David Reubeni And His Activities

As Reflected In

His Diary And Other Sources

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Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Rabbihical Degree

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<u>CONTENTS</u>	
	Page
Introduction	1-2
Chapter I. David Reubeni's First Journeys	Until His
Arrival In Italy.	
Chapter II. General Background Of Reubeni's	Travels
In Europe.	18-23
The second property of the company with a second company of the com-	
Chapter III. David Reubeni In Italy.	24-39
Chapter IV. David Reubeni's Activities In I	Portugal. 40-54
Chapter V. The Earlier Activities of Reube	eni and Molcho. 55-66.
Chapter VI. Latter Activities of Reubeni ar	d Molcho 67-73
Untile Their Deaths. Chapter VII. An Evaluation.	er i unio este d'imperior de più del principale de la companie de la companie de la companie de la companie de La companie de la companie de
Bibliography.	81-83
Notes.	
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The latter stages of the Middle Ages are characterized in history by a series of violent revolutions which destroyed the old order together with its decayed moral structure. A great revival of civilization began which set up new kingdoms and new modes of living. The invention of gumpowder caused decided changes in the essential phases of life, especially in the art and science of war. The discovery of printing gave a new impetus to general learning, while the productive adventures of Portuguese and Spanish voyagers not only influenced the art of living but more than that the philosophy of life. The beliefs in accepted modes of living were shattered in this period.

A confusion of forces was rampant. Humanism had begun its battle for freedom of thought; the doughty Wittenberger Monk, Luther, wielded telling blows against the proud structure of the Papacy which had towered to the very heavens- an imposing edifice of imperial power. It was on this confused scene that David Reubeni appeared. He startled not only the Jewish, but also the Christian, populace of Rome when he sought and obtained audience with the Pope, who accorded him great hohor. The Pope and the Christian princes of Europe favored his gigantic scheme to wrest Palestine from the grasp of the Turks, for they were fearful of the triumphant progress of the latter. The Jews and the Marranos were thrown into a state of

excitement; they regarded Reubeni as the Messiah himself. His tale of the existence of the Lost Ten Tribes in Arabia and his mission as their ambassador fanned the flame of hope of redemption in the hearts of his co-religionists.

Who was David Reubeni? Only his diary floods light upon his origin and likewise upon his journeys until his arrival in Rome. Exterior sources are conspicuously silent concerning his activities proor to his advent into Portugal; whereas Jewish contemporary sources begin only with his presence in Rome.

The following pages will attempt to present an impartial description and analysis of Reubeni's activities as reflected in his own diary and also other sources. The discussion will not only seek to bring into clear relief Reubeni in his "official" capacity as ambassador, but as a unique personality, a human being, sensitive to the ills of his persecuted co-religionists, and inflamed with the hope of ameliorating their plight by giving them Palestine as a haven of refuge.

His activities with Solomon Molcho will be duly set forth.

Both of them exerted a tremendous influence axex upon both Jews and Christians of Europe. Intrepid visionaries, unique personalities, Reubeni and Molcho shall now lead us into the maze of their amazing lives......

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Chapter L.

David Reubeni's First Journeys Until His and the State of the Arrival In Italy.

The single existent source which throws light upon the early life and activities of David Reubeni is his diary which relates his travels from the time of his departure from Desert Chebor, through Egypt, Palestine, Italy, Spain, to Portugal during the years 1522 to 1525. It is incomplete and does not relate his subsequent adventures in Spain, Flanders, and Italy and his negotiations with the Emperor Charles V which finally culminated in Reubeni's death.

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Reubeni because it contains frequent omissions and many clerical mistakes. Moreover, he claims that the Hebrew style of the diary is that of a German Jew who might have been a native of Egypt and who was familiar with the Arabic language. Be that as it may, it furnishes us with the account of Reubeni's early life and activities and gives us an insight into his personality. Furthermore, his story finds verification in the observations of contemporary diplomats. Thus in the Calendar of Venetian State Papers we read that Marco Foscari, in a letter addressed on the 14th of March, 1524, from Rome to the "Signory," writes that "An ambassador has come to the Pope from the Jews in India offering him 300,000 combatants against the Turks and asking for artillery." This coincides strictly with Reubeni's account. In the course of this discussion, reliable external contemporary sources will be utilized.

According to his diary, David Reubeni was the son of the late King Solomon and the younger brother of King Joseph who ruled over 300,000 of the tribes of Gad, Reuben, and one-half of Manasseh in the Desert Chebor. As for his account of the tribes, we refer to Abraham Ferussol, the Jewish geographer, who personally knew Reubeni, and from whom he received information concerning the ten tribes- information not to be found in the diary. Ferussol reported that in Rome Reubeni delivered the following account: "That he is a descendant of those two tribes that dwell in the deserts, just as the Rechabites dwell in tents, and his station is in the desert of Chebor, in Asia Major. Further on are the other tribes, near the desert, on the way to Mecca and Djedda, on the Red Sea. They have kings, princes, and tribes, numerous as the sands on the seashore. Their products are spices, pepper, and articles of medicine. Between these two tribes lies a powerful Arabic (Ishmaelite) kingdom which does them damage and prevents their approaching each other. When Christian ships, provided with arms and cannon, came many years before in that part of the world, the Jews of Chebor sent this Jew, according to his own words, to the great king of Portugal, who reigns over India, and who knew of the existence of a Jewish kingdom there. Be this as it may, true or not, and whatever this Jew may be, in our country kings, princes, and the people believe that the tribes are still in existence; that they are numerous and that they have many kings."

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And Ferussol describes further the location of the tribes inorder to prove their existence. "In regions above the country of Mecca (near the Indian Ocean) and also those above the deserts of Calicut, there are to be found numerous Jews and many kingdoms, but they are far from one another; namely, the Jews above Mecca and those above Calicut and in the islands of the Indian Ocean, their number is endless; they are rich in gold and spices. And if the Christian writers say that the Jews are oppressed and despised by the black inhabitants and by the Ishmaelites, these reports 7 prove that there are Jews in these regions and that they are rich.

The knowledge of the existence of these tribes conveyed hope and joy to the hearts of suffering Jews and Marranos of Europe who looked to their eastern brethren for salvation and eventual establishment of an ideal kingdom. The legend of the ten tribes assumed the form of a romance and a national epic for the persecuted Jew. He began to look upon his misery as something ephemeral; his deliverance was inevitable. In distant India, the hero kings and immense armies of the ten tribes were awaiting imapatiently for the ten signs as signals for marching to the relief of their suffering brethren in captivity.

This binding faith in the ten tribes as their saviors burned more brightly in their hearts and minds when a supposed deliverer, a descendant of the ten tribes, David Reubeni, appeared in Rome to deliver a message to the Pope from the king of the ten tribes. The signal had already been given for the expedition to Europe.

The negotiations of Pope Clement VII and King Joao III of Portugal with Reubeni would be unexplainable unless we assumed that the Church by tradition had long recognized the belief in the 10 existence of the ten tribes. The existence of Priester John and his Christian realm was also credited, and faith in the Jewish kings of the ten tribes and their immense power was but a correlative of this belief. Priester John's letter to the Pope mentioned a Jewish state and its vastness. This was disseminated in a 11 Hebrew translation.

Throughout the 15th century, Italian Jews sent home from the Holy Land letters referring to various signs that predicted the expedition of the ten tribes. These were copied and disseminated 12 among the communities of Italy. And thus Reubeni's appearance came as the close of a series of antecedent events. "The letters which announced the existence of a kingdom of ten tribes and their imminent enterprises were like the seeds scattered over Italy.

And when Reubeni came, he found the faith in his mission fully 13 ripe."

Mann helps to flood light upon this subject by presenting a fragment of a curious letter addressed to a certain Abraham, and which appears to emanate from a Joseph Ben Solomon, proclaimed king over a great Jewish army, recruited from the ten tribes and 14 assembled near Ancone in Italy. This personage presented four flags upon which were inscribed the Tetragamme and the 10 commandments, as the standards of the four armies of Israel (in imitation of the four camps of Israel in the desert, according to

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Numbers II). A part of that army had gathered to attack Rome. It was posted in the desert four days march from that city. Another group had gone to conquer Arabia while a third marched to deliver 15 the Jews of Adar from their exile.

Mann believes that that war letter was written either by Reubeni or by one of his retinue of the communities from without Italy (for in Italy it was too dangerous and could be easily discovered) to make propaganda and perhaps to obtain funds for the 16 prodigious mission.

The second fragment that Mann has uncovered is supposed to have come from the "sons of Gad and Reuben" who were obliged to reproach their brethren of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin because of their bad attitude. their immorality, falsity, and other transgressions. In contrast with the deplorable conditions of Jewries, the tribes of Gad and Reuben were successful in all their wars, living in a prosperous region and living a religious 17 life above all reproach. Even the Jews of India have a reputation superior to their neighbors. Mann concludes with the statement that these are the details which recur in other texts concerning the ten lost tribes whose subject has excited other Jews and which has taken possession of numbers of individuals who have exploited it for a personal motive.

We are inclined to agree with those who maintain that, altho Reubeni may have exaggerated the number of Jewish warriors in Chebor, there were undoubtedly Jewish tribes existing in Arabia

as late as the 16th century. Even Graetz refers to the testimony 20 of Isaak Akrisch, the wanderer, in Kol Mevasser, which establishes the existence of Jewish tribes in Arabia; and he admits that such evidence is not entirely untrustworthy.

Moreover, we are impressed with the fact that both the Pope Clement VII and King Joao III of Portugal gave credence to Reubeni's story of his mission and position. The credibility of his statements must have been vouched for by the letters of Venetian and Portuguese merchants whom Levantine commerce had made familiar with conditions in the Orient.

From Farissol we learn that Reubeni showed the Pope documents certified by Portuguese officials which confirmed the authenticity of his statements concerning the existence of the 21 Jewish tribes in Chebar.

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David Reubeni declared himself to be a descendant of the tribe of Reuben which accounted for his name Reubeni. As a prince 22 and ambassador, the son of the late King Solomon and the younger brother of King Joseph, and in the commission of the latter and his counsellors, the 70 Elders, he set out for Rome to persuade the Pope to accept his plan of a crusade against the followers of Islam inorder to liberate the Jews of Arabia; and also to obtain weapons and ammunition from the Pope to be used for the decisive battle against the Mohammedans.

He left Chebor and travelled by way of the desert to Jeddah. He feared an evil fate if he and his designs should be recognized. Therefore he took along with him only a deaf and dumb servant and posed everywhere as a Mohammedan, which role he knew how to enact for a long time. At Jeddah he was overtaken with a sickness which tormented him for five weeks. When he learned that a ship was about 24 to sail for Ethiopia he tried to hasten the cure by leaching and smiting his flesh with fire. Finally, he embarked on the ship and, crossing the Arabian Gulf, he arrived at the city of Suakim, in Ethiopia. He remained there for two months, convalescing from his painful illness, and as a result of continually being cupped, he lost more than 50 pounds of blood; for inorder to be completely cured he had to have more than 100 applications of hot nails.

When a group of merchants was about to travel by way of

Mecca to the Kingdom of Sheba, Reubeni secured permission from

their chief, a descendant of the Prophet of the Ishmaelites, Omar

Abu Kamil, to accompany them. Slowly his health returned, and after

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26 two months the caravan arrived at Lamula, the capital of the Kingdom of Sheba in Ethiopia, ruled by King Omara, a black king whose subjects were white and black. Reubeni remained with him for 10 moths as an honored guest. He fasted frequently and remained aloof from the frivolous, the scoffers and the merrymakers. It seems that Reubeni was acting his part as a Mohammedan Prophet very well.

Reubeni paints a fantastic picture of the conditions and customs of these people. The men-servants and maid-servants were completely naked, while the queen, ladies, and concubines wore golden bracelets, 2 on the hands and 2 on the legs, and a golden chain, handbroidered, covered their nakedness; their noses were adorned with golden rings. They all ate elephants and wolves, leopards, dogs, camels, and even human flesh. The king admired Reubeni and offered him gifts which he graciously refused. He, however, gave the king a garment of silk and 700 ducats / florins of gold; in the role of a prophet, he delivered the following formula which he frequently utilized during his associations with Mohammedans: "I love thee and grant thee pardon and forgiveness and a full title to paradise, to thee and thy sons and daughters, and all of thy household, and thou shalt come to us next year to the city of Mecca, the place for the atonement of sins.

Reubeni passed as a Meccan dervish and aroused though his piety and strong asceticism the wonderment of the masses. One day an Ishmaelite came from Mecca to the house of Abu Kamil and

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for Abu and himself to unite into a group with Reubeni as leader. The dervish wished to present a gift to the king, a holy book from the house of the prophets and also a portion in Paradise, pardon and forgiveness for his sins, and to obtain in return, gold, servants, camels. After he used Reubeni as a means to obtain all this, the dervish discovered his secret that he was no Mohammedan prophet; thereupon, he informed the king of this fact and also that he was a mere Jew from the desert Chebor. The king investigated by inquiring of Abu Kamil who spoke highly of Reubeni and called him an honorable man who fasts every day and fears God and does not go after merriment nor after women." Reubeni spoke ill of the dervish accusing him of lying and loving gold. According to the diary, the king absolved Reubeni and treated him with honor. But Biberfeld states that as a result of the accusation of the real dervish, Reubeni had to leave immediately and he hurried as fast as he could to Egypt.

He passed though Senaar and anrived at the city of Sheba.

The city was in ruins and desolate, with scattered huts in it. That night Reubeni dreamed that his father appeared and advised him to leave on the morrow, for if he wated for the return of Abu Kamil who had gone for some slaves for him, death would be his fate.

Evidently, according to Biberfeld, Reubeni considered the dream a warning to leave as soon as possible since he regarded the absence of Kamil, his supposed quest for slaves, as a trap. Thereupon, he left for Elgel where he was treated with great honor by King Akrab. Thence he journeyed to the city of Al Chebor. An old Ishmaelite met

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a descendant of Werbarn him and kissed his hands and invited him to stay at his home in- War order that he might receive his blessings. He visted the king, Mehmel, who, thrilled at seeing him, exclaimed: "This day is blessed on which our lord, the son of the lord the prophet, has come before us; stay with me, I will do the honor." Reubeni seems to have played the role of a Mohammed prophet to perfection, and again he employed the formula for salvation and atonement.

He continued his journey and arrived at the city of Gorgeh where he was directed by a man, familiar with the way of the desert, to his next destination, Egypt. He sailed on the Nile until he reached the gates of Egypt, Cairo. There he was detained by the Ishmaelite Turks who examined his possessions inorder to exact tithes from him.

