concerning Usque's vast erudition and scientific method. On the basis of this information alone, critics have expressed themselves on Usque's sources in the most startling manner.

Heinrich Graetz, in his monumental Geschichte der Juden, briefly

indicated the scope and nature of Usque's sources as follows:

Er hatte sich Mühe gegeben, die geschichtlichen Quellen selbst zu befragen un sich an Literaturgebiete gemacht, welche bis dahin kein Jude angesehen hatte... Aus lateinischen Quellen, aus dem Lügenwerke des Alfonso de Spina, aus spanischen, französicchen und englischen Chroniken, selbstverständlich auch aus jüdischen Sammlungen trug er den Geschichtsstoff bis zur Vertreibung der Juden aus Spanien und Portugal zusammen.¹⁵

That Usque knew Latin and utilized the Fortalitium Fidei is, of course, beyond dispute. By the phrase "jüdischen Sammlungen" Graetz refers to the major unknown source, which is studied below. The plural "Quellen", however, and the phrase "spanischen, französischen und englischen Chroniken", is a clear indication of Graetz's belief of a direct usage by Usque of historical accounts in the languages mentioned. Elsewhere¹⁶ Graetz lists among Usque's sources "Abraham ibn Daud; Abrahao Levi no livro de Cabala; ... Coronica de España; Ystoria (!) de San Denis de Francia; Coronica dos emperadores e dos Papas, Coronica (de) Ingraterra", again clear evidence of Graetz's view.

Abraham Neuman, in his brief summary of Usque's thought, pauses to state that in the thirty-seven chapters under consideration, Usque is to be found "citing his sources, Latin, Italian (!) and Hebrëw".¹⁷ Neuman clearly did not study Usque's citations of sources, for if he had he would have found no mention of Italian works and he would have included or

¹⁵op.cit., Vol. 9, p.335.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 579.

¹⁷"Samuel Usque: Marrano Historian of the Sixteenth Century", in Landmarks and Goals, p. 119.

commented on Graetz's more observant indication of chronicles in other Romance languages.

Elias Lipiner, in his recent Yiddish translation of parts of Usque's work differs from both Graetz and Neuman in his description of Usque's sources:

אין דריטן דיאלוג, וואס זיין אינהאלט איז די
גלוח געשיכטע, ווערן אפט ציטירט הי מקורים
(Fortalitium Fidei) די פעסטונג פון גלויבן
פון דעם פראנצויסקאנער אלפאנסע דע ספינא און
פארשידענע שפאנישע און פראנצויזישע כראניקעס
(!) פון מלכים און פויפסן. אושק ציטירט אויך
...דעם ספר ריהקבלה פון ראב"ד הראשון
און אנדערע קוועלעס וואס זינען באציכנט מיט
ראשי-תיבות, וועלכע זינען נאך ביז היינט נישט
דעציפירט געווארן.¹⁸

Lipiner makes no mention of the English and additional Latin sources listed by Graetz.

The only other comment on the minor sources was made by Mendes dos Remedios in his modern edition of the Consolaçam. There, after naming the Fortalitium Fidei as a major source, Mendes states:

Outras vezes cita as Estorias de S. Denis de França,
a Coronica dos Emperadores e dos Papas, etc.¹⁹

but this statement is sufficient to indicate that Mendes did not go beyond a mere repetition of Usque's own words.

It is surprising that two factors concerning these sources have not aroused the suspicion of previous critics. First, contrary to the

¹⁸Lipiner, E., Bei die Teichen von Portugal, p. 59.

¹⁹op. cit., p. 7. The articles by M. Keyserling in The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 12, pp. 387-388 and E. Schochet, in The Hebrew Encyclopedia (in Hebrew), Vol. 2, p. 335, are based on previous studies and add no significant details.

case of the Fortalitium Fidei, no page number or other indication of the location of the passages Usque consulted in the works he names is found. More important, each minor source, with the exception of the U.M.,²⁰ is cited only once, despite the fact that these works contain additional medieval material that Usque could have utilized profitably in his work.

These questions are apparent from a superficial consideration of the material. A detailed study reveals even more surprising data.

a. Cor. de España. This source is cited in Usque's first chapter, which contains only three elements not found in the Fortalitium Fidei. These are 1) the king's decree of death as the alternative to conversion; 2) the king's change of the alternative of death to banishment and 3) the return of the converted Jews to Judaism after Witiza's accession to the throne. Not one of these elements, however, is found in the Crónica de España, and there is consequently no positive evidence to demonstrate that Usque consulted it. At the same time, a comparison of Usque's account of the forced conversion of the Jews with that found in the Crónica de España and in the Fortalitium Fidei reveals a complete dependence by Usque on Spina's fuller account and a failure to utilize the Crónica de España.²¹

The explanation for Usque's citation of the Cor. de Espana lies in

²⁰The U.M. probably does not refer to a source at all. See below, pp. 32-33.

²¹Primera Crónica General, (Crónica de España), ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, in Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles, Vol. 5, p. 268; Spina, A. de, op.cit., f. 220v; Usque, Dialogue III, chapter 1.

the simple fact that Usque found this listed as Spina's source in the Fortalitium Fidei. The heading of the Second Cruelty in section 7 of Spina's account reads:

Quarta expulsio iudeorum facta fuit in regno hyspanie unde legimus in cronicis hyspanie. (Italics mine)

Toward the end of the third dialogue, in the theological considerations, Usque once again cites the "Coron. de España", again with reference to Sisebut, this time to his death. A comparison of Usque's brief mention of this event with the parallel account in the Crónica de España will reveal no substantial basis upon which to stake a claim of Usque's utilization of the Spanish chronicle.

Crónica de España

...adolescio duna enfermedat et murio. Pero unos dizen que murio por melezinas quel no sopieron dar como deuien, otros que murio a yeruas; mas como quier que el moriesse, fue la muerte muy llorada, et touo muy grand mingua a las yentes de su tierra ...

Usque

...na mor felicidade de seu estado e gloria de seu reino cõ peçonha foy morto...

22

• Usque's meagre reference may be a vague reminiscence of personal reading. More likely it formed part of general, legendary knowledge, which requires no research and which may have been fortified by the appearance of Florián de Ocampo's edition. But once again, a direct utilization by Usque of the Crónica General or any of the accounts incorporated into it, is most unlikely.

²²Crónica de España, ed.cit., p. 272; Usque, Dialogue III, f. 51.

b. Coron. de los empera. e de los papas. This source is listed by Usque in his nineteenth chapter, dealing with the persecution of the Jews in Germany. A careful comparison of this chapter with Spina's account reveals that the two narratives are completely alike except for the last few lines in Usque, which do not appear in Spina. They contain the account of the spread of the libel of well-poisoning to Catalonia and the statement that if it had not been for divine Mercy "there would be no Jew left who could relate this account in a European tongue." These elements, the first of which finds a parallel in Verga,²³ are quite clearly written from a Jewish point of view and can under no circumstances be attributed to a chronicle of popes and emperors. Rather they are to be considered as deriving from L.I.E.B., a source which Verga likewise utilized.

The explanation here is similar to that in the case of the Cor. de España. Here too Spina states his source. At the end of his account we read "habetur hoc ex cronicis imperatorum et summorum pontificorum".²⁴ The use of the plural by Spina clearly indicates that Mendes' citation of the "Cronica (!) dos emperadores e dos papas" as a source for Usque has no basis in fact.

The identity of Spina's source is most difficult to ascertain. It seems likely, however, both from Spina's statement as well as from the contents of his story, that it had some relationship to the famous Chronica summorum pontificum imperatorumque of Martin of Troppau

²³Shevet Yehuda no. 26, ed. Baer, p. 70.

²⁴ed.cit., l. 187 v.

(Oppavienses). This compendium of papal and imperial history, one of the most famous and popular works of its kind throughout the Middle Ages, goes no farther, however, than the year 1277, the year before its author's death;²⁵ and though numerous continuations were attempted, none that is extant goes so far as to reach the period of Clement VI, and the year 1345, where Spina places his account. Whether Spina or his source committed a gross error here or whether he utilized some now unknown chronicle that continued or was modeled after the famous work of Martin of Troppau cannot be determined, but this in itself is of comparatively little significance as far as Usque is concerned. What is important is that all these indications point to the fact that Usque did not, and doubtlessly could not possibly have made direct use of the Chronica summorum pontificum imperatorumque.

This becomes even clearer when the first chapter in Usque is compared to its counterparts in Spina and in the chronicle of the Pole. Spina, like Martin the Pole (whom he does not cite in this instance) and unlike the Crónica de España, has only one sentence concerning Mohammed imbedded in account otherwise dealing with Sisebut. Spina's statement, "huio tempore nephandus Machomet ab hispania fugit"²⁶ is structurally and stylistically, if not verbally parallel to the Pole's "Hoc tempore Magumeth princeps Sarracenorum movitur",²⁷ and a reading by Spina of "movitur" for "moritur" and his natural understanding of "sarracenorum" as the Moors

²⁵Weiland, L., in the introduction to his edition of the chronicle in Monumenta germaniae historica, Scriptores, Vol. 22, p. 377.

²⁶ed. cit., f. 220 v.

²⁷ed. cit., p. 457.

in Spain, could conceivably have resulted in his margin of difference. What is clear is that Usque, who copies Spina's account almost verbatim, could not have helped but recognized his error if he were acquainted with the Chronica summorum pontificum imperatorumque, or, for that matter, with the Crónica de España.

c. Vicencio manho no espelo das estorias. As with the two previous cases, this citation too is copied wholly from Spina, and appears in Usque's fifth chapter. In this short narrative, Usque deviates from Spina in only one detail. In Spina, it is the king who returns to the court on his own initiative, his counselors knowing nothing of the case; in Usque, it is the counselors who evoke the king's wrath and speedy return. This difference, however, does not derive from the Speculum Historialis, cited as the source by Spina and which Usque copied into the margin of his book.²⁸

d. Estorias de san dinis de Frãça. The reference to this work, not cited by Spina, is found in Usque's tenth chapter, dealing with the expulsion of the Jews from France under Philip Augustus. A considerable portion of the material in this chapter derives from a source other than the Fortalitium Fidei. At first glance this would seem to be the Chroniques de Saint Denis, a French rendering of older Latin historical accounts. Though of limited value, the Chroniques enjoyed great influence and wide circulation, because their composition in French made the work accessible to the laity, who, for the most part, were unable to

²⁸The account is taken from Book 30, chapter 29, ed.

handle the Latin texts on which it was based.²⁹

The account of the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1182-1183 which is found in the Chroniques de Saint Denis derives almost verbatim from the Gesta Philippi Augusti, written at the Monastery of Saint Denis by the monk Rogard, a contemporary of the events he describes.³⁰

However, a comparison of chapter 10 of the Consolaçam with both the French chronicle and its Latin original casts doubt on a direct utilization of either by Samuel Usque. Usque's narrative is little more than a brief summary of these chronicles, composed of randomly selected sentences and phrases carried verbatim in the Consolaçam, and hardly manifests the same degree of faithful copying that the Consolaçam shows with respect to the Fortalitium Fidei. Indeed, there are details in Usque's narrative such as the king's earmarking of the Jews' wealth for his building projects, which are found neither in Rogard nor in his French translator. Likewise significant are the inclusion of the quotation from Gersonides; the paragraph which points to the desire of the Christians to proselytize as the motivation for their actions against the Jews and the long introductory section, marked by its obvious Jewish view. All of this would seem to point not to the direct employment of any Christian text, but to the utilization by Usque of a Jewish source in which the narratives of the Latin and French chronicles were resumed.

An important factor in this consideration is the presence of the

²⁹Thompson, J., A History of Historical Writing, pp. 271-272.

³⁰Ghellinck, J. de. L'essor de la littérature latine au XIIIe siècle, Tome II Paris, 1946, p. 136. Rigord's work is edited in Bouquet's Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-62, by Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial.

word Estorias in the margin of the Consolaçam. The term Coronicas which Usque correctly used in the singular to render into Portuguese the Crónica de España and the Chronica summorum pontificum imperatorumque, would have been the proper translation of the first word in the French title. That the unusual instance of Estorias is due to an error of memory is unlikely, not only because of Usque's otherwise faithful citation of his sources, but also because a memory error would have increased the possibility of his using Coronicas, by far the more common term.

However, if, as has been submitted, Usque utilized a Hebrew source, the appearance of the word Estorias is understandable. The Hebrew account would have translated the word Chroniques by כְּרֹנִיקִים, and Usque, lacking direct knowledge of the nature and content of the original sources, chose to render the Hebrew by its alternative meaning "Estorias".

The Hebrew text in question is, of course, the L.I.E.B.

e. Examination of Jewish Sources. Gersonides. The hypothesis is further strengthened by a careful analysis of the two Jewish sources cited by Usque. The first of these is the already mentioned R. leui (sic) ben gersó (sic) e outros, found in chapter 10 and referring to the description of the Jews expelled from France, "a people whose number was twice that which left Egypt". The passage is taken from Gersonides' comment to Leviticus 26.38,³¹ and not, as Verga recalls, to Numbers 23.10.³² The quotation from Gersonides, however, is only a partial

³¹Sefer Kehilot Moshe, f. 194v.

³²Shevet Yehuda, no. 21, ed.cit., p. 69. Francisco Cantera-Burgos, in his translation of the Shevet Yehuda (La vara de Judá),

almost proverbial statement and is insufficient to indicate a direct utilization of Gersonides' comment, which contains much additional material that Usque could have utilized profitably within the framework of his history.³³ These suspicions regarding Usque's direct utilization of Gersonides are supported by the realization that Ralbag's remark refers not to the expulsion of 1183, but to that of 1306.³⁴

Equally enigmatic in Usque's citation of Gersonides is the phrase e outros, for no other authors are cited in connection with the quotation from Gersonides. This is further evidence of Usque's transferral of the names of the works utilized by his major Jewish source, the L.I.E.B., where "the others" were doubtlessly quoted at some length. Two other Jewish authors, Shem Tob ben Joseph Falaquera (1225-after 1290)³⁵ and Estori Parhi (ca 1282-1350),³⁶ are known to have reported on the expulsion

p. 128, note 2, incurs in the further error of giving the reference as Numbers 22.10.

³³Gersonides' comment to Leviticus 26.38 reveals a spirit closely akin to that of Usque's work:

והנה כל מה שנזכר באלו הקללות עבר עלינו ועל אבותינו בעונותינו ובעונות אבותינו לפי מה שנחפרם לנו מספורי הקדמים ואחשוב שיהיה אמרו והשומותי את מקדשיכם על חרבן בית ראשון ובית שני ומה שאמר ואחכם אורה בגוים וחריקותי אחריכם חרב מורה על חרוגי ביתר שהיה זמן מועט אחר חרבן בית שני ומה שאמר ואברחם בגוי' ואכלה אחי' ארץ אויביכם מורה על הצרות הגדולות שעברו על עמנו שמתו מהם רבים מכללים הרג קצת הקהילות הקדושות וגרוש היהודים מארץ צרפת שמתו בסבתו כפלים כיוצאי מצרים ברעב ובדבר.

It is surprising that none of the biblical quotations or other data in this passage are carried over into Usque's account.

³⁴Graetz, H., op.cit., Vol. 7, p. 265.

³⁵Caftor vo-Ferah, chapter 52, pl 113.

³⁶Minhat Kenaot, no. 100, quoted by Graetz, op.cit., Vol. 7, p. 265.

from France in the year 1306, and the phrase "e outros" most likely refers to them.

f. Ibn Daud. A similar problem is presented in chapter 24, where Usque lists as a source R. (sic) abrahaõ (sic) leui (sic) no liro (sic) de Cabala. The common narrative relates the death of Joseph ha-Levi in Granada, but Usque's direct dependence on ibn Daud for this account is subject to grave objections. A comparison of the two narratives will immediately reveal that Usque utilized only a small and secondary portion of ibn Daud's version:

SEFER HA-CABALLAH

ועמד על כנו ר'
יהוסף הלוי הנגיד בנו ומכל
מדות טובות שהיו באביו לא חסר
אלא אחת שלא היה ענותן כאביו
מפני שגדל בעושר ולא נשא עול
בנעוריו וגבה לבו עד להשחית
חיקנאו בו סרני פלשתים עד
שנהרג ביום השבת בתשעה בשבת
שנת ו'תתכ"ז הוא וקהל גראנאסא
וכל הבאים מארצות הרחוקות לראות
תורתו וגדולתו (נמאבלו עליו)
ואבלו היה הולך בכל מדינה
ומדינה ובכל עיר ועיר. ומימי
רבותי ז"ל הקדמונים שכתבו
מגלת תענית וגזרו תענית בש'
בשבת ולא ידעו על מה הוא ומכאן
ידענו שכוונו ברוח הקדש ליום
זה.

CONSOLAÇÃO AS TRIBULAÇÕES DE ISRAEL

De maneira que vendo os ymigos a deliberação em que estauam postos os judeos: a noue do mes de Thebet meterõ a todalas mil e quinhêtas casas a espada nam perdoando a nhua criatura de todos elles: nem auendo piadade das crianças aferradas nos braços da piadosa madre, nem dos clamores das delicadas virgês, velhos mancebos, e todalas ydades que ao soberano señor de tãmanha crueldade pidiam vingança. aqui entrou aquelle asinalado e eccelente sabio o Rab rebi yocef leui: este mesmo dia de noue de Thebet auia muito tempo antes que ordenarom elles de ogejuar e o gejuauam sem saber por que causa; parece que por espirito diuino ante virom, que tãmanha tribulaçãõ lhe auia de acontecer nelle;... [Italics mine]

37

Moreover, ibn Daud dates Joseph ha-Levi's death around the year 4827

³⁷Sefer ha-Caballah, ed. Neubauer, in Medieval Jewish Chronicles, Vol. 1, p. 73; Usque, Dialogue III, f. 25.

