

SHEVET YEHUDA TEXT AND CONTEXT

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The contents and text of the Shevet Yehuda make it a compelling book to study. Major studies were undertaken in the last century by Isidore Loeb¹ and by Heinrich Graetz.² A further and deeper study was published by Fritz Baer.³ They sought information about the sources of the historical material presented in the Shevet Yehuda. A compact survey of their work and further elaboration has been published in recent years by Martin A. Cohen.⁴

CHAPTER II

THE CONTENTS OF THE SHEVET YEHUDA

The contents of the book fall into two major divisions. The book contains many apologetic materials; others are historical, dealing with the life and times of ibn Verga.

Some of the apologetics fall into traditional patterns. They concentrate upon such subjects as the relationship of the Jewish people to God. For example, number forty-nine shows that the Jews are preserved by God. Verga uses biblical verses to develop this idea, expanding their meaning midrashically. The Jews would have lost the true faith altogether, had they not been promised: "My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed...from henceforth and forever."¹ He concludes that what is most important is remaining Jewish.²

Continuing this theme, the same section mourns the vast number of persecutions which mark the history of the Jews. Quoting the verse "And ye shall perish among the

nations..."³ Verga writes "There does not remain of the seed of Israel one of one thousand of the Jews who left Jerusalem and the cities of Israel and came to Sefarad⁴ and those that went to Sarfat⁵ and Ashkenaz,⁶ since vast numbers died as martyrs..."⁷

Conscious of the suffering of his people, Verga asked in number sixty-three why the Jews are so ill-fated. The verse "You only have I known..."⁸ is Verga's primary answer; he suggests tangible reasons as well. Six potent social forces are apparent in his contemporary society.

Verga first lists the sins of the fathers. This theological reason is related to the lack of merit of the Jewish people, listed next as an explanation for the lengthy exile of the Jewish people. The Christian notion of all Jews as deicides is so acutely real to Verga that he pinpoints it as the next cause of the suffering of the Jews.

Verga also sees the Jews as accustomed to high living, and their false pride arousing the wrathful mob. This is part of the social disintegration Verga views as leading to the undesirable assimilation of the Jews into Spanish society.⁹

Conversionist pressure upon the Jews must have been immense. In the "Debate between King Don Alfonso of Portugal and Don Joseph ibn Yahiya,"¹⁰ the major question is

why the Jews remain Jewish. The king says they should accept Jesus as the messiah, or at least as a prophet. Don Joseph refuses, since Elijah and Elisha both revived the dead, as Jesus is said to have done, and Moses was not accepted as a prophet until he split the sea.¹¹

The king also attacks the Jewish belief in the Torah. Verga creates a polemic against the validity of the New Testament. Establishing the axiom that God would not have burdened generations with an imperfect law, it must be argued that either the old or the new is more complete. Since this cannot be proven, based on its primacy in time the former is more valuable, and the latter devoid of worth.¹²

A later discussion of chosenness appears listing the select according to the Christians of Verga's age.¹³ They fall into the categories of nations--like France, for faithfulness and love, Venice, for direction and advice, Germany, for beauty and courage¹⁴--and of men like Joshua, David and Jacob. There are also more conceptual classes such as the Jews being chosen for wisdom and stiffneckedness, and the messiah for mercy. The Christian identity of this listing is revealed in the women's section, for there are listed Abigail, Esther, Hannah and finally, "Mary our mother for modesty."¹⁵

Verga accepts the Jews' label as stiffnecked as a compliment. He gives two reasons: first because they stick to one another, and second, "...since they were stiffnecked in accepting religion, He caused them to be stiffnecked in giving it up."¹⁶

Other sections are more openly theological. They deal with God's watchfulness over the world, exemplified by the suitability of form to life style among the animals. He notes facts of nature: aquatic birds have conjoined feet for swimming, land birds have long legs to cross the mud, while others have long tails to fly. These are evidence of divine activity in nature, which Verga uses to reflect certainty that despite their sins the Jews are watched closely because they are so very reduced.¹⁷

Other sections also deal with the question of the low estate of the Jews. The discussion in number seven centers around the exile as punishment. Why are the Jews in exile at all if they are the children of God? The king finds that the Jews did not fail for natural causes, since they had the necessities for survival. They had, he says, the wisdom and the understanding to wage war. They had the courage and the power. They had the wealth to prepare food for the camps. And finally they had sufficient manpower.¹⁸

He concludes that the Jews are attacked because of prejudice, and people attack them from their hearts. Despite all this the Jews survive, and Thomas the Wise explains, "...their savior is strong, and not because of his love for them at earlier times, but because it is the nature of the watchful God to be more watchful of the lowly."¹⁹

Many sections deal with accusations of ritual murder against the Jews. The account in number seven is apparently fictional. A group of Christians come to the king alleging that a corpse has been found in the house of a Jew, apparently killed for the purpose of drawing out the blood. The King, disbelieving the accusation, instructs his advisor, Thomas the Wise to answer. Thomas tells the accusers that the king is aware they are motivated by the loss of their property to the Jewish money-lenders. In view of this he ordered the Jews to return such foreclosed estates. He also forbade them from wearing silk clothes or clothes like the majority of the people. After these announcements, the Christians admit to having placed the corpse in the Jew's house. The king is happy that he had sensed the root of the false accusations.²⁰

In number seventeen a similar plot is unfolded. This occurred in France, when two men came to the king claiming

that a Jew had captured a Christian, implying that the Jew would kill as this was the eve of Passover. The king explored the report, finding it libelous. These two then provoked mass riots, and finally a witness--indebted to the Jews--was brought forward. The Jew confessed under torture, but this was invalid according to the law as found in the record books of the kingdom.²¹

Verga also records a blood accusation at Passover during the reign of Alfonso the Elder. This one was investigated by judges and also found to be untrue. The Jew claimed innocence when brought before the King, and the section becomes wryly humorous as it proceeds. The accusers are asked why they failed to assist the victim. They answer that they feared lest they be punished for breaking the door, although the door was already broken. The Jew was a weak old man, and the king simply refused to believe that he could have killed a man.

The next day, the Christians came back with witnesses. The victim, they said, was Pedro de Guzman, whose wife Beatrice served the bishop. She testified that her husband went to the Jew's house. Some youths claimed to have heard the struggle, but no body was found, nor any trace of blood. Nevertheless, the Jew was sentenced to death by torture and

fire. Just at this time, the bishop appeared. He had just seen Guzman--the supposed victim--in a neighboring town. Further, the Jew had been forced to testify by torture. His innocence was established and the accusers punished.²²

Another case from Spain purported that a youth was found murdered in the house of a Jew, his heart extracted. The accusation was investigated by Don Samuel ha-Levi²³ who revealed the origin of the plot.²⁴

Forced conversion is a theme extending throughout the book, appearing even in pre-Christian contexts. Before the conquest of Persia by the Moslems, in the year 4004,²⁵ Verga tells that three Jews were taken prisoner, including the exilarch. They were urged to convert preceding the rest of the Jews. When they died in prison as martyrs the rest of the Jewish leadership were incarcerated. Ultimately, most of the Jews did convert. Verga, however, gives hope, for he tells that when the Moslems conquered the area, the Jews were given freedom of religion.²⁶

Another account is from the year 4872.²⁷ The Jews were forced to convert or face death and confiscation of their property. They requested intercession from the king, but were told that the king's religion would yield their desire. They maintain their salvation is Judaism.

Furthermore, the human king is ruler of the body and possessions only. Since the king refused to give up his subjects, the Jews surrendered their earthly goods. A short while later the king died, and the new king permitted the anusim²⁸ to return to Judaism. Many feared some evil motive upon the part of the new monarch and remained outside the faith.²⁹

The Jews of Byzantium were ordered to convert or die.³⁰ When all refused to convert, they were ordered to a field where they were kept for three days without food or water. Since they maintained their refusal, the order was retracted, but new limitations were placed upon the Jews: They had to dwell outside of Constantinople and were permitted to deal only in leather.³¹

A citizens' uprising in Rome provided the backdrop for a demand that the Jews accept Christianity. On the third day, the frightened Jews offered a bribe, but to no avail. Some 15,000 of the Jews were lost, and others fled to Naples.³²

Severe as these incidents were, others assumed the proportions of a minor holocaust. One such pogrom occurred in Granada, in the time of R. Joseph ha-Levi.³³ He was falsely accused; in the resulting riots, the whole Jewish

community--more than one thousand five hundred households--was eradicated on the ninth of Tevet.³⁴

Several of the recorded accounts come from the Franco-German region. One is listed as occurring in a city of this region called Ashkenaz where the Jews were given three days to convert or die.³⁵ The Jews sat and fasted, dressed in sack cloth and covered with ashes. They decided to die on the third day. The young men went to the appointed place as if to convert, then drawing the daggers concealed under their clothes slew all the Christians. Meanwhile, the women set fires in the four corners of the city, so that Jew and gentile alike died in the resulting conflagration.³⁶

Another account from Ashkenaz differs in certain details. Again the order was conversion or death in three days. The decision was made against conversion, and the congregation joined together in prayer for two days. On the third day they gathered in the synagogue and killed one another. On the morning of the fourth day, the whole Jewish community was found dead in the synagogue. The king ordered that they be thrown to the dogs and not buried. According to a legend, a mountain arose and covered them.³⁷

During the month of Tammuz, 5081, the Jews and lepers were accused of plotting death for all the citizens of the

realm. They had been heard talking, and it was commonly believed that they had placed a chemical in the river. The king locked up all the Jews and held them for nine months, although the charge was proved false. The king desired their conversion, and fifteen thousand died as a result of their refusal to accept Christianity.³⁹

Another example from Spain during the years before the Moslem conquest has King Sisebut requesting the Jews to accept Baptism instead of milah. The Jews refused because brit milah is the root of all commandments. They were given thirty days to accept conversion or die. They offered a bribe, which was refused. At this point, Robert the Wise, advisor to the King, intervened on their behalf, stating that Moses did not force conversion, and furthermore, everyone accepts the seven commandments of Adam.⁴⁰ This gambit failed, and the chief Jews of the realm were imprisoned. Most of the Jews in Spain converted, but after the death of this king, many fled to other places where they were able to return to Judaism.⁴¹

Relations between Christians and Jews also receive attention. During the reign of Manuel the son of Alfonso,⁴² a priest was preaching a conversionist sermon. Because of the presence of the king, the priest said, we must treat

the Jews well because they are the key to Christian retention of power.⁴³

In the "Story of King Don Pedro the Elder and the Wise Man Nicholas of Valencia"⁴⁴ the king alleges that the Jewish religion dishonors Christians. He asks which religion is better in absolute terms. Nicholas tells the story of two sons, each given an identical precious stone by their father before he set out on a long journey. They want to know which of the two stones is better, but only their absent father can tell. Since the religions, like the stones, are equal, the king suggests forcing conversion. Nicholas answers that people revert and the Jews are very obstinate.

Verga also tells of events during the papacy of Mark of Florence.⁴⁵ A friar asks the pope to solve a riddle: If a people is different from God and hates Him, is it proper that they should be sheltered by a rational and holy man? The pope, not wishing to expel the Jews from the papal states, explains that many attempts have been made to finish off the Jews, but none have succeeded. Furthermore, the Talmud, in his view does not disdain Christians.⁴⁶

The permission for Jews to dwell undisturbed in the papal states was important. In Verga's time, the Spanish

New Christian seeking refuge needed a place to go. In the "Letter of Meshullam"⁴⁷ much is explained. First the Jews are permitted to dwell in the papal states, and the pope opposes their expulsion. He knows that excuses are needed for their expulsion, and often the excuse is a blood libel. Nevertheless, the pope refuses to expel the Jews.