He entered Cairo on the New Moon of Adar, 5283 (Feb. 16, 1523). He inquired of one of the Jewish money changers in Hebrew so that the Ishmaelites should not understand. The Jew escorted him to the house of R. Abraham (De Castro), chief of the Mint, who was highly esteemed. Reubeni confided to him that he was a Jew and wished to stay with him for three or four days and that he would divulge a secret to him. R. 'Abraham refused to permit him to lodge at his home because he had come disguised as an Ishmaelite and his lodging would cause harm not only to Abraham but to the Israelites that live Thus, in his disguise he could find no welcome with any in Egypt. Jew, and he subsequently fell into the hands of a false Arab who robbed him of his possessions and even contemplated his life.

He left Cairo and while travelling to Gaza, he stopped at an encampment where he met a Jewish merchant from Beyrouth-Abraham Dunaz. Reubeni asked him what he was praying for at this season, and the latter replied: "For rain;" and he evidenced surprise that an Ishmaelite should know about this. Reubeni told him that he knew by calculation that this day was the Jewish festival of Purim, that he had many friends among the Jews who loved him and whom he loved. Moreover, the Jews in his country, were not permitted to converse with any Ishmaelites nor any descendants of the prophets for they hated the Jews and even loved dogs better than Israelites. He concluded the conversation by assuring the Jew that the end would speedily come and that the Almighty would humble the wicked and raise up the lowly.

On the 19th of Adar, 1523, Reubeni journeyed from Gaza, day and night, and finally arrived at Hebron at the site of the cave of Machpelah on the 23d of Adar at noon. The keepers of the cave kissed his hands and feet and welcomed him as the "blessed of the Lord, the son of our Lord." Two of the guardians of the Mosque of Abraham pointed out to Reubeni the graves of Abraham, and to the left a small chapel in which lay the tomb of Sarah; and between them was the Ishmaelites' praying chapel. Above Abraham's tomb was a plan of Jacob's tomb in another mosque and near by was Leah(s grave, alongside of Sarah's. Reubeni informed the guardians that this plan was not true, since Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were in one cave underground and not buried onnthe surface. They showed him a well with a lamp burning therein day and night and they lowered the lamp into the well by a rope and Reubeni saw from the mouth of the well a door of a man's height, and he believed that

this was the real cave and he rejoiced and sent away the Ishmaelites and prayed by the well. They told Reubeni that a king, the second after Mahommed, had built the gate of the cave after the Ishmaelites had taken the holy place from the Christians. That king had sent four men into the cave, each with a candle in his hand, and they stayed an hour in the cave. Three of them died immediately after they had come out but the fourth survived for 3 days. The latter told the king that he discerned the forms of Abraham in his coffin in the place of the upper plan, and around his tomb were many lamps and books and a covering of beautiful cloths over it; and near Abraham lay Szzah; while Isaac and Rebecca lay above their feet and Jacob and Leah at their feet; and several lamps encircled each tomb upon which was image, corresponding to the person entombed; i.e. a male image for a male, a female image for a female. A great light shone, and a pleasant odor like that of incense filled the air in the cave. The king had commanded that the cave be closed and it remained closed to this very day. Reubeni prayed there for several days. It is interesting to note that Reubeni's description of the Patriarchs' sepulchres bears striking similitude to that of Benjamin of Tudela who visited Palestine in the 12th century.

Reubeni left Hebron and arrived at Jerusalem on the 12th of March, 1523. When robbers threatened to attack the travellers, Reubeni assured his terrified companions that they were safe. Suddenly a Turkish judge appeared with many servants and frightened away the robbers. Reubeni was escorted by the judge to Jerusalem. That day he entered the Holy of Holies, and at the sanctuary he was met by the Ishmaelite guardians who bowed before him and kissed his

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feet. They called him "blessed of the Lord, the son of our Lord."

The two chief among them led him to the cavern under the <u>Eben Shethiah</u> and pointed out to him the places of Elijah, the prophet, King David, King Solomon, Abraham, Isaac, Mahomet. Reubeni did not believe this demonstration to be authentic.

Later he descended below the Eben Shethiah but was ordered by the guard to leave. He prayed outside the court all night and fasted. In the morning when the "shmaelites came to pray in the court, Reubeni addressed them in a loud voice: "I am your Lord and Son of your Lord, the Prophet; I have come from a distant country to pray therein and not to sleep." When 4 of the guards attempted to expel him, he threatened to write to the king of Turkey about their evil deeds. They begged for forgiveness and wished to serve 38 him as slaves, as long as he remained in the Holy House. He gave them 10 ducats for charity and he remained in the sanctuary and fasted in the Holy of Holies for 5 weeks.

Reubeni prayed below and above the Eben Shethiah. Later,

10 messengers from king Joseph, his brother, came and recognized

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him in the sanctuary. Now the Ishmaelites had a sign on the top

of the cupola of the court which, when turned eastward, was an evil

sign for their sins. The Ishmaelites wept when it turned eastward.

But to Reubeni it conveyed a different meaning- for the Elders had

already told him that when the sign turned eastward he should go

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to Rome.

Reubeni left Jerusalem accompanied by 5 Ishmaelites and retraced his steps to Gaza. To the 4 men who visited him there,

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he related that he was a Jew, the son of King Solomon, and brother of King Joseph who ruled over 30 myriad in Desert Chebor. R. Daniel, richest of the Jews in Gaza, informed him of all the Turkish governors who had come to Gaza. Reubeni wished to familiarize himself with all the events and conditions of the various cities and countries so as to appear well-informed and to qualify for the sundry roles he enacted. He was a guest of Rabbi Ishmael and both attended the synagogue on the Sabbath. From Gaza he journeyed to Damietta where, according to Graetz, he earned the suspicion of the Mohammedans who wanted to kill him. He stayed with R. Mordecai who escorted him to the seashore; thence he embarked for Alexandria.

On the 24th of Tammuz he entered Alexandria. At this time the Mohammedans were engaged in their successful warfare and conquests and were pushing towards the west. The first report of his arrival in Alexandria was received by the Hungarian Jews by a letter from Damascus. They did not wonder a little that the Turks had undertaken no march at that time. The reason for it, they alleged, was that a prevalent pestilence raged in the Orient.

Reubeni impressed his Jewish confreres by his exalted position and mission. From Mordecai he secured a Jewish servant to act as his interpreter in Rome. This irritated the Ishmaelites because Joseph was his servant and because he entered their synagogue in which no Jew could enter. The Ishmaelites told Reubeni that the Jews were their enemies and that it was improper for Jews to serve him. To which Reubeni replied: "I am your Lord, the Son of the Prophet; I have travelled through many provinces and Ishmaelites have served me. I have found them wanting, for some of them stole

my possessions. Reubeni finally obtained permission from the Turkish Pasha to leave Alexandria, and the captain of the galley conducted him to a ship that was to sail for Venice.

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General Background of Reubeni's Travels
In Europe.

The period which surrounded David Reubeni's stay in Europe was fraught with grave political, religious, and social upheavals. These necessarily affected his strange mission - to secure aid from the Pope and the Christian potentates for the great decisive battle to be waged against the Turks over the control of the Holy Land.

Internal strife between Charles V of Spain and Francis I of France (1515-47) made deep strokes upon the countenance of Europe; it even made deep gashes on the body of the papacy. It all began when Emperor Maximilian I approved of Charles V, his grandson, as successor to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. This was at first difficult of realization because the French king, Francis I opposed this move; he feared that his own country would be encircled by a united German-Spanish-Italian State. Thereupon he determined to preserve what he called the "Balance of Power" which aimed at preventing the growth of one political power at the expense of the others. However, after the death of Maximilian I, in 1519, the electors finally chose Charles as emperor instead of the rival candidate, Francis I of France. It was only through an appeal to national and family sentiment and the most flagrant and wholesale bribery that Charles succeeded in securing a majority of the electoral votes.

By this election, the king of Spain, who had not yet been in Germany and who knew little of its conditions or language,

became its ruler at a critical juncture, when the teachings of Luther were adding more troubles to the other disorders. Moreover, he had to reconcile conflicting interests and appeals for popularity to many varied races. He had to repress rebellions. In Germany he was faced with the rising Protestantism, which threatened both his religion and throne. His administrative difficulties were complicated by the intricacies of foreign politics. He was forced to wage war with France thruout the greater part of his reign. The surging advance of the Turkisk armies up the Danube and their increase of their naval power in the Mediterranean Sea worried him not a little. They had rapidly extended their domain over Syria, Greece, Balkan peninsulas and had already seized Constantinople. The conquered Christians were forced to pay a tribute and were subjected to a life of abject serfdom. Their continual onrush was a source of grave apprehension to Europe.

Against Protestant Germany, a Catholic monarch might hope to rely on papal assistance, and English support might conceivably be secured against France. But the popes who usually disliked the emperor's Italian policy, were not eager to assist him. And the English sovereigns had domestic reasons for developing 5. hostility to Charles V.

Francis I. of France had made grave attempts to thrust a thorn into Charles V's side, which eventually led to war. He first reclaimed the French crown to Naples although Louis XII had renounced it in 1504. Then he was bent on regaining Milan

which his predecessor had lost in 1512. But the outcome of the contest for the Imperial control in 1519 virtually caused the breach between the two rivals. War broke out in 1521, and with few interruptions, it was destined to outlast the lives of both Francis and Charles.

Italy was the chief arena of combat. On February, 24,1525, Charles defeated Francis who, after a brief captivity in Spain, was released on the condition that he would surrender all claims to Burgundy, Netherlandsm and Italy, and would agree to marry the Emperor's sister. He agreed, but when he returned to France, he nullified the treaty and formed alliances with all the Italian powers and the Pope who were alarmed by the sudden strengthening of the emperor's position in the peninsula. But the imperialists triumphed.

In 1527, the famous episode- the sack of Rome- occurred. The pope was besieged and compelled to ransom himself. He promised to convene a general council to deal with Lutheranism. Charles V's army was largely composed of Spaniards and Germans who, short of money and without orders, mutinied and sacked Rome. 4,000 people were made captives. The pillage continued for nine months, and the brigands were halted only by a terrifying pestilence which 7 decimated their numbers.

During this turbulent period the Pope, Clement VII, 1523-34, assumed a secondary position. He was assentially a man of narrow outlook. He lacked insight into the tendencies of the age which disqualified him from comprehending the great upheaval

which threatened the Church. Biberfeld quotes: "He is the most impious of all popes whoever sat in the Roman seat. In the weight of hostile forces which pressed him on all sides, he x stepped into politics with vacillation which finally brought him to ruin. While his predecessors were engaged in forming a substantial world power, he had to support an opposite issue. The great falling away of the Protestants developed unceasingly before his eyes. Finally, decadent in reputation, without worldly authority, he left the papal throne."

Instead of trying to meet the problem of the Reformation, he subordinated the cause of Catholicism to his own interests, as an Italian prince and a Medici; and even in purely secular affairs he manifested a timidity and indecision which prevented him from pursuing a persistent policy.

Europe had lost its balance. On one side, Luther and his Reformation threatened to undermine his papacy; and on the other, Charles V's powerful domain, Spain, Germany, with Burgundy and a part of America, almost crushed Italy into servile dependence. Pope Clement was in a continual dilemna. If he quarreled with Charles, the latter encouraged the Reformation and thus helped to vitiate the papal power. If the Pope sided with him, the independence and freedom of Italy was threatened. Thus, he was ever vacillating, and like most of his contemporaries, he resorted to astrology inorder to learn from the stars what was incomprehensible to men.

He wavered between Charles V and Francis I, concluding treaties of alliance with the French king and then, after his defeat, he made peace with Charles V. Later he broke this by countenancing a movement which aimed at attaining independence from the reign of the Emperor - from foreign powers. When this conspiracy was betrayed, Clement made fresh submission to Charles V., only to follow this, a year later, with the Holy League of Cognac with Francis I. He escaped the wrath of Charles by promising to deal with Lutheranism and to assume a position of neutrality. Clement's participation in the league against Charles and the empire had favored the spread of Lutheran Reformation in Germany. Even some of the rulers in Germany favored Luther's idea that they need no longer obey the Pope and that they were free to regulate the property and affairs of the churchmen in their respective domains without regard to the Pope's wishes. Other princes and towns agreed that they would be faithful to the Pope if certain reforms were introduced, especially the reduction of the papal taxation. The papacy's future was in the balance; Clement needed the aid of the emperor to force the recalcitrant factions into submission. The Emperor could have ended the temporal power of the Pope had he not feared the overwhelming influence of the clergy and the threatening role of the Inquisition. But Charles needed the Pope, since a lasting enmity with him would have destroyed his hold in Spain and Germany. He needed himto retain his power in Italy and by his influence to sever leagues that have sprung up against him.

So by the treaty of Barcelona (6/29/1529) the Pope retained his power over the papal states. The imperial coronation was to take place in Italy. Clement crowned Charles Emperor at Bologna, 2/24/1530. The Emperor left for the diet at Augsburg on June 15th. The Pope returned to Rome om April 9, 1530.

But political intrigue blossomed again. On December, 1532, the Emperor and the Pope met in Bologna to conclude an Italian league. At the same moment, Clement was negotiating with France who did her utmost to draw the papacy from the embrace of Spain. In the midst of the strife and turmoil that followed, Pope Clement died, September, 25, 1534. His pontificate bore very bitter fruits. Rome was ruined. Italy, from Milan to Naples, "was turned into a field of slaughter bathed in blood and tears," 16. and one-half of Europe fell away from the center of Christianity.

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Chapter III.

David Reubeni In Italy

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Venice

Such was the background in which Reubeni played his daring role. His ship, sailing from Alexandria, finally cast anchor at Venice in the beginning of 1524. He had been fasting and praying throughout the voyage and now appeared feeble from voluntary undernourishment. The passengers were angry at his servant, Joseph, whom they charged with pilfering their food. This did not involve Reubeni because he was abstemious and would not indulge in food that Gentile hands had touched. He rebuked the servant summarily and that ended the matter.

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The captain of the ship secured longing for him, and for 6 days and nights he fasted. One day, as he was concluding his prayers, he found in his room a Venetian Jew, Elchanan, whose acquaintance Joseph had made. A Hebrew conversation ensued. Soon after, Elchanan returned accompanied by another Jew, R. Moses of Castilin, an artist and portrait painter. Reubeni asked him for 7 ducats for his servant Joseph who was sick. R. Moses took him to his home in the ghetto (the ghetto of Venice was the oldest of all ghettoes) where he met some of the leaders of the community; among them were R. Mazliah, R. Chyah, R. Simeon ben Asher Meshullam, a brother-in-law of Jechiel of Pisa. He had already thrown off his disguise and assumed the appearance of an ambassador of the 10 tribes. To them he related

that he was David Reubeni, the son of King Solomon of the tribe of Reuben, which was still to be found living a warlike and independent life in Desert Chebor; that he had been sent as a holy envoy by his brother, King Joseph, and the 70 Elders of his tribe to visit the Pope. He did not divulge his mission 2. but said only that he was going for the good of Israel.