(1066),³⁸ while Usque places the event in the year 5248 (1488), an inconceivable error if it is assumed that Usque had the Sefer Ha-Caballah before him. Even if it is asserted that Usque grossly misread the Hebrew dates in ibn Daud, as Loeb supposes,³⁹ this does not account for Usque's placing this narrative in the Christian period, for even if he misread his source as 1488, he would have had no reason to substitute Christians for Moors in his account, since in 1488 Granada was still in the power of the Moors and did not succumb to the forces of the Catholic Sovereigns until early in 1492.⁴⁰

This welter of confusing data underlines the complexity of the problem at hand and indicates that its solution does not lie in the mere positing of a textual misreading.⁴¹ At the same time, however, it

³⁸Loeb, J. op.cit., p. 44; Steinschneider, M., Polemische und apologetische literatur, pp. 138-140.

³⁹op.cit., p. 44.

⁴⁰Altamira y Crevea, R., Historia de España, Vol. 2, pp. 372ff. During the war with Granada, the Jews of Christian Spain were invaluable assets to the crown, and their indispensability brought them not only royal protection but also the ignoring of grave royal ordinances which had been issued against them early in the 1480s. Ibid., p. 379.

⁴¹This was already clearly seen as early as 1629, when Isaac Aboab wrote in his Nomología, p. 272.

Ioseph ha-Leui ... el qual fue matado en Granada, con otros muchos Iudios en el año de quatro mil y ochocientos y veynte y quatro, en nueve del mez de Tebet; como traen Areabad en su libro de la Cabalá; Abraham Zachuto en el suyo de las Genealogias, Guedaliah Yahia en su Cadena de la Cabalá; y Iehuda Abenbergue en su Sebet Iehudá. Por donde se vé, que el Vsque, en su Consolacion de Israel, no advirtió á contar la muerte deste ilustre varon, en su justo tiempo, pues dize, que sucedió en el año de cinco mil y doziétos y quarenta y ocho de la creacion, en que ay de diferencia quatrocientos y veyntiquatro años: que causa no pequeño espanto, en vn hombre dotado de buenas letras humanas, y versado en las historias, como el era: y tanto mas que alega con el mismo Areabad, que lo trae como auemos dicho en el tiempo de los Reyes Moros que entonces

confutes any assumption of a direct utilization by Usque of the Sefer Ha-Caballah without the intervention of an intermediate source which may have been partially or totally responsible for the errors. While it is difficult to impute the numerical error to the intermediate source, it is not at all inconceivable that, like the Shevet Yehuda and unlike the Consolaçam, this work was not primarily concerned with chronology. It therefore juxtaposed undated, the narrative of Joseph Ha-Levi's death in Granada and the persecutions of the Jews in his day to an account of persecutions of the Jews in the same city during the Christian domination.

The mere fact that the narrative of Joseph Ha-Levi's death is found in the fifth account of the Shevet Yehuda, in a version superior to Usque's and directly parallel to ibn Daud's, does not prove, as has been inferred,⁴² that the L.I.E.B., the common source of Usque and Verga, contained the correct version, and that consequently the errors are to be ascribed to Usque. For in this particular instance, the narratives in Usque and Verga are too dissimilar to posit any but the most remote common source.⁴³ Even if there were no error in Usque's dating, there would still be a sharp difference between the point of his account and the major interest of Verga's. In the latter, closer to ibn Daud, Joseph Ha-Levi is a

dominauan a Granada, y el Vsque lo pone en tiempo de Christianos; los quales no ganaron a Granada hasta el año de mil y quatrocientos y nouenta y dos de nuestra cuenta. De manera que, aun que el desastrado suceso del Nagid Joseph ha-Leui, viera sido en el año de cinco mil y dozientos y quarenta y ocho, como el quiere, no pudo ser en tiempo de Christianos, sino de Moros domo auemos dicho.

⁴²Loeb, I., op. cit., p. 44.

⁴³That the presence of narratives about a given event or subject in the Shevet Yehuda and in the Consolaçam does not necessarily imply a common source is seen most clearly in a comparison of Usque's first chapter with the ninth account in Verga. See below, pp. 41-42.

primary figure; in the former, his life occupies a place of incidental importance. The almost verbatim similarity between the accounts in the Shevet Yehuda and in the Sefer Ha-Gaballah would seem to argue for a direct utilization by Verga of ibn Daud rather than the L.I.E.B.⁴⁴

3. The Abbreviated Minor Sources.

a. Cor Ym. Chapter 12, the first of two accounts by Usque dealing with the expulsion of the Jews from England, bears this marginal note. Graetz asserts that the abbreviation is to be read "Coronica de Yngraterra."⁴⁵ According to this view, this is not the title of the work but merely a reference to the Chronicle of Florence of Worms, which narrates the conversion to Judaism of the predicant friar Robert of Reading, out of love for a Jewish maiden, and the vengeance taken through the queen by the other Dominican monks.⁴⁶ The first paragraph of Usque's narrative Graetz would trace to what appears to be a parallel account in the Zichron Hashemadot of Prophiat Duran.⁴⁷

This hypothesis, however, is based on very tenuous data. Graetz's interpretation of the abbreviation "Ym" as "Yngraterra" -- a most unlikely abbreviation in Portuguese -- is possible only on the assumption of a printing error of m for n, while his claim that the title is generic rather than specific is not substantiated through any of the

⁴⁴ Though Verga had before him the L.I.E.B. or a closely related chronicle, it is clear that he either did not use all the material in it or that his source did not contain a considerable amount of the material that was found in Usque's.

⁴⁵ Graetz, H., op. cit., vol. 8, p. 381.

⁴⁶ Abrahams, B., The Expulsion of the Jews from England, p. 63.

⁴⁷ op. cit., vol. 7, p. 463ff.

other source references in Usque, which are precise and specific. Furthermore, Graetz does not establish that the text Usque utilized was Efodi's. Not only do we have of Efodi's account what corresponds to only several lines in Usque, but also there is no reason to assume, from the small amount of Efodi's account extant, that any of his narratives were as long as Graetz would assume for Usque's twelfth chapter. Graetz's study does little more than determine the ultimate source of Usque's account; it throws no light on Usque's immediate source.

That this source was a Jewish text there can be little doubt. The viewpoint of the narrative is distinctly Jewish, with details that point more likely to the utilization of a Jewish source rather than to a reworking of a Christian source by Usque. The errors in dating of this account by both Usque and Verga point to a misreading of a Hebrew date.⁴⁸ The confusion of events, which relates the incidents of Robert of Reading (1275 C.E.) and the charge of counterfeiting (1278 C.E.) as direct causes of the exile in 1290, is a further characteristic of Usque's Jewish source.⁴⁹ There is thus reason to believe that a Jewish text, not identifiable as Efodi's, was the source from which Usque drew his account.

b. A.F. 154. Strangely, this reference, found in the margin of chapter 5, has elicited no comment from students of Usque's sources.

⁴⁸ The original account doubtlessly bore the date 5050 (1290). Verga's date of 5020 (1260) reveals a mistaken reading of the final Hebrew letter of the original as Kaph instead of a Nun. Usque, on the other hand, misread the same letter as Beth, and dated his account 5002 (1242). See Graetz, op. cit., vol. 8, p. 385.

⁴⁹ See below, pp. 34ff.

The whole chapter, as has been shown,⁵⁰ is derived from the Fortal-
litium Fidei, and the reference by Usque to the Speculum historialis
is merely a repetition of Spina's source. The reference in Usque
is further complicated by the presence of what appears to be a page
number.

That Usque in this instance did not go beyond the Fortalitim Fi-
dei is clear, and therefore the notation A.F. 154 must refer to some-
thing other than a source. A consideration of all the marginal notes
in the Consolaçam leads to the conclusion that A.F. 154 is the result
of an error in printing for what should have read "A(ño) 4954."

Similar marginal references to the Hebrew year are found nine
times elsewhere in the historical material of the third dialogue,
and on numerous other occasions throughout the book. The interchange
of F and 4 is easily understandable. That the digit 9 should have
been printed as 1 is not surprising when we consider that of the errors
committed in the printing of page references to the Fortalitim Fidei,
the gravest was precisely the substitution of a 1 for a 9 in the nota-
tion of the source of Chapter 13. Elsewhere, in the heading of
chapter 22, a 1 is again the erroneous substitution, this time for a
5.⁵²

⁵⁰See above, p.22.

⁵¹They are present in the margins of chapters 4, 20, 25 (twice),
28, 29, 30, 32 and 34. References with the word "Año(s)" followed by
the Hebrew year appear frequently in the chapter heading, v.g.,
chapters 11, 15 and 20.

⁵²In Mendes dos Remedios' edition of the Consolaçam, chapter 35
bears the date 1306, an obvious error for 5306. The error, however,
was committed by Mendes, and is found neither in the edition of 1553
nor in that of 1597.

The Hebrew year 4954, that is C.E. 1193/1194, would be the approximate date of the story in Usque's fifth chapter. The original source, the Gesta Philippi Augusti, gives the date as 1192 C.E.⁵³

c. U.M. This abbreviation appears four times, always in connection with the L.I.E.B.⁵⁴ Lipiner, in two brief notes, makes the plausible suggestion that these letters are to be read "um manuscrito,"⁵⁵ and indicate that the L.I.E.B., which he, following Graetz, reads "Livro Ebraico,"⁵⁶ was consulted by Usque in manuscript form.

There are, however, serious objections to this theory. Abbreviations in Portuguese generally drop the article, and if U.M. meant "um manuscrito," a simple M. would have been the proper way to denote it. Further, an explanation would have to be sought for its citation in only four of the sixteen instances where the L.I.E.B. is given as the source. Aside from the fact that the U.M. appears to bear some relationship to the L.I.E.B., nothing definite can be said about it.

An investigation of the Shevet Yehuda, (which, as has been noted, utilized the L.I.E.B. or a version of it) for accounts parallel to those where Usque gives the further indication of U.M., reveals significant data. It indicates that two of Usque's narratives, those in

⁵³ed. cit., p. 36.

⁵⁴It is found in the margins of chapters 7,9,18 and 20.

⁵⁵op. cit., p. 101, note 2 and p. 147, note 5.

⁵⁶op. cit., vol. 8, p. 397.

chapters 7 and 9, are not found in Verga in any form. Another, that of chapter 18, is sufficiently different from Verga's narrative no. 21, as to point to divergent original accounts. Thus far, then, the U.M. contains material which for some reason Verga did not or could not utilize.

The fourth instance, that of Usque's chapter 18, does find a parallel in Verga (number 43), but this case is equally striking. Here there are practically no differences between the two versions, and certainly the least amount of textual deviation of any of the accounts which can be traced to the common source.

In view of these data, the reading "único manuscrito" or "último manuscrito" for U.M. is much more plausible, especially since, as will be shown, the existence of more than one manuscript or copy must be stipulated for those cases where the divergence by Verga and Usque from an obvious common source would otherwise be too difficult to explain.⁵⁷

4. The L.I.E.B.

It is thus evident that what will remain after a separation of those passages in the historical material of the third dialogue of the Consolacum which are derived from the Fortalitium Fidei, will form part of the source or sources cited as L.I.E.B. This notation appears no less than seventeen times in the first twenty-four chapters, written L.I.E.B. before chapter 10,⁵⁸ and Li. Eb. thereafter.⁵⁹ As has been

⁵⁷See below, p. 41.

⁵⁸Chapters 1,3,4,6,7,8 and 9.

⁵⁹Chapters 11,12,17 and 20 cite it as Li. Eb.; 13,21,22 and 24 list it as Li. Eb. It is omitted from chapters 15 and 19.

indicated, in every chapter where it appears, there are significant data which can be assigned to it.⁶⁰

The omission of this notation in chapters 14 and 16 is not a criterion for the postulation of a different source, as Baer emphatically states.⁶¹ The numerous errors and inconsistencies observed with regard to the Fortalitium Fidei; the case of chapter 15, where the passage obviously derives from Spina's work, and the realization that of all the chapters under consideration, the three successive chapters 14 through 16 are the only ones where no major source is cited, afford ample evidence to argue for the careless omission of the L.I.E.B. in chapters 14 and 16, rather than for the presence of another source.

This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that chapter 16 of the Consolacão has a parallel in the Shevet Yehuda (no. 6) and appears to derive from the same sources as the other parallel passages in Usque and Verga. Further, both chapter 16 and chapter 14 manifest characteristics similar to those of the other L.I.E.B. material.

L.I.E.B. is written from a Jewish point of view, with a detailed interest in the problems and tribulations of the Jewish people such as could not be expected from non-Jewish chronicles. It contains the references to Maimonides and Joseph Ha-Levi and the quotation from Gersonides. It shows an especial interest in recounting the dangers to body and faith

⁶⁰ See above, p. 13f.

⁶¹ op. cit., pp. 2-14, 37. Verga's claim that he took his sixth account (which parallels Usque's sixteenth chapter) from a Spanish chronicle is false, as is his claim that his twentieth account derives from a German chronicle. Baer, op. cit., p. 20. Graetz, op. cit., vol. 8, p. 466, though asserting that Efodi was the common source used by Usque 16 and Verga 6, is sufficiently confused about the issue to accept Verga's statement at face value.

faced by the Jews. While its dependence upon Christian sources is apparent, its utilization of these sources is characterized by a vagueness of detail, great selectivity and compression, and often a confusion of incidents, such as is manifest in the twelfth chapter, where the conversion of the predicant friar and the charge of counterfeiting are listed as the causes for the Jews' expulsion from England in 1290, or in chapter 21, where the account of the persecutions in Spain in 1391 is telescoped with the narrative of the trying events that transpired in the Peninsula two decades later.⁶²

Chapter 14 evidences many of these characteristics - the obvious Jewish viewpoint, selectivity, compression and confusion of data. It is far too general and devoid of detail to have been taken directly from a Christian source.⁶³

⁶² A Jewish account is the only work extant which fuses these events. It is the Iggeret Musar by Solomon Alami. The narrative is found on page 22.

⁶³ Baer's statement that "Die Quelle von Kap. 14, gewiss kein hebräische, ist ebenfalls noch nicht nachgewiesen" (op. cit., p. 38, *Italics mine*) is another illustration of his superficial study of Usque's work.

Chapter 14 of Usque's third dialogue bears the title "Flanders." It is preceded by two accounts dealing with the expulsion of the Jews from England. Although chapter 13 is not dated, chapter 12 bears the incorrect date of 5002 (1242) (See above, note 48). It is clear that Usque intended this date for both accounts. Chapter 15 is dated 5022 (1262). On the basis of the position of chapter 14, Loeb, op. cit., p. 40, makes the assumption that it is to be dated around 1260. This assumption, however, is based on the incorrect premise that Usque, who strove for chronological sequence, utilized correct dates in all cases. An examination of the dates given or inferable on the basis of position in chapters 2, 5, and 9 as well as 12 and 13 gives indisputable evidence that this was not so.

Nor does Loeb have any right to assume, on the basis of the unusually scant and vague data of the chapter, that it is historically accurate throughout. There is, in effect, no record of any host-desecration in Flanders at this time. See Corblet, J., Histoire dogmatique et archéologique du sacrement de l'Eucharistie, esp. vol. 2, pp. 556-588; de

Chapter 16, the narrative of the shepherds' rebellion, likewise adheres to this pattern, both in its detailed interest in the plight of the Jews and in its patently late, muddled and unfelicitous fusion of originally separate French and Spanish accounts of the incidents described.⁶⁴

It has been chiefly because Verga utilized the L.I.E.B. or a source related to it that great attention has been focused on this problem in the third dialogue of the Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel. The

(Continued from previous page)

Fleury, R., "La messe," in Études Archéologiques, vol. 4, pp. 21-40; De Sarachaga, R., Les collections d'histoire et d'art du musée eucharistique de Paray-le-Monial, containing a valuable bibliography of the Monographies sur les hosties de miracles; Leclercq, H., "Host," in Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 7, pp. 489-493; Chwolson, D., Die Blutanklage und sonstige mittelalterliche Beschuldigungen der Juden, pp. 4ff; Strack, H., The Jew and Human Sacrifice, etc.

These facts, coupled with the extremely general nature of Usque's account, point to a confusion in a Jewish source he utilized rather than a direct utilization by him of a Christian account.

In view of the fact that the remaining thirty-six chapters in the section of the Consolaçam under consideration deal with exemplary events in Jewish history, the account in chapter 14 must similarly describe a signal occurrence. The most sensational charge of host desecration, and the only one worthy of note, in that general area during the Middle Ages was the Brussels libel of 1370, which continued to flame popular imagination in Usque's day and up to the end of the nineteenth century, and of which there exists a fifteenth century Flemish account. See Liber, D., Le faux miracle du saint sacrement, p. 153. It is likely this was the libel resumed in Usque's Jewish source, with errors in detail not dissimilar to those observable elsewhere in L.I.E.B.

Gelbart's suggestion, quoted by Neuman, op. cit., p. 132, that "Brussels" be understood for "Flanders" in Usque's text is valid, provided it is clear that Usque and doubtlessly his source had Flanders and not Brussels in mind when composing their narratives. Of course, I assume here that Gelbart's proposal is based on a hypothesis similar to the one outlined above and that he would agree that the original narrative referred to the libel of 1370.