Verga lived in a complex society. He brings reports about that world in a number of places throughout the book. In one, he writes of the conversionist sermons of a priest who says that the Jews require the blood of Christians for Pesah. The people believe the preacher, although the king does not. The result is an accusation of murder against the innocent Jews.⁴⁸

Other preachers ask what should be done with the Jews, as they are evil. According to Verga's account, this occurred in Portugal between 1495 and 1521. But the king arose to leave, so the preacher altered his course and continued, that the Christians rule because of the sins of the Jews. Thus, he concluded, treat the Jews well, because their sinfulness is the key to hegemony.⁴⁹

There were also Moslems in the world of Shevet Yehuda. In once case, there was a blood libel against the Jews and a confession had been extracted under torture. A moslem

diplomat appeared, saying that his country was free of such foolishness. He was certain that a Jew would not kill for religious reasons. It simply is not rational to think that a Jew would kill a Christian to redeem the sin of killing Jesus.⁵⁰

In another case, a pogrom occurred as a result of an incident which occurred as the royal physician, Isaac Hamon,⁵¹ passed through the Moslem quarter on his way to the palace. He rode on horseback, and some argument resulted. The physician was obeyed, but the Moslem mob was angered, and soon arose and slew the greater part of the Jews. Following this incident, the royal physician ceased riding a horse or wearing silk as he went through town as a sign of mourning for the slaughter.⁵²

Other materials are contemporary with ibn Verga's life. Some of these are the product of Solomon's pen. First he records the gradual destruction of the Jewish community of Spain. In the year 5150⁵³ general decrees in Spain left many converted and many killed. The sites listed are Aragon, Majorca, Barcelona, and Lerida. He tells about the converts, calling those who converted in order to save their lives anusim.⁵⁴ He tells of their wandering from place to place seeking security to practice the Torah,

but many were imprisoned and could save themselves only by paying a large ransom.⁵⁵

The year 5151 brought many converts and many martyrs in Toro, Logrono or Madrid, Carrion and Burgos. After this, most communities in Spain were in trouble.⁵⁶

But two years later, in 5153,⁵⁷ the congregations of Barcelona, Gerona and Catalonia were wiped out for no known reason.⁵⁸

There were further attempts at forced conversion some twenty years later, in 5172.⁵⁹ Verga records them as led by the pope and the queen of Spain. Sixteen thousand are said to have converted, while martyrs died at the stake or under torture.⁶⁰

The activities of Vincent Ferrer are also recorded, in the words of Abravanel in his commentary to the Chapters of Rebuke.⁶¹ This led to the expulsion from Castile and Portugal, and the plundering of refugees on land and sea.⁶²

In Toledo, during the life of Don Samuel ibn the pious, who gave to the academies of Egypt and Jerusalem each year, the city was saved by Don Samuel the prince, a relative of Verga's. The account was recorded in the Shevet Evrato.⁶³

Verga also records some information about those who fled to Portugal after the expulsion of 1492. He tells of

R. Judah ibn Verga of Seville,⁶⁴ who was regarded as a leader of the forced converts who were judaizing. He would never reveal the identity of those who were, and finally fled to Portugal where, captured by the Inquisition, he died under torture still refusing to reveal any information about the judaizers.⁶⁵

Solomon ibn Verga was probably a witness to the Lisbon decrees.⁶⁶ He describes as the worst the taking of the children and their shipment to the Islas Perdidas. One woman had six children taken away from her. The reasons given for the very harsh treatment are that the refugees had paid for the privilege of remaining in Portugal, but many did not fulfill promises which they had made to the king. Verga recounts one sad end of many of the children who died of exposure and disease, and the problems caused by the many incestuous marriages which resulted.⁶⁷

Also recorded is an order of death in Lisbon. This is an eyewitness account, and occurred on Passover eve, when some anusim were discovered during their seder. They were taken to the king and incarcerated. It was a time of famine and the Predicant friars preached against the Jews. A candle was passed behind a glass statue of Jesus, and this was perceived as a miracle. Among the congregation was a

converso, who said that water was needed as a miracle. He was killed by the mob. Some three thousand Jews died before the rioting stopped, and the predicant friars were burned at the stake. After this, Lisbon was known as the murderous city.⁶⁸

The refugees who fled by sea also faced obstacles. One ship of exiles from Spain had a captain who wanted to kill all the refugees and take their possessions. A merchant disputed with the captain and the hapless passengers were finally left off naked on an island. They got water at night, and after three days went to a promontory looking for help, but found only a lion's den. After another five days they were rescued by a passing ship which took them to a place where there was a Jewish community. These Jews paid the debts of the unfortunate refugees and gave the captain a gift in addition.⁷⁰

There were overland adventures, too. The exiles were forced to live outside the towns they came to, as the residents feared their influx would cause a rise in food prices. They lived in tents and collected grasses to eat. But there was little food, because there was a drought. One young girl was raped by an arab in front of her parents. When she was returned, he kicked her in the abdomen lest

she bear a son and raise him a Jew. With all of these difficulties it is not surprising that starvations and suicide became common.⁷¹

Those who reached Italy also met famine. Reaching Genoa, Jews were permitted to enter the city. Many converted there to get food, since Christians walked in the streets with a cross in one hand and food in the other.⁷² From Genoa many went to Rome, but the Jews of Rome feared the arrival of newcomers would disrupt their society. The community gave the Pope 1,000 florins to prohibit the entry of the refugees. The pope decreed the exile of all the Jews from Rome, readmitting them only after payment of an additional 2,000 florins.⁷³

In Fez, the exiles found a ship anchored in the port. The captain offered young men bread. The next day about one hundred fifty young men came there and were kidnapped. The clever and handsome were sold to the local heirarchs, while the rest were sold as slaves in foreign lands.⁷⁴

Joseph ibn Verga made additions to his father's book. The explanation of the expulsion from Castile,⁷⁵ drawn from Abravanel's commentary to Kings,⁷⁶ parallels material Solomon included. Joseph notes that in 5252,⁷⁷ after the conquest of Granada by Spain, the king needed a way to thank

God for his final victory over the Moslems. First he tried to convert all the Jews, or expell them from his realm. He allowed three months for their decision after his decree. Many highly placed people tried to have the order rescinded but the queen stood at the king's right hand like Satan. Silver and gold were offered but to no avail. When the time for exile came, some three hundred thousand left. They went to Portugal and Navarre, by land and by sea, suffering wherever they went. Isaac Abravanel was among these exiles.⁷⁸

Joseph writes of the sufferings on land and sea among the exiles in a section drawn from accounts of the departure he had heard.⁷⁹ Passengers of one ship were afflicted by the plague. Dumped on an unsettled coast, one of these families started walking, looking for a settled place. First the wife died. The husband carried his two sons until they perished as well. He buried them swearing to remain a Jew. This is typical, says Joseph, of the suffering and strength of the exiles.⁸⁰

Joseph added other materials based on his experiences in the Ottoman Empire. He learned from Moses Hamon,⁸¹ how the Jews were once ordered to carry a heavy log around their neck whenever they went out. This was swung around and around by passers-by, so they only went out in great need.⁸²

He also draws on life during the days of Suleiman, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.⁸³ He describes a blood libel in Cairo and Matsia.⁸⁴ A Christian was alleged to have entered a Jew's house and not have returned, much like the plots Solomon ibn Verga wrote about. They tried the Jews sorely, torturing them until they confessed. Several prominent Jews were hung, including the physician Jacob Aboab ben Joseph Aboab.⁸⁵ A short while later the alleged victim appeared and was recognized. He was brought to a judge and the libel was revealed. Sultan Suleiman ordered an investigation and fitting punishment charging Moses Hamon with the responsibility. Hamon ordered all such cases to be heard only at the Sultan's court. A similar libel occurred at Tukay in Asia Minor.⁸⁶

Joseph also added a history of the reign of the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent to his father's work.⁸⁷ He tells that the kingdom extended from Turgama to the edge of Teman.⁸⁸ It included such biblical locales as Utz, Medai, Yavan, Meschech, Tirach, Edom, Moab, Canaan, Philistia, Midbar Sinai, Mitsrayim, Ludim and Cushim.⁸⁹ In the first year of his reign, Suleiman returned thousands in gold and silver to merchants which had been exacted by his father. During the second year of his reign he began a series of conquests.

First he conquered Belgrad⁹⁰ and then beseiged Rhodes. After this island state capitulated, he made Ahmed Beeggee his governor over Egypt as a reward for his performance at Rhodes.

Ahmed arrived in Egypt during the third year of the reign of Suleiman. He ruled with a heavy hand, and finally led a revolt against the Sultan. During a palace coup there was looting in the Jewish quarter. Finally as a result of the revolt, Ahmed proclaimed himself sovereign over Egypt.

In Adar of 5284,⁹¹ Ahmed called together twelve important Jews and demanded 200 talents in three days. The Jewish community, however, was able to produce only fifty talents in the allotted time. A new palace coup caused Ahmed to flee, but he was caught and killed. The day of his capture, 27 Adar, became a day of saving and joy.

Another section added by Joseph did not appear in the first edition which he published. This list of events begins in 1187, and includes materials from many places where Jews lived. It is not derived from the same source as David Gans's Semach David, and its source is at present unknown.

CHAPTER III

THE SOURCES OF THE SHEVET YEHUDA

The text of the Shevet Yehuda is drawn from a number of sources. The groundwork for knowledge of these sources had been laid by Baer in his research on the subject, Untersuchungen ueber die Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda.¹ Although Loeb and Graetz suggest multiple authors, Baer holds that the entire work of composition was that of Solomon ibn Verga, except the sections clearly added by Joseph.²

Baer finds that some of the sources are Latin. He sees the protocol of the Disputation of Tortosa³ as a source of number forty. Kabaks Yeschurun contains a parallel text. Loeb had suggested this earlier, naming Verga and Kabaks Yeschurun as two versions of the same text, although the latter is preferred.⁴ It is assumed that Verga abridged the text of Bonastruc as he mentions.⁵ Furthermore, Loeb calls parts of the text more legendary than historical.

Baer claims that Verga himself revised the text, and therefore Kabaks Yeschurun, the protocols and the letter of

Bonastruc are all independent of one another. He finds that both Kabaks Yeschurun and Bonastruc are unhappy that the words of Jews will go into the protocols. There are differences between the texts. Verga includes ten sessions, while the protocols have six days.⁶ Second, Magister Solomon Isaac of the protocols is to be identified with Verga's citizen of Rome.⁷ All sources show the Jews attempting to conclude the disputation rapidly.⁸

The text of Verga and the protocols overlap one another at critical points. The statement of Bonastruc which angers the pope deals with central tenets of the Christian faith. The protocols record the nature of Christ as God and man is comprehensible only through faith. Verga has here an outburst, asking the pope to let the Jews adhere to their tradition since Christians believe a number of things which are not altogether rationally understandable. The texts illustrate this quite clearly:

"Et Christianus, qui credit
Messiam esse deum et
hominem et plura alia, ad
que intellectus non suf-
ficit naturalis intellegere
nisi sola fides, non debet
mirari de huius dyobus
oppositionibus."⁹

עד שאתם מאמינים במשיח כמה
דברים רחוקים—הביחו לנו
במשיחנו אלה.

Verga makes Bonastruc responsible for this outburst

It is plausible that the basis of the account in Shevet Yehuda is a letter written by Bonastruc Desmaestre of Gerona¹⁰ although its authorship is uncertain. It has the same understanding of the basic events as the protocols and Kabaks Yeschurun. Bonastruc concentrates more on the Jewish view of the events. His fourth day is the equivalent of Verga's third day.¹¹

The Fortalitium Fidei¹² is definitely a source of Usque's Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel,¹³ which shares a major source with Verga. A comparison of Usque III, 4 and Fortalitium Fidei III, 11, 8 shows that this section of Usque is a combination of material from Foralitim Fidei about an older persecution in Toledo and the rest of the Arab areas, with Hebrew source material, since according to Fortalitim Fidei, Toledo is said to have been held by the Moslems at this time.¹⁴

Nevertheless, Foralitim Fidei cannot be a common source of Usque and Verga, since Usque has material in III, 19 about the Black Plague absent from its major source, Fortalitim Fidei, but present in Verga number twenty-six.¹⁵ Usque and Verga tell of persecutions occurring in Catalonia and Provence omitted from Fortalitim Fidei.

There are also relevant Spanish sources. One of these

is the Cronica de Don Alfonso XI (1325-2380). The attack of the favorite of Alfonso XI, Gonzalo Martinez memorialized in number ten as occurring in 5140 (1339) is known in other Jewish sources. Verga speaks of rivalry between the two financiers, Joseph of Ecija and Dr. Samuel ibn Wakar. Both Verga and the Cronica describe Joseph in very similar terms.¹⁶

A second possible Spanish source is the "Ordenamiento sobre el encerramiento de los judios e de los moros", published in Valladolid in 1412.¹⁷ The contents of sections of these laws appears in number forty-nine and several other Jewish chronicles, notably Iggeret Musar by Solomon Alami.¹⁸ Alami writes that Jews were excluded from trade. Verga mentions only trade in foodstuffs and a prohibition from owning land. Verga concentrates on the death penalty mandated for failure to wear the badge. The source for Verga's text in this section is not clear.¹⁹ Baer eliminates the statute since it affirms Jewish possession of vineyards and fields,²⁰ and does not emphasize the wearing of the badge.

An early germanic source has been suggested as a source for number thirty-six. This is the so-called "Wiener Gesera" which Goldmann suggests:²¹ Both indeed seem to tell

the same story of the Christians coming to the synagogue to seek out the Jews and learn whether or not they will convert, only to find all dead. They send for the king (duke in the "Wiener Gesera") who orders that there should be no burial, rather the corpses should be fed to the dogs. Both also tell of a miracle by which the dead were covered by a mound and the bodies made safe from the animals of the field.²²

The major source of the Shevet Yehuda is the unknown source which Verga shared with Usque. The two books derive from one source in many sections. A primary example of this is the approximation between Usque III, 4 and number 30 of Verga, both of which deal with the persecution of the Jews during the conquest of the Almohades.²³ The same is true in the case of Usque III, 8 and number thirty-one dealing with the appearance of the pseudo-messiah David Alroy in Persia.²⁴ Examination of the texts will also show that Usque III, 11 and Verga number nineteen both deal with the same persecution. The place names of Naples and Trana, and the date of 1290 appear in both, although the accounts are somewhat independent.²⁵

A more complex example is seen through examination of Usque III, 12 and 13 in connection with Verga's sections

eighteen and twenty. These are sections dealing with the expulsion of the Jews from England. Here we find that the introduction of Usque III, 12 is very like Verga number eighteen, and furthermore, the rest of the material in this section of Usque appears in Verga number twenty. Both show the same cause of the persecution--the conversion of the Dominican monks. Verga changes the locale of part of the action to France, but the account parallels Usque III, 12.²⁶

The account of the shepherds in Usque III, 16 and Verga number six provides a strong historical background. Both books tell the same story of the onset of the Pastoreaux, and share notable details, especially place names throughout.²⁷ The dispute between the pope and his sister also appear to be shared by Usque and Verga.²⁸ The names of the characters are the same, with both calling the sister as Sancha, and both showing the Jews saved through the intervention of King Robert of Naples and Jerusalem.²⁹ Verga re-used the material in number thirty-nine, where his undated persecution in Rome show an attempt to force conversion resulting in a massive Jewish exodus from that city. Arriving in Naples they were allowed to practice Judaism until permitted to return to Rome.