His appearance made a visible impression especially upon the Jewish community. For, as recently as 1502, a certain Asher Lemmlein had appeared close by, at Capo d'Istria, and had announced the approaching advent of the Redeemer, and the immediate realization of the Messianic ideals. He announced the coming of the Redeemer within 6 months if the Jews would show repentance, contrition, and chartty. The people thru suffering and craze for Kabbalism, were susceptible to such ebullitions and convulsive expectations. He acquired a host of adherents who preached his prophecies. But suddenly the prophet himself disappeared, and with him the translucent dreams and hopes were shattered. But the impression he had created still lingered. And the presence of Reubeni called forth memories of that transient Messianic splurge. Altho his diary gives the impression that he was well received, Biberfeld, however, states that he did not find such enthusiastic acceptance to be unanimous as he had expected.

He stayed in Venice for a short time and on March, 1524 he travelled to Pesaro where he was furnished with horses by R. Moses Foligno who also directta him to Rome. One the eve of

Purim, he and his servant, Joseph, arrived at Castel Nuova, a small town one-half day's journey from Rome. Tarrying there for a few days they finally set their steps toward the Eternal City, the capital of Uhristiandom, where Reubeni's fantastic task was to receive its first impetus.

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Rome

On the 5th of fidar, he arrived at Rome. A Gentile from

6.

Venice spoke to him in Arabic which angered him probably because he did not wish to be associated with the Arabs who were

Moslems in control of the Holy Land. This would have made it

7.
extremely uncomfortable for him. On a white horse, escorted

by his coreligionists and an interpreter, he betook himself

8.
to the Vatican where his appearance caused great excitement.

According to Ferrusol, Reubeni was short of stature, lean because

of his frequent fasting, strong of heart, and swarthy-complexioned.

He spoke in Hebrew which was almost unintelligible. Graetz

describes him as something strange, mysterious, and eccentric;

10.

"of darks complexion and as thin as a skeleton."

He requested ans audience with Cardinal Egidio in the presence of other Cardinals. Two prominent Jews, R. Joseph Ashkenazi, the teacher of Cardinal Egidio, and the learned Joseph Zarfati, son of Samuel Zarfati, the physician for Julian 12.

II, were also present at the amazing interview. He introduced himself to the Cardinal as the ambassador of his brother, and his mission was to make a war treaty with the Christian princes 13. against the Mohammedan Arabs.

He was invited to stay at the home of the Cardinal until
the desired audience before the Pope could be arranged. At the
request of his coreligionists, he spent Saturday with Raphael
and Ashkenazi and withem he attended services at the synagogue

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where he pronounced the blessing of deliverance from peril 14.
before the scroll of the law. On the streets, men, women, and children pressed about him and he received numerous visits both by Jews and Christians. Cardinal Egidio sent for Joseph Ashkenazi to inform Reubeni that the Pope wished to see him on Sunday before 11;00 A.M. He was escorted by 12 prominent Jews. The Cardinal presented him to the Pope. The latter, cognizant of the imminent danger to Christiandom by the conquest of two bulwarks of Christianity, Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522) by the Sultan Sulaimon II (1520-66), and hoping to receive a favorable diversion from the Turkish menace to European lands, received 15. him graciously and said to him: "The matter is from the Lord."

He first revealed his secret to the Pope. His commission was to go to him to effect a peace between King Charles V 16. and King Francis I of France and to turn the combined power of both kings in the Pope's behalf against the unbelieving Moslems 10. of the Holy Land. According to Biberfeld, Reubeni wished that letters be sent to John III, king of Portugal, and to Prester John; that the former should send ships, munition and cannon to Reubeni's brother, Joseph; the latter was important to join his strength with Joseph's so that from two sides, he could withstand the onslaughts of the Moslems and finally crush them. What would then follow, he did not speak outright before the Pope - they were probably "the secret suggestions" which the later shared with Paniel of Pisa, that he, with the fulfillment of those plans, awaited the advent of the Messianic era; that Israel, freed from the oppression of Edom (Rome) and

19. Ishmael (Turkey) would live as a free people in his own land.

The Pope, who was supposed to be kind and sympathetic to the Jews because of their suffering and persecutions, was pleased with his interview with Reubeni. He confessed that he was unable to effect amicable relations between Charles V and Francis I. but that he would write a letter of recommendation to the king of Portugal; and according to Ferrusgol, he promised to send him in a ship to Portugal with honor and to command all Christians on the way to help and honor him. In the interim he would take care of his stay in Rome. Concerning his interview with the Pope, a letter written by the Venetian ambassador in Rome, March 13, 1524, reads: "In these days a Jew nas come here to his Holiness, the Pope, and has declared that he has come in behalf of his coreligionists who are nomads in the Prabian desert and who lives without permanent abode. He said that they have 30 myriads of potential military men. Since, however, cannon warfare is unfamiliar to them in/respect they are next to the Mohammedans who are the enemies of the Fope, he has come to demand men who are experts in the construction of cannon and powder. He declares that it is an easy thing to execute this demand by using Portumgal ships by way of Red Sea. He offers himself personally to undertake this charge. He promises that as soon as they have become expert with the practice of cannon, he will seize all the Mohammedans and will capture Mecca."

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Farissol obtained statements from prominent Jews who spoke with Reubeni, to the effect that Reubeni had asked the Pope for aid and to make available for him metal weapons that shoot forth cannon balls and also to furnish him with experts to manipulate the cannon. These men should go with him to Arabia Felix to 25.

wage war against the Mohammedans; and in return, Reubeni would give to the Pope certain emoluments: access to the market places of the East where there was an abundance of spices; raw incense, 26. and other products. Farissol ascribes the purpose of all this to the fact that Reubeni wished to gather and unite all the Jews to conquer and inhabit Palestine- for it is an eternal in
27 heritance for Israel.

Pope Clement was just the person to chime in with such fantastic woven plans. An alliance of King Joseph and King John would suffice to break the heathen power. With the most dangerous enemy of Christianity driven out of the Holy Hand by the reinforced Israelitish army, the Pope would be restored to his former power over the military affairs. (See Chapter II for the status of the Pope.)

Even the most incredulous of the Jews were amazed at the fact that a Jew was treated with such respect and honor by the Pope and his Cardinals, and they were convinced that there must be at least a grain of truth in Reubeni's report. Many of them believed in a hopeful future. Before he had come to 'taly, while he was still travelling in Palestine under the veil of a Moslem of the offspring of Mohammed, already knowledge secretly spread from Palestine to the scattered Israelites who were in Italy

concerning this wonderful man, that his mission was to wrest 28 Palestine from the Mohammedans and to bring redemption to Israel.

The Pope permitted the Jews to give lodging to Reubeni, but he himself agreed to defray all of his expenses. The Fatoi pying) and the community voted him a pleasant quarter. The cardinals consulted him frequently. For six days consecutively he fasted. As a result he became very sick and sent for the physician, R. Joseph Zarfati, who had him transferred to his own home where he could better care for him. Here he was attended by Chaim, a cantor, D. Ferraro, Simchah, and an Arab Jew, Shua. Altho Reubeni suffered a grievous illness, he did not despair but felt of the assured that he would not die until he would bring Israel to Jerusalem and build the altar and offer sacrifice. But he lay there in deep pain and anguish, between life and death; and when they asked him if he would make confession, he became angry and told them that he would not confess, that he trusts in God who will save him. "And God sent a great sweat on me on that day and I was healed from the great sickness.

with the plague, Reubeni changed his quarters to the home of R. Moses Abudarhin where he was attended by his three sons. Moses had a grown up daughter who could read Scriptures and who prayed daily. She, too, was stricken with the plague from which she never recovered. Meanwhile, Reubeni logged with Isaac Abudarhin. When Christian lords visited him and saw the decrepit house, they told the cardinal who immediately secured a beautiful home for

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preparedas

the ambassador and paid 6 months rent. In one room was built a synagogue which contained a scroll of the law and 30 lamps.

Biberfeld claims that the community's zeal for Reubeni had cooled off and, inorder to secure a promised lodging, he had to call on the intervention of Cardinal Egidio. Rieger and Vogelstein, however, state that Reubeni feared subsequent attacks on his life and wished to be undisturbed and protected, so he rented a new quarter for 6 months.

Reflected in the diary is not a very happy picture of the conditions of the Jewish populace in Rome. Hate and distrust, arrogance against coreligionists, and servility to Christians, were rife. One could no longer trust another, for a professional sycophancy poisoned the "trusting thought exchange" even in friendly circles. As we shall observe later, Jewish informers abounded aplenty, and many a devout Jew suffered from the thrusting fingers of suspicion.

When Cardinal Egidio transferred his residence to Viterbo for two months, Reubeni looked around for someone to counsel him in the interim and to act as interpreter between him and the Pope. He learned of a Jew, R. Daniel ben Isaac of Pisa, who lived near the Pope. He said to him: " I note that you are honored by the Pope and the cardinals. I want you to be interpreter between the Pope and myself, to advise me for the love of God and Israel and King Joseph, my brother and his Elders of Desert Chebor; and God will honor you if you will do this in His service. I have come from the East to the West for the sake of God's service and for the love of Israel who is under the dominion of Edom and Ishmael." Daniel listened to him with sympathetic interest. He was evidently a son of Yechiel's uncle Isaac. He was well established in Florence, had great wealth, and owned many commercial interests. In fact, he had acquired such consideration that he was permitted 38 to frequent freely the court of the Pope. He was also interested in Cabbalism which might have accounted for his eagerness to help Reubeni, whose mission was characterized by a mystical strain.

During the pontificate of Clement VII, Daniel was called to the Rabbinate of Rome, and succeeded in harmonizing the community. He united the various elements into one strong congregation that included Italian and foreign-born Jews, and convened a council of 60 members which possessed the power of administering the affairs of the amalgamated congregation. The decisions were declared legal by the Papal decree. (12/12/1524).

To this influential Jew, Reubeni disclosed all of his secrets because he felt that he was "good and upright in the eyes of God and men." Daniel vowed that he would not leave Rome until he had secured the letters from the Pope. He also promised to act as his interpreter. He immediately dispatched a letter to the Pope. Soon after, Reubeni was summoned before the Pope to whom he reiterated his request: "I have stood before thee for nearly a year and it is my will for God's sake and thy honor that you should write me the letters which I asked of the Holiness-letters to Prester John and also to the Christians whose lands

1 shall traverse." The Pope promised to fulfill his request.

Meanwhile a certain large party rose up against Reubeni.

At its head was a bastard Jew, Ruben. He was a physician who used

David called him a

in his anger.

to hold his hat in his hand and bowed and fawned before every 41
Christian. He was a calumniator, an informer, who was merciless with his coreligionists. He seemed to be afraid of Reubeni and promised him he would refrain from slandering the Jews. Later, however, he changed his mind and spoke ill of the Jews and Reubeni. Two Jewish informers of Rome told the Pope to burn Reubeni injorder to discover if God would really deliver him, since he was supposed to be a messenger of God. The Pope was angry and ordered them to 42 the galleys of a ship. There were 45 informers in Rome, according 43 to the diary, "but God put repentance in their hearts that they should return from their evil way."

Reubeni describes the Jews in Rome and Italy "as mighty and lion-hearted for all work, and suitable for war, but the Jews in Jerusalem and Egypt and Iraq and all the Moslem countries were faint-hearted and prone to fear and fright and not fitted for war like the Italian Jews." Apparently Reubeni was deeply concerned with his mission and the sight of prospective warriors gladdened his heart. For as an ambassador and a military commander had he come to the West.

The influence of Reubeni is evedenced in an incident which occurred in Rome. Moses Latin who used to converse daily with Miguel de Silva, the ambassador of Portugal, against 'srael, was once sent by a cardinal to the home of Joseph Zarfati. 'here he met Dinah, his sister, and he expressed his desire to marry her. When Dinah refused, he sought help of the cardinals. But Reubeni sided against him, and with the support of the Pope himself, decided the issue. Thereupon Moses "atin Blandered him before

Miguel de Silva and accused him of trying to reconvert the Marranos who had left Judaism under John II and Manuel. But this availed him not. Reubeni again showed his power when he induced the papal authority to release from jail an uncle of a certain Rab Mordecai and to nullify the required 200 ducats. The officials still paid him 5 ducats every month, and he remained in the house purchaged for him.

Since he had demanded above all a papal letter of recommendation to the Christian kings for the delivery of iron weapons and cannon, the Pope directed him to the kings of Portugal and Abyssinia with the idea "that no one else but the Portuguese, because of their Indian trade and excursions into Eury-46 thrasian and Persian gulf lands, had relations with the Arabs."

The Pope also provided him with credentials to the king of Portugual so that the latter could act after an exact investigation of facts with "the Arabian Hebrews in regard to the diffusion 47 of the Christian religion."

Vogelstein and Rieger mention a letter sent by Clement to Pavid Alnazarenus, King of Pthiopia (Feb. 4, 1525). To quote:

"Der Hebraer David, Sohn Salomons, heisst es in demselben, aus dem oden Arabien und vom Berge Tabor, der Uberbringer dieses, sei der Bruder des Königs über die dort wohnenden unzählingen Juden. Diese seien den Mohammedanern an Kräften gewachsen. Letzere hatten nur bessere Geschütze. Er solle ihn in dieser Hinsicht unterstützen. Nach Besiegung der Mohammedaner wollten die Juden Agypten angriefen. Er habe sich bereits deshalb an Johan von Portugal gewändt, und jetze wende er sich an ihn, da er jenen Landern näher wäre und deshalb den Sachverhalt der Angaben Davids besser prüfen konne. Der König möge den Gesandten gut aufnehmen und ihn unterstützen, falls dem Christentum daraus ein Nutzen erwachsen könnte." 48.

During his stay in Rome the Pope had all the sights shown to him. A Jewish contemporary especially remarked concerning

this- that Reubeni had ridden to the highest altar, St. Peter's

49
Church, on his mule. This was amazing since the Jews were forbiddent to travel about so promiscuously. In his march through the city,

10 Jewish runners accompanied him, and even more than 200 Christians

50
were included in his retinue. Naturally, his appearance transported the community into happiest excitement. To this was added the fact that the Pope had induced several Marranos to return openly to

Judaism, and he even afforded them an asylum in Ancona.

Within a few days the letters came from the Pope and aniel delivered them to Reubeni. That night many Jews gathered at his lodging place to share his joy upon the receipt of the coveted letters. Four notables, the heads of the Roman congregation, among whom were R. Obadiah of Sforno, R. Judah Ascoli, were conspicuous with their august presence. Vogelstein and Rieger state that he refused audience to these four representatives, among others, who begged him for a copy of the papal brief that they might treasure it as a happy memento of an honor shown to one of their coreligionists. He dismissed them abruptly. But according to the diary, Reubeni was not angry with these representatives; in fact, he honored them. But the informers and spies whom mingled with the crowd aroused his ire when they wished to read the brief and letters which the Pope had written, inorder to remember the contents. Reubeni had been informed that they would go before the scribes of the Pope and would attempt to frustrate his plans. This caused him no little worry.