All of this information further emphasizes the unlikelihood of a direct utilization by Usque of a Christian account.

⁶⁴Baer, op. cit., pp. 2ff.

sections in Usque and Verga which manifest sufficient parallels to lead to the conjecture of a common source are seen in the following table.

USQUE	VERGA
4	30
8	31
11	19
12	18, 20
16	6
17	14, 39
18	43
19	26
20	21, 24, 25
21	27, 46, 48, 49

A study of these parallel passages has led to the formulation of three basic hypotheses regarding the identity of L.I.E.B.

in 1875, Heinrich Graetz proposed that this unknown source was the Zichron Hashemadot of Prophiat Duran.⁶⁵ This work is not extant, nor was it in Graetz's day. It is known only through several quotations from it found in Isaac Abravanel's Yeshuot Meshiho (1497).⁶⁶ Here Abravanel reproduces several paragraphs from Efodi which closely parallel L.I.E.B.

⁶⁵ op. cit., vol. 8, pp. 393ff.

⁶⁶ f. 30v. (Iyyun 2, Perek 2, toward the end).

material in Usque 12 - Verga 18 and in Usque 20 - Verga 21, 24 and 25. On the basis of these parallels, Graetz proceeds to infer the utilization of this source in Usque 21, Usque 12 and elsewhere. Graetz would read the abbreviation L.I.E.B. as "Livro Ebraico," "a Hebrew book" and make the reference apply to Efodi.

The second major theory was proposed by Isidore Loeb, writing in 1888 on Joseph Ha-Cohen. Loeb asserts that L.I.E.B. stands for "Liber Iehuda Ebn (sic) Berga (sic)." ⁶⁷ Struck by the similarities between Usque 16 and Verga 6 and especially by those in Usque 8 and Verga 31, he states:

il paraît donc impossible que l'un des deux écrivains n'ait pas copié l'autre, et comme la compilation du Schébet Jehuda a été commencée déjà en Espagne, on peut admettre que si Usque n'avait pas d'exemplaire imprimé de l'ouvrage (l'édition princeps étant peut-être postérieure à celle de l'ouvrage d'Usque), il a pu en avoir vu une copie manuscrite. ⁶⁸

To the objection that Verga's work might have appeared in print later than Usque's, Loeb states:

Il nous paraît certain que le Schébet Jehuda a été rédigé dans sa forme actuelle, avant l'ouvrage d'Usque. ⁶⁹

He explains the presence of B. for V. in the name Verga as resulting from the correspondence in sound and frequent interchange of these two letters in the Spanish tongue. ⁷⁰

⁶⁷ op. cit., p. 102

⁶⁸ ibid., p. 38. See also ibid., p. 42. Loeb's inexplicable election to render L.I.E.B. in Latin pays no attention to the rudiments of Latin syntax, which would require the proper noun in the genitive.

⁶⁹ ibid., p. 102.

⁷⁰ ibid.

The third major theory was advanced by Fritz Baer in his study on the sources of the Shevet Yehuda (1923).⁷¹ After a detailed comparative analysis of the parallel texts in the Consolacem and the Shevet Yehuda, Baer concludes that Usque and Verga did not utilize the same source, but derivatives of a common source. This hypothesis was posited with respect to a single set of parallel passages by Umberto Cassuto in 1912. Comparing Usque 11 with Verga 19, he reaches the following conclusions:

Da questo confronto che siamo venuti facendo fra le varie relazioni, sembra potersi concludere che l'USQUE e l'IBN VERGA attingono a fonti diversi, risalenti però in ultima analisi ad alcune di comune, come ci mostra la menzione di Napoli e di Trani al principio di ambedue le relazioni, e in ambedue sotto la forma Napoles e Trana. La fonte diretta della narrazione dell'USQUE sembra essere abbastanza tarda, e aver subito modificazioni e trasformazioni attraverso la fantasia popolare, pur contenendo tuttora alcuni particolari così minutamente circostanziati da dimostrare un certo carattere di autenticità.⁷²

Baer's study of all the parallels reveals different degrees of relationship of Usque's and Verga's narratives to the common source, with the more correct account appearing now in one author, now in the other.

Baer asserts that the common narrative could not have been Judah ibn Verga's Shevet Yehuda. He further concludes that there is no proof for the claim that it was Efodi's work and he implicitly denies it any consideration in the problem. That the identity of the L.I.E.B. remains unsolved is not for him a matter of any importance! Though on one occasion he insists, probably correctly, that the common source was written in Hebrew,⁷³ he casts doubt on the possibility that Usque utilized it directly:

Zumal es zweifelhaft ist, ob U(sque) imstande war, eine hebräische Chronik zu benutzen, oder ob er sich nicht bereits einer portugiesischen oder anderssprachigen Übersetzung der ihm mit V(erga) jedenfalls gemeinsamen Quelle bedient hat.⁷⁴

⁷¹op. cit.

⁷²Cassuto, U., "Unignoto capitolo di storia ebraica," in Judaica, Festschrift für H. Cohen, pp. 399-400ff. Cassuto incurs in the gross error of calling Usque Salomone, ibid., p. 396.

⁷³op. cit., p. 13

⁷⁴ibid., p. 37.

While Baer's investigation yielded valuable data on the textual parallels between Usque and Verga and raised cogent and valid objections to previous theories, it failed to produce positive evidence to clarify the identity of L.I.E.B. or to establish a solid foundation for the construction of more substantial hypotheses than those previously proposed. Baer's work, which aims at a refutation of the conclusions of both Graetz and Loeb, further suffers from a failure to re-examine their promises. A re-evaluation of this nature would have obviated Baer's need for reliance on the relatively uncertain and mechanical textual approach to refute the theories of Graetz and Loeb.

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Loeb's assertion that L.I.E.B. refers to Verga's work is the weaker of these two hypotheses. His assumption that the Shevet Yehuda was begun in Spain and was available to Usque in printed or at least in manuscript form is most difficult to prove. It is further weakened by Baer's sound argument that the entire Shevet Yehuda is the product of the sixteenth century and the pen of a Solomon ibn Verga, whose relationship to the supposed author of the Shevet Yehuda is unknown, and who utilized the more renowned name of Judah ibn Verga to lend authority to his own composition.

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⁷⁵An internal approach such as Baer's is limited by many external factors. These include imperfect recollections or exaggerations of the sources by the authors, who did not always have the source texts before them when they wrote, printing errors, coincidence, popular moulds of expression of given ideas or narratives which do not necessarily indicate a traceable or common literary source, etc. A lack of scientific devices to gauge these areas circumscribes the value of conclusions based on internal evidence alone.

⁷⁶op. cit., p. 61ff.

The belief that the B. in L.I.E.B. stands for "Berga" merits little consideration. While it is true that the b and the y have an identical pronunciation in Spanish⁷⁷ and did during Usque's time, this interchange was not the practice with regard to proper names, especially those of noble families like the Vergas. Besides, the name Verga is spelled in Hebrew with a Wav, not a Beth;⁷⁸ this is the way it appears in the Shevet Yehuda, and if Usque were transcribing this name into Spanish or Portuguese, it is inconceivable for him to have used a B. At the same time Loeb adduces no evidence to show that the common noun "verga" was written with a b during the fifteenth century.

The strongest argument against Loeb results from a consideration of dissimilarities in Usque and Verga. Loeb himself was to realize that in the case of Usque 20 - Verga 21, 24 and 25, narrating the expulsion of the Jews from France by Philip the Fair, Usque has the clearer and better account.⁷⁹ Loeb, however, failed to utilize this discovery to modify his earlier theory. In the case of Usque 24 - Verga 5, dealing with Joseph ha-Levi, the point of Usque's narrative, as well as his details and errors, are not explainable on the basis of Verga's text.⁸⁰ Further, chapter 1 in Usque, the account of the persecutions under Sisebut, which contains

⁷⁷Menendez-Pidal, R., Manual de gramática histórica española, p. 79.

⁷⁸Loeb, op. cit., p. 102, claims the name Verga was written with a B, but adduces no evidence for this statement. Nor was this interchange common in Portuguese. V. Williams, E., From Latin to Portuguese, p. 59.

⁷⁹Loeb, I., "Les expulsions des Juifs de France au XIVe siècle," in Graetz-Jubelschrift, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁰See above, p. 26ff.

material from the Fortalitium Fidei as well as from the L.I.E.B. differs so completely from the history of these persecutions as narrated in Verga's ninth chapter as to leave no doubt that the two derive from completely different sources. These salient examples are sufficient to discount Loeb's claim that the Shevet Yehuda was the L.I.E.B. In addition, there are in Usque ten chapters, derived at least in part from L.I.E.B., which find no parallel at all in Verga.⁸¹ It is inconceivable for a source to have less material than its derivative.

A simple study of chronology is sufficient to demonstrate the untenability of Graetz's hypothesis that the author of L.I.E.B. was Efodi.

The dates of Efodi's birth and death are uncertain. It is known, however, that in 1391 he was sufficiently mature to assume a position as tutor in the Crescas family. After 1413 nothing further is heard from him, and he is assumed to have died around 1415.⁸²

Yet the L.I.E.B. includes material beyond the middle of the fifteenth century. True, serious doubts may be cast upon any claim that the account found in Usque's twenty-fourth chapter was composed by the author of L.I.E.B. late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century: it cannot be determined whether the date 1488 and the reference to Christians were original in the L.I.E.B. or are due to misreadings by Usque of his Jewish source. However, the fact remains that the narrative in chapter 22, derived in part from the Fortalitium Fidei and in part from the L.I.E.B.,

⁸¹These include chapters 1,3,6,7,9,10,13 and 22, where L.I.E.B. is listed as a source and chapters 15 and 19, where the indication of the presence of L.I.E.B. has been erroneously omitted. See above, p. 12.

⁸²Gronemann, S., De Profiatii Durani Vita ac Studiis, pp. 5-15.

relates events that transpired in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Several obstacles may be raised to this conclusion. First, the caption of this narrative bears the date 1255. That this date is incorrect, however, is readily discernible. Usque's otherwise consistent utilization of Hebrew dates, and the fact that his chronological sequence would require the date 5215 (1455) rather than 1215, make the correction imperative. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the corresponding narrative in the Fortalitium Fidei expressly gives the date as 1455.

It may also be objected that the citation of L.I.E.B. as a source is incorrect. However, Usque's account is so completely different in detail and presentation from Spina's that there can be no doubt of the existence of a Jewish source for this narrative. Nor is there any evidence to indicate that the Jewish elements properly belong to a date earlier than 1455.

Indeed, contrary to what Graetz asserts,⁸³ it is unlikely that Efodi wrote the narrative which forms the basis for Usque's twenty-first chapter, dated 1390.⁸⁴ This narrative's fusion of the account of the persecutions of 1391 with that of Vincent Ferrer's missionary activity twenty years later, points to an author who was not a contemporary of the events described, but who wrote sufficiently later for the two catastrophes to have been confused in the haze of popular memory. Further, the narrative incurs in a

⁸³ op. cit., vol. 8, p. 397.

⁸⁴ Usque's chapter bears the date 5850, an obvious misprint for 5150.

gross anachronism regarding the identity of the king of Portugal around 1390: instead of mentioning King John, it mentions King Duarte, who came to the throne in 1433, considerably later than the events described and than the assumed date of Efodi's death.⁸⁵

Besides, both Usque and Verga, in his parallel account, list Aragon as a scene of persecutions, while Efodi, writing in his Maaseh Efod, expressly states that Aragon remained free from persecutions.⁸⁶

Therefore, unless it is assumed that Efodi was still alive after 1455, a most difficult hypothesis, for which there is not even the slightest bit of circumstantial evidence, it must be concluded that the corpus of literary material known as L.I.E.B. was composed by someone other than and later than Efodi and consequently cannot be identical with the Zichron Hashemadot.

What Graetz did show, and what both Loeb and Baer failed to stress, is the incontrovertible presence of Efodi's work in the L.I.E.B. Clearly enough, the passages from the Zichron Hashemadot found in Isaac Abravanel's Yeshuot Meshiho are present, with only relatively minor variations in both Usque and to a somewhat lesser extent in Verga. And though it cannot be asserted that Efodi was the author of L.I.E.B., it is clear that he did not fail to influence this work profoundly.

⁸⁵ op. cit., vol. 8, p. 127, note 1. Graetz himself noticed this error, but failed to draw any conclusions from it.

⁸⁶ Maaseh Efod, p. 14. Here Efodi states:

ומי יודע אם הצלת קהילות ארגון אשר הם העקר שנמלט
מגלות ספרד היתה לרוב שקיותם על התפילה ולקום בליל
אשמורות להתחנן לה' בתחנונים.

However, Graetz's assumption that L.I.E.B. indicates "Livro Ebraico" is a weak attempt at a solution of the problem. Graetz was doubtlessly attracted to this superficial conclusion by the fact that the abbreviation of the unknown source is so often written Li.Eb. and that the particular words in question happen to fit the abbreviation. But he overlooked basic factors that render his interpretation unfeasible.

As has been shown, the abbreviation Li.Eb. occurs in only half of the instances of the appearance of this source reference; the fact that on other occasions it is listed as L.I.E.B. militates seriously against Graetz's hypothesis. It is unlikely for the I. and the B. to have been capitalized if they represented no more than the second letter of a common noun. If it is argued that one of the two methods of abbreviating this source is inaccurate, then it must be concluded that the error lies in the abbreviation Li.Eb. This notation occurs only in chapters 10 and following, which is the section where the greatest amount of error is discernible in the recording of other literary sources.

The most cogent argument against Graetz's hypothesis lies in the fact that in all other instances, Usque cites his source specifically, leaving no doubt of its identity. Among the sources cited are two Hebrew books, the Sefer Ha-Caballah and Gersonides' pentateuchal commentary. For Usque to have utilized the abbreviation L.I.E.B. to indicate simply "Livro Ebraico" would thus have been meaningless.

That L.I.E.B. was a Hebrew book there can be little doubt.⁸⁷ Aside

⁸⁷See above, pp. 24ff., esp. pp. 24, 34 ff. and notes 48 and 63.

from the Consolacam, there is not a single Jewish historical work of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance written in any language other than Hebrew. Cantera-Burgos objects to Baer's positing of a Hebrew chronicle as the basis for Usque III, 16 - Verga 6, on the ground that the common source utilized by the two Jewish authors evidences syntactical constructions peculiar to Latin and the Romanic Languages.⁸⁸ This is not, however, an argument for a non-Hebraic source, as Cantera would suppose, but merely an indication that the Hebrew narrative depended heavily on Christian writings, either in Latin or in one or more of the Romance languages, a fact which is quite obvious.

The date of composition of the L.I.E.B. while clearly posterior to Efodi, cannot be determined with certainty. Chapter 24 of the Consolacam, the final chapter which derives from the L.I.E.B., bears the date 1488. However, as has been shown, this date may be inaccurate. The latest unquestionably accurate date found in the material that Usque derived from the L.I.E.B. is 1455, the date of chapter 22, and this must be considered the terminus a quo.⁸⁹

The terminus ad quem is much more difficult to determine. At first glance, it would appear that the L.I.E.B. had to be completed before the last decade of the fifteenth century. Clearly no work completed after 1492 and dealing with the major calamities experienced by the Jews and stressing those suffered in Spain, would have omitted mention of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 or the subsequent hardships to which they were exposed. That the L.I.E.B. contained such accounts but

⁸⁸ op. cit., p. 11

⁸⁹ See above, p. 28.

that Usque, who elsewhere relied heavily on this source, failed to take advantage of them, is totally inconceivable. Thus, the terminus ad quem would have to be March 31, 1492, the date of the Catholic Sovereigns' edict of expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

There is, however, another possibility which cannot be overlooked, namely that the L.I.E.B. was composed, in whole or in part, after 1492, but that for some reason the work remained unfinished. In this case, the terminus ad quem could be extended to the middle of the sixteenth century, shortly before the date of the completion of the Consolacão and the Shevet Yehuda.

The place of the composition of the L.I.E.B. is likewise uncertain. The interest of this source in Spanish history, its clear relationship to Efodi and the fact that it found a direct echo only in Usque and Verga, point to the Iberian Peninsula as the focus of the author's concern. That it mentions Portugal not even once further limits this to Spain. Thus, if the L.I.E.B. was completed before 1492, the place of its composition can safely be assumed to have been Spain.

If, on the other hand, the work was composed or finished after 1492, a place other than Spain would have to be assumed. This might well have been Portugal, where thousands of Jews sought refuge after the expulsion.⁹⁰ Or it might have been one of the numerous Italian cities which offered a haven of rest to Jews fleeing both Spain in 1492 and Portugal in the decades following.⁹¹

⁹⁰Amador de los Rios, J., Estudios, p. 209.

⁹¹Roth, C., The History of the Jews of Italy, passim.