The accusation of 1321 against the Jews and the lepers has the same composition in Usque and Verga.³⁰ The Jews in both accounts are associated with the lepers and accused of the same crime--poisoning the water. The only differences which appear are in numbers. While both mention persecutions in Catalonia and Provence, the item is extracted from an unknown place.³¹

The expulsion of the Jews from France³² has the same contents in the two books. The king expelled the Jews and confiscated their property dying later during a hunt. They then share the recall of the Jews by his son and successor. There are minute differences in detail, and Verga adds a discussion of whether or not Jews should return to a land from which they have been previously expelled.³³ Verga, moreover, is still working with the same source in twenty-two and twenty-three which tell of expulsions from France in 1254 and 1306.³⁴

The proselytization of Vincent Ferrer³⁵ recounts persecutions in the same places in Spain and during the same year--1390³⁶--in Usque and Verga. The persecutions of 1412, jointly recorded, are really continuations of the same narration. In fact, number forty-six repeats parts of number twenty-seven. In number forty-eight and forty-nine,

attributed to Shem Tob ibn Shem Tob, the dates 1390 and 1412 appear, with the corrupt list of localities ascribable to Verga's source.³⁷

Baer theorizes that Usque and Verga wrote from a common Hebrew source, although Verga claims to have translated his account of the Pastoreaux from a Spanish royal chronicle.³⁸ He illustrates this by comparison of the accounts of these events in the two books. Baer believes this reconstruction is possible because of the confusion in place names, since Verga gives no evidence that they were translated from Latin or Spanish.³⁹

There is much evidence for Baer's hypothesis. First, the beginning of the Pastoreaux is recounted by both in the same manner: A youth sees a revelation of a dove; when he tries to touch it, it changes to a beautiful maiden who calls him to fight against the Moors. He finds her words written upon his arm. In addition, both indicate the eventual number of his followers as thirty thousand, while the French chronicle lists forty thousand.⁴⁰ The second site of the attack by the shepherds on the Jews is Cordel in Usque, and Sardil in Verga.⁴¹ The roving shepherds attacked many of the same communities in the two accounts. Usque lists Bordeaux, England (!), Castel-sarasin, and Agen,

while Verga lists angleterra, bordelees, kastil-shirazin and ageenish. In another place, Usque lists Toulouse-Bigorre, Marsan and Condom, while Verga has a parallel list. Both mention a battle at the fortress of Narbonne.⁴² Finally, although the revolt ended in Huesca, this goes unmentioned by either Usque or Verga, whose accounts end the action in Navarre and Montreal.⁴³

Other sections show that neither author used the other as a source. Baer finds the resemblance in the accounts of the pseudo-messiah⁴⁴ quite obvious. Nevertheless, since Usque is in places clearer than Verga, Verga cannot have been his source. The reverse is even more obvious. The original source of both accounts is the Itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela.⁴⁵

The pseudo-messiah is said to have come from 'Amadia in Benjamin. Verga also has this name. Usque, however, has Hamaria. The population of the town, however, is the same in Usque and Verga--one thousand families--although Benjamin has two thousand five hundred. Usque and Verga place the town near a river, although the original account says it is near Mountain of Chaphton. Usque names his river rio habiton, and Verga calls his nahar sabatiyon.⁴⁶

People also shift identities among the three accounts.

The pseudo-messiah himself, whom Benjamin knows as David Alroy changes to David al-David in Verga and David Aldui in Usque. David studied, we are told by Benjamin, with the head of the Academy of Gaon Yaakov, while Verga has simply "a great man, head of the academy." Usque has the greatest man in the city.⁴⁷ The leader of the Jews in Benjamin's account is the exilarch, a detail missing in Verga's account, while Usque writes about the leader of all the Jews in the world.⁴⁸

The three accounts of the dispute also differ. In Benjamin, Alroy says: "...for I am not afraid of thee, nor of any of thy servants.' The king loudly forthwith bade his servants to seize him, but they answered, 'We cannot see any man, although our ears hear him.'" ⁴⁹ In Usque, the account differs: "You are not powerful enough to catch me. Instead you will now see me go my way before your eyes and you will not harm me in any way."⁵⁰ Verga's account is lengthened here, and according to Baer, the "...dispute reflects the personal style of Verga."⁵¹

The actual crossing of the river by David is also different. Usque calls the cloth a turban, as does Verga.⁵² Verga and Usque both mention Maimonides' Iggeret Teman as an additional source for their material about the pseudo-

messiah although Usque does not use that material. Baer concludes that Usque used the Fortalitium Fidei as his source for the account of David Alroy⁵³ and he combined it with the report of an older persecution in Toledo which was at that time in the possession of the Arabs according to D'Espina. Usque's sections III 5, 6 and 7 are all drawn directly from Fortalitium Fidei.⁵⁴

There are a number of possible Hebrew sources shared by Usque and Verga. One of these is the works of Isaac Abravanel which include all that is extant of the histories of Prophiat Duran.⁵⁵ In the reports of the expulsion from England,⁵⁶ the introduction of Usque's report is the same as Verga number eighteen, both of which parallel Duran. There is historical material here, including the conversion of the Dominicans, which occurred in 1275, the partial expulsion of the Jews and the charge of the debasing of the coins in 1278.

Verga relates the history as Usque knows it, although split into two parts, with the second site in France. He says the report is from a German chronicle. The beginning seems to have dropped out of the report of an earlier persecution. Duran has a shorter version recorded in Abravanel.⁵⁷

The French expulsion of 1254⁵⁸ also is parallel in

Usque and Verga. Verga's number twenty-two is a report of the expulsion itself. It states that the king of France was captured by the Moors, and all the Jews were expelled from his kingdom when he returned.⁵⁹ Abravanel also mentions a partial expulsion on a similar basis againciting Duran. Nevertheless, Duran incorrectly dates this expulsion as 5108 (1348), confusing it with the Black Death, an error made neither by Usque nor Verga.

The second part of this report, number twenty-three in Verga, deals with the return of the Jews after 1306. Both Usque and Verga share the duration of the return period as nine years, while Duran has seven. Thus, Baer concludes Duran is not a source of Usque and Verga as Graetz had postulated.⁶⁰

Another candidate for the source shared by Usque and Verga is the Iggeret Musar of Solomon Alami.⁶¹ This is the only other Jewish chronicle which records the persecutions of 1391 and 1412 in conjunction with one another.⁶² In other contemporary sources, only the mass baptisms of Vincent Ferrer are mentioned in 1407. One source does mention a persecution in 1412. Alami reports troubles in Castile and Catalonia in the year **5** 151 (1391) and twenty-two years later, which would be 1412-13. Usque used two different

beginning with persecution of 1391, then introducing the emigration of the forced converts followed by the anti-Jewish laws of 1412. Zacuto mentions the persecution of 1391, speaking of a large number of converts (four thousand), and then the persecution of 1412. Abraham ben Solomon writes of persecution in 1391 followed by a spreading of pogroms and mass conversions, then moves to 1412 and the activities of Vincent Ferrer capped by the conversion of two hundred thousand. Joseph ben Zaddik starts with the 1391 events saying they resulted in more than two hundred thousand converts, and the pogrom then spread. He then moves to the activities of Vincent Ferrer, and again lists more than two-hundred thousand converts.⁶⁷

These chronicles are parallel to Verga and Usque but not sources, as their accounts differ structurally. All lack mention of the emigration of the forced converts following the 1391 persecution. All lack, as well, any mention of the anti-Jewish legislation of 1412. Furthermore, the chronicles are more corrupt than either Usque or Verga, especially in the place names. Usque and Verga list Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Barcelona, Lerida and Seville.⁶⁸ Joseph ben Zaddik has:

ארסדיינו (1) באשניליא ובאולחסיא (1) ולר (יד) ה וברצלונה
ומיורקה.

sources for this section, both related to Verga but not common with him.⁶³

In Verga's number 49, which deals with the hunting out of the Jews and moving them into Jewish quarters, Alami and Verga are parallel. There are differences in detail. Alami writes that the Jews are forbidden from trading. Verga only restricts them from dealing in foodstuffs. Thus, Alami appears to be a parallel text, but not a source of Verga and Usque.⁶⁴

In dealing with the same sections of Usque and Verga, the chronicles of Joseph ben Zaddik, Abraham ben Solomon and Sefer Yuchasin of Abraham Zacuto should also be considered.⁶⁵ These three chronicles deal with the same material, although the original is apparently Joseph ben Zaddik. Their accounts apparently deal with Seville, since it is the only place near the water. Zacuto erroneously mentions a population of two hundred thousand instead of four thousand, probably reading a raysh for a daleth. The smaller number agrees with contemporary Christian sources. Verga's reports of the persecutions of 1391 and 1412 overlap. He uses the term "men of the hamlets," and mentions how the Jews saved themselves by ransom in the same words in both accounts.⁶⁶

The reports are alike in structure in Usque and Verga,

Abraham ben Solomon is nearly identical. Zacuto's list includes Seville, Lerida, Barcelona and Majorca.⁶⁹

Other material is original with Verga according to Baer. This includes reasons why the peoples hate the Jews.⁷⁰ He finds that the Jews are in high positions. When the Jews are poor and dispersed, blood libel rarely occurs. The wealth of the Jews causes problems. Also, the self-segregation of the Jews from the mass of the population causes hatred. Finally, the blood purity of the Jews arouses the jealousy of the mob, for in Verga number seven it is openly stated that they are believed to have the purest knowledge of their descent.⁷¹

Verga expands the historical materials in his book. He often used existing reports as a starting point for his embellishments.⁷² His report number forty-one, for example, has a pure historic basis. Pope Mark of Florence is to be identified with Martin V.⁷³ It was he who removed the Bulls imposed by Benedict XIII⁷⁴ on the Spanish Jews. Verga built a dialogue on this basis, adding subject matter of his own composition. Elsewhere, Spanish sounding names like Pedro de Guzman, Enrique Mendoza, and Juan de la Vera⁷⁵ give his fiction an historic authenticity. He also puts words into the mouths of Christians.

Verga sometimes mentions that he has chosen the story, as in number seventeen,⁷⁶ where he says, "There are several versions of this, but I have chosen the one which I found in the Chronicle of the French Sages."⁷⁷ In another case, Verga writes: "There are other oral versions of this, but this is the way I found it written."⁷⁸ And finally, in one case, he claims, "I could not translate the conclusion because it was illegible."⁷⁹

Some historic sections have materials added to them, as well. In number seventeen the appearance of the Moslem ambassador is an impossibility.⁸⁰ King Manuel of Portugal appears in Spain in number twelve. Here as in other places, Verga shows much naivete in his transformation of kings and popes. He interpolates legendary material, although in Loeb's opinion the purpose of the invented stories was to tell the typical fate of the diaspora Jew.⁸¹

Examples of such non-historical passages are number fifteen, centering in Monzon in 1391. The blood libel, unusual in form, is told without the detail which normally appears in an historical passage. So too, the account of the pseudo-messiah in number thirty-two. Graetz suggested this is about Abu Isa Ispahan⁸² but Baer disagrees, as the

theme is the same as the preceding account about David Alroy, since the poverty of the pseudo-messiah is laughable to the king.⁸³ The persecution in Fez is based on oral tradition, or perhaps Maimonides. The Jews there were required to go barefoot and wear short pants.⁸⁴

There are also historical materials which have no known literary source. These deal with such subjects as the expulsion from Spain. In number fifty-two, the fate of the exiles over the sea is known only by word of mouth. This is reasonable as Verga reappears in Portugal.⁸⁵

His work on the Jews in Portugal is noteworthy.⁸⁶ In number sixty, set in Lisbon in 1506, he tells of the glow of the icon in the church, claiming the Dominicans had arranged this miracle. He tells of a new Christian trying to calm the people by explaining away the vision. There are several parallel versions of this story.⁸⁷ Verga here is quite independent, calling King Manuel of Portugal a "righteous king," while Usque refers to him as "meu ymigo" and Zacuto as "persecutor of the Jews." Abrham ben Solomon calls him "the evil uncircumcised King Manuel," while Elia Kapsali calls him "King God-is-with-us," saying that it is reversed.⁸⁸

Also of interest is his report about Naples.⁸⁹

He tells that the symbol of the city was changed from a maiden after the city was captured. A Spanish Viceroyalty after 1504, Naples was a collection point for Spanish and Portuguese exiles. It was probably there that Verga read the "Letter of R. Meshullam of Rome." The basic report is true, but there is much phantasy mixed into the text, especially in the dispute between the pope and the cardinal.⁹⁰

Verga added other contemporary material. The report in number thirty-eight about Judah ibn Verga of Seville tells of how he travelled to Jerez de la Frontera to aid the citizens there. Verga correctly indicates the necessity of crossing the principedom of Medina Sidonia to reach that destination. In number sixty-two, we learn of the anusim in Seville, where the inquisition caused R. Judah to flee to Lisbon. Number sixty-one, a ritual murder trial from the last years before the expulsion reveals the passions of the final years which the Jews were allowed in Spain.⁹¹

The later editors of the book also added to it. Joseph ibn Verga⁹² son of the author added notes, such as the glosses in the sections on the Jews of Turkey, and in number fifty-one. He also added the Chronicle of Shem Tob Sangola.⁹³ These were absent from the first edition. Although others feel that other unnumbered sections were

added even later, Baer feels that Joseph was the last to
add material to the book.⁹⁴

CHAPTER IV

VERGA'S USE OF HIS SOURCES

Verga utilizes his sources to bring his perspective on the history of the Jews into focus. He sees Jewish history as a series of persecutions caused by hatred for the Jews. A primary reason given for this hatred is the refusal of the Jews to convert to another faith.