Soon after, the Pope bid him farewell and gave him a coat of arms to present to his brother, King Joseph, also 100 golden ducats for himself. Reubeni went to Don Miguel de Silva to secure a safe

7

conduct for the journey to Portugal. Hecwas promised that it would be sent to Pisa. This was only a trick and Reubeni left angered. The Pope, however, ordered him to write it, for he had already written to the king of Portugal. But he didn't obey the Pope and left Rome on a hunting trip which engaged him for a week. But upon his return he promised to send the letter to Pisa.

In good faith, Reubeni left Rome at midday, 15th of Adar 2nd, having stayed there one year. Thirty influential Jews excorted him on horseback. His march through Italy was like a triumphant procession. At Roncelin he found an army of the King of France and they 56 accorded him great honor. He arrived at Viterbo and logged with an eminent Jew, R. Joseph HaCohen. He continued his journey, passing through Bolsenu and Sienna, and finally arrived at Pisa. He found a warm hospitality at the home of R. Jechiel, a brother-in-law of R. Daniel of Pisa; the latter had already advised Reubeni to seek the hospitality from his pious and wise cousin of Pisa.

Although Reubeni had no literary education, yet he could appreciate the manner of refined life and culture of the family of his host. Kaufmann attributes this lack of culture to neubeni:

".....n'eut pas recu l'education litteraire et mondaine qu'il aurait fallu pour apprecier la maniere de vivre raffinee et la haute culture de la famille de son hote...." Reubeni himself speaks of the cultural attainments of echiel:

Seeks of the cultural attainments of echiel:

He also exerted a great influence in the community which was comprised mainly of impoverished Jews. His home was always open to all the poor who ate at his table.

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The public curiosity which Reubeni had excited to a high degree brought many personalities to the home of Jechiel. The Christian populace of Fisa used to serenade him with trumpets. Jechiel escorted his guest in his visits to the great sights of Pisa- the Cathedral, Baptistry, the Companile. But the warm hospitality of Jechiel, however, could not comfort him. #e worried over the inauspicious delay of the passports. He finally sent a messenger to obtain them but received instead, the shocking explanation that the King declined to see him in Portugal. This explanation was falsified as it soon appeared, when Miguel was recalled and Martin replaced him as the ambassador. Reubeni was deeply pained at the delay and fasted for 62 days and nights. The household of R. Jechiel supplied him with all kinds of food, flowers, presents, silk robes, and even money for his servants. Jechiel wrote a scroll of the law and Reubeni made a blessing over it. Signora Benvenida Abrabanel, wife of Samuel Abrabanel, sent him from Naples a banner of fine silk on which the 10 Commandments were written in two columns with golden embroidery; and many rich garments and great sums of money.

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Scrolls on parchment; she wrote at the beginning of the book her advice: "Never be angry or hasty." Apparently, Reubeni had given her cause for such a statement; perhaps, he had given vent, on certain occasions, to a visible temper of anger.

Kaufmann raises the question: Was it the belief that existed in Italy among the Christians as well as the Jews in the existence of a possible Jewish kingdom formed by the 10 tribes by the river Sambation, or was it the imperturbable boldness, the firmness of his conviction and extraordinary asceticism manifested by Reubeni which influenced the members of the family of Jechiel, which opened their hearts, hands and their house to 63 him? This is certain, that during his sojourn in Pisa, Reubeni was the guest of the Jechiel family. The women vied with the men in their attention towards Teubeni. They used to dance and play the harp inorder to mitigate Reubeni's sorrow and pain from the 64 fast.

Hope of fulfilling his mission and reaching Portugal came to Reubeni when he received a letter from Don Partin, the new ambassador of Portuagl, who had arrived in Rome to replace Don Miguel de Silva, ordering him to prepare to go to the King of Portugal who was eagerly awaiting his arrival. Gratiz confirms 66 the replacement and he quotes a Portuguesex report to that effect. Before he sailed for Portugal, Paniel of Pisa presented him with a gift from the Pope- a gabardine of red damask and a velvet cap. Daniel ordered Solomon Cohen of Prato to join him and paid his wages. The captain of the ship offered to loan Reubeni 300 ducats until he reached the King.

Chapter IV.

David Reubeni's Activities in Portugal.

of Portugal, he immediately left for Lavorna where he embarked on a large ship which the Pope had filled with military paraphanalia, and which was manned by Jews and Christians. Unfurled at the mast of the ship was a Jewish flag. His expenses were defrayed by his admiring patron and host, R. Jechiel of Pisa.

R. Joseph HaCohen, the historian, is not correct when he stated that Reubeni first journeyed to Portugal and then to Italy. He must have known of his travels and activities in Italy and Rome only after his sojourn in Portugal. But the report of his activities in Italy prior to his stay in Portugal comes to us from Reubeni's own diary and from the statements of his Jewish contemporary, Abraham Farrisol. (See Chapter III).

Reubeni was refused permission to enter, because several of its inhabitants slandered against him to the magistrate. At Elmira he met the same fate. Finally he reached Tavira, a tributary of the Portuguese kingdom, where he was accorded singular honor by the magistrate, an officer of the king of Portugal. Notables, Christians, Marranos, came to greet him, and hundreds of the inhabitants lines the streets as he rode on a mule through the city. He lodged at the home of a Marrano. When a Spanish priest insinuated that there was no Jewish king and that the Jews could boast of no royal lineage, Reubeni became very irate and of a sudden hurled

him through a window. The amazed Christians who witnessed this strange occurrence broke out into loud laughter aimed at the priest for they feared to speak ill of Reubeni. And when the magistrate heard of this, strange to say, he rejoiced.

After sojourning in Tavira for 40 days, he finally received two letters from the king which contained an invitation and instructions to the magistrates in his kingdom to honor him; and he was also provided with 500 ducats and a scribe to superintend his expenditures. In great state he left Tavira, escorted by the magistrate and all the notables, and wherever he went he was preceded by the scribe who heralded his arrival to the particular heads of the communities.

He passed through the cities of Beja and Evora; in the latter was situated the king's palace. Wherever he went, he was honored by the Marranos who believed that he was the Messiah who would return them to Jerusalem. They pressed about him, kissed 10 his hands, and accorded him honor befitting a king. This angered the Christians who warned them against kissing his hand, an obeisance due only to the king. Reubeni informed the Marranos of his royal lineage and emphasized his position, nameley, that he had not come to them with a sign or miracle but as a military official who wished to help their king and also to lead them to 11 the land of Israel.

He left Evora excorted by magistrates, and was showered with gifts by the Marranos. The king was residing in Almeda inorder to escape the plague that was raging in Lisbon. When he was
informed of "eubeni's arrival, he immediately sought the counsel

of his advisors. Don Miguel de Silva once again spoke ill of him.

Encouraged by the report of the scribe- that the Marranos were happily excited at Reubeni's advent and they even kissed his hand.

Miguel made a stirring speech before the king and the notables:

"Did I not say that he is come to destroy thy kingdom and to restore the Marranos to the faith of the Jews? If thou wilt send notables before him to honor him, then all of the Marranos in the country will follow him and will devise means to convert the Christians

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to Judaism?"

The king became alarmed at the report that the Marranos were profaning the cross and were hopeful of redemption. He also learned that they were incited to such action by the sudden advent of Reubeni. With the aid of his counsel, he improvised a pretext, namely, that his grandmother had just died; and since he was in mourning he would be unable to accord him honor befitting an ambassador. Despite the abszence of conspicuous honor, Reubeni with his retinue of 50 men came before the king and expressed his wish to see him on the morrow. He did not kiss the king's hand because he was angry. He stayed with a Marrano at Santarem. He met another Marrano who spoke Arabic and who had recently returned from Abyssinia where he had been sent by the king to spend two years. He related to Reubeni that the king of Portugal sent young children of Marranos to an isolated island n in Abyssinia, to a place situated near a tribe that eats human flesh. Another story was told to Reubeni by a certain Portuguese captain that he had heard of a king named Solomon who ruled over

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a great number of Jews. This tale he had already related to the 14 king.

ered the letters and with whom he discussed his mission and travels. He requested artificers of weapons for his brother, King Joseph. The king seemed willing to comply with his request, despite the diligent and persistent protestations of Don Miguel de Silva. The king even furnished Reubeni with a spacious home in Almeda.

The spirit of the Marranos of Portugal, on the eve of the introduction of the Inquisition, was buoyed up when they heard that a Jew had been treated with honor and esteem by the king. All their attention was centered on the man from the East, and everywhere the tenses expectation of immediate fedemption and salvation filled their hearts and minds. From Joseph HaCohen we learn of their attitude towards him:

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"And the Annusim (p'oijien) believed in him. And each said to his neighbor; "He is our deliverer, for God hath sent him; and they gathered about him and honored him much."

From Portugal the message of salvation spread to Spain.

When they heard that an ambassador from a Jewish kingdom had arrived at the Portuguese court, a great host of Spanish converts 16 fled to Portugal to be near the redeemer. Reubeni behaved very prudently and he took meticulous care not to give promiscuous promises nor encouragements to acknowledge Judaism openly. He realized only too well that he was in constant jeopardy and that

his life was in the balance if he were apprehended for returning 17 Marranos to Judaism.

Reubeni had frequent worries of a domestic nature. Graetz considers them as nonsensical and utterly disregards them. We believe, however, that they afford us an insight into the character and personality of the man and thus acquire historical as well as human value. Reubeni had purchased a Mohammedan maidservant whom he had proselytized. When his servant, Tobias, had illicit relations with her, he decided to dispose of her to her former master. The latter refused to return the purchase money. The king became interested in this affair and summoned Reubeni before him. He wished to know the cause and practice of the conversion - for Reubeni had converted the maid into a Jewess. He told the king that he had sent Solomon HaCohen and two serp vants with the maid to the river and Solomon dipped her completely 3 times. She had to cut her fingernails and a little hair from her head; also to swear not to commit evil so that she might become ritually clean in the event of a future marriage and subsequent freedom. Reubeni appeared to be very meticulous about observing the laws of Judaism. We have already seen his attitude towards the dietary laws (See page 24).

Thruout Portugal a terrible pestilence and famine raged and the great hosts of Mohammedans were forced to sell their children to the government inorder to sustain themselves. Some Mohammedans resorted even to killing their sons and daughters to escape the ravishing pangs of hunger. Reubeni's maid-servant was one of these refugees.

Reubeni was honored by the visit of an eminent Moslem lord, a magistrate of the king of Fez, who was paying his respects to the king of Portugal. He told the Jewish ambassador that he was commanded by his king to visit him also, and to deliver over to him letters from the Jews of Fez, from R. Abraham ben Zimoi of Asfi-Safi, and from a captain of Tangiers. In the course of the conversation, Reubeni informed the magistrate that he was a military lord, that the youth of his country were trained with the sword, lance, and bow; that they were all eager to wage war with the Moslems for the control of the Holy Land; that, in truth, the end of salvation has arrived; and that he, Reubeni, had come to seek artisans expert in making weapons and firearms, who would accompany him to his own country to teach his soldiers. He assured the magistrate that 'srael will deal kindly to all nations that treat them with due regard. He concluded by relating the incident of his lineage and of the tribes. He also requested the magistrate to inform his king to protect the "ews of his kingdom which act will mark the beginning of an everlasting peace between them.

Reubeni outlined his program which included first the capture of the Holy Land and its surroundings; secondly, the 23 gathering together of the dispersed of Israel to Jerusalem.

Again he disclaimed the office of the Messiahship. "God forbid, I am a sinner before the Lora, greater than any one of you, and I have slain many men; on one day I killed 40 enemies. I will am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, neither a wise

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man nor a Cabbalist- merely a captain of the host, the son of King Solomon, and my brother rules over 30 myriad in desert Chebor. I have specifically told the Marranos in Portugal and the Jews in Italy that from my youth till now I have been a man of war."

Confirmation of "eubeni's report of his country and people was given to the King of Portugal by an eminent Moslem lord from Formosa, India. He told the king that there were numerous Jews ruled by a king, Joseph, who was counselled by 70 Elders. Some Marranos related this to Reubeni.

Soon after, he received an Arabic letter from a king Sherif who ruled beyond the kingdom of Fez. It stated that there were Jews in his country; it also inquired as to the identity of "eubeni. The latter informed him in a letter about his origin and identity and dispatched it to that king Sherif through Abraham Zimroi who returned to his country in 1525. From Asfi-Safi he wrote to Reubeni that the Jews in all the Moslem kingdoms had heard about him and had sent messengers and letters to him in 26 Portugal.

Wherever he went, Reubeni was the "prince of peace," for he was frequently engaged in pacifying the Marranos in their 27 quarrels among themselves. He observed that they were wise, strong and artificers of firearms. It seems that "eubeni was mainly concerned with the prospect of assembling a great host of Jews to wage war with the Turks and to regain Palestine. Every Jew was to him potential strength against the Turkish obstacle.

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One day the king of Portugal held an elaborate feast in the open. From a large crowd that gathered to witness this gala occasion, Reubeni was singled out by the king and told to stand before him. A captain wastbrought before the king and queen and in the presence of "eubeni was asked if there were any Jews in India and Calicut to which the captain replied that there were many Jews in Singoli, 10 days journey from Calicut. Apparently, the king was troubled with festering doubts as to the veracity of Reubeni's story. His scepticism was manifest in his bold indifference to the Jewish ambassador. He told him that since he was busy with the betrothal of his sister, Reubeni should write down his requests. The latter scented the cause of this apathy and attributed it to the machinations of Miguel de Silva. Finally, he complied with the king's request, after subjecting himself to a rigorous fast for 3 days and nights.

More domestic troubles caused him no little worry. His servants conspired against him, slandering him to Miguel. The latter secured their release from Reubeni's employ without his knowledge. The Marranos, fearing that the servants would inform against them, pleaded with Reubeni to set them free; they even provided them with provisions and in Lisbon they accorded them 28 undue respect. As a result of their informing, four Marranos were seized in Reubeni's house and incarcerated. But Reubeni again exerted his uncanny influence and had them released through 29 the king.

All through his stay in Portugal, Reubeni was exposed to uncomfortable vacillations of scepticism on the part of the king.

Informers watched his every act and listened to his every word. They were ready to pounce upon him at his first false step. They again accused him of coming to Portugal to restore the "arranos to Judaism and insinuated that the Marranos even prayed with 30 him and that "eubeni had made for them a synagogue. Reubeni was indignant and informed the king that his purpose was only to exalt him and to help him - and what the informers have said was utterly false. The king appeared to be pacified and discussed his journey and the matter of firearms.

Next day the queen left to get married to the Emperor, and ther brother, the king, escorted her. In the procession was Reubeni on horseback and also a Christian named Aldeka from Asfi-Safi. The latter wished to serve Reubeni and he swore, by placing the Pentateuch on his neck and taking an oath, to be faithful. His efficiency caused the other servants to be jealous which availed them not. Reubeni was contemptuous to his other servants- he called them weak, and their sobe strength was in their tongues; and when they appeared with him before the king, they shrank from fear; they were timid, weakhearted, and possessed no social graces.