Equally significant and equally difficult to determine is the locale where Usque and Verga might have consulted this source. There is no clear information regarding the place of the composition of the Shevet Yehuda. It is certain, however, that Usque did not begin writing his book until after his departure from Portugal, probably in 1531 or not long thereafter. In the prologue to the Consolacam he indicates this clearly:

Pello que eu comouido, & vendo esta nossa nação seguida & afugentada agora dos reinos de Portugal vltimamente hús por pobreza, outros por temor, & os mais delles pella pouca costancia q̃ jaa de abinício é nossos animos repousa, vacilar & mais do deuer someterse aos trabalhos & deixarse vencer delles, propus relatar as tribulações & fadigas q̃ a nosso pouo socederão as causas por que cada mal se moueo... 92 (Italics mine)

From Portugal Usque went to Italy, most probably to Naples, and it is in this city where these words may have been written. At the beginning of the fourth decade of the sixteenth century Naples was a Mecca for scholars, Christian as well as Jewish. This was due in no small part to the efforts of the renowned Samuel Abravanel, the youngest son of Isaac Abravanel. Wealthy, generous and favored by don Pedro de Toledo, the viceroy of Naples, Samuel spared no efforts in his many philanthropic activities.⁹³ It is Usque himself who has left us the well-known description of this patron of his people:

Alem de outros auendo entreestes ysraelites húa venerauel pessoa e graue velhice de nação espanhola a mais principal e asinalada cujo merecimento a ser chamado hum Tremegisto se estendia como os gregos dizem tres vezes grande, grande Sabio na ley, grande nobre, e grande rico, a qual prosperidade das

⁹²ed. cit., Prologue, F.3v.

⁹³Roth, C., op. cit., p.285f.

tribulações de seus yrmãos continuo e muy magnificamente era socorro, casando enffinitas orfaás, mantendo muitos necessitados e asinaladamente esmerandose em libertar catiuos, tanto que concurriam nelle todas as calidades competentes de receber prophecia. 94

This portraiture is found in the thirty-second chapter of the historical material in the third dialogue of the Consolacam, which, significantly, is the only chapter in the entire section where the narration of calamities is interrupted by the encomium of an individual. It is possible that Samuel Usque was indebted to this Maecenas and that it was in his library in Naples where he obtained access to the L.I.E.B.

What is more likely, however, is that Usque consulted this manuscript in Salonika. Naples in the 1530's, with its growing anti-Jewish turbulence, could hardly have inspired the spirit of newly-found freedom which circulates through the Consolacam, or its patent inferences that a return to Judaism incurred no handicap or its optimism for a cloudless future. But this spirit could have been bred in the benevolent atmosphere of Salonika, and indeed permeates Usque's glowing description of this "verdadeira madre do judesmo." 95

It was here where Usque, free from the oppressive yoke of persecution, probably worked on his book. And indeed he could well have had access here to the library of Samuel Abravanel, for after the expulsion

94 ed. cit., Dialogue III, f. 35r.

95 Consolacam, ed. cit., Dialogue III, f. 36b. The description reads as follows:

"...sobre profundissimos cimentos de ley esta asentada, chea das mais eccelentes plantas e frutuosas arvores que ao presente em toda a redondeza da terra se sabe, diuinos sam seus frutos porque os regua grandissima abundancia de esmolos: obras santas e de eleuado e supremo merecimento sam seus muros: A esta se tem recolhido a moor parte destes meus filhos perseguidos e desterrados da Europa e outras muitas partes do vinverso, e ella os abraça e recebe com todo amor e boa vontade como se fosse aquella nossa antiga e jaa piadosa madre yerusalaim.

of the Jews from Naples in 1540-1541, it is precisely in Salonika where the descendants of the Abravanel's are to be found.⁹⁶

As for Verga, Baer conjectures that after leaving Portugal in 1507 he went to Naples where he "finished and enlarged his work."⁹⁷ Others hold the view that he escaped to Adrianople, in Turkey.⁹⁸ It is thus likely for Verga also to have consulted the L.I.E.B. in Naples or in Salonika, on his way eastward. Nothing more definite, however, can be determined, with regard to the problem of where this manuscript was seen by Verga and Usque.

Several conclusions regarding the L.I.E.B. thus appear to be definite. It is clear that these letters designate neither "Liber Iehuda Ebn Berga" nor "Livro Ebraico," and that the author of the unknown work could have been neither Verga nor Efodi. The L.I.E.B. manifests Efodi's influence, but clearly belongs to a period later than the Zichron Hashemadot. The varying accounts of the Shevet Yehuda and the Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel point to the existence of more than one manuscript of this work.

Other problems must remain unsolved. These include the date of the composition of the L.I.E.B., which might have been prior to 1492 or between 1492 and 1550; the place of composition, which could have been Spain, Portugal or Italy, and the place where Verga and Usque consulted their respective manuscripts.

⁹⁶ Slousch, N., Poésies hebraïques de don Jehu Abravanel, pp. 3-4. Geiger, in Ozar Nechmad, vol. 3, p. 224, states that it was in Salonika and in the year 1559 that Amatus Lusitanus saw the manuscript of Leon Ebreo's now lost Latin work, De coeli harmonia.

⁹⁷ op. cit., p. 78

⁹⁸ Seligsohn, M., "Ibn Verga, Judah," in Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. VI, p. 550, quoting Wiener, Steinschneider and Grætz.

These conclusions, significant though they are, do not point the way to the identification of the L.I.E.B. They do stress the complexity of the problem, which cannot be solved by any a priori guess of what the letters might signify, and they present the limitations within which the solution must be found. In this sense they serve as a reliable base and point of departure for the construction of a more meaningful hypothesis than has hitherto been possible.

5. A Possible Solution to the Identity of the L.I.E.B.

The weakness of any hypothesis lies in its assumption that the solution of the problem it attacks is possible from data available or circumstantially inferable. This assumption is rendered particularly difficult when the problem under consideration relates to the literature of the Jews in southwestern Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, for innumerable Jewish books and manuscripts were lost or destroyed during that period in the wake of the expulsion from Spain and the establishment of the Inquisition.⁹⁹ It is not unlikely that among these volumes were included the manuscripts of the L.I.E.B., or at least other books which might have clearly illuminated its identity, and that no trace of these writings remains today.

⁹⁹

See for example, Aboab, I., op. cit., pp. 220-221:

y ansi auia en España muchos libros manuscriptos de rarissima perficion: ...Despues que los Reyes don Fernando de Castilla, y don Manuel de Portugal, nos desterraron de sus Estados, todos los libros que auia se esparzieron, segun que sus duenos fueron habitar por diuersas partes del mundo.

On the other hand, it is as likely that the identity of this unknown work is determinable on the basis of evidence presently available. Since insufficient information exists to identify the L.I.E.B. with certainty, any attempt in this direction is at best hypothetical. The validity of such a hypothesis depends upon its ability to encompass all data available without contradiction or conflict. Clearly, the hypotheses of both Loeb and Graetz failed to do so.

a. The Case for Isaac Abravanel. On the basis of all evidence available it is possible to consider Isaac Abravanel to have been the author of the L.I.E.B., or at least, the link between the Zichron Hashemadot and the unknown source. Numerous factors point in this direction.

Throughout his works, Abravanel displays a vivid interest in history and is preeminent as a philosopher of history.¹⁰⁰ It was his ardent interest in Jewish history and in the persecutions suffered by his people which led him to include in his works valuable details of contemporary events and to quote verbatim from Efodi in his Yeshuot Meshicho. The latter work, it will be recalled, conserves the only passages extant from the Zichron Hashemadot. Since all these passages influenced the L.I.E.B. Abravanel becomes an important factor to be considered in the solution of the problem of the identity of this unknown source.

It is surprising that Abravanel makes no mention of the L.I.E.B. This factor probably aided in inducing Graetz to the conclusion that the L.I.E.B. had to be Efodi's. If the L.I.E.B. was completed during the 1480's or earlier, it is unlikely for Abravanel not to have been acquainted

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Netanyahu, B., Don Isaac Abravanel, pp. 130ff.

with it. He was in Spain at the time. His high position in political and literary circles could hardly have failed to draw his attention to a work of this nature, dealing as it did with a subject of especial concern to him, and of sufficient importance and popularity to have enjoyed circulation in at least two different copies. This factor would seem to favor the hypothesis that the work in question was later than 1492, but remained incomplete.

Abravanel himself composed, or at least began such a work, no longer extant, which he entitled Yemot Olam. He began this composition in 1495, in Monopoli, after his wearying travels through Spain and the Italian Peninsula.¹⁰¹ "His personal troubles," writes Netanyahu, "he clearly came to realize were but an insignificant part of the great tragedy that had befallen his people. Filled with deep reverence for their power of endurance, he commenced the writing of his Days of the World, in which he intended to present and analyze the manifestations of this power."¹⁰²

Abravanel first mentioned this work in his commentary on the Book of Kings (1495).¹⁰³ At that time he manifested his intention to compose the work. Two years later, writing in his Mayane Hayeshuah, he indicates that he has already begun the composition of the book and lists its contents:

ומי יספר הרעות העצומות והפלות
השמדות אשר עשו בני ערב הישמעאלים באנשי
הגולה כמו שאני עתיד לספרו בספר ימות עולם
אשר התחלתי לעשות אספר בו בעה' מיום שנוול
אדם הראשון עד היום הזה את כל התלאה אשר
מצאתנו . . .

¹⁰¹
ibid., p. 75.

¹⁰²
ibid.,

¹⁰³
Perush al Nevi'im Rishonim, f. 190r., col. 2.

¹⁰⁴
Mayane Ha-Yeshuah, f. 21b. Graetz's impression of this work is noteworthy.

Remarkably, such a plan of history is seen in no other Jewish work of the period except the Consolacַam!

It is only logical to expect that the Yemot Olam would be clear and comprehensive (kol ha-telaah) for the Medieval period. This factor, coupled with its concentration in persecutions and calamities are precisely the characteristics which have been observed in the L.I.E.B.

"In this work," says Netanyahu, "Abravanel wanted to present a general survey of Jewish history, analyze the impact of the world's history upon that of the Jewish people, and demonstrate the indestructibility of the Jews by their ability to weather any storm and survive any persecution."¹⁰⁵ The Yemot Olam thus attempted to offer support for the moral thesis Abravanel expounded in his Tsidkat Olamim, which is likewise no longer extant.¹⁰⁶ Here he analyzed the role of God in history and the manifestations of divine justice in the world. Abravanel in this way hoped to give reassurance and trust to the innumerable Jewish souls whose burdens and griefs had driven them to the brink of skepticism and despair.¹⁰⁷ Again, a striking similarity to the Consolacַam!

The manuscript of the Yemot Olam was never finished. The project was suspended, and this may well account for its failure to reach the year

(Continued from previous page)

"Gleichzeitig mit Abraham Zacuto arbeitete Isaak Abrabanel an einer solchen geschichtlichen Aufzeichnung, von den Ältesten Zeiten bis auf seine Gegenwart, die wohl geordneter und eleganter geschrieben war als der Wirrwan des Chronikers Zacuto." op. cit., vol. 9, p. 208.

¹⁰⁵ op. cit., p. 65

¹⁰⁶ ibid., p. 288, n. 12

¹⁰⁷ ibid., p. 65.

1492. As Netanyahu aptly explains it, "The calamities of the present were too real."¹⁰⁸

The relationship which has been observed between the works of Abravanel and Usque is far from superficial. Abravanel's influence on the Consolacão is an obvious factor, worthy of more thorough exploration than has hitherto been undertaken. The questions which troubled Abravanel were precisely the ones that reappear confronting Usque. And like Abravanel, Usque sought his answers in the experiences of Jewish history.

Abravanel's influence on Verga, while not as permeating as on Usque, was nevertheless not inconsiderable, and Verga manifests a direct acquaintance with several of Isaac's works.¹⁰⁹ In addition, his name appears twice in Verga's book. In chapter 51,¹¹⁰ there is a direct quotation from the introduction to his commentary on the Book of Kings, while chapter 7 includes a fictitious conversation concerning the Hebrew word Nochri and the biblical prohibition of usury, in which there enters "a noble of the sons of Abravanel who had come from Seville, his native city."¹¹¹

That the author of the unknown work under consideration was Isaac Abravanel rather than any other known literary figure of the period is thus very likely, and it is probable that the common source of Usque and Verga is none other than the incomplete manuscript of the Yemot Olam.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 75. De Rossi, G., Dizionario storico degli autori ebrei e delle loro opere, gives the following interesting note regarding this work:

"Jemot olàm, Giorni del secolo, o Cronica delle afflizioni e persecuzioni sinora sofferte dal popolo ebreo, ms. che non pare stata finita e che sussista." (Final italics mine)

¹⁰⁹ Baer, op. cit., pp. 58-61.

¹¹⁰ ed. cit., pp. 2-6.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 29.

Written as it was in Italy, and very conceivably taken to Salonika, it was within a radius of availability for both Usque and Verga.

b. The role of Judah Abravanel. The proposed establishment of the Yemot Olam as the source in question does not, of course, identify the letters L.I.E.B. It does, however, limit its possibilities. The answer to this problem must have some relationship to Isaac Abravanel.

Clearly, L.I.E.B. is not an abbreviation for Yemot Olam or for any possible Romanic translation of this title. However, as has been deduced on the basis of Usque's citation of the other Hebrew sources,¹¹² these letters may, and more likely than not do, represent a person rather than a manuscript title.

L.I.E.B. cannot be the abbreviation of Isaac Abravanel. They could, however, represent the name of his oldest son, Judah Leon Abravanel, and the letters in question could be deciphered in Portuguese as L(EON) I(EHUDA) EB(REO). That this is more than a chance possibility is borne out by the evidence available.

It will be recalled that in addition to being the composer of the mellifluous prose of the Dialoghi d'amore, Judah was a gifted Hebrew poet. His poetic chef-d'oeuvre is the Telunah al Ha-Zeman (1503), composed not long after the seizure and baptism of his infant son in Portugal. Here, in addition to the poignant elegy at the loss of his son to Judaism, he includes valuable details of contemporary history.¹¹³ Another elegiac poem, lamenting the death of his father, was composed in 1509. This work is

¹¹² See above, p.24ff.

¹¹³ Zimmels, B., Leo Hebraeus, pp. 19f.

no longer extant.¹¹⁴

Despite his mastery of Neo-Platonic thought, which elicited from Isaac Abravanel the statement that "he is doubtlessly the best among the philosophers of Italy in this generation,"¹¹⁵ Judah never lost interest in his father's work and thinking. Isaac remained his spiritual and literary master, and moved by his inspiration and by filial devotion, Judah composed poetic prefaces in Hebrew to four of Isaac's books. Three of these, the introductory poems to Rosh Amanah, Nachlat Abot and Zevach Pesach appeared in 1509. The fourth, a comparatively lengthy paean of praise of Isaac Abravanel, introducing the commentary to the Prophets, appeared in 1520.¹¹⁶

It is this close relationship between father and son which may contain the key to the appearance of Judah's name in the margin of the Consolacem.

If the Yemot Olam is posited as Usque's major unknown source, then the appearance of Judah's name may be explained by several strong possibilities.

It is likely that Judah composed an introductory piece of this incomplete work similar to the poems he prepared for the four other works of his father, and that Usque was in some way led to the erroneous ascription of the entire work to Judah. The fact that the work remained in

¹¹⁴Slousch, N., op. cit., pp. 8ff.

¹¹⁵Answer to Saul Kohen, fol. 20, quoted by Gebhardt, K., in Leone Ebreo, Regesten zur Lebensgeschichte Leone Ebreos, pp. 25-26.

¹¹⁶Slousch, op. cit., p. 3.

manuscript form increases this likelihood. The prefixing of such a poem by Judah might indeed have given the impression of authorship. The original title page could have been lost at this time, or more likely even earlier.

It is certain that Judah wrote works in Hebrew other than those presently extant.¹¹⁷ That they included such a poem is by no means unlikely.

Assuming that no such poem or other introduction by Judah was in existence, it is possible that the manuscript bore no name, and that, remaining in Judah's possession or library at his father's death, it came to be associated with him.

Or Isaac's name may have been abbreviated by a Yod, which Usque could understandably have misread "Iehuda" at a time when the author of the Dialoghi enjoyed renown both as a writer and as the personal physician of the Great Captain, Gonzalo Fernández de Cordoba.¹¹⁸

That such a work by Isaac Abravanel was obtained directly from Judah is hardly likely, for it cannot be assumed that Judah would have failed to indicate the correct author. But for Usque to have consulted this manuscript in an Abravanel library without further investigation of its authorship is highly probable.

c. The Case for Judah Abravanel. However, the possibility remains that Judah himself was the author of this source. To be sure, there is

¹¹⁷Zimmels, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 3-4.

little available evidence to support such a hypothesis. Aside from the Telunah al-Hazeman, whose main concern is contemporary history, nothing is known of Judah's role as a historian. His father's prestige in history and the philosophy of history, his influence on Usque's ideology, his relationship to Efodi, and the nature of the Yemot Olam find no parallel arguments in Judah's case. There is, however, one curious detail which cannot be overlooked. It is found in the fiftieth chapter of the Shevet Yehuda. This chapter begins with an unusual sentence:

אמר שלמה; גם אני שמעתי וראיתי כאלה רבות
מגורש קאשטיליא ופורטוגאל ומגזרת פראי ויסינטי גם
כן ושמדות אחרות, ואמרתי לכתבם הנה, אלא שראיתי
לשר אדון יהודה אבראבנל בפרשת תוכחות אשר כתבם
כלם, לכן מנעתי עצמי מזה . . .

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Some scholars, like Wiener, struck by the unexpected appearance of Judah's name, have attempted to see in it a misreading, claiming that the original Hebrew was an abbreviation, which was misprinted or misread "Yehuda" instead of "Yitzhak."¹²⁰ One may pose such a hypothesis with regard to Usque's misreading of the author's name on the title page of the Yemot Olam, because there is no evidence to contradict it. In this case, however, such a theory is impossible.