One example of this is number three, dated by Verga as 4004 (224 CE). The three leading Jews, including the exilarch, were taken captive by the king of Persia. They were urged to convert, but all three died as martyrs. After this other leaders were taken captive. Most of the population converted after much suffering, although later all were granted religious freedom by the Moslems.

In Spain, the Visigoth King Sisebut¹ requested the Jews accept baptism instead of brit milah. They were unwilling because this is the root of all commandments. They were given a thirty day period to accept the king's demands or die² during which a bribe was offered and refused.

In the "Debate between King Alfonso of Portugal and Don Joseph ibn Yahiya"³ the source of the antipathy to the Jews is the death of Jesus. "The king said: 'Measured by the way in which you tortured him, if he were ever to return he would split the sea to drown you, not save you...'"⁴

The Jews could not have helped but be conscious of the hatred which existed between them and the mass of the population. Thus, in time of drought, when the Jews would go to the cemetery to pray, they would only prostrate themselves upon the graves of their fellow Jews, since as Verga states, "...the non-Jews, because of their hatred would not request mercy for us."⁵

The Jews were also targets of hatred because they had separate institutions. This is shown, among other places in the incident in Jerez de la Frontera⁶ where the separate Jewish institutions mentioned include a cemetery and a charity fund. The story revolves about two priests collecting alms whose request is refused by a wealthy Jew. The resulting altercation leaves the priests ready to seek retribution for their embarrassment. The priests exhume the newly buried body of a convert to Christianity and re-inter it in the Jewish cemetery. They accuse the Jews of committing this crime before the Duke. An investigation is

ordered, and in the interim all the Jews are placed on house arrest. The Jews meanwhile send for help to R. Judah ibn Verga, who comes to the Duke, and reveals the plot, leading to the punishment of the priests.

One incident in Granada resulted from the same type of jealous hatred.⁷ A pogrom occurred when R. Isaac Hamon,⁸ the royal physician, passed through the Moslem quarter on his way to the palace. He was dressed in silk and riding on a horse. The crowd, angered at Hamon, slew most of the Jewish population. After this the royal physician acted modestly, but was still a Jew.⁹

There was also jealousy because of the misunderstood and separate Jewish holidays. Most commonly the danger centered around Passover. In number seventeen, taking place in France, we read of a Christian captured for his blood by a Jew.¹⁰ In number twenty-nine we read that the Passover blood libel is found to be false like the previous year.¹¹ The subject is mentioned frequently and there is a clear linkage between blood libels and the Passover season.¹²

The Talmud was often perversely understood. In number seven, we read of talmudic restrictions placed upon the Jews in regard to blood. We learn of the necessity of ritual slaughter, and that the Jews cannot tolerate the sight of

blood, even more so the blood of a man.¹³ The king objects to this saying: "And about that which you said, that the killing of a man is prohibited them, there is the answer that this applies between Jew and Jew, but the Jew who kills a Christian does not think of him as a man..."¹⁴ Thomas answers this by reminding the king of the differentiation which is to be made between Christians and idolators in Jewish law,¹⁵ since a Christian believes in the creation of the world, miracles and divine providence.

"The story of King Don Pedro the Elder and the Wise Man Nicholas of Valencia"¹⁶ tells of a debate between the king and his advisor resulting from the king's decision to make war upon the infidel. Nicholas sees the Jews as the true infidel, since they have a growing hatred of the Christians, and "...it is written in their books that it is forbidden for them to give us peace..."¹⁷

In number forty-one, Pope Mark of Florence asks the meaning of the talmudic statement "tov she-ba-goyim harog."¹⁸ The Jews answer that the language is elliptical. In ancient times it referred to someone rendered impure, and hence considered already dead. They deal with several parallel statements, referring to purveyors of food and physicians, and adduce the meaning that there is good in

thousand households from the tribe of Judah and ten thousand from the tribe of Benjamin and the Priests were brought to Spain. Most of the Benjaminites and the priests later went to France. Indeed, it is state: "Let it be known for all time that there is none among all the peoples who can tell of its beginning and its origin and its pure roots like these poor Jews."²⁵

The seventh section also brings to light the problem of the refusal of the Jews to mingle with the other nations. In part it has to do with Jewish money lending, even though no one forces the Christians to borrow. The real problem, however, is stated as the refusal of the Jews to eat and drink with the Christians, for the power of such a communion is very great, bringing hearts near in unity.²⁶

In number sixty-three, three great jealousies are underscored. The first is the jealousy of religion. The second, the jealousy of women. Verga notes that in Spain, the Jewish men were already beginning to eye the Christian women. There are some who say the punishment for this is only stripes, but tradition says it is a crime punishable by excommunication. Verga warns all of the high price--the birth of a child to avodah zara. The third is the jealousy of money, which the Jews suffer since they have

non-Jews. The pope understands their explanation, but Fray Pedro,¹⁹ a convert, is not in sympathy with the Jews.

The lower classes blame the Jews for their poverty. In number forty-four we read that confessor to the Queen of Spain hated the Jews,²⁰ and through his power over her, ordered conversion or death for them. They appealed to friendly ministers, and learned that the Jews were generally liked but the peasants blame them for the high costs of food. A ransom of fifty thousand gold pieces was arranged.

In the blood libel included in number seven,²¹ Thomas is convinced that the Jews are innocent, and finally gets the accusers to admit that they are lying. He determines that the problem is the usury which the Jews practice.²² In the "Debate between King Don Alfonso of Portugal and Don Joseph ibn Yahiya"²³ the main question asked by the king is why the Jews rob the people.

The purity of the lineage of the Jews, and their refusal to mingle with the rest of the population is also an important reason for the hatred of the Jews. This purity is explained in number seven, which derives the Jewish population of Spain to the exile following the destruction of the First Temple.²⁴ However, it is in reference to the second exile, that of 70 CE, that Verga states that forty

come into the work and trade of the Christians. They all suffer for a few, since when one person is dishonest all of his class are blamed.²⁷

Despite all the suffering, Verga calls upon Jews to keep their faith. Their heritage is a viable culture, Jews are so accustomed to the practice of dietary laws that they do not even eat the blood of fish, which is not considered blood by the Talmud. They take care not to drink the wine of idolators. Finally, all the Jews are unified in the memory of the holy city of Jerusalem, which the Moslems and Christians also accept.²⁸ The Jews also feel that they have had a role in Spain since earliest history, since some came during the exile by Nebuchadnezzar, and others after the exile by Rome.²⁹

The Jews also can take pride in their ceremonials, as in the installation of the exilarch described in number forty-two. Verga tells of the meeting of all the leaders in Baghdad in a great palace. The ceremony of coronation lasts a week. The new prince of the captivity is led to the synagogue by an entourage on the first Sabbath, keeping his face covered. The prayer service is described; the exilarch is always of the seed of David³⁰ whose descendant the Messiah will be.

In another case, the suffering is eased through the theology which is expressed there; an earthly king can rule body and possessions, but only God can rule the soul.³¹

The Jews are also to be comforted by the traditions of self-help, charity and study. Verga writes of two hundred women who reached Fez from Spain. They were agunot and yebamot³² and together despite their sorrowful plight, built a house together. They worked enough to feed themselves and their children, and ultimately were able to support some scholars.³³

The Jews are also a people who know how to raise children. The child is like a sapling, needing to be restrained from foolishness, kept away from wine and coarse food (especially garlic) and fat and made to get up and pray.³⁴

Conversion is no escape according to Verga. In number four, we are reminded that only the body can be ruled by other men, since the fate of the soul is determined by God. The Jew is assured of God's help, as is demonstrated in number twenty-nine, which deals with a blood libel. An old Jew is accused of killing a Christian in order to use his blood on Passover. The wife of the alleged victim testified against the Jew, and Jew confessed under torture.

The bishop, who knew the alleged victim, claimed to have seen him in the neighboring town. He had the Jew freed. Verga regards this as help which came from God.³⁵

In number forty-nine, where the Jews are restricted by harsh laws from practising certain professions and owning land. They are required to wear a red badge. We are reminded that the Jews are preserved by God, and the reason for their preservation is the observance of the religion of Moses.³⁶

Forced conversion, so often practiced during Verga's lifetime was seen as invalid by the Jews. Verga expresses this idea in several places in the Shevet Yehuda. In number three, placed in Persia before the Moslem conquest, the Jews were forced to convert by the king, and did so only after much suffering and martyrdom. They were given freedom of religion when the Moslems conquered the land. Verga adds "...For there is never a true effect of an enforced religion."³⁷

Moses and Joshua, we are reminded, did not seek to impose conversion upon the other nations. Only those who were brought out of Egypt and their descendants are obligated by the six-hundred-thirteen commandments. The rest need only fulfill the seven commandments of Adam.³⁸ In Spain a forced conversion occurred. Many converted rather than

die, but later, when the king who issued the decree died many fled and returned to the practice of Judaism.³⁹

Forced conversion is also discussed by King Don Pedro and Nicholas of Valencia.⁴⁰ Nicholas suggests that the law of kings demands that all subjects accept the religion of the current king. The king, however, disagrees since he never saw any success in something forced. As soon as you stop looking, he says, the people will return to their former ways--like a stone thrown into the air or the wind entering the center of the earth, both of which rapidly return.

Practical reasons for rejecting conversion⁴¹ include the help Jews are able to give one another. Verga includes the story of how exposed Jews are when they flee--it tells of a captain who wanted to kill a boatload of refugees, but was convinced to let them off on an island. They were protected, since they were later picked up by another ship which took them to a Jewish community which paid the second captain and took them in.⁴²

In the same vein, is the story of the agunot and yebamot of Fez who by cooperating were able to have good and shelter in addition to supporting scholars.⁴³

In other cases, Jews are also aided by non-Jews of

high rank; this is the case in number eight, which takes place in Ecija. A libel has been raised against the Jews which the king investigates, the revealed truth saving the Jews.⁴⁴ In another case, the king was invited to hear a sermon of a priest known to be against the Jews; he promised to keep the priest on the right track. When he did not like the priest's words, he got up to leave, forcing a change in the sermon.⁴⁵

Others help the Jews, too. Once, Verga tells us, when a libel was brought to the king on the eve of Passover, the king threw the two accusers out. These men then caused a minor riot. A Jew was taken prisoner, and confessed under torture. At this time, a diplomat appeared, and defended the Jews saying that such things are unknown in his country.⁴⁶

In another case, the confessor to the Queen of Spain attempted to force the conversion of the Jews. A ransom was arranged, but before it was paid, the Jews learned that the confessor was in trouble and about to fall: They got the information from Maestre Martin de Lucena,⁴⁷ and were saved from making the payment or accepting Christianity.⁴⁸

There are other places where Verga relied directly upon a source for a large block of his material. These have been cited by Baer.⁴⁹ Many deal with the search for the

unknown Hebrew source shared with Usque. The first comparable text to fall into this category is that dealing with the Pastoreaux, Usque III, 16⁵⁰ which is equivalent to Verga number six.⁵¹

16. Misfortunes in many places 5080 (1320)
In France and Spain, two great calamities befell me at the same time.
(In Spain), a young boy, 17 years of age, said that a dove had appeared to him one afternoon and had alternately alighted on his shoulder and his head to visit him. When he tried to take the dove in his hand, an exceedingly beautiful maiden appeared to him and said, "I now make you a shepherd on earth. You shall go fight with the moors. And here is a sign of what you have seen with your eyes." When the lad took a look at himself, they say he found the account of the event written on his arm. At the same time, another man came forward and announced that the lad had discovered the sign of the cross inscribed on his shoulder. People said however, that he had only dreamt all this while sleeping near a fountain.

But, however it may have happened, the meek dove

הסמך השמי

היא גזרת הרועים, אשר כמדה לא בהיתה ולא יהיה עוד. ובזה נסחאות מתחלפות, ומה שכתוב בספר דברי הימים למלכי ספרד כך הוא:
בעיר איגין קם בער אחד וקבץ קבוץ גדול מן העם, ואמר כי נראה אליו דמות יונה בכל יום פעם על שפמו פעם על ראשו, ומדבר אליו ברוח בנואה, וכססו-לח ידו לקחת אותה חוזרת לבערה בתולה טובה מראה, ואומרת לו בזה הל-סון: אתה הנער! הבני מקים אותך רואה בארץ, ופרצת על בני יסמעאל פרץ על פני פרץ, וזה לך האות, אשר תראה בעיניך, כי בזרועך כתוב הדברם האלה! ורבים היו מעידים שכן ראו; ואחרים העידו, שראו צורת עץ המושיע מצוייר בזרועו; ואחרים אמרו כי בהיות הנער על עין המים שמעו הדבר-ים ההם, אבל דמות לא ראו.

turned into a venomous scorpion for me, and the dream became a true and disastrous reality for the nobles of the land heard the news, they all became excited, treated the boy like a saint, and conferred solemn honors upon him.