The king again summoned him, (4 times in 2 days,) in regard to the marranos and wished to know what he was doing with them. He accused him of circumcizing his secretary (refers to Diego Pires (Solomon molcho) who is discussed in Chapter V.)

Reubeni denied this charge. The king still insinuated that he was ruining his kingdom, for all the Christians were saying that he was restoring the marranos to Judaism; and they were all kissing

his hands and bowing to him. Reubeni replied that his house was open to every man, Christian or Marrano. The king seemed satisfied with his answer and promised to give him within the month of Nissan 8 ships with 4,000 large and small firearms.

The king at this time was engaged in persecuting the neo-Christians but during the negotiations, he refrained from interfering with the Marranos. Reubeni's appearance in Portugal seemed to have changed his feelings towards the Marranos and he 32 was persuaded to give up the intended persecution of them. To fulfill Reubeni's grandiose scheme of transporting weapons and artificers of firearms and ships from Portugal for the 'sraelite army in Arabia and Nubia, King Joao III would need the Marranos' support, money, advice. The cessation of the intended Inquisition only increased their awe and happiness and gave flame to the dying ember of hope that redemption was nigh and that Reubeni was the Messiah himself. For here was a Jew not only admitted into Portugal but even received at the court with great honor.

But Reubeni's hopes were cast in shadow when again he was exposed to the troubling vacillations of scepticism manifested by the king. He could not efface from his memory the incident of Diego Pires' circumcision and his suspicion of Reubeni was heightened by his counsellors. He therefore summoned Reubeni before him and revoked his promise of sending ships and weapons to him to the fast that year or next. He also gave him leave to return to his country: "Go to the Emperor (Charles V.) if you

will and tell him all gruifiyou wish, return to Rome or go to 33 Fez." Reubeni replied: "I don't wish to go to the Emperor or to Fez(Africa) but to Rome to the Pope."

The queen told him the king had changed his mind because of the reports that Reubeni had caused the circumcision of 34 the scribe, and had also encouraged the return of Marranos to Judaism. Reubeni stayed in Almeda 3 days longer and then left for Santarem where he received a report that the Christians had made an effigy of him and had mocked it; also, that this had aroused the Marranos who attacked the Christians and removed the effigy. Reubeni, however, effected the release of those Marranos imprisoned for their part in this occurrence, by pleading their cause before the king.

The king inquired about the significance of Reubeni's banners; the latter explained that they served as signs between him and the tribes and that he unfurled them when he marched 36 with his army. According to Mann, Reubeni's flags excited the mistrust of the king and queen as well as the Cardinal and, at 37 different times, they demanded what he intended to do with them. Mann also cites the example of udah Angelo of Safed who in 1545 spread the rumor of the reappearance of the 10 tribes, and who 38 mentioned the colors of the falags. He refers to a passage cited by Graetz that is found in Isaac Akrisch's Kol Mebasser:

Por Portion Portion Portion Portion Portion Reubeni to join his faith and he promised to reward him with a lordship. Reubeni replied: "Wouldst thou make me like the raven

would not be good in the eyes of the kings, my forefathers, for I am the son of a King of the seed of David, son of Jess, they would thrust me from my inheritance. I have come in God's service to 40 make me a name everlasting for my meritorious task."

Reubeni prepared to leave Santarem. The queen had already informed him that the king had sent letters to the Pope in regard to his intended journey. He was also given letters which were written by Miguel without his knowledge. One letter was addressed to the magistrate in Tavira; the other was a request for 300 ducats by order of the king. As we later learn, the request for the 300 ducats was not included, for Miguel had again perpetrated nefarious tactics.

Reubeni left Santarem and arrived at Conuchi where he lodged with a Marrano. His fame had spread even here and he was greatly honored. He displayed the banners before the magistrates who admired their beauty and fine workmanship. One was of gold thread and white silk and all round the banner was gold embroidery, and in the center of the second banner were tablets with two large lions grasping the tablets in their paws; the whole picture was in gold, with the ten commandments written on the two tablets; round the banner on the two sides were verses from Deuteronomy and Psalms.

(I The second banner was of green silk and all of its ornaments were of silver. He had five other banners of white silk.

He continued his journey, passing through Coimbra, Evera, and Beja, where a host of Marranos came to him fearful and weeping.

Reubeni assured them that hope of salvation was near. "Trust in the Lord, for ye shall have the joy of seeing the rebuilding of Jerusalem... I have not come before the king this time to take you away and bring you to Jerusalem, for we still have great wars to wage; but when our country shall be in our hands and I offer sacrifice, we will come to you to bring you to a settled land; but this time I have come only to inform you that salvation is 42 near."

He visited Almadover, Loule, Tavira, and wherever he traveled he always displayed the banners which impressed the people exceedingly. At Tavira he discovered that the letter insuring him of 300 ducats which the king had promised had not arrived, for Miguel had written contrary to the king's command. Reubeni wrote to the king in regard to the non-receipt of the letter and also sent him a horse as a gift.

Reubeni showed his severe nature and method of discipline by an incident concerning his household. His Ethiopian slave wanted to kill his artisan. Reubeni had his hands and legs bound with cords and then he struck him with a large stick. He ordered the Marranos to lash him 100 blows and then he bound him with iron chains and incarcerated him for ten days. When he was finally released he proved to be a model servant.

Restrictions against Marranos were rife. Once Solomon
Levi, his servant, was apprehended for wearing a garment of
black velvet in the market place. The magistrate imposed a fine

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of fifty ducats, but with the intervention of a great magistrate, Reubeni effected his release. Trouble brewed for Reubeni when a new magistrate, a friend of Miguel, replaced the old one. The first thing he did was to inform Reubeni that he had overstayed his visit of two months. Also he warned the Marranos not to go to the house of the Jewish Ambassador. Informers were detailed to watch the house. The Marranos suffered from the evil deeds of the magistrate who accused them of returning to Judaism. But 43 Reubeni took care that no harm came to them.

Soon a letter arrived from the king ordering Reubeni to leave Tavira immediately by ship for he was worried about the devastating influence Reubeni had exerted over the frenzied Marranos. Escorted by the magistrate and the weeping Marranos, he left Tavira for Padua where he was forced to lodge with a Christian and to keep away from the Marranos. He journed to Villa Nova and Laza where he found a ship sailing for Leghorn. The captain wrote out a bond that he would bring Reubeni safely to his destination for 200 ducats; otherwise he was to pay a fine of 10,000 lire to the The ship met a storm and was forced to land on the shore of Almeda. The magistrate immediately informed Reubeni that he was under arrest for he had violated the restriction that no Jew could enter the dominion of the Emperor without the latter's permission. When Reubeni produced the Bull and letter from the King, he was permitted to stay; the magistrate, however, wrote to the emperor for further orders. Again Reubeni displayed his banners which not only held a fascination for the people but also impressed

upon them the importance of the status and mission of the Jewish ambassador. Reubeni wrote to the Emperor in regard to his plight. The magistrate, at whose home Reubeni was a forced guest, was of Jewish descent - a fact not known to the Christians. After twelve days, he received a letter and a sealed Bull from the Emperor who was at Granada, and he was permitted to travel either by sea or land; furthermore, the letter ordered everybody to honor him and 44 to furnish him with money.

He continued his journey passing through Sorba, Purchena and finally arriving at Carthagena where he was again forcibly detained despite his presentation of the Emperor's letter and Bulls under from the Pope and King of Portugal. The magistrate was acting/the orders of the Inquisitor-General of Murcia, an officer of the Emperor. But a letter from the Emperor permitted him to remain unmolested.

With this, the diary which Reubeni presumably had written comes to an end. His other experiences we learn from reports of Solomon HaCohen, his companion, until the time which brought him in 1527 in a ship which was wrecked. Then Solomon HaCohen continues with an account of the expenses incurred by Reubeni.

Chapter V.

The Earlier Activities

of

David Reubeni and Solomon Molcho

Reubeni's presence in Portugal aroused great enthusiasm among the Marranos; this caused him no little annoyance and disconcertment. They acclaimed him as the Messiah despite his earnest protestations that he was merely a Jewish ambassa-The imagination of one, Diego Pires, was stirred by the dor. appearance of this strange Jewish prince. Anent this, Joseph HaCohen records that when Diego Pires saw Reubeni, "the Lord touched his heart and he returned to the Lord, the God of his ancestors. ** Diego was born in Portugal, in 1501 as a Crypto Jew or Marrano. He was endowed with all the graces of nature which lent him a pleasing and impressive personality. He was well educated and at an early age he spoke and wrote Latin. Like other Marranos, he studied, clandestinely, Hebrew subjects such as the Bible and Talmud and even the Cabbalah in which he became very proficient. His sundry accomplishments gained for him rapid advancement in official circles. As a young man, he was appointed secretary at one of the high courts of justice in Lisbon, and soon became a great favorite at court. But he was dissatisfied with the false life he was leading. craved to return to Judaism. For a long time he brooded over this which resulted in all sorts of wild dreams and awful visions; these had a Messianic background. The essence of the visions was that he should be circumcized.

When he learned of the presence of Reubeni, he hastened to him to ascertain whether his mission was in accord with these 4 visionary revelations. The account of his meeting with Reubeni is found in the diary: "The secretary had come to me before he was circumcized and asked me to circumcize him or to order my servant Solomon to do it...and I, angered, said, 'Stay in thy duties before the king until the Almighty opens the door. He knows the thoughts of man and that thou has good intentions, but beware of doing this thing at this time, for thou puttest me and all the Marranos in great danger.'" Reubeni appeared to have regarded him with coldness and to have told him plainly that his military embassy had nothing to do with Messianic mysticism.

בעבמע פנוצל פונה לכ אום בצבו ולשו " U, 6 N D 165 J65 N But Diego Pires attributed his coldness to the fact that he, Diego, was not a true Jew, that he had not accepted the sigh of the covenant. Therewith he circumcized himself and became a Jew in 1523, assuming the name of Solomon Molcho. He describes his painful operation in his own letter quoted by Graetz: "And God helped me and cured me although I had undergone intense pain, for the blood flowed like water in a well." When he arose from his bed he again hastened to Reubeni and said: "Speak with me, my lord, and do not hold thyself from me for I have fulfilled the commandment of circumcision and am one of This brought forth rebuke from Reubeni who the Israelites. cried out: "What have you done that you have jeopardized both of us, for if the king finds out he will say that I urged you and I really had no knowledge of it."

Solomon Molcho left him but was obsessed with more dreams and visions manifested to him by a "Maggid" who conversed with him concerning the Marranos and their redemption by the Messiah.

According to his own account, a strange being (?'()) who communed with him from heaven in a dream, ordered him to leave Portugal and to set out for Turkey, a safer place for men of Molko's cast of mind and then to go to Jerusalem. Reubeni also advised him to leave Portugal immediately as the act of circumcision might involve him in danger too and thus frustrate his 12 schemes. Vogelstein and Reiger and Graetz agree that Molcho 13 went to Turkey on Reubeni's provocation. It appears that it was not difficult for Marranos to cross over the boundary of Portugal.

In Turkey he caused a great sensation. At first he told them he was a delegate from Reubeni of whose welcome at the papal and Portuguese courts rumors were current even in the East and had inflamed the peoples' imagination. The Cabbalists in Salonika listened to his dreams and visions. He became friendly with Joseph ben Solomon Taitasak to whom he imparted his visions, and under whom he studied the Cabbala in 1529. Rabbi Taitasak was considered one of the greatest Talmudical authorities of his time. He was also a fervent adherent of the Cabala and he led an ascetic life. It is told that with the exception of Sabbath nights, for forty years he never slept on a bed, but on a box with his feet on the ground. It was natural for him, disposed to asceticism and mysticism, to become enthralled by the messianic vagaries of Molcho.

In Adrianople, he converted to Cabbala the sober minded Joseph Karo, who had left Spain when a boy and had engaged in Talmudical learning. Karo also had his dream prompter (maggid) who taught him mystical interpretations of Scriptural passages and revealed the future. It was well known even before 1522, that Joseph Karo moved to Salonika. His Cabbalistic visions he wrote down and they were collected in pinen aikw. Karo too hoped to be burnt at the stake as a "burnt sacrifice of a sweet savor unto the Lord", for Molcho inoculated his followers with a yearning for martyrdom. His captivating personality, his flowing emotion, romantic disposition, past career, and his astonishing knowledge of the Cabbala, raised up a host of ad-He often preached. Old men came to him with questions herents. concerning Scriptural verses or the revelation of the future. At the request of his friends in Salonika he published a brief abstract of his Cabbalistic sermon, 71010NO (320), 1n 1529, the substance of which was: The advent of Messiah was at hand; his reign will begin at the end of 1540. The sack and havoc of Rome (May 15, 1527) confirmed the Messianic hopes of Cabbalistic zealots. Rome was taken by storm by the German soldiers and it was treated as a hostile city by the Catholic Emperor Charles V. The destruction of Rome, according to Messianic and apocalyptic principles had been predicted as a sign of the advent of the Messiah. Now Rome lay in ruins. Turkey, Hungary, Palestine, hopes of the coming of the Messiah were stirring in Jewish hearts and were associated with the name of Solomon Molcho who was to realize their hopes.

In 1529, he reached Italy direct from Palestine. His purpose was to fulfill the Messianic mission with which he was inspired or credited. He was already well versed in Cabbalistic teachings. Since he had been occupied in Portugal with Cabbala, he must have learnt them more thoroughly in Turkey. He aimed to discuss the approaching redemption and the advent of the Messiah with the Princes of Rome. He arrived with his followers at Ancona towards the end of 1529 where he was persecuted by certain men who were afraid that, as a result of his mad strivings for martyrdom, evil consequences would ensue for the Jews all over the world, or at least for the Marranos in Italy, Portugal and Spain. These men slandered him before the bishop and accused him of dwelling in Mohammedan territories. The bishop of Ancona discharged him as one of the Portugal Marranos to whom freedom of religious belief had been granted by the Pope and the Cardinals, but strictly forbade him to preach against Christianity. Molcho's sermons, preached in the synagog, attracted great throngs, including nobles and high church dignitaries.

One day he became embroiled in an argument with a bishop in the marketplace but was saved from dire consequences by the Duke of Urbino, Francisco Maria della RuvereI, who took him to 24

Pesaro. He considered it to his advantage that Marranos should 25

settle in his small state. But obeying the dictates of a vision he abandoned his retinue at Pesaro and went on horseback to Rome, a five day journey. He lodged at an inn kept by a Christian, to whom he gave his horse and good raiment. According to J. Ha-Cohen, he told him he had a sweetheart whom he had loved fer

for many years but her parents had hid her to prevent him from seeing her. It would be impossible to speak to her unless he dressed himself like a stranger with the clothes of the poor 26 who beg at the doors. He donned a tattered suit, blackened his face, wrapped dirty rags about his feet and took his place among the hordes of beggars on the bridge over the Tiber, opposite the 27 Pope's palace. This equipment was in accordance with Messanic traditions - that the Messiah would tarry among the lepers and 28 beggars of Rome to be summoned thence to triumph. For 30 consecutive days he led this sort of existence, waiting for propetic ecstacy.