What Wiener overlooked in his attempt at a hasty solution was the fact that the Parasha Tochachot in Isaac Abravanel's pentateuchal commentary

¹¹⁹Ed. cit., p. 120

¹²⁰Ed. Shevet Yehuda, p. 181

makes nothing more than a summary mention of calamities, and fails to give any specific details regarding Fray Vicente Ferrer or any persecutions.¹²¹

It is thus obvious that the Parasha Tochachot in question is not the one in Isaac Abravanel's commentary to Deuteronomy. Conceivably, this section formed part of the Yemot Olam. It is also possible, however, that this was the title of a work by Judah himself. Such a hypothesis, while it could not avoid the corollary assumption of the immediate and deep influence of Isaac's writings, including the Yemot Olam, would nevertheless make it possible to attribute Usque's unknown source directly to Judah Abravanel.

Though this would simplify the problem, there is insufficient evidence for a stronger hypothesis for Judah's authorship. The ascription of the authorship of the source in question to Isaac Abravanel is supported by more substantial evidence.

d. Conclusion. Numerous possibilities thus lead to the same conclusion, that L.I.E.B. stands for L(EON) I(EHUDA) EB(REO), and that either Judah Abravanel or Isaac Abravanel was the author of this work.

The order of the names Leon and Iehuda in this abbreviation should not be surprising. The name Judah Leon Abravanel is indeed more common. In this instance, however, the name Leon, famous outside Jewish circles, is an insertion, added for greater identification. Likewise, when presenting the name Leon Ebreo to an audience with Jewish interests, the name

¹²¹Shevet Yehuda, ed. Baer, p. 207.

Judah is a similar insertion and correctly follows the name Leon.

That Usque utilized the name "Iehuda" is not inconsistent with his practice of inserting Hebrew names and terms which would be known to his public. That he chose the name Leon Ebreo to Jehuda Abravanel is also understandable. Writing as he did at a time when the former appellation was at its zenith, he preferred to identify his source with the current and famous name of this outstanding literary figure of the sixteenth century.

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON TRANSLATION

The following translation includes all of the historical material found in chapters 1-24 of the third Dialogue of the Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel. Theological interpolations within these chapters have generally been omitted. Exception has been made in the case of a few words or phrases integral in the historical material presented. style?

The Consolaçam, it will be recalled, is written in the form of an autobiography of its protagonist, the patriarch Jacob, who represents the entire Jewish people. All autobiographical allusions have been left intact.

Effective translation is both a science and an art. The choice of correct words is a scientific procedure, but a slavish word-for-word translation dulls the genius of the original author's pen, and fails to realize the distances in thought patterns and milieu between the original language and reading audience and the language and the audience for which the translation is intended. A translation should seek the greatest possible fidelity to the original text consonant with the rendering of the author's style and language to fit the public for whom the translator is working.

This has been the aim of the following translation, and in accordance with this aim, certain policies of translation have been established. These include an interchange of subordinating and coordinating conjunctions, a breaking up of long sentences into several individual units, utilization of an adjective for an adjectival phrase, the addition of explanatory words implied in the original text, and other changes of this nature, none of which are intended to violate the original text, but which aim rather at

the best possible rendering of the material in question.

The translation is not prepared for the public at large, but specifically for my fellow-students at the Hebrew Union College.

FIRST MISFORTUNE, SPAIN, YEAR OF THE WORLD 4077¹

First I saw Sisebut, king of the Goths, in the eight and a half years he enjoyed the kingdom of Spain, force the Jews who dwelt in his lands to change their religion,² stating that if they did not do so, he would give the populace permission to put them to the edge of the sword. The proclamation was so frightful and cruel that many weak-spirited individuals were incapable of resisting the fear of punishment and surrendered themselves to the Christian faith, in the same way as the vanquished delivered themselves to conquering enemies.³

When this happened the king sent letters to the Pope, informing him of the new converts, and both kingdoms rejoiced greatly, for it was but a relatively short time since the religion of the Christians had arisen.

Many others, who had valiantly resisted the Enemy's⁴ threats, were aided by divine mercy. It made the king satisfied with what he had done and he went no further with his violence. And thus, at last, these Jews were free from the death penalty for which they were liable, and as substitute punishment, they were very reproachfully exiled from his dominions.

¹This date is clearly wrong. 4077 would correspond to 317 C.E. Sisebut reigned three hundred years later (612-620). The account in the Fortalitium Fidei more correctly gives the year as 616.

²The laws intended for this effect are preserved in the famed Forum Judicum (Fuero Juzgo), Book XII, Title II, Laws 11-13 (Spanish version, Laws 12-14).

³Curiously Usque says that death was the alternative to baptism, and not exile, as Christian documents state.

⁴o imigo ("the enemy" or "the adversary") or its equivalents in Usque's text often refers to Satan. The clearest example of this usage in Usque is found in the fourth line of the thirty-sixth account in Dialogue III, leaf 37 verse of the Mendes dos Remedios edition, where we read "me vi do enemigo espiritual enuejado."

At this time Mohammed fled from Spain⁵ (he who is now so revered by so many peoples) because he went about preaching his doctrine throughout the world.

After this great misfortune, the king of the heavens sent a consolation in a good time to the afflicted Jews. He took Sisebut's life and placed Witiza⁶ on the throne.

As soon as the latter took possession of the royal sceptre, he called back all my children who had been exiled from Spain by Sisebut and lovingly gathered them to himself. With this favor those who had been converted to Christianity against their will gradually returned to the faith of their fathers

2. FRANCE, YEAR 4077⁷

When Henry was emperor of the Romans⁸ I saw myself basking in great wealth. My children in the Kingdom of France were very prosperous in material possessions and secure in their holy faith. And since their serenity and wealth were envied by many Christians, as naturally, every happy estate is in this mortal life, these decided to concoct a false

⁵ So in the Fortalitium Fidei (1.220). Read Mecca.

⁶ In reality Witiza did not ascend the throne until 701.

⁷ The date, doubtlessly transposed from chapter 1 above, is likewise erroneous here. The Emek ha-Bacha in the corresponding passage bears the date 4859 (1099), also incorrect. The Fortalitium Fidei (185) relates this event in conjunction with the expulsion from France in 1306. Loeb, op. cit., p. 35, would date it in 1290.

⁸ Henry VII (ca. 1269-1313; emperor 1308-1313).

accusation against them in order to destroy them.

They sent a woman to a Jewish broker to pawn a garment dissemblingly. And then, on the event of Jesus' resurrection, she asked it back, entreating the broker to lend it to her so that she might celebrate her holiday and promising him, as a good Christian, to return it the day after.

They claimed that the Jew answered her, "If you bring me the host after it is consecrated and as one receives it during Lent, I shall not only give you the garment for nothing, but in addition I'll pay you what it's worth." The woman, they said, was attracted by the promised reward and brought him the host which she received at communion.

Then, they charged, as soon as the Jew had it inside his house, he very secretly kindled a blazing fire in his fireplace, placed over it a kettle with oil and water, and when it began to boil, he threw the host inside, saying, "You are the god of the Christians. If my forefathers fastened you to the cross with nails, I shall boil you in this kettle."

When these words were spoken, they continued, the host turned into a little boy who walked about on top of the water inside the kettle. And though the Jew tried to strike him with a spit, he could not hit him, because he miraculously and very dexterously dodged from one corner to another and tried to get out.

In order to give credence to this calumny and malice, one day a wretched gang of ten or twelve men suddenly entered the Jew's house, turned about and ran to the street, making a great tumult and stirring up the populace. They said they had witnessed that great wonder, and told how a woman had given the Jew that host.

When word of this reached the court, the hapless Jewish broker and his whole family were arrested. Though subjected to cruel tortures, he never acknowledged the truth of the accusation; but his wife, weak as a woman, couldn't stand the torture and affirmed that everything they were saying was true.

They demanded that she become a Christian and promised to let her live. She and her small children accepted the terms, while he was burned, as it says here,⁹ embracing the Talmud.

On hearing the slander, the entire populace of France arose and killed many Jews in towns far from the capital. And the king in rage ordered all Jews found in the kingdom to be banished from it. They departed the land impoverished, their real property remaining in strangers' hands. And, harassed and robbed on the roads, they dispersed to many areas of Christendom....

3. SPAIN. TOLEDO¹⁰

This is what I saw after the hapless death of King Roderick, last of the line of the Goths:

There was constant warfare between the Christians and the Moors, for at that time most of Spain was occupied by them. When the Goths took Toledo, killing and capturing many enemies, the Africans resolved to recover it, seeking all possible means to put their intention into effect.

⁹Usque is referring to his source, the Fortalitium Fidei.

¹⁰The corresponding account in the Fortalitium Fidei bears the date 714. Most modern historians, following the classical Spanish historian, Juan de Mariana, pay little heed to this account and believe that Toledo ceded to Tarik the Moor only after a long siege.

But though they attempted it often, they didn't manage to succeed in their venture until one holiday (which the Christians call Palm Sunday), when the majority of the people had gone forth to a church far from the city. The Moors, well-informed and placed in ambush to await that moment, attacked with great speed and entered the city by surprise, killing or taking captive all the people in it. Among them were included a large number of Jews who lived there.

After they had taken possession of the city they left a large number of their people in it. With the rest they attacked the unarmed populace outside the city, taking captive all the people on foot and killing many of them. Most of those who were on horseback saved themselves. Among them were the chief lords, in whose care the king had entrusted the city.

Seeing the bad account they would give of the city to him who entrusted it to them, unless they came up with some reason or excuse sufficient for such a loss, the nobles decided to lay the blame on the afflicted Jews, on whom all misfortunes are unloaded. So when the grief-stricken king demanded of them an account of the city, they told him that the Jews had sold it to the Moors, and that their informing had led to its capture. They further confessed that they were not on their guard against the Jews, because no one imagined that they would betray them.

The king accepted the excuse as good, and in addition to the calamity which my children in Toledo suffered, he was angry against all the rest of them who lived in his lands.

When the masses caught the king's spirit, they began to rise up against me. But my sin had already brought me to such an extreme of anguish and

grief that one day, when murder and destruction were about to break out against my children, the most merciful king of the heavens took pity and instilled in the king's heart compassion for all these souls. The king held back the populace, which was already roaring like an angered lion, with its nails and teeth set, about to tear the enemy apart.

As a reason for this action, the king explained that if the Jews of Toledo had committed the offense, they alone deserved the punishment; those who were not involved in it did not have to suffer on their account, since divine and human law stated that only the soul which sins shall die...

4. TOLEDO. YEAR 11923¹¹

After the city of Toledo was retaken by the Moors, I saw a gang of Moorish thieves come down from the Arabian desert. They entered the city of Medina Talbi, or Mecca, by night, and with the aid of their spies, whom they already had in the land, they succeeded in robbing the ornaments of the casket where the Moors used to and still keep in reverence the embalmed boy of Mohammed. They stripped it of many diamonds and rich gems which were set all over it.

The casket guards realized the disgrace which would be theirs because of this if they failed to indicate who had committed the robbery, so that the punishment for the crime might be inflicted on him and they

¹¹The date corresponds to 1163 C.E. and to the period of the Almohades, who invaded Spain in 1146. The parallel account in the Emek-ha-Bacha, erroneously places this incident during the period of the first Arabic invasion of Spain.

remain free from blame. So they struck the blow in the weakest and feeblest place of the entire human body:¹² they declared that the Jews had committed that robbery.

And in order that the adversary (by whom I am constantly pursued because of my misdemeanors) might bring his evil intent to fruition, he convinced the Moors of Toledo, by playing on the hatred which they brooked for my children, that a certain Abraham de la Capa¹³ (because of his extreme poverty he possessed nothing else and thus the name stuck to him),¹⁴ and other Jews who had left Toledo to dwell in another city, were sent from there by the rest of the Jews to rob the casket.

This rumor spread among all the Moors, and the reaction was so barbarous that the Moors, simply on the basis of this rumor and supposition, killed many Jews and destroyed forty synagogues of theirs, the first being the one in Toledo.

As a result of this false report, such great anguish came upon the Jews of the entire land of Barbary and the other lands of the Orient,¹⁵

¹²Note this beautiful play on words, which reveals Usque's philosophy: the Jews are, so to speak, the Achilles' heel in the body of humanity.

¹³i.e., Abraham of the Cloak.

¹⁴The etymology of this name, given in the Fortalitium Fidei (l. 231) and based on the meaning of capa, "cloak" is doubtlessly popular and sarcastic. Usque apparently failed to realize this. A man as impoverished as Abraham is said to have been could hardly have been the one specifically mentioned in the group of those going to Mecca, even if he were chosen to go because of his poverty and provided with expenses, which is also doubtful.

¹⁵Note that Usque believes Barbary to be in the Orient! The final two paragraphs of this chapter, taken from the source designated as L.I.E.B. bear a marginal date of 4950 (1190). However, the edict of the Moorish kings, if correctly dated at 1190, could hardly have resulted from an occurrence in the year 1163. There appears to be here a rather hurried telescoping of two separate accounts concerning the treatment of the Jews by the Moors.

that the Moorish kings, angry and furious, finally wanted to force all Jews who were their subjects to convert to the sect of Mohammed in payment for what they were suspected of having done. But since divine mercy comes to the aid of its Jews in their direst straits, it finally made these kings content with the thought of those who had already suffered the first outrage...

At this time Rabenu Moses bar Maimon fled from Castile to Egypt,¹⁶ where he spent the rest of his life in great honor as doctor to the sultan. There he wrote the letter which is called "Of the South,"¹⁷ in which he consoles its people, encourages them to remain firm in the Law of Moses and gives them great hopes of salvation...

5. FRANCE¹⁸

In France I saw how the people's enmity toward usurers led to a false allegation against the luckless Jewish people who lived in Paris. They were accused of killing a Christian youth in order to celebrate the Passover with his blood.

News of this reached the king while he was hunting, and since he had with him counselors ill disposed toward me, they colored the false report in such a way that he believed it was true. And not waiting for time or the normal inquiry in such a case to reveal the truth, with falcon in hand he turned full speed from the place where he was. And when

¹⁶This cannot be dated 1190, but belongs in 1165.

¹⁷The Iggeret Teman.

¹⁸For a discussion on the dating of this passage, see study, above, under A.F. 154.

he reached the city, he angrily ordered the burning of eighty-four Jews, whom their own enemies had accused of having participated in that crime. But the oppressed lambs were so innocent, and the charge was something so strongly prohibited and so contrary to the precepts of their Holy Law...

6. FRANCE¹⁹

In a town of Normandy in France, where my children were hated and envied because of the small amount of wealth they had amassed, I saw some wicked men decide to plunder and destroy them. After trying many ways to accomplish this, the group of rascals finally agreed with a sorcerer on a diabolical plan.

First, they bribed an executioner who carried out the death penalty on criminals. The sorcerer told them that with the aid of a pig's heart that had been buried, he would try to round up all the pigs in the district, and once they were assembled in the area near the buried heart, he would make them bite one another to death. And, in order to charge this deed criminally to the Jews, the executioner was to make a public statement and to testify secretly to the governor against some Jews to the effect that they had asked him for all the hearts of Christians he would have when he carried out sentences, and that he had promised them to them in return for a certain consideration which they gave him for this. However, he was to say that since he had pity for his Christian brethren, he had given them pigs' hearts instead, and that when he went to see what they did with them, he saw them burying them in that very place.

¹⁹The date here cannot be determined. The Emek Ha-Bacha places this event between 1099 and 1112, for no apparent reason. This dating is almost surely incorrect.

Finally, when the wicked band had reached this agreement, the sorcerer dug a grave outside the city, and buried the pig's heart there, amidst demoniacal words and diabolical conjurations. And when he had covered it, he made a circle with his witchcraft and conjured and called upon the evil spirits for a long time. And within a few short days, they saw a countless multitude of wild and domestic pigs that waged such horrible warfare among themselves that they all tore one another to death with their teeth.

The populace ran toward this very loud tumult, greatly astonished at what was going on. And there and then, in the presence of all, the executioner revealed the false accusation he carried against the Jews. He was aided by some of the other participants in the conspiracy, who said that they had indeed seen the Jews burying something there, but they knew not what.

At this point, the people exclaimed, "Certainly the intention of these Jews was to kill us and all other Christians like the pigs, since they requested Christian hearts. So isn't it right for us to kill him who wanted to kill us?" With this outcry, they went and aroused the city against my innocent children, killing many by the sword and robbing others who were somehow able to save themselves....

7. SPAIN²⁰

In Tabara,²¹ a town in Spain, I saw myself greatly persecuted and

²⁰It is not possible to determine the date of this account.

²¹The spelling "Thavara" in Usque is archaic. According to the Fortalitium Fidei, leaf 189, the city is located in Castille. However,

hated by the populace to such an extent that out of fear I hid myself in my houses at sunset; for many Jews seen by Christians at nightfall had been killed.

To my misfortune, it happened that the son of a Jewish smith committed a certain crime. He did not deserve the death penalty, but since he came into the power of those who hate us so much, they nevertheless sentenced him to die for this offense.

When the unfortunate old father saw the hapless and disastrous death suffered by his only child, he was so burdened by the grief and troubled by the sad memory that he went mad.

At this time the hatred of my enemies toward me was constantly increasing, and they could no longer refrain from giving vent one day to the evil thoughts they had conceived.

A large group of Christian young men pretended to hold a tournament,²² which is a custom in Spain on festivals. But when they had their spears at their shoulders and their swords at their sides, they attacked the Jewish sheep²³ with such fury that they left but few alive in that place.

When the news of this cruel slaughter reached the king, the populace, by common consent, decided to seek an alibi, in order not to endanger their

(continued from previous page)

²¹the following account in the Fortalitium Fidei , implies that it is near Valladolid. A city bearing this name is found in the province of Zamora and was famous already in the ninth century. This may well have been the city in question.