When the masses saw this, a large rabble attached itself to the lad...

But woe is me: although the people were only against the moors, Heaven had secretly decreed that a cruel blow be struck against the Jews. These shepherds had been so innocent of such iniquities that they were made the executioners of my limbs. The enormous crowd, whose number had swelled to 30,000 men... (and followed his call to conquer the kingdom of Granada...)

וכששמעו העם דבריהם, הלכו אל הבער
וכרעו כלם והשתחוו. והיו מבטאים
אותו, וסמוהו לראש וקצין קדוש,

אבל לא רדפו אחרי הבער ממקום
למקום כי אם הרועים, ורבים היו
באותן גלילות כחול. ויהי שם הבער
חולך וגדל, ומכל המלכויות היו באים
לאלפים ולרבבות, ובמעט זמן באספו
שלשים אלף רועים וסמו פניהם לבוא ל-
עיר גראנדה ומשם לכל מלכות ישמעאל.

ובעומדם על כוונה זו אמר אחד מהם:
אין עצתנו טובה, כי איך בלחום עם
הישמעאלים מלומדי המלחמה והם רבים
ואנחנו מעט, והם יש להם כלי מלחמה,
ולנו אין לנו אפילו מחט קטן; אם טוב
בעיניכם נשים פנינו בגד היהודים, כי
הם עם רפא וחלוש ואין עוזר להם, ואם
אצבעותינו לבד נוכל להפילם, וכאשר
בתחזק עם שלל היהודים ועשרם כי רב
הוא, נקח כלי מלחמה, ויוקבצו אלינו
עוזרים רבים, ואחר זה נלך בלחום בגד

And when the Devil, our Enemy, gave an Israelite a chance to scoff at this miracle, the people were filled with bitter hatred against me. They abandoned the project against Granada and began to carry out the bitter sentence against me which my iniquities demanded of God's justice.

....attacked all the israelite lambs gathered in Tudela and put them to the edge of the sword.

ישמעאל, והרי מלחמתנו בטוחה!
ובהיותם בעצה זו הלך דרך שם איש
יהודי חייט, יהעבי לא ידע על מה היו
עומדים, ולעג עליהם ועל ענינם. ואז
החמה שפוכה קפצו הרועים עליו ועשו
את בשרו ככברה, ואיש אחד חסא ועל כל
עם היהודים יצא הקצף, כי עלה בלבם
להכרית שם היהודי מעולם. ואחרים
כתבו, כי סבת שנאתם היתה ויכוח אשר
עשה אחד מהם עם יהודי אחד, ובמשכה
מריבה ביניהם, וכאשר ראו הרועים שהי-
הודי היה מחליט ענינם הרגוהו. וס-
שם במשכה הרעה לכל המקומות אשר הסיג
יד הרועים.

אז שלחו היהודים שלוחים למלך צרפת
והיסב חרה לו מאד, כי מלך חסד היה,
ושלח רצים דחופים בכל עיר ועיר לה-
שאיר את השריד, וכן לכל הכומרים,
שיעמדו בגד הרועים ויבטלו מחשבתם
הרעה, כי לא באמונה הם עושים, ואם
אותותם אמת—שיבואו לפניו, כי הוא
יעזרם וילך לפניהם ללחום מלחמתם. וה-
רועים לעגו על הדברים ושחקו מאד מאד.
ואז היהודים העניים שלחו במרוצה
לאפיפיור והוא צוה חרם גדול בכל
המקומות שיקומו בגד הרועים, ולא
הועיל, כי הרועים היו רבים ואנשי
הכפרים נתלוו עמהם. וכן כל מרי נפש
ראו עת מזומן בגד היהודים.

A group moved on to the town Cordel with murder on their wicked minds... but the prince, Meltsar Tolosa (or rather, some merit of my fathers, the Patriarchs, who stationed themselves before our Lord to speak in our defense against our transgressions) sent many well-armed men to arrest them. They fought so valiantly that they brought back ten wagons full of prisoners.

When the monks learned of this, they rose at midnight and stole out to the road. They mingled with the people, released the shepherds from prison and spread a rumor that they had been miraculously set free. All the people in the district cried: "Behold, behold, the miracle of the shepherds." Inflamed by this false rumor, they furiously attacked the Jews, acting in such accord that in the first onslaught 200 people were killed by the sword.

A large number of my children had taken refuge in a fortress in Narbonne. When the news reached them that ten wagon-loads of enemies had been captured and bound, they returned to the city. But the traitor revealed the hatred he secretly bore toward me; he sold me

ויקומו הרועים ויהרגו כל היהודים הנמצאים במקום ההוא, לא במלם מהם איש.

ומשם הלכו לסרדיל והרגו שם כל היהודים הנמצאים, לבד מעט מעזר שנתנו בכסיהם לשרים שיהנואם בבתיהם.

וכאשר גודע הדבר לשר טולוסא שלח פרשים וצוה להם שיתאמצו לתפוש מן הרועים ולאסרם ולהביאם לפניו לסולו... שא. הלכו הפרשים ותפשו מהם רבים, והביאו עשר עגלות,

...והגעיו לסולוסא בלילה, ויקומו

כומרים אשר בעיר והתירו הרועים ובבוקר. הרימו קול ואמרו: איך בעשה גס לרועים? כי התירם המושיע והוא מורה אמתת עניינכם! ותהום כל העיר, ושמו פניהם להציל הרועים מיד המלצר טולוסא. והוא היה מבקש להצילם, ולא ראה כוח בידו.

והיהודים אשר ברחו למגדל צרבוה, כאשר שמעו איך בתפשו אותם הרועים, ולא ידעו מה נהיה אחרי כן, אמרו מעטם אין פחד כי כבר נפלו הרועים ומהרו לצאת מן המגדל.

וקפצו עליהם הרועים בדרך, והיודים היו מתאמצים כנגדם, ויצאה אנשי הכפרים לעזר הרועים, ונפלו מן היהודים

to the peasants in the villages and advised them to kill me on the road. And they fell upon that flock of sheep and ravaged them like famished wolves who see meat set before them. They had no pity on little children, on young or weak old women; they put people of all ages to the sword, forming a huge pool of Israelite blood. The bodies and bones were strewn along the roads, while others were left where they fell as a meal for the birds and dogs. (And the lord of the city himself was in great danger because he defended the Jews.)

In order to give them greater security, Meltsar Tolosa sent a relative of his to accompany them charging him to lead them to safety in the fortified city of Carcassone.

This stroke of misfortune spread swiftly to many distant places--Bordeaux, England (sic), Castelsarrasin and Agen; and in all these regions it was

מאה וחמשים איש.

וכאשר שמע מלצר טולוסא, יצא
הוא בעצמו נגד הרועים, ובקש
להוכיחם, והם בקשו לשלוח בו יד,
והוכרח להשיב אחור ימינו, ושם
למקומו.

והאיש חסד, ושלח לכל היהודים אשר
בסביבות שלא יצאו כי אם בנחון,
וכאשר יבואו הוא ישלח פרט קרובו
שיוליכם לעיר קרקאסונה, כי היא עיר
בצורה, ויוכלו להנצל שם.
וכל היהודים אשר באו מסרם ביד הפרש
והזהירו מאד שיזהרו בשמירתם כנפשות,
כי אין אליהם חסא מות. ואנשי הכפרים
בתיעצו עם הפרש, והוא מכרם, וקטל
בלילה ויהרגו כל היהודים.

ותבער האש הגדולה הזאת בכל מקומות
אינגאסירא ובורדיליש וקאסטיל טרזין
וגינאש, בכל אותם מקומות הלכו הלוח
והרוג.

constantly proclaimed that any Jew who was found was to be killed.

In the province of Toulouse-Bigorre, in the cities of Marsan and Condom, and in many others, a total of a hundred and twenty congregations was destroyed by sword as a result of this unfortunate rumor and the arrest of the shepherds in the wagons.

The Lord's punishment moved over me so frightfully that some Jews chose to take their own lives rather than await the enemies wrath, as the lesser of two evils.

Among these were the Israelites who were hiding in Catelsarrassin. They cast lots to decide who would kill his fellow; they all died in this way. The last two who remained, whose hands had spilled their brothers' blood, hurled themselves from the high tower and were dashed to pieces.

In Toulouse all the Israelites either died by the sword or converted to save their lives -- except one who escaped because of his close friendship with the lord of the city.

ומשם לעיר ביגורדה ומשם למורציין,
ומשם לקונדון, ולא הסאירו פליטה.
אלו הם עיירות גדולות, כי מהקטנות
אין מספר. וסוף הדברים נהרגו מיד
הרועים מאה ועשרים קהלות.

ובקסטיל סרזין נאספו רבים מהיהודים,
והרועים בקשו לשבור את הדלתות. וכי
ראו היהודים שאבד מבוס מהם אמרו: טוב
לנו להרוג את עצמנו, ולא בפול ביד
אלה! והפילו ביניהם גורלות, מי יהרוג
את מי, והרגו אלו לאלו מאתים בפשות,
ושנים הפולר עצמם מן המגדל.

וכאשר התחזקו הרועים, שבו לעיר
טולוסא, והמלצר יצא עליהם בחן
ובתחנונים ואמר להם: אחי ובעלי
אמובתי אתם, לא כאלה היודים הפושעים,
אבל בראה לי שאין להם דין להרגם, כי
אם להכריחם על דת מושיענו דת אמת, "
ועוד שהכתב לא אמר אלא שתבואו בגד
הימשעאן. והשיבו הרועים שאם יקבלו
היהודים אשר בטולוסא דת יסו שיסלקו

ידם מעליהם. אז המזור כלם את דתם.

לא נשאר בדת היהודים לבד אשה אחת אשר

נחנתא בבית שר אחד מכירה.

ובעיר (!) גאסקונה כלם נהרגו, לבד

עשרים...

And of the large number of
Jews in Gascony, only
twenty were left alive;
a cruel massacre was carried
out against the others.

In the town of Lerida, where
I thought that my shrewd-
ness would help me avoid
the enemy (who in one hand
carried the sentence from
heaven, and the other the
sword to execute it), seven-
ty people gave all their
possessions to the lord of
the city in return for his
promise of safe conduct to
the kingdom of Aragon; but
when they left the city the
nobleman revealed his deceit
and brutally massacred them
all.

... שנרחו לעיר לירידה.

ובכפר לואיס היו שלם מאות בפסות,

ושירים גדולים היו, ונחבו בכסיהם

לשר אחד לשיצוה פרסים עמהם ויביאום

בבטחון למלכות אראגון. ובצאתם

עליהם מן העיר. ונהרגו כלם.

במלכות אראגון היו בצרה עצומה,

ובאספו כלם לכל עיר מבצר. וכן

שלחו אל אפיפיור, והוא צוה לכל

ההגמונים שתחת ממסלתו שימילו חרם

על הרועים ישובו מדרכם, ולא הועיל.

והגמון טולוסא בן מלך אראגון היה...

The Jews in the king-
dom of aragon would have
been at death's door had
God's mercy not temporarily
stayed the Enemies hand by
giving them favor in the
eyes of a bishop, the son
of a king.

But when the shepherd saw
that the Accuser was not
succeeding with his evil
plan, they split into four

ועזר את קהל לירידה וניצולו. וילכו

הרועים בכל מלכות אראגון, וכמעט נאבדו

כלם...

groups, and proceeded to Valencia, Barcelona, Jaca and Monserrat.

When the man with the cross imprinted upon his shoulders arrived in Jaca, all the people prostrated themselves before him. The Jews had gone up on the wall, but four hundred were killed on the morning on the 17th day of Tammuz. Only ten escaped into the castle.

When a thousand and 500 shepherds (devils for my people) then went on to the city of Barbastro, all the Jews in the city and its environs felt anxiety and trepidation, like condemned criminals who look in vain for pardon.

In this predicament, the heavenly King had pity on his people. He touched the princes' hearts with compassion and moved them to try everything in their power to save the harried Jews who had escaped from such great misfortune.

The King of Aragon forthwith sent his son to destroy and wipe out all the shepherds and their company who were to be found in his kingdom. By his command, more than 2000 were hanged or impaled by spears, and many others fled. The whole region was thus cleansed of their venom.

...לולי כי המלך אראגון. מלך חסד היה
והתאזר על קהלות מלכותו, ושם פרשים
ושומרים בכל מדינה ומדינה...

...ועם כל זה היה מועיל, אלא שהאדון
דהן אלפונסו בן מלך אראגון שם
בפשו על דבר משפט, ובא לעיר אוסקה
ותפש מהם ותלה אותם, והעבירם מכל
מלכותו.

The king of France exiled the shepherds from his entire kingdom, and allowed the people to kill any who remained.

And the pope commissioned all bishops and prelates to destroy all of the shepherds under their jurisdiction.

When they were thus pursued, through the kindness of the One who governs the world, He at last rid all these kingdoms of these serpents; but my enemy brought them over to the kingdom of Navarre. The Jews of the congregation of Pamplona, terror-stricken at the news of their enemies' unwelcome arrival, set out for the nearby town of Monreal, three leagues away. But the men whom they paid to accompany them betrayed them and delivered them into the mouths of the famished wolves the hostile shepherds, and several Jews were killed. The rest fled and took refuge in Monreal, pursued all the way by the opprobrious shepherds.