In this state of bodily tension and mental exaltation, he fell asleep and dreamt that a devastating flood would inundate Rome and a northern country, and his native land, Portugal would be visited by an earthquake; that after the flood, two great stars would be observed in sight of the people of Rome. One star would portend much weeping; the other star, that Israel 30 would be joyful. Moreover, when he would reach the age of thirty he would be elevated to a high position because of his voluntary will to devote himself to death; that he would return to Rome but would leave it again before the flood occurred. Then the Holy Spirit would rest on the Messianic King, and the dead would rise from the dust.

The next morning he laid aside his disguise and went forth to converse with a Jew (Feb. 1530). According to Vogelstein and Rieger, he asked a Jew, Menachem, for the Rabbi of the city. He announced himself to Rabbi Jehuda Sabbatai as the messenger of 32 Solomon Molcho who remained in Pesaro. Graetz adds that he reported

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Molcho's stay in Pesaro in order to avoid denunciation of his Despite this, he was recognized and denounced to apponents. the Inquisition as a seditious Marrano. It happened that he had previously informed the Pope and several Cardinals concerning the flood. Pope Clement VII, who was sad and humiliated and who had been compelled to crown his enemy, Charles V as Emperor, was ready to listen to dreams and visions, and he extended kind-Both the Pope and the Cardinals regarded him with ness to him. while the police were pursuing him, he escaped and favor. So, hastened to the Pope from whom he obtained a Pontificate passport that made him immune from harm. Furnished with this, he returned to Rome and preached in a synagog, after the removal of the Torah from the Al Memor. Every Saturday until Autumn he Unipreached without any opposition. Although he inspired his listeners yet he was unable to persuade his opponents to lend their sympathy for and support to his mission. He spoke with certainty concerning his visions and even announced to the King of Portugal through his ambassador, Bras Neto, the earthquake which threatened Lisbon, so that precautionary measures might be 36 taken.

Meanwhile, David Reubeni remained apparently incognito in his trips to various places in Italy - in Romagnia, Rome, Mantua, then Venice. Molcho now received information for the first time concerning Reubeni's arrival in Italy and he therewith betook himself to Venice. He met Reubeni who had been compelled to leave Portugal on account of the excessive enthusiasm which his

visit had aroused among the Marranos. After his unsuccessful attempt to win over the King of Portugal and Charles V to his schemes, Reubeni had set out for Venice to attempt to influence the president of the republic which had intimate relations with It was November 1530. Reubeni appeared in Venice in the East. costly satins and was escorted by five servants. He had decided to spend the winter months in Venice and in the Spring to go to Charles V, to inform him of matters advantageous to the latter. He lived outside the ghetto. He preached on redemption of the Jews which broughtforth traitorous hopes from these Jews and they venerated him idolatrously like a Messiah. The Signory was Constrained to restrict his activities. They decided to utilize the services of the famous John Battista Ramusio who was a writer of travels and who was an expert of Oriental languages. ing to Vogelstein and Rieger, the interesting feature about his visit to Reubeni was that the latter had already completely forgotten his alleged mission and the order of his brother, King Joseph, or rather had discerned his foolhardiness and his power He explained to the Venetian traveller that he of attraction. was inspired by God to return the Israelites to the Promised He had undertaken Land and to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. the trip to preach this to his coreligionists. He maintained ** that he was in intimate relation with angels and that he could He related to Ramusio that predict the future like a prophet. by his spiritual strength and magnetism he had succeeded in forcing Solomon Molcho into his services, and that Molcho was hurrying by his command with important orders to the Orient to Following Ramusio's report, the Republic hinted to the Sultan.

Reubeni to leave as soon as possible.

147

Molcho met Reubeni in Venice. They regarded each other coldly and with amazement, each expecting miracles from the 44 other. Each waited for the other to acknowledge his sublime mission. Molcho, in this second encounter with Reubeni, began to feel somewhat disillusioned. He had come to suspect that Reubeni's ignorance of Rabbinic scholarship, Talmudic and Cabbalistic learning, was only assumed in order to give credibility to the pretense of being an envoy from one of the lost ten tribes that still lived a life founded predominantly on the Bible.

Although Joseph HaCohen pictured him as being constantly
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with Reubeni, like a servant before his master, nevertheless
Graetz maintained that Molcho began to have a proper view of
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Reubeni's charlantry; also Vogelstein and Rieger suggested that
48
Molcho began to doubt Reubeni's mission. Molcho even recanted
his declaration that he was Reubeni's emissary. "Before the
God of heaven and earth, I proclaim the truth, that my circumcision and the abandonment of my country were not counselled
by flesh and blood (Reubeni) but took place at the express
49
command of God." It is possible, however, that Molcho realized
that he was beginning to be recognized because of his recent
achievements, especially the verity of his visions as seen by
the punctual occurence of the flood of the Tiber which he had
predicted at Rome. He wished, therefore, to play a more prominent role; hence his strange attitude towards Reubeni.

At Venice both Molcho and Reubeni were continually harassed by the more temperate and sensible Jews who realized that by the activities of these visionaries, only danger would be their fate and the fate of Judaism. But Molcho also received enthusiastic support and encouragement, especially from a famous Jew, Elijah Menachem Halfon, poet, Talmudist, and physician. In fact, he was one of the most fashionable medical practitioners in Venice. Now Halfon had a professional rival, even more distinguished than himself, Jacob Mantino, who used to attend most of the diplomatic corps in Venice. He was also well versed in Hebrew literature, philosophy; he translated many scientific works from Hebrew into Latin. He enjoyed a very high reputation and was even befriended by the highest dignitaries of the court of Pope Clement VII. In 1528, he settled in Venice where the special honor of exemption from wearing the Jew's hat was tendered him. The rivalry between these two physicians was intense, and was carried on in every sphere of their activity. Molcho tried to pacify them but he failed miserably since he was not the person who could influence Mantino, a calm and reflective spirit. Jacob Mantino became his He refused to be swept by the milleniary fever bitterest enemy. that affected his contemporaries. He considered the fantasies of Molcho and his relations with the Pope as a danger for the Jews in general, especially since he was a Marrano reconverted to Judaism. Mantino had to render justice, opposing the intrigues of Molcho. He was not guided by a diabolical hatred without cause, but by a sincere and serious motive. Moreover, the intimate friendship that was formed between Halfan and Molcho caused Mantino to turn away from his colleague whom he hated because of his intervention in favor of King Henry VIII. Mantino had no scruples

about silencing the dangerous dreamer, Molcho. It was more than likely that it was Mantino who prevented Molcho from publishing his Cabbalistic reveries which had to be sent to the Orient to be printed. He acted prudently because he wished to rescue his coreligionists from the danger to which the mystical Molcho exposed Hating Rome, for there arose in his mind the spectacle of them. the atrocities committed against the Marranos, and swept by his own success, Molcho might encounter little difficulty in recruiting partisans for his false Messianic doctrines and in disseminating also in Italy the movement which he had already provoked in the Orient. The terrible affliction which had reached Rome in the later years, the massacres and famine, the captivity of the Pope, the profanation of the Church, the humiliation of the Catholics, could be for the mystical spirits signs of the advent of the Messiah. Molcho predicted moreover, the destruction of Rome by a flood. All this intensified Mantino's fear of Molcho's sweeping mystical fantasies that might cause danger to the Jews in Italy and elsewhere.

Molcho, according to Kaufmann, made a mistake in attributing a sickness which he had caught in Venice to a temporary poisoning 56 and in accusing Mantino of committing the deed. Whether or not the accusation was justified, it is a fact that Molcho was suddenly 57 stricken by a serious illness. Joseph HaCohen quotes Molcho as 58 saying: "by the hand of Jews they gave me deadly poison."

Meanwhile the flood of Rome took place, October 8, 1530, and hundreds of the inhabitants, in the city and in its vicinity, were drowned. The phenomenal thing was the fact that with the exception

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of an old woman, the Jews escaped the consequences of the catas59
trophe. The flood extended also to the north, to Flanders, which
event Molcho had seen in his vision. In November of the same
60
year a brilliant comet appeared on the heaven by firmament; and in
Portugal the earth shook three times and an earthquake destroyed a
61
number of houses in Lisbon (Jan. 26, 1531).

After the flood of Rome and having recovered from his illness, Molcho returned to Rome where he was honored as a prophet, since his prophecy was verified. He had several conferences with the Pope and other high personages. He even was domiciled in the Papal This was the time when the ambassador from Portugal, Bras Neto, received a mandate from his sovereign to try secretly to procure a Bull from the Papal See introducing the In quisition The matter was brought before Cardinal Loragainst the Marranos. But he and the Pope, both influenced by Molcho, vigenzo Pucci. orously opposed the proposal. 'P ucci said to the Portuguese "The King of Portugal, like the King of Spain, is ambassador: more attracted by the Marranos! wealth than concerned about the orthodoxy of their creed; let him rather leave them free to live according to their own law and punish only those who, after voluntarily embracing Catholicism, relapse into the Jewish faith." Bras Neto feared Molcho's influence with the Pope and he therefore concealed his perpetrations, lest the Marranos in Portugal learn about his plans and send money to Molcho to bribe the Pope's retainers to work against the establishment of the Inquisition.

Chapter VI

Latter Activities of Reubeni and Molcho Until Their Death

At this time Molcho was persecuted by his fellow believers, especially by his enemy, Jacob Mantino, who left Venice for Rome to persecute him further. But Molcho found in Rome mighty protectors among whom was the Portuguese ambassador, Bras. Neto, who refused to listen to Mantino's complaints. The latter finally hryman nought the aid of the Inquisitor before whom he accused Molcho of preaching against Christianity. He procured witnesses from Portugal who testified that Molcho had lived as a Christian in Portugal and managed to have him cited before the congregation. When Molcho showed his passport from the Pope, the Inquisitor tore it from his hands and went to the Pope and told him how indecent it was that he should protect a scoffer at Christianity. Clement replied that Molcho was indispensable to him, that he had a "secret with him". He requested that they do not molest him

Mantim now sought more conclusive evidence against Molcho. He finally secured a letter of the first vision which Molcho had written from Monaster to Joseph Taiterak, which revealed his past life and his subsequent return to Judeiam. He immediately translated it into Latin and leid it before the tribunal. It contained derogatory statements against Rome and Christianity and both the Inquisitor and Pope Clament were forced to take action. Molcho was sentenced to be burnt to death. But the Rope mouldn't resist mathric him, year, more, he afforded him refuge in his pelace.

"Stay with me here, lest the men who seek thy life should lay 5 hold on thee." The Inquisition seized another man, a condemned criminal similarly dressed, who was burnt in his stead. The Inquisitor Judges, who informed the Pope of the act, were not a little surprised and terrified when they saw Molcho suddenly appear from the Papal Chambers. The tribunal was forced to demounce the burnt man as the blasphemer.

In the meantime as he had prophecied, Portugal was visited by an earthquake (Jan. 26, 1531) and the announced advent of the comets (Aug., Sept., 1531). Despite the Papal protection, Molcho was surrounded on all sides by foes. However, the Jewish community of Rome sided with him and verified his depictions in Rome. He went before the Pope who honorably discharged him. In the middle of the night, February or March, 1531, he left the city on horseback, escorted by the Pope's servants.

After his departure from Rome and the death of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci (Aug. 1531) a hostile feeling towards Marrenos sprang up. The adversaries of the Marranos had succeeded in gaining a majority in the Curie, and they enacted the Bull of the 8 Pope, Dec. 17, 1531, as an introduction to the Inquisition. The Inquisition was established in Portugal with Diogo de Silva at its head. Tribunals were set up at Lisbon, Evora, Coimbra. Clement later regretted that he had issued the Bull, realizing full well that the Inquisition had been instituted in Portugal only because Spain and his enemy the Emperor Charles V had desired it, since it would place Portugal in a dependent situation. Clement had to refuse the several appeals made to him on

behalf of the persecuted Marranos.

In northern Italy, Molcho met Reubeni and both conceived the audacious scheme of going to the Emperor Charles V at Ratisbon where the latter was to meet a Diet of the Empire. that, the fate of both was sealed. Where Reubeni tarried during Molcho's trip is unknown. Bearing a banner, inscribed with the Maccabean Motto: Machbi (initials of "Who is like unto Thee among the mighty, O Lord?"), they traveled from Bologna by way of Ferrara and Mantua to Ratisbon. According to some reports, Reubeni was supposed to have requested the Emperor to urge the Jews to wage war against the Turks; .. तह भूमध मार्थेता ... प्राय्ट एए०८ रगमरा भरा १५८१०। 2410262 and according to others, he was supposed to have conversed with Charles on religious matters. Graetz points out that the truth may well have been not to lead the Jews in common but the Marranos in Spain and Portugal. The plan was by no means so adventurous. This was a sensible modification of Reubeni's plan to demand from the Christian princes cannon and other Joseph Joselmann of Rosheim, the great advocate weapons. "shtadlan" of the German Jews during the reigh of Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, a man who was often called upon to defend his co-religionists from oppression, happened to have been at the Diet at Ratisbon where he had met Molcho. The latter had intended to speak to the Emperor, but did not speak to

Joselmann wrote to him not to have audience with the Emperor

but his warning was of no avail.

אונ און האברה אפרון אין בעל אונר אל העל העל היון אין האברה אונר אל העל היון אין האברה אונר אל היון אין האברה היי

In order not to be suspected of connivance with Molcho and Reubeni, the sensible Joselmann immediately left the city.

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At any rate, Charles V. considered them both dangerous for he feared they might arouse the Jews to revolt against Christiandom, and put them in chains. When he saw that the Turks had left and there was relief, he returned to Italy. His captives were led, fettered by chains, to Mantua where Charles had his second conference with the Pope (Dec., 1532). The banner was left at Molcho became a defenseless prey of the Inquisition. Ratisbon. Because of his apostasy to Christianity, a tribunal condemned him to death at the stake. They led him to the place of execution with a bridle in his jawbones, for his eloquence was so powerful and persuasive that the Emperor and tribunal feared its effect on the crowd. They had already gagged him with the vice when a royal messenger came and asked him to recant and return to Christianity; if so, he would be pardoned. Molcho replied that he had longed to die as a martyr, "a burnt sacrifice of a sweet savor to the Lord", that he had repented of only one thing that he had been a Christian in his youth. Molcho remained steadfast and suffered buring to death. Joseph Josselmann stated that he was burnt in Bologne where he was originally led away

והוליכו דך דיר דלונייםו שמש נשר ל קניש השק... נשמתו צרורה Another contention was that he died at Mantua.