²²Mendes dos Remedios, in "Glossary" to his edition of Usque, defines the word civicia as "maus tratos, crueldades," an obvious faux pas. Such a civicia would hardly have to be feigned, nor could it have been expected to be the order of the day for festivals!

²³i.e., people. Usque is fond of the expression "as sheep led to the slaughter" (Isaiah 53).

sons and brothers in that territory who were the murderers. And in the king's presence, they all declared that the Jewish smith had feigned the madness in order to avenge his son's death; that for two months in a row he went about day and night knocking on doors to such an extent that people no longer paid any attention to him, thinking him mad. But they said, during all this time he was making a large number of locks and crow's feet in his house, the kind that are usually thrown out on the battlefield to prick the feet of men and horses. And then, outfitted with these, he locked all the doors of the houses of the city at midnight, spread the crow's feet through the streets and set fire to the city. And if it had not been that one door had remained open and permitted a Christian to get out and unbolt all the other doors, they would all have been burned alive. And, they concluded, it was for this reason that they had so swiftly massacred all the Jews.

When the king and the members of his council saw that they all offered the same story and that if anyone were to be punished, they would all have to be punished, they decided, according to law, that general vengeance could not be taken against a whole people and freed them from punishment. But, woe to me, the minds of those that judged were also in the council that had devised the evil plan.,.

8. PERSIA. YEAR 4924²⁴

At the same time, I saw a very great misfortune occur to me in Persia.

In the city called Hamaria there was a Jewish community of a thousand families, the first²⁵ of the communities inhabiting the bank of the river Habiton, at the entrance of the kingdom of Media, whose language is Targum.²⁶ They are all of the province of Samaria up until the province of Guilan, a fifty day journey away to the kingdom of Persia.²⁷ All Jews here fifteen years old and over paid a ducat of tribute yearly to the king.

In this city of Hamaria there arose a Jew named David Aldui,²⁸ who had studied under Hasdai, the most learned Jew of all the Diaspora, and afterwards under the head of the academy at Baghdad, so that he became very learned in Talmud and all other branches of knowledge, not excluding witchcraft and magic.

Conceited with his knowledge, he was assembling a very large throng of Jews who dwelt on Mount Habiton, giving them to understand that he was the Messiah. And with them he rebelled against the king and killed many of his people.

Finally, the prince,²⁹ seeing there was no better way to handle him through a strategem, pretended to be his friend and called him, giving him his word that he would not harm him. David Aldui believed it, and when he appeared before him dauntless, the king asked him if it was true that he said he was the Messiah whom the Jews were expecting and who was

²⁵The text does not make clear whether this word refers to importance or geographical position.

²⁶So Usque.

²⁷Usque's syntax is responsible for the lack of clarity here.

²⁸So in Usque. Verga, calls him David el David, while Benjamin or Tudela calls him David El Roy (Alroy).

²⁹So Usque.

to perform so many miracles in the world. He answered that he was and that he should treat him as such.

The king, furious at David's supercilious response and at the lie he was trying to sustain, put aside the word which he had given him as well as all courtesy and ordered him to be taken away from there and put into a dark prison.

David, finding himself tricked and imprisoned, decided to put his knowledge to use, and he worked his magic in such a way that he broke the chains, loosed himself from them, and left the prison by breaking a mighty wall with mere words.

When the king learned of this, he sent a host of knights and commoners to look for him everywhere, to capture him and bring him back.

When it came to David's attention that many men had been dispatched to capture him, he again relied on his skill and came invisibly into the presence of them all and spoke to them. They heard his voice, but being unable to see him, they were astonished and confused.

And leaving them, he went to the palace and spoke to the king in the same manner, and told him, "You are not strong enough to catch me. Rather you will now see me go away on my journey right before your eyes, and you will be unable to harm me in any way."

As soon as he had finished speaking these words and descended the palace steps, he appeared, and taking from his head the headtire which he was wearing, he spread it across the River Gosan and crossed to the other side.

When the king and all those who were with him saw this, they were

greatly astonished and awestruck. And not being able to bear such an affront, he had many people man boats to go after him and capture him; yet all his work was in vain, because on that day David traveled the equivalent of a ten day journey with the help of the Tetragrammaton, to which he had recourse at that time.³⁰

The king, seeing how little his might availed against him, and how he flouted his forces, utilized another expedient to obtain vengeance. He ordered a proclamation made throughout all Persia that the Jews would have to kill that David or deliver him captured or else suffer the penalty of having all Jews who lived in his dominions put to the edge of the sword.

The innocent Jews were so afflicted and disturbed by this event that they found it necessary to draw up a letter to the Emir Almurchem of Bagdad, requesting him to speak to the princes of the Exile and ask whether they should kill David or deliver him alive so that the Jewish people might escape death with the sacrifice of only one individual. And they wrote to David himself, who was in the same city, entreating him to desist from that folly and not to get them into any more difficulties than those they suffered in their captivity,³¹ because if he didn't do this, all were in danger of losing their lives and they would be forced to excommunicate him.³²

With these letters they sent the Nasi Zaccai, whom they brought

³⁰The Ineffable Name was considered to possess great hidden powers which could be unleashed when pronounced.

³¹i.e., the Diaspora

³²Mendes in his "Glossary" indicates an ignorance of the verb heremar when he defines it as "tornar ermo, do grego eremos, isolado, solitario, deserto." Idpiner states correctly that this is a verb based on the Hebrew herem.

from Syria where he was, and Rabbi Joseph Badahan. But neither of these letters brought results nor did David pay any attention to what they had written, and as a result the people found themselves in dire straits. They offered incessant prayers and fasts to the Lord to save them, until He answered them by raising up a Turkish king named Zidaldim, a tributary of the king of Persia.

Zidaldim sent for David's father-in-law, who lived in his domain, and promised him ten thousand ducats if he would kill him or capture him. The father-in-law, moved by the trouble in which he saw his brethren in Persia rather than the reward, preferred to kill him rather than hand him over to the cruel tortures of the enemy. And one night, while David was sleeping on his bed, he killed him with a single blow on the side of his heart, and my children were finally extricated from that trouble.

Then Zidaldim,³³ the Turkish king, informed the king of Persia of David's death. The latter received great satisfaction from this and came to an agreement with all the Jewish rebels of David's faction, whose number was very large, that they should pay a hundred quintals of gold in order to be restored to his favor.

Our Rabbi Moses writes in a letter of his about this event,³⁴ but he says that the sultan asked him if he was the Messiah and he answered that he was. He said to him, "What proof will you give to be believed?" He

³³The text here has "Zibaldim."

³⁴The Iggeret Teman contains no mention of David Alroy, only references to false Messiahs in Yemen and elsewhere.

answered that they should cut off his head and he would revive. The king said, "If this be true, I will compel my people to become Jewish." And he ordered his head to be cut off. But he has not come back to life till now, because this was really a shrewd trick of his, since he wanted to die in this way rather than with the many tortures he feared they would subject him to...

9. GERMANY³⁵

I saw the following in Vienna, a city in Germany, when Frederick was emperor.³⁶ A large pool had frozen because of the terrible cold in those regions. As was their custom, three small boys went to play there, but the ice broke while they were on it and they drowned.

These children were sought everywhere in the district and beyond it, but they were not found, nor was there any news about them. And the populace raised false charges that the Jews had killed them to make a sacrifice with their blood and testimony was offered to the effect that the youngsters had been seen entering certain Jewish houses. To lend credence to the false incrimination, they stated in the same charge

³⁵Usque places this story between two others dated 4924 (1164) and 4964 (1204) respectively. However, the Fortalitium Fidei bears the correct date of 1420.

In both Spina and Usque there is a conjunction of two separate accounts, the charge of ritual murder, which is the subject of their accounts, and the more famous case of the charge of host desecration in 1420. The charge of host desecration is dated 1420; the public burning of the Jews took place on March 12, 1421. According to Usque, the charge of host desecration preceded the ritual murder charge by one year. Such an implication cannot be drawn from Spina's narrative, and there is therefore no reason to change the date of 1420.

³⁶The Fortalitium Fidei is responsible for the erroneous detail "imperante Friderico imperatore." Frederick III was born in 1415 but did not begin to rule until much later than 1420. Frederick II, born in 1194, ruled from 1196 to 1250.

that any wicked acts could be believed of the Jews, since they knew that a Christian girl, bribed by money, had brought a Jew a host and he had mistreated it.

When the report of this accusation right on top of the other³⁷ reached the emperor (whose counselors were ill disposed toward me), he had all Jews throughout his kingdom imprisoned, and was almost determined to massacre them, when divine mercy made him spend his fury on only three hundred Jewish souls whom he ordered to be burned publicly.

After I had suffered this cruelty, the ice in the pool completely melted, and the bodies of the children who had drowned in it came up. Then the people realized how falsely they had charged me with this crime, and there were many who declared publicly that the three hundred who had been burned were innocent of what they had been accused. But, woe is me, not in this way did they nor could they any longer correct the error³⁸...

10. FRANCE. YEAR 4943³⁹

In the days of Philip Augustus,⁴⁰ king of the French, I saw the Jews in that kingdom prosper to such an extent that they had bought half the city where they lived.⁴¹ But since envy follows wealth, and the more so

*cf. Gray's
Church
Jews*

³⁷The accusation of ritual murder followed the charge of host desecration.

³⁸The burning of the three hundred innocent Jews.

³⁹1183 C.E. The Emek ha-Bacha erroneously gives the date as 1186. That the year was 1183 is expressly stated in Rogard's contemporary Gesta Philippi Augusti.

⁴⁰Philip II, known as Philip Augustus, ruled from 1180 to 1223.

⁴¹i.e., Paris.

when the one who possesses it was formerly poor and lowly, the populace found this to be true of my children and hated them intemperately. And if the fear of punishment had not restrained them, they would often have committed some barbarous act against me.

Finally, they decided that the best way to see their malignant design effected at no jeopardy to themselves was by persecuting me with false charges, so that any attack made might have an excuse.

On the one hand, some averred that I offered sacrifices with Christian children, after killing them in underground valuts, and that I taught Judaism to the servants who came to my house to work for me. Others stated that church vessels such as the chalice, cruets, crosses and the like had been accepted by Jewish brokerages as collateral from thieves, and that I used them for unclean purposes and drank from them (despite the fact that it is strictly forbidden in my religion to make use of any vessel or furniture used in the worship of other gods) and that I had thrown a book of their evangels and a cross into a dirty place. Sp.

So that, beleagured as I was with such accusations, one of which they were hoping would harm me, they succeeded in overthrowing my truth and innocence in a situation such as this.

And King Philip, becoming angry at me, ordered many bankers and other Jews to be burned, and many who were in the synagogues on Sabbath were taken off to prison and were stripped of all their possessions, even the clothes they were wearing. Countless others, threatened by the sword, permitted the waters of baptism to be poured on their heads in order to

save their lives; these were given back their estates.

By these acts the enemies indeed revealed that their intention was none other than to take the Jews away from their religion and that the accusation with which they were charged was false.

The truth of the matter was that since the Lord had given me quick prosperity and a people whose number was twice that which left Egypt...⁴²

In addition the king ordered all synagogues where we assembled for prayer to be destroyed and converted to churches. And with the wealth of which he despoiled them he had many noble structures erected in France, Among these were the palaces and walls of the Wood of Vincennes, a delightful place near Paris, and Champeau, which they now call Les Halles, where the market of this city is held...⁴³

11. NAPLES, IN ITALY. YEAR OF THE WORLD 5000⁴⁴

In Naples, Trana and other regions of the kingdom,⁴⁵ I saw my children, who had greatly prospered in those lands in population and wealth, suffer a misfortune worse than violent death.

The king⁴⁶ became involved in a very important and dangerous war, and he was about to lose it, for it was lasting longer than he could afford

⁴²This is taken from Gersonides' comment to Leviticus 26.38.

The portion omitted here, theological in nature, is Usque's own composition and is not related to Gersonides' comment.

⁴³i.e., Paris

⁴⁴1240 C.E. Cassuto, in his article "Un ignoto capitolo di storia ebraica", in Festschrift zu Hermann Cohens siebzigstem Geburtstage, pp. 389ff, shows that the story refers to the persecution of the Jews in 1290, and that the 5000 year given by Usque is a round figure.

⁴⁵i.e., of Naples.

⁴⁶Charles I. His son, who appears later in the account was Charles II.

to carry it on. He had consumed not only his own exchequer, but also that of all lords and knights who followed him and he had already overtaxed his people many times.

While he was in these dire straits, very troubled and sadly considering how to solve his problem, the Jews who lived in his kingdom decided to aid him with everything they possessed, and they went forthwith to offer him their fortunes and persons. Their wealth was so great that it enabled the king to emerge from that war victorious and with great honor.

Since this prince was aided to such an extent by my children, he did a great many favors for them and esteemed them as highly as he did the most noble people in the kingdom....

When this king was about to die, he entrusted the kingdom to his son and praised the Jews who lived in it, telling his son that in order to ease his father's conscience, he had to pay them for the help his father had received from them.

Determined to fulfill his father's behest, the new king took counsel regarding what type of payment would fully compensate them, and he received many and varied opinions. And everyone came to the conclusion that the favor had been so great that no temporal payment could possibly compensate for it, and that His Highness should pay them spiritually by saving their souls and making them all Christians.

The advice seemed very good to the king and he approved it. And in order to carry it out, he immediately sent for the leaders of the Jewish community and notified them of the kindness he was resolving to bestow upon them.

When they heard this they answered sad and disturbed that that was not what they desired to receive as a favor; rather that if His Highness no longer talked about it, it would be the most remarkable favor he could do for them.

The king said that he had already made up his mind to pay them for his father's obligation to them with this reward, which he considered the greatest of all, and that they would recognize it as such after they had received it.

The distressed Jews, seeing the resoluteness displayed by the king, said that since His Highness so willed, he should give them time to think and answer after mature consideration of the matter. The king answered that they should think only of receiving the favor gladly, and that regarding anything else that they might ask him he was prepared to do all they wished.

The Jews took counsel among themselves on what to ask him so as to divert him from that resolve, and it seemed correct to all that if he were asked -- since he was already going to make them Christians -- whether he would unite them with all the heirs to estates that were in the land, the request would be so difficult to fulfill that he would not accept it.

But things happened differently than they had expected; for the king granted their petition, since it seemed to him and his nobles that in this way they would be saved.

Now when the Jews realized that their intentions were understood, they began to regret their request and revealed that conversion had not been their intention. The king, however, ordered a proclamation made

throughout his kingdom, that from the time of its publication and before the time it took a newly lit taper to burn out, all Jews were to become Christians or die.

When my children found themselves the victims of such a swift stroke of misfortune, many weak ones, afraid of the punishment, rashly turned their backs on their religion and allowed themselves to be baptized. No sooner was this done than they were smothered in prosperity, for the king united them in marriage with the nobles and leading citizens of the kingdom. And of the great synagogue of Naples he had a church made with the name Saint Catalina.

But those who had steadfastly resisted that great temptation and did not convert, were deprived by the sword of this life, but passed on to that life which lasts forever....

As a result of this the stock of the grandees of Naples was mixed with Jewish blood...

12. ENGLAND. YEAR 5002⁴⁷

On the Isle of England I saw that the Jews had increased in numbers, and in London alone, the capital city of the kingdom, there were two thousand very rich families, who spent their time in exile⁴⁸ tranquilly there, as everywhere else in the kingdom...

But it once happened that a predicant friar saw a very beautiful Jewish girl and fell in love with her, something which is forbidden in

⁴⁷ 1242 C.E. The date is clearly wrong. See study above, note 48.

⁴⁸ i.e., the Diaspora.

every religion. And though for a long time he secretly courted her, he found no way to win her; rather she spurned him and laughed at his notes and promises. This only inflamed him more in his illicit love, and when he was unable to resist his rash desire any longer, he chose to remedy it by doffing the garb of his Christian religion, putting on that of Judaism and secretly becoming a Jew. And when he had effected this change, he was better able to get the beautiful Jewess to listen to his expressions of love.

Now the Jewess was poor and fatherless and under the influence of her mother, a woman of weak convictions and easily swayed by a chance for profit. When she saw the wealth of the former monk, she gave him her daughter in marriage, on the condition that they all go to live outside the kingdom of England because of the great risk they were taking in that matter.

But what happened was finally discovered, and all the monks were greatly offended by what the friar had done, for they were mocked by the people. To repair their honor, they endeavored, through the queen, who had a relative, a predicant friar, with whom she took confession, to incite the king against the Jews. Furthermore, whenever they ascended the pulpit to preach, they never failed to direct the messages of their sermons to the prejudice of the Jews. As a result, the populace bred a mortal hatred against me and was indeed seeking many ways to discharge it.

And in addition to other false charges and accusations which came to naught of themselves, they charged that I was making counterfeit coins. It was easy for them to prove this slander, for many of the people arranged to come together with coins which they had secretly cut in their houses

for this purpose. With them they went to complain against the poor Jews, saying that they had received them from them. In addition to these, many others came and made similar accusations so that the charge might be sustained. So that, when the complaint was received by the court, which didn't need much persuasion to turn against me, they decreed, with the king's consent, that all my children be expelled from the kingdom, and that, instead of the death penalty which the laws of the land provided for such a crime, they should forfeit their estates.

When the monks saw that the fortunes of the harassed Jews were falling low and that little effort was now needed to destroy them completely, they came up with a new accusation, stating that the Jews had converted a monk to Judaism in a Christian land, and that in order for them to make restitution, they had to be converted or die for the crime.