But when the hunted Israelites arrived in the city, our Lord gave them strength. They turned against the enemies and fought very valiantly, killing a hundred and seventy. Among these was their leader, who carried the cross.

גם מלך צרפת הכריז בכל מלכותו,
כי כל הנמצא מן הרועים יהרג.

ויצאו הרועים ממלכות ארגון וינואד
במלכות באברה, ובאו לקהל פאנפלוונה.

וברחוק משם שלשה פרסאות, ושם מקום
מונריאל, והיו היהודים רבים, ויכו
ברועים מכה רבה וילכו משם.

He was killed by an arrow shot by the servant of a nobleman who was protecting us. When the others saw their leader lying dead on the ground they lost courage and swiftly turned their backs in flight.

Then the shepherds began to weaken. When three hundred moved to the city of Tudela, and saw that the Jews were strong there, they left unsatisfied like vixen which see a tender chicken safely perched on a high roost.

The rich among my children who were spared considered the great kindness which the Lord had shown in letting them escape, and they provided their poorer brethren with sustenance for three years, so that they might recover from the extreme poverty and destitution in which they were left. And in a

אחר זה אמר האֲנֹנִי דוֹן אלפונסו לאחד מפרסיו הגדולים, שאם יוכל לאזור כח בגד הרועים ולהכות את הבער יעשרנו עושה גדול ויבטאהו על כל סריו. אמר הפרס: ואיך אֵילֶךְ בַּגַּד כֹּונֶת האֵלֶּ? אמר לוֹ דוֹן אלפונסו: אִם הִיא כֹּונֶת האֵל—הוא יציל את הבער מידך, ואם הוא שקר—אתה תמיתהו! הלך הפרס ועשה מלחמה, והתאמץ לקרב אל מקום הבער, והסליך עליו חֶץ ונפל לארץ. ויראו הרועים כִּי מֵת גְבוּרָם ויָבוֹסוּ.

ויבואו חמֵשׁ מאות איש, אשר לא ידעו מִיתַת הבער, לעיר טודילה. וכאשר שמע הפרס יצא עליהם והרג מהם אֵין מספר, עד שנתפזרו אלו מאלו, והיו כדמות בורחים ממלכה למלכה.

וכאשר ראו הסורים וההגמונים כִּי הרועים נחלשו, היו עוֹסִים בָּהֶם שׁוֹפְטִים סִים מִכַּח חֶרֶם האֲפִיפִיור. ובזמן מועֵס סָפוּ תִמּוֹת הרועים כִּי אוֹתָם שֶׁלֹּא נִפְלוּ מִמֶּכֶת חֶרֶב נִפְלוּ מִמֶּכֶת דִּבְרִי, לֹא נִשְׁאָר מֵהֶם שְׂרִיד. אֲבָל אֵת אֲשֶׁר כִּבֵּד עָשׂוּ אֵין מִרְפָּא.

short while the gang of hostile shepherds was heard from no more, and their noxious memory was dissipated.

כן מצאתי כתוב בספר דברי הימים
למלכי ספרד והעתקתי אותו מלשון לעז
ללשון הקדש. ושמעתי כי בעיר סולידה
היו עשירים גדולים, וכי ראז אנדן
העניים מכל מה שעבר והתגדלו וקנצו
באוצרות הטיס ושמן לתת לעניים שלש
טבים. ובאשר ראז היהודים החשובים
אשר בצרפת ואשקנז גמילות חסד אחיהם,
עטו גם הם כדרך רחמנים בני רחמנים
גומלים חבד עם אחיהם בעת צרה וצוקה,
ישלם ה' פעלם!

The text of Verga number fourteen⁵² is also comparable
to Usque. Its parallel is in U III, 17.⁵³

Italy. Yr 5081 (1321)

הארבעה-עשר

After this terrible affliction which made destitute so many people, I was soon threatened by a new disaster.

The following year there arose a sister of the Pope, named Sancha.

במלכויות רומי היה שם אפיפיור איש
חסד, דובר מישורים, ובדמותיה והתנהגו-
תיו איש אמת. אבל היה לו אחות מאד
אוייבת ליהודים ומבקשת רעתם, ושם
האשה שאבגיסה.

She was as hostile toward the Jews as Haman who determined to destroy Israel in Esther's time. She often tried to provoke a massacre against the Jews, but her wicked plan did not succeed.

ומטבאתה את ישראל בקשה והתחננה לאחיה
האפיפיור שיגרש היהודים מכל ממסלתו.
ואמרה לו כי בהיות הוא במקום המושיע
— איך יסבול שיעמדו טונאיר בארצו וממ-
שלתו? ועוד שמיום שמרדו במוסיע בשאר
כלם טמאים טומאת בפסות, כפי מה ששמע

מהגמונים הקדושים, וכן בשאר
 טמאים מחטא אדם הראשון, ואותם
 שקבלו דת ישו בטהרו, והשאר בשאר
 בטומאתם; והוא יתבע עלבובו אם לא
 יגרשם מארצו ומקום קדושתו, היא רומא
 העומדת במקום קדש הקדשים היא ירו-
 שלם, ואם יגרשם הנה שכרו ממונו בגן
 עדן, כי ילמדו המלכים לעשות כמוהו.
 הטיב האפיפיור ואמר: סוף כל סוף אין
 בנשים דעת, שהרי אם מושיע מחל להם
 ואמר שהנוגע בעיניו—איך לא במחול
 אבנחנך ואין לאישה הסמוכה בפלך
 להבין בעומקות האלה, אין זה כי אם
 רוע לב! ומה שאמרת שלא קבלו טבילת
 ישו ובשאר טמאים, כיון שיש להם ברית
 מילה, כי רחם מושיענו לילדינו לבלתי
 ספוך דמם בילדותם וצאתם מרחם אמם,
 עד שיראה לנו פלא איך יתקיים זרע הי-
 הודי כאשר סופך דמו בזמן שהתיבוק
 בתכלית החולש.

וכי ראתה שאנגישה תשובת האפיפיור
 וכוונתו לא יספה לדבר אליו. ואחר
 ימים שבה אל שאלתה עם האפיפיור
 והביאה הגמונים שיעידו, איך בעברם עם
 צלם ישו ראו יהודים איך היו לעגים
 ורומזים אלו לאלו. וברוב לקחה וחלק
 שפתיה והעדירות ההם הסה אזנו וגזר
 גרוש כולל בכל ממשלתו. ועל זה היה

דוה לב כל היהודים בכל מקום שהקול
 בשמע, אבל תושבי מלכות רומי הגדילו
 ההפסד, כי באותם מקומות גדלו והעשירה
 וקנו בתים ובחלות וכסף וזהב ברבוי.

Finally she alleged a
 thousand crimes against
 me, and begged the Pope,
 her brother, to banish me
 from all his domains.
 In this she succeeded.

But when the general exile was proclaimed, bringing me great anxiety and vexation, our Lord elected to show me kindness and favor thru the virtuous King Robert of Naples and Jerusalem. He came to my defense, petitioning the Pope and reprimanding all who persecuted me.

In this way he delayed the the Pontiff until I had cast a sacrifice of twenty thousand ducats into azazel's mouth. This was given to the Pope's sister, and thereupon she had the sorrowful verdict revoked.

ובימים ההם היה מלך אחד בירושלם,
מלך חסד ואוהב אלהים, ונקרא שמו
רובירטו. ומלך זה היה לו אהבה ואחווה
עם האפיפיור. והיהודים שלחו שלוחים
אל המלך ההוא עם כנחה כראוי ושאלו
ממנו יבקש מאת האפיפיור ישוב חמתו
מהשחית, ושאלו לולאמר כל עניני
שאנגישה, ואין ממנה במשכה כל חרעה,
ואם יצטרך שידור בעדם—עליהם לשלם
מיד. ומצד אחר שלחו מהד ומתן לכל
ההגמונים שיפייסוה לאחריך להם זמן
הגירושים, ופעם יוכלו למכור בתיהם
ובחלתם ולקבץ מהונם והלוותם, וכן כדי
שיוכלו לדעת תשובת המלך רובירטו אולי
על ידו ימצאו תרופה למכאובם, וצווחו
לפניה ולא הועיל להם. ובהיותם בזה
והנה תשובת המלך רובירטו, וחזקם
ואמנם בדברים טובים. עוד שלח המלך
שלוחים לאפיפיור בדברים של מעם
ותחנונים, והוא השיב כי בכר יצא
מפיו ונדד לשאנגישה, אעפ"י שהיה
שלא ברצונו אין אחר דיבור ונדד
האפיפיור כלום, אבל אם שאנגישה
תתיר לו הנדד יוכל לחזור בו.
וכאשר ראה המלך רובירטו דברי האפיפי-
ור הבין הענין, ושלח שלוחים לשאנגישה
ונדד לה מאה אלף פרחים מצד היהודים
בתפייסה, וקבצו המעות ונתן לה. אז
שאנגישה נהפכה לאוהבת יהודים, והיא
התחננה אל האפיפיור שלא יגדש היהודים
מאדצו, כי נמכרו רחמים עליהם. אמר
האפיפיור: אין זה כי נמכרו רחמי
המעום אליך! ואז צוה האפיפיור לקרוע
סטר או כתב הגירוש ונשארו במקומם,
אבל עד הגיעם לזה הצר להם מאד.

The history of the expulsions of the Jews from England is presented in nearly identical form in Usque and Verga. The sections in Verga called 18 and 20⁵⁴ form a parallel to U III, 12 and 13.⁵⁵

England.Yr 5002 (1242)

On the isle of England,
I saw the Israelites
increase their numbers;
and in London alone, the
capital city of the
kingdom, there were two
thousand very rich
families tranquilly
spending their time in
exile as the Jews did
elsewhere in this kingdom.

Yet my security is not
natural, but alien and
deceptive, and misfortunes
in this life are the garb
which my soul always wears.
My troubles refused to
leave me.

They made a predicant
friar fall in love with a
beautiful Jewish girl,
contrary to the tenets of
both their faiths. Though
the friar secretly wooed
the girl for a long time,
he found no way to win her;
she spurned him and mocked
his notes and promises.
This only further inflamed
his illicit love. He could
no longer resist his rash
desire, so he doffed the
garb of his Christian
faith, and donned the
garments of Judaism. He

הסמונה עשר

האי אשר בקרא אינגלאטירה נעשה שם
שמד גדול ועצום בכל אותם קהלות
גדולות ועצומות אשר היו שם בימים ההם
בחכמה ובינה וכבוד, וביחוד העיר
הגדולה הנקראת לונדריש אשר היו שם
קרוב לשני אלפים בתים, כלם אנשים
בעלי חכמה ועושר.

העשרים

...ובדברי הימים לאשכנזים כתוב, כי
כומר אחד מכת הנקראים פיקריקאדוריש
חשק אשה אחת יפה מאד, והיא לא שמעה
אליו כי חרפה הואלה כפי דתה להנשא
לערל, לכן אם ימול אז תשמע אליו.
והכומר כפי חשקו ואהבתו שמע אליה
ובצגייר בצבע, ולקחה לו לאשה.

secretly became a Jew.
And when he made this
change, he was more
successful in getting the
beautiful Jewess to pay
attention to his courting.

The Jewess was poor and
fatherless, and under the
influence of her mother who
was a woman of weak
character, easily swayed
by a chance for gain. When
the mother saw the wealth
of the erstwhile monk, she
gave him her daughter in
marriage on the condition
that they leave the kingdom
of England because of the
great danger of their
situation.

But their actions were
discovered, and the monks
were greatly offended by
what the friar had done; and
the people taunted them.
To repair the honor of their
order, the monks endeavored
to incite the King against
the Jews by working through
the queen, whose relative
and private confessor was
a predicant friar. Further
whenever the monks ascended
the pulpit to preach, they
directed their messages
against the Jews. Under
their influence the popu-
lace developed a mortal
hatred toward me, and
sought ways to discharge
it.

Many false charges and
accusations they leveled
against me came to naught
because they were patently

וכת הדרושים כאשר שמעו, היה זה להם
לחרפה בוסף על שנאת היהודים, בקשו
לתת יד ביהודים. והכומר ההוא איש
חשוב, וכי המלכה היתה מתודית עמו,
הנקרא בלשון לעד קונפסור, וילכו
כולם, רוצה לומר כל הכומרים אל
המלכה ויגידו לה כל ענייני הקונ-
פסור ואיך היהודים גיירוהו ומלו
אותו. ותתחלה המלכה מאד וחשבה
מחשבות איך תקח נקמת כבודה מהיהו-
דים. והלכה לפני המלך והתחננה
והצפלה לפניו וספרה לו כל הענין ההוא,
ושאלה מאתו שיגרש היהודים ממלכותו.

ושם עשה החכם ר' אברהם ן' עזרא
אגרת, קראה אגרת שבת. והשמד היה
שימירו דתם. וכאשר עמדו על קדושת

mendacious. But the slander that I was clipping coins was easier for them to maintain. Many of the people arranged to assemble with coins they had secretly clipped in their houses and complained against the poor jews, claiming that they had received the coins from them.