To Joseph Horlaharher

Reubeni, however, was led away by the Emperor, through
Milan and Genoa to Spain where he was turned over to the Inquisition in Lerona and apparently ends his life on a stake in
23
Evora. Joseph HaCohen thought he died in a dungeon.

With Molcho's death, the faith in him was not yet disturbed. A man swore that Molcho, after his death by flames, had stayed 25 with him a week, and others believed in him. From a work of the Cabbalist, Joseph D'Aili, we see how much hope the Cabbalists had in him and that they linked up their Messianic hopes with 26 Luther's Reformation.

According to Kaufmann, the deaths of the Messiahs, Molcho and Reubeni, have always remained obscure. There is no certainty as to the place of Molcho's execution. Conjectures, as we have already pointed out, are either Mantua or Bologne. As for Reubeni. we have admitted hitherto that Charles V. carried him away to Spain in April 1533, and cast him in a dungeon of the In quisition where he was kept until his death. But, asks Kaufmann, how can we reconcile that date with the fact that Reubeni had operated to the end of 1535 in northern Italy and that prudent people had taken steps to halt his agitations? It was Abraham Joseph Salomon Graziano, Rabbi of Modena, who had preserved for us this information and had made known to us a personality who, in the struggle against Reubeni, must have played the same role as Jacob Mantino against Molcho.

It is possible that the mandate of arrest was pressed against Molcho only, for Reubeni, as ambassador of the ten tribes, was

surrounded with glory even by Christians, Pope Clement VII, and 30 Charles V. In truth, nothing justified his arrest. Molcho, however, who was formerly called Diogo Pires, a Christian, and a Marrano had meited death for having abjured Christianity.

After the laws of the Inquisition, he was bound to mount the pyre. The martyrdom of Molcho was an aftermath to the glory of Reubeni. The latter exploited the excitement of the Jews of 31 Italy.

Formerly, men like Daniel and Jechiel of Pisa had proclaimed his superiority, but, at present, all were at his feet. In fact, 32 the Rabbis of Italy conferred on him the title of Rabbi. They accorded him honor and unusual hospitality. The communities rivalled each other to contribute to his maintenance. Bologna 33 gave him 400 ducats. Azriel Dayiena saw with fear the evil that resulted from the instigations of Reubeni. He understood, as had Jacob Mantino five years before, the danger that menaced the Jews of Italy. But he vainly tried to bar the way for Reubeni. It required a public proceeding to unmask and punish him. The Rabbi of Bologna, Abraham b. Mose Cohen, supported Dayiena in his conflict against Reubeni. The former took away from Reubeni 35 the title of Rabbi.

It is strange that Joseph HaCohen, the son-in-law of the same Abraham of Bologne, who, in 1535 between the strife against Reubeni didn't know anything concerning these occurrences, was

at the point of speaking of the simultaneous arrest of Molcho 36 and Reubeni. In any case, if Reubeni was really killed in a Spanish prison, it would be necessary to admit that his arrest occured not in Ratisbon in 1532, but in Italy in 1536.

Chapter VII

An Evaluation

Historical science has shed its glowing light upon the shadowy figures of David Reubeni and Solomon Molcho. Yet there remain diverse interpretations and even contradictory evaluations of the accounts of these personalities. Certain historians have been suspicious of these accounts. Basnage, for example, regarded the very existence of Reubeni as a myth which had gradually grown up out of the Messianic aspirations of an imaginative and credulous group. Even the Jewish historian Jost devoted only a few lines to these two figures who so profoundly stirred up the Jewish masses of Italy, Spain, the Orient and even Poland. Jost himself must have doubted the authenticity of the sources.

Graetz's temperament in his evaluation of Reubeni was sceptical. Utilizing the voluminous diary as his basis - its Hebrew style and the apriori imp robability of the story - Graetz condemns Reubeni as an adventurer and imposter made in 3 Germany.

Neubauer in 1895 even affirms with "certainty" that the Hebrew style of Reubeni's diary is that of a German Jew who was a native of Egypt and who was familiar with the Arabic language (See page 3).

Vogelstein and Rieger in their <u>Geschichte der Juden in</u>
Rom. call him an Arabian imposter, largely on account of his

ignorance of Abyssinia which was manifested when he was confronted with an envoy from the real king of Abyssinia.

We, however, are inclined to be more sympathetic with the claims of Reubeni and Molcho. While Reubeni may have exaggerated the number of Jewish warriors in Chebor (See note 3 of Chapter I) there is authentic evidence that Jewish tribes did exist in Arabia as late as the sixteenth century. (See note 20, Chapter I).

We, too, are sceptical of the supposed veracity of many of Reubeni's statements and also of the vision of Molcho, but we are compelled to acknowledge the great influence these two personalities exerted over Europe and the Orient. Even Graetz admits that, owing to Reubeni's favor at Court and in the Vatican, there was comparative immunity from persecution of the Jews of Portugal and delay in the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition.

Farissol, a contemporary, verified the statements in the diary to the effect that Reubeni was honored by the Pope, his

cardinals, and the King of Portugal, in a manner befitting an ambassador of a Jewish Kingdom. As a matter of fact, Farissol reported that Reubeni furnished credentials from Portuguese officials in Africa establishing his position. We quote in part: "And the King of Portugal wrote to the Pope that the Jew (Reubeni) was bona fide; and he dwelt in Rome eight months until the arrival of the King's answer in regard to his credentials and mission".

Reubeni's influence could not have been entirely unwarranted or ungrounded. His claims to the ambassadorship of a Jewish tribe in Arabia might have been false but the existence of Jewish tribes appeared plausible to his listeners. Isn't this latter fact significant? The gracious reception tendered Reubeni by none other than Pope Clement VII and King Joao III of Portugal indicated that Reubeni's credentials were trustworthy. This is strengthened by the fact that the credibility of his statement was vouched for by letters of Venetian and Portuguese merchants whom Levantine trade had made familiar with conditions in the Orient. Doubtless, the Pope or his skilled diplomats did not neglect to verify the documents before they gave assistance and counsel to Reubeni.

Both Reubeni and Molcho might have been moved by the plight of their co-religionists to seek the aid of the western powers in their attempt to wrest Palestine from the Turkish yoke.

Reubeni, having traveled through the Orient, particularly through Chebor, decided that a great Jewish army recruited from the ranks of the East and West and reinforced by Christian power, could drive out the Turks and restore Palestine to the homeless Jews. Farissol emphasizes this purpose - that Reubeni wished to unite all the Jews to conquer and inhabit Palestine. (See Page 30 Note 27). Reubeni himself outlined his program - which was zionistic in nature - to capture the Holy Land and to gather together all of the \(\int_{\text{ICP}(1,1)} \) to Jerusalem. (See Page 45 Note 23).

It is significant to note that the original purpose of Reubeni - to demand from the Christian princes weapons and expert cannoneers to be sent to Chebor - was modified when he and Molcho appeared before Charles V. at Regensberg. Here he pleaded with the Emperor to liberate the persecuted Marranos in Spain and Portugal and to permit him to lead them to the East where they might join the other Jews against the Turks.

(See Page 69 Chapter 6).

This request is analogous to that of Theodore Herzl in the early Twentieth century who sought from the authorities in England permission to create a homeland in Palestine especially for the oppressed Jews in Russia and other European countries.

'Tis true that Reubeni and Molcho employed a fantastic technique but it seems that their position was somewhat exaggerated and discolored by the excessive ebullition of the persecuted Marranos who were obsessed with Messianic hopes. It was they who

disseminated the propaganda that Reubeni and Molcho were real

Messiahs and who were about to announce the advent of the millenium.

We can appreciate the viewpoints of the various historians who call Reubeni and Molcho visionaries and adventurers but, unlike them, we are more concerned with the ulterior purpose than with the technique. Both men must have based their efforts in the consciousness of a real and definite power - the Jewish army of Cheber. Their ultimate goal was a homeland in Palestine for the scattered Jews and Marranos. This dream was not merely fantastic and chimerical, not a mere gesture of impotent dispair, but a definite and serious attempt to revivify and transform the life of the Golus Jew.

Reubeni would not escape the searchlight of psychiatry.

He would be accused of megalomania because of his grand schemes.

A mere Jew, a member of a downtrodden race - buffeted and oppressed, ostracized and persecuted - suddenly ascends to startling heights and captivates the minds of the greatest Christian powers including the Pope, with his grand program of wresting Palestine from the Turks with a great Israelitish army recruited from the ranks of Europe and the Orient! He appeared not as a Messiah or prophet, but as a military genius! (See page 45). Undoubtedly he was a shrewd and perspicacious personality who, in order to gain his ends, resorted to fantastic means. In the Orient he disguised himself as a dervish; (See Page 10) in the European countries, as an ambassador of a Jewish tribe in Chebor (See Page 24). His forceful and attractive personality seemed

to have dominated Pope Clement VII and King Joao III of Portugal who accorded him great honor. To the Jews and Marranos he was regarded as the Messiah although Reubeni frowned at and discouraged this attitude.

The diary which is the basis of the accounts of his activities during the period of 1522-25 is somewhat exaggerated and untrustworthy, yet it can be considered of historical significance. There is much information, for instance, concerning the Jews in the Arabian gulf and the Marranos in Portugal. As for Reubeni, himself, the diary brings out in clear relief his personality. We see him as an ingenious character, the master of any situation, suave, enchanting, versatile. Even Farissol reported that Reubeni used to conduct himself before the pope and prominent Christians in a manner befitting an ambassador of a Jewish Kingdom.

When he mingled with the Jews he conducted himself in a manner befitting a respectable and religious Jew. In Rome he attended the synagog and delivered a blessing and earned the highest regard of his coreligionists. (See Pp. 27-28).

Both Reubeni and Molcho were unusual personalities. Their failure to achieve their goals was due to the fact that they overstepped their bounds. They knew not the meaning of proprietry; they resorted to exaggeration and sometimes falsehoods to convince the authorities and high personages of the efficacy and soundness of their plans. From a pragmatic viewpoint, the ends seem to have justified the means. Withal, after cleaning away the debris of their vices, we are inclined to appraise both

Reubeni and Molcho as sincere prophets of a great movement which finds its counterpart in modern Zionism.

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- 1. The diary is according to a manuscript in the Bodlein Library, which is incomplete. This Ms. came to the library among the Michael MSS. in 1848, being then numbered 560. This has been missing since 1867, and the text that we used is printed from a facsimile made by the Rev. J. Cohen, and which replaces the lost original. Mr. Cohen also made a copy of it in German cursive character. This was bought for the library of the Rabbinical School of Breslau and from it Dr. Edward Biberfeld published a part (to Selah). (Preface of Medieval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes; edited by Adolph Neubauer, Oxford, 1895.
- 2. Adler, Elkan: Jewish Quarterly Review; Vol. 15; page 418.
- Benjamin of Tudela gives its number for his time-end of 12th century according to a report, as only 50,000. (The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela; edited by Asher, A., London and Berlin, 1840; Vol. 1, page 72.)

Biberfeld also believes that 30 myriad is a gross exaggeration. *** He thinks that Reubeni in his diary was not very truthful.

Notes of Edward Biberfeld, page 13. Der Reisebericht des David

Lux, Reubeni. Berlin, 1892.

- 4. Abraham ben Mordecai Ferrusol was born in 1451. After 1468, he came to Italy and later went to Ferrara. He was a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was interested in geography. In 1524 he wrote pfix nince a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was interested in geography. In 1524 he wrote pfix nince a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was interested in geography. In 1524 he wrote pfix nince a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was interested in geography. In 1524 he wrote pfix nince a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was interested in geography. In 1524 he wrote pfix nince a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator. He was interested in geography. In 1524 he wrote pfix nince a scribe; a very sensible man who was accurate with his knowledge. A translator.
- - 6. An excerpt of the 14th chapter of Ferussol's pfor hings found in Abraham Cahana's A'fiche'n je'n 16000 hings Vol. 2; page 55. Warsaw, 1923.
 - 7. Excerpt of 24th chapter of Ferussol's plane, quoted by Neubauer in J. Q. R. Vol. 1; o.s. p.410.

- 8. Kaufmann, D.: Jewish Quarterly Review. V. 4, e.s. p. 503.
- 9. Kaufmann, D.: Jewish Quarterly Review. V.4, o.s. p. 504.
- 10. Priester John was supposed to be a medieval Christian monarch of Asia who combined the character of priest and king. The idea was universal in Europe from about the middle of the 12th to the end of the 13th centuries. The Asiatic story was forgotten but the name remained, and Priester John was now assigned a place in Ethiopia. It is possible that from early times the title referred to the Abyssinian king. A letter (1165) was circulated purporting to be addressed by Priester John to Emperor Emanuel. It dealt with the wonders of his kingdom and also his desire to wrest the Holy Land from the infidels. He was supposed to have 72 kings over 72 kingdoms as his tributaries. In 1221, rumor had it that a great Christian conqueror was sweeping away the power of the Moslems; some called him the grandson or son of Presbyter John. But, in truth, the conqueror was none other than the famous Jenghis Khan. It is highly probable that he was the king of Abyssinia, to whom Pope Alexander III sent a a letter from Vienaa in 1177. It must have been a real king who wished to be reconciled with the Catholic Church and to be assigned a church at Rome and an altar at Jerusalem. We learn from Marco Polo that about a century after the time of Pope Alexander's letter that a king of Abyssinia sent a mission to Jerusalem to make offerings at the Church of the Sepulche. It is also possible that the members of the "Christian family" who were in possession of the throne of northern Abyssinia wanted to strengthen themselves by a union with European Christendom. From the 14th century and onwards, Abyssinia was assigned as Presbyter John's dominion. When in 1481-95, King John II of Portugal was making inquiries regarding access to India his first move was to communicate with "Prester John of the Indies." (Encyclopedia Brittanica, Vol. 18. pp. 459-460.)
- 11. Neubauer, Adolf. 31 17 77; Vol. IV. p. 19. Berlin, 1888.
- 12. Kaufmann, D. J. Q. R. V. I. O.s. p. 506.
- 13. Ibid.
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- 15. Ibid.

- 16. Mann. Jacob. R. E. J. 74:150. 148.
- pp. 155, 178-9, 180, Blooff.)

- 17. Mann, Jacob. R. E. J. 74:150.
- 18. Ibid.
- 19. Ibid.
- 20. Graetz, H. tr. Rabbinowitz. o(c) ('N')>7 1:423-4. Warsaw, 1890-1900. Quoting Isaak Akrisch in Kol Mevasser.
- 21. Cahana, Abraham: N'fic > 6' 1 1c') [613 n 1) 20 2: 55. Warsaw, 1922.
- 22. Diary. 12/1679 317 7120. Medieval Jewish Chronicles; Ed. Neubauer, A. Vol. II. pp. 133, 178-9, 180, 216 ff.
- 23. Vogelstein & Rieger: Gesthichte der Juden in Rom. 2:41. Berlin, 1895.
- There is a reference of Chebar in Book of Kings II 17:6;18:11.