Since by this time everyone's heart -- the king's, the princes' and that of all the people -- was set on my destruction and any insignificant reason was indeed sufficient to throw gunpowder and sulphur into the fire of their wrath, let alone this one which they considered so weighty, the demand of the monks and my enemies was granted as they requested.

And to put it into effect, they then took the Jews' young children from their parents and sent them to the end of that Island, to a place called "The North,"⁴⁹ and they left them there to be taught Christian doctrine and faith, so that, separated from their elders, they should not

⁴⁹ Wiener, M., in his German translation of the Emek ha-Bacha, indicates (p. 176) concerning Ha-Cohen's mention of "eretz norti," taken from Usque "vielleicht ist indess auch Northumberland, lat. Northumbria, damit gemeint."

recall their ancient Law and should completely lose the inclination of the Jewish milk which they had imbibed. Many of the fathers and mothers perished from the unbearable grief which stifled them. And in addition, to fulfill the first sentence, the rest were banished from the kingdom; and they left with such lamentation that the hard rocks would have been moved to pity had they been given feeling, seeing they had left their entrails⁵⁰ there. Thus, counter to divine and human law, these people were given two deaths or two punishments for their crimes, though according to all laws, no one has to suffer more than one penalty.

Those who converted spread over the entire kingdom, and there are still found buildings of former synagogues that were converted into churches, and a large number of the people have Jewish names...

13. ENGLAND⁵¹

In the same England I saw a similar terrible calamity. After that king had passed from this life, another followed in his place⁵² who did not care about the past expulsion and recalled those who had left the kingdom, offering to take them back and let them live in peace.

The Jews took counsel among themselves in France, Flanders, Spain and other lands where they had dispersed, and they came to the agreement that for no other reason, be it the advantage of peaceful living or material gain, would they reenter a place where they had suffered so great

⁵⁰ i.e., their children.

⁵¹ The correct date is 1290 C.E. Usque considers it as having taken place around the time of the date of chapter 12.

⁵² Henry III (1207-1272) was succeeded by his son, Edward I. (1239-1307).

a calamity except to see their children whom they had left behind, and somehow get to talk with them and convert them, telling them they should return to the faith of their fathers and leave England in order to do so. This reason seemed satisfactory to all, for they wanted to return to win back their children.

When they came the populace received them kindly because of the good will the king showed toward them.

After a few years, a plague broke out all over that island, and it was so severe that every day a large number of people died. On top of this came an unbearable famine, and not long thereafter the number of misfortunes was increased by a bitter war against the English by many peoples, including those of Scotland(?),⁵³ a kingdom close by.... The king, astonished at the many simultaneous afflictions, took counsel concerning them to try to find a way of combatting their causes. After they had reviewed many possible causes, including things which had occurred in their kingdom and in the history of peoples elsewhere, they finally resolved to deal the blow in the weakest spot and where it would hurt the least: all agreed that the sins of the Jews were responsible for the calamities the kingdom was suffering. And for this they found no better remedy with which to placate the wrath of the heavens than to make them all Christians by force, since they did not want to convert out of love.

The king then ordered a proclamation made that no Jew leave the kingdom under penalty of death. And then he had them all brought together, and though he warned them to change their religion and made many

⁵³The original reads "Escorçia."

promises of favors and benefits, they refused to convert, so he baptized them against their will with brute force, hoping that the famine, pestilence and wars would then abate.

But after the Jews were forced to Christianity these calamities multiplied to such an extent that the land was becoming desolate. And the people were confused and astonished at the opposite affect which their action had accomplished. The king again took counsel, and there were many voices that said that the reason the calamities had doubled was because of the force which had been used to bring the Jews to their faith. They alleged that spiritual matters should be freely decided, since our Lord granted freedom in the human will. For this reason they said that the king should return them to their former estate, and that if anyone should wish to come to their faith through love, he alone was worth more than all the rest of the people converted by force.

The Council would then have been almost entirely inclined to this way of thinking if the Adversary⁵⁴ had not come in human clothing to condemn it, bringing forth another point of view, which he expressed as follows:

"It is obvious that if the Jews are given their liberty, not one of them will choose the Christian faith over the Jewish Law which is already so deeply rooted in them, and the resistance which they displayed to becoming Christians should be proof of this; so that, if they become Jews again, the sin which is the cause of the evils this kingdom is suffering will again be present. Moreover, they have doubled with the force used against them, No other remedy remains to be considered here save that

⁵⁴See above, chapter 1, note 4, of the translation.

the cause be uprooted from the world and the sin and the punishment for it will cease."

This view pleased the king, and his counselors approved it. But since the Jewish people were so numerous and so many dead bodies might contaminate the air, the king ordered two pavilions set up by the seashore, one at some distance from the other, and in one he ordered placed the Law of Moses received from the Lord on Mount Sinai and in the other the cross of Christianity. In the middle a pompous scaffold was erected, where the king sat down.

There he ordered brought before him all those whom he had made Christians by force and with a cheerful countenance and feigned joy, he spoke the following words to them:

"Since it is true that it seemed to me that if I made you Christians, it would remedy the adversities suffered in these my domains, and now I see that not only did they not abate, but rather are again increasing daily, I realize that the force I used against you has been the cause for their increase. And since this is so, I now again restore you to the same freedom you formerly had in your religion, so that you might choose which of these two religions you desire. There in that pavilion near the sea in the Law of Moses, and in this other the Christians' faith. Let each one run to the pavilion he likes, for in that faith I shall let him live without any hurt whatsoever."

The entire Jewish people greatly rejoiced at the liberty which he was granting them, not realizing the trick which lay behind the good reasons given. All of them and their wives, with their children in their arms, ran toward the pavilion where the Law of Moses had been placed, but

when they reached it they fell into the snare which the Adversary had prepared for them.

They were unable to enter, except one by one, because the entrance was very narrow, specially prepared for this purpose. When a Jewish lamb entered, he was decapitated by the hands of a hidden English butcher and thrown into the sea. And without one knowing what happened to his brother, all their lives were taken with the axe and their bodies were given to the fishes to eat...

14. FLANDERS⁵⁵

In Flanders I saw myself beset by a very terrible hardship. Since the children I had in that earldom had lived in peace, tranquility and wealth for some time, the Enemy, who keeps an eye on my prosperity in order to demolish and destroy it, came out to confront them.

He chose as his medium to move some of the populace, those whom he found most hardened against me, to raise up a false charge against me that might lead to my destruction.

A band of people ill disposed toward the Jews assembled and gave identical testimony that the Jews had stolen their host; that they then abused it and broke it and then, as it broke, it shed blood as if grieving for the affront it had received. And, they said, the blood also meant that revenge had to be taken.

So much credence was given to this false accusation that they put to the sword and fire the innocent flesh of a large number of my children

⁵⁵For a discussion of the date of the chapter and the event to which it refers, see above, Part I, Chapter 2, note 63.

who died on account of this. And - a torment equal to death - they enticed many with a promise to spare their lives if they became Christians, and many of them were converted for fear of the death penalty if they failed to do so.

That generation of converts was spread over nearly the whole dominion, and though such a long time has since elapsed, these converts still give an indication of their non-Catholic origin with the new Lutheran beliefs which are presently found among them, for they are not comfortable in the religion which they received so unwillingly...

15. GERMANY. YEAR 5022⁵⁶

In a town of Teuthonie Forkim,⁵⁷ in Germany, I saw at death's doorstep all the Jews living there.

There was an ancient feud between two powerful men of the region on account of an inheritance which each of them claimed. In the struggle, the son of one of the parties, who was expected to win out and become the legitimate heir of that estate, was secretly slain.

The two sides kept their enmity under cover for a long time, but finally the hour arrived when the dead man's relatives decided to take vengeance for their kin. With the help of an old woman, they succeeded in kidnaping a seven-year old girl from their enemies; they killed her and buried her in an out-of-the-way place outside the town.

⁵⁶ 1262 C.E.

⁵⁷ Loeb (Joseph Haccohen, p. 40) suggests "Forchim est sans doute Foreheim."

When the girl disappeared, diligent searches were made to find her, but when she did not show up, the populace began to suspect that she must have been kidnapped by the Jews to be used as a sacrifice on the Passover, for they were of the opinion that we needed Christian blood to celebrate the Passover, though such a cruelty is so strongly forbidden by our Law.

In short, those people were stirred up by this mere supposition, and, weapons in hand, they were ready to massacre my innocent children.

Just imagine, my brethren, with what anguish my soul was afflicted, until divine mercy came to my rescue, infusing reason and justice into the prince's heart. He ordered his people told that they were greatly burdening their consciences by being led to perpetrate such a cruelty on the basis of mere suspicion, and he gave them other reasons and thus placated them.

After several days the truth about the kidnapping by the old woman was discovered. But, despite this, the stupid populace did not stop believing that I was wont to make sacrifices with the blood of Christians...

16. MISFORTUNES IN MANY PLACES. YEAR 5080⁵⁸

In France and Spain I saw two great calamities befall me at the same time.

One of them was the following:

A young boy, seventeen years of age, said that a dove appeared to him one afternoon and kept alighting upon his shoulders and at times upon his head; that then the Holy Ghost, as they call it, began to visit him. And when he tried to take the dove in his hand, a very beautiful maiden

⁵⁸ This chapter narrates the famous shepherds' rebellion of 1320.

appeared to him and said to him, "I now make you a shepherd on the earth. You shall go forth to fight the Moors. And here is a sign of what you have seen with your eyes." And when the lad took a look at himself, they said he found the account of what had happened written on his arm.

And at this same time another man appeared who disclosed that he found the figure of the cross inscribed upon his shoulder. It was said that the truth was that he had dreamt this while he was sleeping near a well.

But however that may have been, the meek dove turned out to be a most venomous scorpion for me and the dream a true and disastrous event; for when the nobles of the land heard this news, they all were excited and treated him as a saint and lavished honors upon him. The commonfolk saw this and a large crowd of base people joined him, following his call to go conquer the Kingdom of Granada. But, woe is me, for the people were against the Moors only, but Heaven had secretly decreed the cruel blow to be struck against the Jews; and when the Devil and our Adversary provided an opportunity - when a Jew scoffed at the miracle - they filled with bitter hatred against me, and, abandoning the undertaking against Granada, they carried out a bitter sentence against me...

That huge crowd (whose number was already thirty thousand men) attacked Tudela and put to the edge of the sword all the Jewish sheep that had gathered there. And when one faction moved on to the town called Cordel with wicked thoughts of murder, the prince, Meltsar⁵⁹ Tolosa... speedily sent many well-armed men to arrest them and they acted so valiantly that they brought back under arrest ten wagons-full of them.

⁵⁹Note Usque's transferral of the Hebraism to his own text. This is one of the arguments for a Hebrew account as the basis for Usque's in this chapter.

When the monks learned of this, they arose at midnight and very secretly went out to the road. And joining with the people, they untied the shepherds in prison and spread the rumor that they had been miraculously loosed. Then all the people in the region began to say together, "Behold, behold, the miracle of the shepherds." And with this utterly false rumor, they rushed furiously against the Jews and acted with such determined accord that in the first onslaught they killed two hundred with the sword. And the lord of the city himself was in great danger because he defended them.

A large number of my children had taken refuge in a fortress in Narbonne. When the news reached them that the ten wagons-full of enemies had been captured and bound, they went down to the city.⁶⁰ In order better to protect them, Meltsar Tolosa sent a relative of his with them, charging him to bring them to safety in the strong city of Carcassona. But the traitor, manifesting the hatred he secretly held against me, sold me to the peasants in the villages and advised them to kill me on the road. And, like famished wolves to whom meat is offered, they fell upon that flock of sheep and ravaged them. They had no pity on little children or on young women or weak old women, but put people of all ages to the sword, forming a huge pool of Jewish blood and leaving their bodies and bones strewn about those and other roads where they lay stretched out, offered as a meal for the birds and dogs.

And this stroke of misfortune did not stop here, but spread very swiftly to all the far parts of Bordeaux, England, Castelsarrasin and

⁶⁰ i.e., thinking the danger past.

Agen, so that in all these regions it was constantly proclaimed that every Jew found was to be killed.

And in the province of Toulouse-Bigorda,⁶¹ in the cities of Marsan and Condom,⁶² and in many others, they killed one hundred and twenty congregations with the sword because of this unfortunate rumor and because of the arrest of the shepherds in the wagons... and some considered it a lesser evil to kill themselves with their own hands rather than await the enemies' wrath. And among these were the Jews hiding in Castelsarrasin. These cast lots with one another to see who would kill his companion and all died in this way. The only two who were left, whose hands had spilled their brothers' blood, hurled themselves down from that very high tower and were dashed to pieces.

And in Toulouse not one was left who did not die by the sword or become a Christian to save his life, except one alone who escaped because of the great friendship he had with the lord of the region. Of the large number of Jews who were in Gascony, only twenty were left alive; the others were cruelly slaughtered.

In the town of Lerida, where it seemed to me that with my shrewdness I would escape the Adversary, ... seventy people gave everything they had to the lord of the district in return for his promise to bring them safely to the kingdom of Aragon; but when they left the city, his deceit was revealed and he wretchedly massacred them.

⁶¹ This is a city not a province as Usque states.

⁶² These towns are all to be found in south western and south central France.

The Jews of the Kingdom of Aragon would have been on the verge of perishing if divine mercy had not detained the Adversary's hand for a while by causing a bishop, a king's son, to favor them. But, seeing that the Accuser⁶³ could not accomplish his evil intent in this way, the shepherds broke up into four groups, those of Valencia, Barcelona, Jaza and Monserrat.

The one who bore the cross imprinted on his shoulders and before whom all the people prostrated themselves, arrived in Jaca. Though the Jews had gone up to the wall, four hundred of them were killed on the morning of the seventeenth of the month of Tamuz, and only ten were saved in the castle.

When a thousand and five hundred shepherds (who were devils as far as I was concerned) had passed on from here to the city of Barbastro, all the Jews of that region as well as everywhere else experienced the same anxious trepidation as is usual for one condemned to death by the court who hopes for a pardon.

In this terrible situation, the heavenly king, now having pity on his people, began to touch the princes' hearts with compassion, to try everything within their power to save the harried Jews who had escaped from such great misfortune. The king of Aragon forthwith sent his son to destroy and wipe out all the shepherds and all the others in their gang who were found in his kingdom. Under his command, more than two thousand of them were hung or killed by spears and many others fled and left that whole region free from their venom.

⁶³Another term for Satan.

The king of France exiled them from his realm and permitted the free killing of anyone still there. And the pope commissioned all bishops and prelates to leave alive none of the shepherds whom they had under their jurisdictions.

At last, when they were thus pursued through the kindness of the One who governs the world, He rid all these kingdoms of these serpents. But the Adversary brought them over to the Kingdom of Navarre. The congregation of Pamplona, terror-stricken at the news of their unwelcome arrival, set out for a nearby place three leagues away, called Monreal, but the men whom they paid to accompany them betrayed them and put them into the mouth of the famished wolves, the hostile shepherds, who killed several of them, while the rest fled and took refuge in the place where they were going, pursued all the way by the opprobrious shepherds.

But when the pursued Jews arrived in the city, our Lord gave them strength and they turned toward the enemies and fought valiantly against them, killing a hundred and seventy.

Among these was their chief shepherd, who bore the sign of the cross on his shoulder. He was killed by an arrow hurled by the servant of the knight who was protecting us. And when the others saw their leader lying dead on the ground, they lost courage and swiftly turned their backs in flight.

Then the shepherds began to weaken, and when three hundred of them went over to the city of Tudela and saw that the place where the Jews were was strong, they went away from the place with a sigh and left them, as a bitch fox which sees a tender chicken in a high and protected roost.

When the rich among my children who remained considered the great

kindness which the Lord had shown in letting them escape with the rest, they provided their poor brethren with sustenance for three years, so that they might recover from the extreme poverty and destitution in which they were left. And in a short while the gagng of hostile shepherds finally came to an end and their lethal memory was dissipated...

17. ITALY. YEAR 5081⁶⁴

After this extremely terrible affliction which ruined so many people, I shortly thereafter saw myself threatened by a new one. The following year there arose a sister of the Pope, named Sancha,⁶⁵ similar in hatred toward the Jews to Haman, who determined to destroy Israel in Esther's time.

She often tried to provoke a massacre against the Jews, but her evil intent did never succeed. Finally, alleging a thousand evils against me, she begged the Pope, her brother, to banish me from all his domains. In this she succeeded. But when the general exile was proclaimed, bringing great anxiety and vexation to me, our Lord elected to show me kindness and favor me through the virtuous King Robert of Naples and Jerusalem.⁶⁶ He put himself in my defense, petitioning the Pope and reprimanding all those who persecuted me. In this way, he detained the Pontiff until I

⁶⁴1321 C.E.

⁶⁵The correct name and identity of this sister of the Pope has not been determined. H. Gross, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Arles" in Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums 28, p. 545, proposes that this Sancha was the daughter of James I of Majorca. The pope in question is John XXII (pope 1316-1334).

⁶⁶Both Usque and Verga (no. 14) call him Robert; Joseph Ha-Cohen (no. 61-62) calls him Frederick.

had cast a sacrifice of twenty thousand ducats into the Azazel's mouth. This was given to the Pope's sister, and thereupon she had the sorrowful decree revoked....

18. FRANCE. YEAR 5081⁶⁷

In the same year I saw myself in such a plight that my skin shrivels and trembles when I think of it.