Many other people made similar accusations to lend credibility to the charge. As a result then the complaint was received by the court, which did not need much persuasion to turn against me, it decreed, with the king's consent, that all my children be expelled from the kingdom. They were also to forfeit their estates in lieu of suffering the death penalty, the punishment prescribed for this crime by the laws of the land.

(Usque continues with a further accusation against the Jews about conversion of a monk, and the separation of the children from the parents, before they were expelled.)

When the monks saw the fortunes of the harassed Jews were waning, and that little effort was now needed to destroy them completely, they devised a new accusation.

השם, העלילו עליהם שהיו עושים
זיוף במטבע, ובאה הנבייה זו לפני
המלך, והמלך חקר ומצא כי מעלילים הם
היו מזיפים והיו מטילים האשמה על
היהודים, ובמלסו.

לימים שבו הנוצרים ונקשו מי שיעיד
נגד היהודים, ומצאו כרצונם איך ראו
יהודי קוצץ המטבע. ואעפ"י שידע
המלך כי הכל שקר, מפני המיית העם
בקם להסליך מעליו תרעומות אלו, ושמו
יקומו העם וחרב בידם כדרכם ואין
מציל, כי יבוא כנהר צר גרשם. והיה
גירוש זה שנת חמשת אלפים ועשרים
ליצירה.

(Verga has a disputation between the king and his counselors over whether or not to expel the Jews, and then continues at the conclusion of number twenty:)

ביום הב' שבו עוד לדבר מרעת היהודים
 עד הסיתו למלך, ויצא כרוז מלפניו
 שיצאו היהודים ממלכותו תוך שלש
 חדשים, והנשארים בסוף הג' ימותו
 בחרב ונכסיו לאוצר המלך. ועל
 קצת מהאנשים הרשומים העלילו שהם מלו
 הכומר, ונשרפו.

They charged that the Jews had converted a monk to Judaism in a Christian land, and that in return they had to be converted or die for the crime.

So by this time, the king and the princes and all the people--was bent on my destruction, and any insignificant occasion was sufficient to throw gunpowder and sulfur into the fire of their wrath (let alone this one which they considered so weighty), the demand of the monks and my enemies was granted.

To implement the punishment, all the young Jewish children were taken from their parents and sent to the end of that island, a place called "the north." There they were taught the Christian dictrune and faith, so that, separated from their parents they should not recall their ancient Law, and should completely lose the nourishment of the Jewish milk they had imbibed. Many of the parents perished from the unbearable grief which stifled them.

Further, to fulfill the last sentence, the Jews were banished from the

kingdom. Seeing their children remaining behind, they left with such lamentation as would have moved hard rocks to pity. Thus contrary to divine and human law, these people were given two punishments for their crimes, though according to all laws no one should suffer more than one penalty.

והיהודים הוכרחו לעזוב בתיהם
כאשר הם, ולצאת במרוצה מכל
המלכות, כי לא רצו לתת להם זמן
לשיוכלו לקבץ ממזונם ונכסיהם.

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

The expulsions from France are described by Usque in III,20.⁵⁶ Verga's sections twenty-one, twenty-four and twenty-five⁵⁷ combine to tell the same story.

France. Yr. of the World 5106

In this same year, in France, I was bruised by another kind of blow. I had returned to that kingdom to begin a new life, and acquire new possessions with which to spend my wretched exile amidst enemies.

Another Philip came to the throne, a son of Louis and grandson of Philip Augustus, who had treated me so cruelly. The new king, without offering any

העשרים ואחד
שנת חמש אלפים ארבעים ושש
ליצירה קם מלך אכזר ושמו פיליפי
בן פיליפ וגרש כל היהודים אשר
במלכותו. ונתאכזר מאד נגד היהודים

explanation for his actions but a hatred whose flame was stoked by wicked counselors proclaimed that all Jews found in his kingdom must convert to Christianity; if they refused, all their possessions were to be confiscated and they were to be banished from his kingdom.

Of the large Jewish population, very few were moved by this demand to barter their faith. They chose to endure patiently the dire poverty and misery to which they were reduced (they were left nearly naked) rather than to annul the covenant which the souls of Israel had made with the Lord on the mountain of Sinai. Thus, my children left France in the month of Ab, on the Christian holiday known as Magdelene day, mourning for all their stolen possessions as well (as for the destruction of the Temple).

Some were unable to endure their wretched state. Finding themselves naked, they could not resist their enemies' offer of twice the amount of their possessions which had been confiscated, and further great benefits if they converted, and they consented to baptism. Foremost among these were the Jews of Toulouse--except for a few who remained loyal

ולקח כל אשר להם, כספם וזהבם
וטלטל וקרקע ונתגרסו בערום ועריה
וחסר כל. והיו היהודים רבים
כחול באותם מלכויות, עד שאמרו
שהיו כפלים מיוצאי מצרים.
והקהלות ההם היו קהלות גדולות
בחכמה ובמבין. וכן כתב הר' לוי
בן גרשון בפירושו "מי מנה עפר
יעקב," וחבר מפירוש ההוא ס"ד
שנה אחר הגרש...

וסמך השנה ההיא מן הפרט "ויגרשהו
וילך," והיה גרוש זה בחודש אב
בחג הנוצרים הבקרא מרג' יליבא.

וקצת המירו דת, אבל מועטים היו
מאד, וקהל סולושה המירו כלם.

to Judaism. In this way the provinces were sown with Jewish seed, and many of the descendants of these Jews are still probably uncomfortable in the faith which their ancestors accepted reluctantly. It would not be implausible to assume that from these people stem the Lutherans, who have sprung up everywhere in Christendom. For since throughout Christendom Christians have forced Jews to change their religion, it seem to be divine retribution that the Jews strike back with the weapons that were put into their hands; to punish those who compelled them to change their faith, the Jews break out of the circle of Christian unity, and by such actions seek to re-enter the road to the faith which they abandoned so long ago.

Wherefore, O princes, you should consider how much harm you bring upon yourselves by compelling the Jews to accept your faith; for the ways by which mortals believe they can strengthen their purposes through injustice in the end becomes the means the undermines them and destroy them.

The king did not go unpunished for this tyrannical deed. Nine years later, while chasing a stag on a

העשרים ואבעה

שנת "כשלחו כלה גרש יגרש"

יצא המלך פיליפי במגרש לצוד ציד

ומצא צבי רץ ורץ אחריו בסוסו בכח

hunt, he was led astray
through rough terrain
and fell down a deep gorge.
He and his horse were dashed
into a thousand pieces.
The French people clearly
recognized this as a punishment
for his misdeeds.

When his son, the
virtuous Catholic King Louis,
succeeded him, he sought
to correct the wrong his
father had inflicted upon
me. He recalled me to his
kingdom and permitted me
through my industry to
replace my possessions.
Yet this blessing lasted
no longer than a will-o'-
the-wisp.

גדול, והנה לפניו חפירה גדולה,
ובפל שמה עם סוסו, ותשבר מפרקתו
ומת. וידעו הכל כי אכזדיותו
על היהודים גרם לו אותה מיתה,
כי כפי הסבב ראו שלא היה מספיק
אותה חפירה שנפלו שם ימות.

ואחרי המלך האכזר ההוא קם בנו
תחתיו, והוא מלך חסד ואוהב משפט
וצדק, וראה מה שאירע לאביו ושלה
שליה אל היהודים שאם ירצו שישובו
לעריהם בבטחון גדול, שהוא ישמרם
כבבת עינן. ורבים לאהבת ארצם
ומולדתם שבו לעריהם, כי כלל המלכים
מלכי ספרד וצרפת והשרים והיודעים
וכל בכבדי ארץ אוהבים היו היהודים,
ולא נפלה השנאה כי אם בעם אשר קנאו
ביהודים. ואם המלך יבטחנו והעם יקומו
— איך נוכל לבטוח? ובפרט במה שראינו
לשעבר כמה גידושים סבבו העם עלינו,
ומה הנאה בחסד המלך וסופטי ארץ
אם רצון העמים איגבן עמנו ומבקשים
תמיד רעתנו? לכן בשב באשר ישבנו
ולא נביא עלינו רוגז גרושים, ולא
בוסיה עוד לראותם עד עולם. ולמקצת
ימים סבו ואמרו: לכו בטובה לארצות
טולדתנו, כי היא אמנו, והמלך מלך
טוב וישר, ומה שיצא מפיו יקיים!
ושבו לאותם ארצות: ובדרכים שללו
אותם עובדי דרך, ושלה המלך חוקרים ולא
בדע מי הם. וצוה המלך יתנו ליהודים
מאצרותיו בגד ללבוש ומזון לאותה שנה,
כי על פיו באו בצל קורתו. וישבו
לבטח בעריהם.

Seven years later, on the peoples' petition, I was again exiled from France, though I was not deprived of my worldly goods.

Afterwards King John took the crown, and then his son Charles, who welcomed me once more to the kingdom. I lived tranquilly there as long as these two ruled. But when they departed from this life, another Charles had taken their place, the populace rose up against me, mercilessly killed me and robbed me, and expelled me from the kingdom even against the king's will.

Verga and Usque retell the history of the Black Death. It is represented by Verga number twenty-six⁵⁸ and by Usque III, 19.⁵⁹

Germany. Yr 5006

In Torti, a province of Germany, where my chil-

העשרים וחמשה

אחר שבע שנים חזרו והעלילו עליהם וגרשו פעם אחרת. אך המלך ההוא מלך ישר היה, וגרשם עם נכסיהם וממונם. ושלח עמם שומרים לסלא יגזלו אותם בדרכים. ולרבים מהם לא הועיל, כי הפשיטום בדרכים אנשי כפרים ועובדי דרך.

העשרים וששה

שנת חמשת אלפים וק"ס ליצירה היתה מגפה חזקה ועצומה בכל גלילות אשכנז וגלילות אליסביא ופרןבינצא ובכל גלילות קאטאלוציא. ובכל ספרי דברי הימים לא ספרו כמותה ולא נשמעה, לבד מגפת רומי, אשר כמעט חשבו שיכלו כלם, ובענין הכללות לא נשמע כמוה.

וקמו קצת מגיגי הארצות ואמרו, שהיהודים היו משליכין סמי מות בנהרות, ומשם

dren were thriving in number and riches, I saw envy breed such hatred in the populace that they sought any means to plunder and destroy them. When a dread disease came to the land, they found no better opportunity to put their evil inclination into effect, for not many years had passed since the plague had occurred in France. They asserted that the Jews had poisoned the water in the rivers and the wells, and cited the events in France as evidence. My offenses gave such force to this false charge that the populace did not wait for further proof but acted on this rumor which was circulating throughout Germany. They armed themselves and rose against the Jews, and sword and fire killed as many Israelite lambs as they could find.

Nor was my misfortune satisfied with these deaths in Germany. When a noxious rumor reached Catalonia and Provence, where the devas-

במשכה המגפה. אז בקצו כלם והלכו וצעקו לפני המלך וספרו לו כל המאורע.

שאל המלך: ומה יהודים יש מתים במגיפה? הסיבו העם: מהם לא מת אחד! אמר המלך: ואם יטילו פסם בנהרות—מה ישתו? וזה אני משיב לפי דבריכם, כי לפי האמת הוא גמנע שמזה במשכה מגפה, כי כמה סם יטילו בנהר אחד שלא יתבטל ברוב מימיו, ועוד, שאותם מימי מי בנהרות רצות ובאות אחרות במקומם והבאות אין בהם סם, ועוד המת מסם אינו מוציא צורסא, ועוד, לכן עתה אתם ושתו מי בורות ותראו אם בצלתם מן המגפה או לא?

וכי ראו העמים רצון חמלך יצאו משם, אבל כי ראו איש יהודי לועג עליהם לאמר: מה הועילו עלילתם? התאספו שנית ובקשו עדים כרצונם, ובאו בחצי הלילה ומטילין דבר בנהרות, ולא ידעו מה, והיו לוהטין לחיטות על הנהדות ולא הבינו. וכל כך באו עדים והעידו, וכל כך באו מספרים רעות על היהודים עד שהמלך אמר: לא יהא אלא ספק—ראוי לגרש אותם! קמו העם ואמרו: אחד שהמיתו מסנו עם רב—איך ילכו בלי עונש? והם עשירים מלאים מיגיענו ומן הרבית שאכלו ממנו, אלא וצוה המלך שימירו דת, ואם לאו—שיהרגום! והשרים עזרו בזה לאמר שימירו דת.

ואז היו גזירות כוללות בכל ארצות אש-כנז וארצות פרובנסא וצרה וצוקה אשר לא נהיתה כמוה, ומכל מקום האשכנזים עמדו על קדושת האל הגדול ועל תורתו

tation of the contagious illness had spread, similar killings and burnings were executed on my limbs. Out of fear of this punishment, some Jews changed their religion to save their lives; they escaped death by becoming Christians.

If these misfortunes had increased, brothers, I think that there would not have been a single Israelite left to relate these events in a European tongue. But God's mercy saw fit to take the sword from the Enemy's hand and not to destroy me completely.

The Jews were associated with the most despised elements of society. They were accused of plotting with the lepers in France to poison all the waters. This libel and its results is told by Verga in number forty-three⁶⁰ which is parallel to the account of Usque in III,18.⁶¹

France Yr 5081(1321)

הארבעים ושלשה

In the same year I suffered such an affliction that my flesh shrivels and trembles when I recall it.