 The King of Assyria, Shalmanazer, took Samaria in the ninth year of Hoshea, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Cheber, and in the cities of Medes.

 According to Benjamin of Tudela, the Jews of Cheber were members of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and one-half of the tribe of Manasseh, who were led away captives by Shalmanesser, King of Assyria, and who repaired into these mountainous regions, where they erected, among others, the aforementioned city. They carried on war with many kingdoms and were not easily reached because of their location, which required a march of 18 days thru uninhabited deserts which makes them difficult of access. Cheber, then, is a large city, populated by 50,000 which includes many learned scholars. (Itinerary of KBenj. of Tudela; tr. and ed. by A. Asher, Vol. 1. p. 115. London, 1840-41.)
- Kusch or Ethiopia, in the narrow Biblical sense, included Egypt, covered portion of the Nile-territory and the strips of land situated between the Nile and the Red Sea, as Nubia with a portion of Senaar and Cordova and Abyssina. (Biberfeld, E. Der Reisebericht des David Reubeni Note 9. Berlin, 1892.
 - 25. Diary of Reubehi; ed. Neubauer. Medieval Jewish Chronicles. 2:133.
 - 26. A place such as this or any name of a similar sort cannot be located. Graetz seems to recognize Lamula in Nubia in the section of the fifth Nile Cataract. This is unjustifiable, since the other places here specified point to quite another direction. Zunz erroneously took

 [[CN] | AYO] to be the name of the place

 [[CN] | Reisebericht des D.R. Note 14]
 - 27. Diary of Reubeni; ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:134.
 - 28. Diary of Reubeni; ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:137.

- 29. Biberfeld.E. Reisebericht d. David Reubeni. (Einleitung, XII.)
- 30. Biberfeld.E. Reisebericht d. David Reubeni. Note 23.
- 32. Diary of D. R. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:143.
- 33. Graetz.H. (c) ('N' ') ? 3; ed. Rabbinowitz. 7:407. Warsaw. 1890 -1900.
- 34. Diary of David Reubeni; ed Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:144.
- 35. Benjamin of Tudela thinks it was on March 10, 1523. (tr.Asher, 2:273) whereas Biberfeld in Reisebertcht des D.R., XII, gives it as February, 1523.
- 36. Diary of Reubeni; ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:145.
- 57. Compare Benj. of Tudela's account. (Asher edition. 1:76-7.)
- 38. Diary of D. R. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:146.
- 39. Ibid.
- 40. Ibid.
- 42. Vogelstein & Rieger. Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. 2:42. Berlin, \$895
- 43. Ibid.
- 44. Diary of Reubeni. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:149.

Howcon Benjamin 4 the 12 th century of David Rentenin to 16 th 2?

- 1. Hayes: Political and Social History of Modern Europe: p.75.
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Ibid. p. 76.
- 4. Ibid.
- 5. Ibid. P. 76.
- 6. Ibid. p. 78.
- 7. Ibid.
- 8. New International Encyclopedia. Vol. IV. p.727.
- 9. Biberfeld.E. Der Reisebericht des David Reubeni; p.XI. Berlin, 1892.
- 10. Graetz.H. Geschichte der Juden: TXx 9:230. Leipsig, 1891.
- 11. Encyclopedia Brittanica, Vol.5. p. 794.
- 12. Cambridge Modern History; Vol. II. p. 24.
- 13. Ibid. p. 25.
- 14. Robinson, James H.: The Ordeal of Civilization; p. 301.
- 15. Cambridge Modern History; Vol. II. p. 25.
- 16. Ibid. p. 27.

150

- 1. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:149.
- 2. Ibid. p. 151.
- 3. Max Brod in his <u>Reubeni</u>, <u>Prince of the Jews</u>, makes Asher Lemmlein and David Reubeni one personality, but this association has no historical basis. (New York, 1928)
- 4. Graetz.H.: Geschichte der Juden; 9:215. Leipsig, 1891.
- 5. Biberfeld, E.: Der Reisebericht des D.R.; p.XII.
- 6. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:151.
- 7. Biberfeld, E. Der Reisebericht des David Reubeni. Note 77.
- 9/ Ibid. p.57.
- 11. Biberfeld, E. Der Reisebericht des D.R. Note 78.

 A Cardinal Julius is at not to be found at this time, after Julius Medici ascended as Pope Clement VII. Undoubtedly is meant Egidio of Viterbo which jibes with the report that he was a pupil of Joseph Ashkenazi. This same one was made Cardinal by Leo X and exerted great influence.
- 12. Vogelstein & Rieger: Geschichte der Juden in Romm 2:42.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:151.

 Also, Biberfeld, Der Reisebericht des D.R., Note 81 states that this benediction is made because of his rescue from the dangers of his journey through the desert. The prayer was pronounced at the calling of the affected one to the Torah and was accompanied by the blessing of the congregation. See also Graetz: ed. abbinowitz
- 15. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:151.
- 16. Ibid. p. 152.
- 17. Biberfeld, E. Der Reisebericht des D.R. . p. XIII.
- 18. Ibid.
- 19. Ibid.

- 21. Diary.ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:152.
- 23. Vogelstein & Rieger: Geschichte der Juden in Rom. 2:43.
- 24. Ibid. p. 43.
- 26. Ibid.
- 27. Ibid.
- 28. Ibid. p. 65.
- 29. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:152. Also in Vogelstein & Rieger's Geschichte der Juden in Rom; 2:43.
- 30. Biberfeld, E. Der Reisebericht des D.R., Note 89. There was a large influx of Moroccan Jews in Rome about this time which did not benefit the already settled Jews.
- 31. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:154.
- 32. Ibid. p. 155.
- 33. Ibid. p. 156.
- 34. Biberfeld, E. Der Reisebericht des D.R. p. XIV.
- 35. Vogelstein & Rieger: Geschichte der Juden in Rom. 2:44.
- 36. Biberfeld, E. Der Reisebericht des D.R. p.XIV.
- 37. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:156.
- 38. Kaufmann, D. Revue Des Etudes Juives. 26:89. Paris, 1893.
- 39. Jewish Encyclopedia. 10:62.
- 40. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:157.
- 41. Ibid.
- 42. Ibid. p. 158.
- 43. Ibid. p. 157.

- 44. Ibid.
- 45. Ibid. p. 159.
- 46. Vogelstein & Rieger: Geschichte der Juden in Rom. 2:44.
- 47. Ibid. p.45.
- 48. Ibid. Quoted on p. 45.
- 49. Ibid. p. 45.
- 50. Ibid.
- 51. Ibid.
- 52/ Ibid.
- 53. Liary. ed. Neubauer, Med. ewish Chronicles. 2:160.
- 54. Ibid.
- 55. Ibid. At this time Charles V. and Francis I. were engaged in battle. See Chapter II.
- 56. Ibid. The reference in the Diary shows that "eubeni was known even to the French who honored him.
- 57. Graetz.H. [רכיל יון 'וצי אור Rabbinowitz. 7:168.
- 58. Kaufmann.D. Revue des Etudes Juives. 26:90.
- 59. Diary. ed. Heubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:163.
- 60. Ibid.
- 61. Kaufmann.D. Revue des Etudes Juives. 26:90.
- 63. Kaufmann.D. Revue des Etudes Juives, 26:90.
- 64. Diary. ed. Meubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:164.
 Also Vogelstein & Rieger: Geschichte der Juden in Rom. 2:122.
- 65. Diary. ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:167.

Chapter IV. Notes

- 1. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. 2:46
- 3. Diary: ed. Neubauer. Med. Jewish Chronicles. 2:169
- 4. HaCohen, Joseph: אַרְ פּל פּל M. Letteris, P.114, Cracow, 1895. אוֹן בּיֹחִים 1895. אוֹן 1995. אוֹן 1995. אוֹן 1895. אוֹן 1995. אוֹן 1995.
- 6. Diary P. 170
- 7. Ibid
- 8. Ibid
- 9. Ibid
- 10. Ibid P. 171
- ll. Ibid
- 12. Ibid P. 172
- 13. Ibid
- 14. Ibid P. 174
- 15. HaCohen, J. <u>A) ? a ed. M. Letteris, P. 114.</u>
- 17. Ibid
- 18. Ibid P. 411 (note 3)
- 19. Diary P. 178
- 20. Ibid
- 21. Ibid
- 22. Ibid
- 23. Ibid
- 24. Ibid
- 25. Ibid P. 180
- 26. Ibid P. 181. It is interesting to note here that his fame was supposed to have been established in the East, yet King Sherif did not know about him.

How ohould be know in Marthi

27. Ibid

Chapter IV. Notes

- 28. Ibid P. 185
- 29. Ibid P. 187. This manifests Reubeni's wide influence in Portugal.
- 30. Ibid P. 188
- 31. Ibid P. 190
- 32. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: (10) 81 171 7:170
- 33. Diary P. 191
- 34. Ibid P. 193
- 35. Ibid P. 194
- 36. Ibid Pp. 194-195
- 37. Mann, Jacob: Lost Ten Tribes Revue Des Etudes Juives 74:149
- 38. Ibid
- 39. Graetz: Geschichte der Juden 93:563
- 40. Diary P. 195
- 41. I bid P. 197
- 42. Ibid P. 199
- 43. Ibid P. 204
- 44. Ibid P. 214

- 1. Joseph HaCohen: pinia 123; p.90 Amsterdam, 1733
- 2. Solomon Schechter: Studies in Judaism 2:222
- 3. Quoted a letter of Molcho, in Graetz's Geschichte der Juden; 9:542; Note 5; Leipsig, 1891
- 4. Ibid
- 5. Diary. ed. Neubauer, Med. Jewish Chronicles 2:190
- 6. Quoted in Graetz's frequint 127; tr. Rabbinowitz; Vol.7, p.173.
- 7. Ibid
- 8. Ibid. p. 413; quoted from Molcho's letter.
- 9. Ibid
- 10. Ibid
- ll. Ibid. P.173
- 12. Diary. p.190
- 13. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. vol. 2;
 P.53. Graetz: 1.72 (2017); tr.
 Rabbinowitz: V.7, P.173.
- 14. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. 2:53.
- 15. Jewish Encyclopedia; Jacob Mantino 5
- 16. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: 5/c201 101 327; 7:174
- 17. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: Scale in 122; 7:414. Note 5.
- 18. Ibid. P.174
- 19. Ibid
- 20. Ibid. P.178
- 21. Joseph HaCohen: p'N' n') 27; P.91. Amsterdam, 1733.

 Also Graetz tr. Rabbinowitz; See Note on P.178 (V.7.)
- 22. HaCohen, J. pin'a '22? P.91. Amsterdam, 1733.
- 23. Ibid
- 24. Ibid

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26. HaCohen, J. pin's '37 P.91. Amsterdam, 1733
27. Ibid
28. Graetz: Geschichte der Juden; 9:242
29. HaCohen, J. pinin 123 P.92. Amsterdam, 1733
30. Ibid. P.92-3
31. Graetz die (1 1 1 1 ) 27; V.7:179-80; tr. Rullinowitz.
32. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. 2:54
34. HaCohen, J.: p'N' 9'23; P.91. Amsterdam, 1733
35. Ibid
36. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: Scall 180
37. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. 2:54
38. Ibid
39. Ibid
40. Ibid
41. Ibid
42. Ibid
43. Ibid
44. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: (12) 11/327; 7:181
45. HaCohen, J. P'N' 7 '23 P.93
Also Emek Habacha P.116. ed. Letteris
46. HaCohen, J. pinia '227 P.93.
47. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: 5,c26' 'N' '27: 7:414
48. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. 2:54
49. Quoted in Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: (c) (1) 127; 7:181
50. Jewish Encyclopedia. V. 8. P. 297-98
51. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: (c) (') ') 17; 7:181
52. HaCohen, J.: p'n'n '123; P.93
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- 53. Kaufmann: Revue Des Etudes Juives: <u>Jacob Mantino</u>. 27:57
 54. Ibid
- 55. Ibid. P.58
- 56. Ibid. P.59
- 58. HaCohen, Joseph: p | p | p | 27 ; P.93
- 59. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: 5.00 101 123; 7:182
- 60. Ibid
- 61. Ibid
- 62. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom. 2:54
- 63. Graetz: tr. Rabbinowitz: 5(c) (' 'N' ')??; 7:182
- 64. Ibid. P.183

- 1. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom.: V.2. P.54
- 2. HaCohen, Joseph: plnin 123; P.94. Amsterdam, 1733
- 3. Kaufmann, D.: Jacob Mantino; Revue Des Etudes Juive: 27:59
- 4. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom.: V.2. P.54
- 5. HaCohen, J. pinia '227; P.94. Amsterdam, 1733
- 6. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom.: 2:54
- 7. HaCohen, J. piria 1229; P.94. Amsterdam, 1733
- 8. Graetz. H.: ed. Rabbinowitz; [10761 'N1 '527; 7:184
- 9. Ibid. P.185
- 10. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom.: 2:54
- 11. Graetz: ed. Rabbinowitz: \(\int_{\(\cert{c}\)}\ell' \(\frac{1}{2}\); 7:186
- 12. Joselman, J.: ed. J. Kracauer: Revue des Etudes Juive: Journal de Joselmann: 16:91, Note 17.
- 13. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom: 2:54
- 14. Graetz: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom.: 9:547 (Note 5)
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- 17. Ibid
- 18. HaCohen, J. <u>Pluin 122</u>; P.95. Amsterdam, 1733
- 19. HaCohen, J.: ed. Letteris. 10.23 pry: P.116
- 20. Ibid
- 21. Joselman, J.: ed.Kracauer; <u>Journal de Joselmann</u>: Revue des <u>Etudes Juive</u>; 16:91 (Note 17)
- 22. Vogelstein and Rieger: Geschichte d. Juden in Rom.: 2:54
- 23. Ibid

24. HaCohen, J. <u>คุ่ม วาว</u>; P.96

- 25. HaCohen, J. אור פסכם; ed. Letteris; P.117
- 26. Graetz: ed. Rabbinowitz. ficae' 'N/ '227; 7:417
- 27. Kaufmann, D. Revue des Etudes Juive: 30:304. Azriel B. Salomon Dayiena et La Seconde Intervention De David Reubeni En Italie
- 28. Ibid
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- 30. Kaufmann, D. Revue des Etudes Juive: 30:305. Opus cit.
- 31. Ibid
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 - 36. HaCohen, J. אָרָ פּסביסן; ed. Letteris. 116-17
 - 37. Kaufmann. D. Revue Des Etudes Juive: 30:306. Opus cit.

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- 2. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden 9:531 (Note 5)
- 3. Adler, J.Q.R. 15:420
- 4. Ibid
- 6. Graetz Sierl' 'N' '22; ed. Rabbinowitz 7:412