Throughout France there arose a new kind of sickness from which many people died. There were different opinions concerning what type of sickness it could be. Some doctors said that it was a hidden plague which gave no indication of its presence in any part of the body. Others suspected that it was a posion, and finally they agreed that that was what it was. And when they were pondering where it might have originated some enemies of the Jews declared that the Jews, conspiring with the lepers, had probably poisoned the waters.

It was merely necessary to let this out of the mouth for it to be believed as much as if it had actually been personally witnessed. And as this tale passed from one person to another, it became so widespread that it encompassed the entire kingdom. It was considered a fact that the Jews, along with the lepers, had poisoned the rivers and wells in order to destroy the kingdom. And since my misfortunes, even when they begin in mockery, end up as serious truths, they arrested on this charge all Jews found throughout France.

When I found myself in this situation, in order to demonstrate my

⁶⁷1321 C.E. This is the narrative of the well-known "Lepers' Rebellion."

innocence and that the supposition was false, my children, at a great cost to themselves, sent for the most renowned and able doctors of the day from many areas to see the sick. After studying the matter through careful examinations and experiments, in which they gave dogs these waters to drink, they proved to the doctors in the kingdom that it was not poison but a strange illness with which they were being punished for their sins.

These arguments and experiments lasted nine months, and during all that time all the Jews were kept imprisoned, with the threat of death at their throats as they awaited the gloomy hour in which the enemy would tear out their souls.

Finally, despite the clear proofs given by the doctors and the fact that they had no reason or evidence sufficient to condemn me... they sentenced five thousand souls to death as a sacrifice for all and freed all the rest from this penalty. They offered to spare the lives of these five thousand if they would become Christians. They refused to accept such terms, and with the divine name of the Lord on their lips, they were all cast into a fire whose flame was so tall that it seemed to touch the stars. But their pitiful shouts and cries and those of all their brethren who saw them burning soared still higher.

With such a large number as perished here under such great pain, you can well realize, my brethren, how many widows and orphans they left shrouded in anguish, hunger and destitution...

19. GERMANY. YEAR 5006⁶⁸

I saw this in Torti,⁶⁹ a province of Germany. When my children in

⁶⁸1346 C.E. This is an error for 5106 (1346). The Fortalitium Fidei dates this 1345.

⁶⁹There is no province by this name. As Loeb (i.e. Joseph Ha-Cohen

in those realms were increasing in number and riches, envy of this bred such a hatred in the populace that they sought all possible means to plunder and destroy them. But when a dread disease came to the land, they found a better opportunity to put their evil inclination into effect. For not many years had passed since the plague had occurred in France. They remembered it and asserted that the Jews had poisoned the water in the wells and rivers and quoted the French in evidence. In short, my sins gave such force to this false charge that the populace, without awaiting further proof than the false rumor circulating throughout Germany, arose, some with iron weapons, others with fire, and killed as many Jewish lambs as they could find.

Not only was my misfortune not satisfied with these deaths in Germany, but when the lethal rumor spread to Catalonia and Provence, where the fire of the contagious illness had begun to spark, similar killings and burnings were perpetrated on my people, while some Jews, out of fear of this punishment, changed their religion to save their lives, and they escaped death by becoming Christians.

And if these misfortunes had lasted much longer, it seems to me, my brethren, that there would not be a single Jew left who could relate these accounts in a European tongue. But divine mercy saw fit to take the sword from the Adversary's hand in order not to destroy me completely...

(Continued from previous page)

p. 43) correctly points out, this is a result of a misreading by Usque of Spina and his failure to understand a period before the word "Torti" in the following passage:

"Compertum est in Alemania quod Iudei intoxicassent omnes fontes et puteos ut occiderent omnes xpistianos dicte provincie. Torti enim aliqui eorum id confessi fuerunt esse verum."

20. FRANCE. YEAR OF THE WORLD 5106⁷⁰

In the same year, in France, I saw myself bruised by another type of blow. I had already acquired a new look⁷¹ in that kingdom and new benefits with which to spend my wretched exile amidst enemies.

There came to the throne another Philip,⁷² son of Louis and grandson of the other Philip Augustus, who had treated me so cruelly. The new king, without giving any account for his action save a hatred whose flame was stoked by some evil counselors, ordered proclamation made that all Jews in his kingdom were to become Christians, and that if they refused, all their possessions would be taken from them and they would be banished from the kingdom.

Of all that large Jewish population very few were moved by this threat to give up their faith. Rather they preferred to endure patiently the great hardships of poverty and extreme wretchedness to which they were reduced - they were left nearly naked - than to nullify the covenant which Jewish souls had made with the Lord on the mountain of Sinai. So that, mourning for all their material possessions which had been robbed, my children left all France in the month of Ab, on the day which they call Magdalene Day, a Christian holiday.

⁷⁰1346 C.E. The account, however, refers to the expulsion of 1306 (5066). For a discussion of this expulsion, see Loeb I, "Les expulsions des juifs de France au xive siècle," in Graetz-Jubelschrift, p. 44

⁷¹lit. "to acquire new feathers"

⁷²Philip IV, "The Fair." (1285-1314) Usque's identification, however, is not accurate. Philip IV was the son of Philip III and the grandson of Louis IX. Louis IX, in turn, was the grandson of Philip Augustus.

Others, unable to endure their wretched state, seeing themselves nearly naked and their enemies offering them twice the material possessions they were taking away from them and great favors in the kingdom if they were converted, allowed themselves to be won over and consented to be baptized. Foremost among these was the community of Toulouse, except for a few.

Thus, in this manner that province was sown with this seed,⁷³ many descendants of which are probably found even now who are not comfortable in the faith which they accepted so unwillingly. And it would not be far-fetched to believe that from these people stem the Lutherans, who have arisen all over Christendom. For since throughout Christendom the Jews have been forced to change their religion, it seems to be divine justice that they should strike back with the very arms that were put into their hands⁷⁴ as a punishment for those who compelled them to change their faith and as a judgment upon the faith which they gave them, and that these very people are the ones who break out of the circle and with these Lutheran principles, again wish to enter upon the road which they abandoned so long ago.⁷⁵

Besides, this king did not go unpunished for his arbitrary display of power. Nine years later, while hunting, he was chasing a stag. It led him off his way through rough places until he fell down a mountain into a very deep valley, where he and his horse were dashed into a thousand pieces.

⁷³ i.e., of the Jews converted to Christianity.

⁷⁴ i.e., their new religion.

⁷⁵ i.e., the road leading back to Judaism.

The French people saw the evident punishment which he received. And when his son, King Louis,⁷⁶ the virtuous and Catholic, succeeded him, in order to correct the wrong I had suffered from his father, he called me to his kingdom, so that I might, through my industry, recover what they had despoiled me of there. Nevertheless, this blessing lasted as long as the light made by a fire of straw, because seven years later they again expelled me from France, at the people's request; but they permitted me to leave with the wealth I had acquired.

Afterwards King John⁷⁷ took the crown and then his son Charles,⁷⁸ who gathered me in once more to the kingdom. I lived tranquilly in it as long as the two were alive. But when they were gone from this life and another Charles⁷⁹ had taken their place, the populace rose up against me, mercilessly killing and robbing, and against the king's will they expelled me from the kingdom....

21. SPAIN. YEAR OF THE WORLD. 5850⁸⁰

During the discord in the Roman seat regarding the election of the pope, I saw an anti-pope elected in Spain by the name Benedict whose former name was don Alvaro de Luna.⁸¹ Besides him, the opposing factions selected

⁷⁶Louis X (1314-1316)

⁷⁷John II (1350-1364)

⁷⁸Charles V (1364-1380)

⁷⁹Charles VI (1380-1422)

⁸⁰This is an error for 5150, or 1390 C.E.

⁸¹The name Alvaro de Luna appears erroneously here instead of Pedro de Luna. It was Pedro de Luna (1328-1422 or 1423) who was elected anti-pope by the cardinals at Avignon in 1394. Alvaro de Luna, the constable of Castile, Grand Master of Santiago and a favorite of John II of Castile, lived more than a generation later (d. 1453).

another pope in Rome by the name of Innocent.⁸²

At this time there was a monk of the Dominican order, named Brother Vincent,⁸³ the greatest persecutor and enemy of the Jews who had arisen in a long while. He was highly favored by the king, Ferdinand of Aragon, because when he was prince, the monk was one of the twelve who voted for him to be king of Spain.⁸⁴ With this protection he determined to put into effect the cursed design of his against me. He stirred up a large number of people and, with them following him, he went through the cities, a crucifix in his hands and a Scroll of the Law in his arms, shouting in loud and fearsome tones to the Jews that they should gather under the cross of Christianity and become Christians. And because they refused, he attacked them with the band he led, armed with spears and swords, and killed them, while others, who delivered themselves to him out of fear of death, he made Christians.

In this manner he ran through almost all of Spain, and he made more than fifteen thousand Jewish souls give up their faith. Because of this violent persecution many of my children took a refuge in Barbary, not caring for their possessions, both real and movable, which they left behind in order to save their souls.

⁸²Innocent VII (1339-1406, pope 1404-1406).

⁸³St. Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) was the private chaplain and confessor of Pedro de Luna. He was a gifted orator and used his abilities in conversionist activities among the Jews. It was he who was responsible for the conversion of many distinguished Jews, including Rabbi Salomon Levi of Burgos (Pablo de Burgos).

⁸⁴Ferdinand of Antequera (1373-1416) who ruled Aragon two years as Ferdinand I, was offered the crown of Castile at the death of his brother Henry III in 1406. He declined, and instead acted as co-regent for the infant John II with Catherine, the widow of Henry III.

And those who turned their backs to our God out of fear of their bodies were principally the Jews of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Barcelona, Lerida, Seville and many other cities.

Since all this food was not sufficient for his hunger, this enemy attempted further to extend his forces over foreign kingdoms, and he undertook to cross over to Portugal, where a large number of my children lived at the time. Before he did so, he sent to ask permission. However, the king, don Duarte, who at that time possessed the royal sceptre,⁸⁵ answered him that he could enter but that first he was to order a crown of glowing iron placed on his head. When the enemy saw the thwarting outlet that he found in Portugal, for his most terrible desire, he turned his back and went away.

Since the calamity with this Brother Vincent lasted for a long time, some of those who had been converted by him out of fear of the death with which they were threatened, came back again to the religion of their fathers as they moved from one land to another. Most of them went over to lands belonging to Moors. Some went to Portugal and many to those other parts of Christianity where Jews were to be found.

To indicate their difference from other Christians, there arose in Spain the epithet confesos⁸⁶ for those who had been converted and remained in the faith of Christianity. As for the others, who could be overcome

⁸⁵ Ruled 1433 - 1438.

⁸⁶ According to the lexicographer Sebastian de Covarrubias, writing in 1611, "confeso" means "one who is descended from parents who were Jewish or converted to Christianity." The more common term is converso, and Covarrubias uses the two interchangeably.

by neither force or threats of death and who continued to live in Spanish lands, the king ordered them subjected to many vexations, among which were that they had to wear a red badge to be recognized and insulted and that they would thereafter be unable to lend for interest, or even own estates...

22. SPAIN. YEAR OF THE WORLD 1215⁸⁷

In Spain, I again saw myself exposed to a great anguish.

In the territory belonging to Louis of Salamanca,⁸⁸ a young lad, the son of a rich merchant, appeared on a certain holiday well-dressed and wearing some gold objects like purls and a belt with studs.

Two thieves contrived to rob him. They lured him outside the city and there they stripped him of all he had on. When the boy, in tears, began to go back toward the city, the thieves, fearing that the reason for his weeping would be discovered - since they were natives of the same city - pursued the lad again and when they overtook him, they cut off his head and gave him a hasty burial in an out-of-the-way place.

When the lad was missed, a diligent search was undertaken, with public proclamations and promises of reward for anyone discovering him or giving information about him.

⁸⁷Read 5215 (1455).

⁸⁸The location described and the identity of the person are not clear. The Fortalitium Fidei gives the place name as "Almanca." In the section of Spina's book which corresponds to chapter 7 above, Tabara is a city in Castile, in the territory of Louis of Almanca. The Emek-ha Bacha erroneously gives the place as "Salamanca."

What appears certain is that the place is not Salamanca even if the Almanca of the Fortalitium Fidei is an error for the city of that name. At most, the Almanca or Salamanca would be a patronymic or an indication of the personal or family origin of the Louis described.

After a few days some shepherds were moving with their flock near the place of the murder. And since dogs have a habit of scenting everything, those who watched the flock chanced on the boy's body. They unearthed one of his arms with their paws and carried it in their mouths to eat it in front of the shepherds. When the shepherds saw this, they grabbed it from the dogs, took the arm and brought it to the city for identification.

When the boy's father learned what was going on, he and his relatives and friends along with the majority of the townspeople went with the shepherds to the field to be shown where the dogs had disinterred that arm, and at last they arrived at the place where most of the body was.

After the father had identified his son and he and the other relatives had bitterly bewailed him, they all give their opinion as to who could have committed that cruel deed. They said that it was unbelievable for it to have been a Christian, because the child was too small and innocent to have offended anyone, and that it must have been a captive Moor or Jew.

And when they mentioned Jews, many in the group who were violent enemies of the Jews, asserted that it was they. And they told how already in many parts of Christendom and principally in Germany, the Jews had stolen children to offer a sacrifice with their blood.

With this unfortunate and false view, all came back to the city highly incensed, and as the rumor spread from one person to another, it grew so exaggerated that it was said that the Jews had taken out the boy's heart and had roasted it and eaten it publicly.

As such a barbarous rumor spread, the lad's relatives, along with another group, began to sharpen their swords and brandish their spears, and would have offered a sacrifice of my flesh had the Lord of the heavens not come to my aid in such a distress. The king ordered a thorough inquiry into the matter, and as a result, the truth was ascertained, through a goldsmith who had been sold the gold pieces which the thieves had stolen from the boy. And thus ended the storm which was furiously rushing to sink me when death was about to swallow me and gulp me down...

23. SPAIN. YEAR 5216⁸⁹

I saw this in the city of Segovia, during John's reign, while he was a young boy and his mother, Catherine, Queen of Castille,⁹⁰ was his guardian.

Some Jews had grown very powerful in the court, and as a result, they and all other Jews were hated by the people, who sought every means possible to harm them. And, not delaying to put their evil thought into effect, they succeeded in getting a priest to testify that they stole a host from him and brought it home to cast it into a kettle of boiling water; that when he went to look for it, with the information that had been given him by the one who saw the Jew leave the church, he came to the

⁸⁹1456 C.E. This date must be considered as that of the plot to poison the bishop, the second of the two episodes narrated. It cannot refer to the episode in the reign of John II, who died in 1454. This date, found in the Fortalitium Fidei, is not an error. Spina's otherwise accurate dating and the fact that he was a contemporary of the events he describes here makes it impossible to impute to him an error of such magnitude.

⁹⁰John II (1405-1454) succeeded to the throne at the age of 1 on the death of his father, Henry III, on December 25, 1406.

Jew's house and saw the boiling water which had turned completely to blood.

The populace did not give such little credence to this false testimony that many Jews in the city were not arrested for it. Among them was don Mayr, King Henry's doctor,⁹¹ who was put to death along with other important individuals by sentence of the court.

Their bodies were then dragged and torn into pieces. Their schools were converted into churches. And greater evils would have befallen that entire people if Heaven had not remedied the situation. After the cruel punishment had been executed on my innocent people, the charge was found to be false.

In this same place a nobleman had an old feud with the regional bishop and made up his mind to kill him. And in order that the vengeance taken might leave him in the clear, he cold-bloodedly bribed a cook to poison him.

Won over by the reward, the cook was already deliberating to do this, and in reality he had the poison ready to give him. But though the affair was handled most secretly, the poison was discovered. The cook was then arrested and subjected to torture to make him confess who had ordered him to do that, and he was promised that his life would be spared if he revealed his name. Yet, despite the torture he suffered, he refused to reveal it until the knight who was the would-be murderer advised him to blame the Jews and to say that they were giving him a sum of money to do that out of their hatred toward the bishop, since he was a servant of Christ.

⁹¹King Henry III, known as El Doliente (the sufferer) was sickly and under constant medical care. He died at the age of 30. He had ascended the throne in 1390.

Thus did this wicked man testify, and for disclosing this, they granted him his life, while a large number of innocent Jews lost theirs by the sword. And the rest fled the city, leaving behind all the landed property they possessed, and the greater part of their movable possessions, in order to escape...

24. SPAIN. YEAR 5248⁹²

I saw this in Granada, where a thousand five hundred Jewish families were living prosperously and quite comfortably in the city and its environs.

There entered into the minds of the Christians the idea that the Jews ought to barter the Law of Moses for their faith or die. But although the penalty they threatened was awesome, nevertheless, the Jews chose rather to make a sacrifice of their bodies than to offend their souls. So that when the enemies saw the Jews' steadfast deliberation, they put all thousand and five hundred families to the sword on the ninth of the month of Tebet. They pardoned not one person among all of them, nor had pity on the children that clutched their pious mothers' arms, nor on the cries of tender maidens, or old men, or young people or people of all other ages who asked the Lord on high for vengeance for such cruelty.

Among them was that famous and excellent scholar, Rabbi Joseph Levi. On this same day, the ninth of Tebet, a fast had been ordained a long time before, and people fasted on it without knowing why. It seems that

⁹² 1488 C.E. For a discussion of the date and the contents of this chapter, see above, pp. 26ff.

it had been the work of the holy spirit that such a great tribulation was to occur on it....

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