Throughout France, a strange disease broke out which caused many deaths. There were diverse opinions as to the nature of this illness. Some doctors said that it was a mysterious plague which showed no symptoms in any part of the body. Others suspected that it

שבת פ"א לפרט בחשש תמוז היתה
הדבר כבד מאד בכל אותו מלכות,
ואמרו הבורחים כי היהודים בתיעצו
עם המצורעים אשר מחוץ לעיר, מפני
שהמצורעים היה להם שנאה עם תושבי
הארץ. שלא היו מספיקים להם מזון
כל צורך. וכי מצאו אותם מתיעצים,

ולא המירו כבודם.

was a poison. Most people came to believe the latter explanation. As they were considering the place of its origin, the enemies of Israel declared that the Jews in league with the lepers had in all likelihood poisoned the waters.

No sooner had this accusation been uttered, than it was given as much credence as if it had been witnessed. The tale began to spread, and it achieved notoriety throughout the kingdom. It was maintained as certain that the Jews and lepers had poisoned the rivers and wells in an attempt to destroy the kingdom. And since my misfortunes, even when they begin in jest, end as serious realities, all the Jews in France were arrested on this charge.

In their predicament, my children sought to demonstrate my innocence and the falsity of the charge. At a great cost to themselves, they sent for the most renowned and eminent physicians from abroad to examine the sick. After extensive experiments, in which they gave this water to dogs, they proved to the local physicians that it was not poison which was killing the populace but a strange illness (as a punishment for their sins).

והיהודים היו אומרים שיביאז הסם,
והמצוערים היו אומרים שהם יטילו
אותו בנהר.

והמלך בלי שאלה או חקירה עוד שלח
ותפשו כל היהודים שנעיר, ...

These discussion and experiments continued for nine months, and during that time the Jews were kept imprisoned, with the threat of death hanging over them continually, as they awaited the gloomy hour when the enemy would tear out their souls.

Finally, despite patent proofs given by the doctors, and despite the fact that the French had no reason or evidence to condemn me, the great offenses which I had committed throughout that kingdom saw to it that they sentenced five thousand to death as a sacrifice, while the rest were freed. The French offered to spare the lives of these five thousand and after they had been condemned if they became Christians. The Jews refused to accept such terms; with the divine name upon their lips, they were cast together into a fire whose flame was so high that it seemed to touch the stars. But their pitiful shouts and cries and those of their brethren who saw them soared still higher.

The large number who perished here under such great torment, as you can well imagine, brothers, left many widows and orphans shrouded in anguish, hunger and destitution.

...ועמדו בתפישה ט' חדשים.

אחר זה ידע המלך כי הכל עלילה,
ובתנאים ששם אותם במאסר, ואמר
כי אם מפני סיבואו לדת ישר הנוצרי.
והכה אותם ביסורין, ועמדו על קדושת
השם, ובשורפו חמשת אלפים בפשות,
לא בתור תפלה לאלהים.

The text of Benjamin of Tudela⁶² forms the basis for many accounts about the pseudo-messiah David Alroy. His account bears a marked similarity to both Usque and Verga, which parallel one another, although they are not drawn from Benjamin's text as will be seen by first reading Benjamin's text and then comparing the text of Usque III,8⁶³ with that of Verga number thirty-one.⁶⁴

ומשם חמשה ימים לעמריה ושם כמו כ"ה אלף מישראל. והיא תחלת
הקהלות הדרים בהרי חפתון כי שם יותר ממאה קהלות מישראל. והיא תחלת
ארץ מדי והם מן הגלות שהגלה שרמבאסר המלך. והם מדברים בלשון תרגום
וביניהם תלמידי חכמים. והם חונים ממדינת עמאריה ועד מדינת גילן מהלך
כ"ה יום. עד מלכות פרס ורשות מלך פרס עליהם ולוקח מהם מס על יד פקי-
דו. והמס אשר הם פורעים (בכל מלכות ישמעאל על כל אחד ואחד מן הזכרים
מבן ט"ו שנה ומעלה פורעין) בכל שנה נשנה זהב אמירי, שהוא זהוב ושליש
מראבטי.

ושם קם היום עשר שנים איש ושמו דוד אל רואי מעיר עמאריה ולמד
לפני ראש הפשיבה של גאון יעקב במדינת בגדאד והיה מהיר בתורת ישראל
בהלכה ובתלמוד ובכל חכמת בני ישמעאל ובספרי החיצונים בספרי החרתומים
והמכשפים.

ועלה בדעתו להרים יד במלך פרס ולקנץ היהודים היושבים בהרי
חפתון לצאת להלחם בכל גוים וללכת ולתפוס ירושלים. והיה בותן ליהודים
סימבי' בפותות שקר ואומ' כי הק'נ'ה" שלחני לכבוש ירושלים ולהוציא אתכם
מתחת עול הגוים והאמינו בו. וקראו אותו משיחבדז' ושמע מלך פרס הדבר
ושלח אליו לבא לדבר עמו והוא הלך אליו בלא פחד ובהתחברו אל המלך אמ'
לו אתה המלך של היהודים. ענה ואמר לא אני. כעס המלך וצוה לתפוס אותו
ולשמו בבית הסהר מקום אשר אסירי המלך אסורים שם עד יום מותם בעיר
דברזתאן אשר על שפת נהר גוזן הגדה הגדולה. ולקנץ שלשה ימים ישב המלך
לדבר עם שריו על דבר היהודים אשר הרימו יד בו. והנה דוד בא לפניהם
שהתיר עצמו מבית הסהר בלא רשות בן אדם. ובעת שראהו המלך אמ' לו מי
הביאך הנה או התירך אמ' לו חכמתי ותחבולתי כי איני ירא ממך ולא מכל

עבדיך מיד צעק המלך לעבדיו לאמר תפשוהו ועבו לו עבדיו אין אנו רואין אדם אלא בשמיעת האזן מיד תמה המלך וכל שריו על חכמתו.
ואמר למלך הנבי הולך לדרכי והוא הלך והמלך אחדיו ושריו ועבדיו אחרי מלכם עד בואם אל שפת הנהר והוא לקח סודרו ופרש על פני המים ועבב בו באותה שעה. ראו אותו עובדי המלך שהיה עבר במים עך הסודר ודלגו אחרי בדוגיות קטנות להשיבו ולא יוכלו ואמר אין מכסף בעולם כזה. ובאו- תו היום הלך מהלך עשרה ימים אל העיר עמאריה בשם המפורש והגיד ליהודים כל אשר קרהו ותמהו כולם על חכמתו.

ואחר כך שלח מלך פרס לאמיר אל מומבים אשר בבגדאד אדון היסמעאלים לדבר על ראש ישיבת גולה ועל ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב למנוע לדוד אל ראוי מעשות הדבר הזה ואם לאו אהרוג את היהודים הנמצאים בכך מכותי וישבו כל הקהלות ארץ פרס בצער גדול ושלחו אליו ראש הגולה וראש ישיבת גאון יעקב לאמר דע כי לא הגיע זמן הגאולה, כי אותותיו לא ראינו כי לא בכח יגבר איש, ואנחנו גוזרים עליך שתמנע עצמך מעשות כדבר הזה ואם לאו תהיה מנו- דה מכל ישראל. ושלחו אל דכאי בשיא אשר בארץ אשור ולר' יוסף ברהאן אל פלך החוזה אשר שם לשגר הכתב אליו ועוד כתבו הם כתב אליו. להזהירו ולא קבל. עד שקם מלך אחד ושמו זין אל דין מלך תורגמים עבד למלך פרס, ושלח בשביל חמיו של דוד אל ראוי ובתן לו שחד עשרת אלפים זהובים להרוג אותו בסתר ובא אל ביתו והרגו והוא ישן על מסמך ונתבטלה עצתו. ובא מלך פרס על היהודים ביושבים בהר. והם שלחו אל ראש הגולה לבא לעזרם אצל המלך ולפייסו ובפייס במאה ככר זהב שבתנו לו ותשקום הארץ אחרי כן.

Persia. Yr 4924(1164)

השלטים ואחד

At this same time, I saw a very great misfortune befall me in Persia.

כשבפייסנים קודם גזרה זו אשר אמרנו למעלה לישראל היו צרות עצומות על ידי איש בליעל אשר עשה עצמו משיח, והמלך חרה מאד היהודים באמרם שמבק-

שים בפילת המלכות אדר להם בבקשת משיח.

והארוה הוא בקרא שמו דוד אלדוד

מעיר עמדיה.

(In Hamaria there lived an Israelite named David Alroy).

In the city of Hamaria there was a Jewish community of a thousand families. It was the foremost of the communities that are nestled on the banks of the river Chapton, at the

והיה שם קהל גדול, סביב לאלף בתים

עשירים מלאים וחשובים ומוצלחים,

ואותו קהל היה תחלת קהלות היוש-

בות סביב נהר סבטיון והם יותר ממאה

קהלות והוא תחלת ארץ מדי, ולשונם

gateway of the kingdom of Media, whose language is Syriac. These communities are spread throughout the province of Samaria as far as the province of Ghilan, fifty days' journey away from the dominions of Persia. Here all the Jews over fifteen years of age paid an annual ducat of tribute to the king.

...He had studied under Chisdai, the most learned Jew in all the diaspora, and later under the head of the academy in the city of Baghdad. He thus became an expert in Talmud and all other disciplines, including witchcraft and magic.

Made conceited by his knowledge...(They joined him in a rebellion against the king, and killed many of the king's troops). ...he assembled a large group of Jews living on mount Chapton...

...and informed that that he was the messiah.

The ruler finally realized that the best way to handle David was through a strategem.

He feigned friendship toward him, inviting him to visit the palace, and gave his word that he

לשון תרגום, ומשם עד מדינת גילן
מהלך חמישים יום, והם תחת ממשלת פרס
ובחתינים לו מס בכל שנה מחמש עשרה שנה
ולמעלה דמיא אחד.

והאיש ההוא דוד אלדויד למד לפני ראש
הגולה חסדאי ולפני אדם גדול ראש
ישיבה אשר בעיר בגדד, והיה חכם
גדול בתלמוד ובכל חכמות חזוניות
ובכל ספרי החרטומים והמכשפים
והכסדים.

והאיש אלדויד בחזקתו וגובה לבד הרים
יד במלך...

וקבץ היהודים היושבים בהר חפתון,
והסית אותם לצאת להלחם בכל הגוים,
והיה מראה להם אותות ולא היו יודעים
במה כחו, והיו אנשים אומרים כי דרך
מכשפות ותחבולות היה, ואחרים היו
אומרים שהיה כחו גדול ע"י שם...
וההולכים בחברתו היו קורין אותו
משיח ומהלליו דמנשאין אותו.

ומלך פרס כאשר שמע ענייני האיש
ואין היה מצליח ומתקרב אליו ומקבץ
עמים, פחד בכנס בלבו מאד, ושלה לו
שליח שיבוא אצלו בבטחון גדול ושיראה
אותותיו, ואם הם אותות—ידע כי הוא
משיח באמת, ויבין כי האל המליכו ויודה

would be well received. David believed him and fearlessly came to the palace. The king questioned him, asking if he had really proclaimed that he was the Messiah whom the Jews were awaiting, and who would perform many miracles. David answered that he was and that the king should treat him accordingly.

David, deceived and imprisoned, availed himself of his wisdom. He used his magic so effectively that he broke his fetters, freed himself, and left the prison grounds after demolishing a strong wall with a mere word.

The king, on hearing this, sent a host of men on horse and on foot to search for him and recapture him.

When David Alroy heard that so many men had been dispatched to seize him,

בו ויכנע לעבודותו, כי הוא רצון
האל הממליכו. ודוד אלדויד בלי סום
מורא ופחד בא לפני המלך, ושאל המלך
ואמר: אמת כי אתה משיח? והשיב דוד
אלדויד: משיח אני וישלחני ה' לפדות
בני עם ישראל.

השיב המלך: אני אשימך בבית הסהר,
ואם תתיר עצמך מסם אדע כי משיח
אתה, ואם לאו—ענשך יהיה על סכלות
שלך מאסר לעולם, ולא אהרגך כי שומם
אתה.

ואחר שבתפס דוד אלדויד שלח המלך
לקרא לכל שריו ויעציו וישאל להם עצה
מה לעשות ביהודים הפורעים ומורידים
במלכות? ובהיותם באותה עצה שמעו
איך דוד אלדויד התיר עצמו מבית
הסהר והלך בדרך מרחוק ולא הכירו
איזה דרך הלך.

והמלך כאשר שמע שלח אחריו פרטים
ושרים לתפסו.

הלכו הפרטים וסבו אל המלך ומרו
לו: סמוך לנהר אנו שומעין קולו

he again used his skills. He came before all of them, invisible, and spoke to them. They only heard his voice, but were unable to see him, and they were dumbfounded and confused.

David then returned to the palace, where he spoke to the king in the same way. He said to him, "You are not powerful enough to catch me. Instead, you will now see me go before your eyes, and you will not harm me in any way."

As soon as David had spoken these words and descended the palace steps, he became visible. He removed his turban, spread it over the river Gozan, and crossed to the other side.

When the king and all his men saw this, they were astonished and amazed.

The king could not bear such an affront; he ordered his men to take boats and pursue and capture David.

ומראהו לא ראיבו. ואיך בוכל לתפוש? והמלך חשב שמא מרמה היא וע"י שוחד התירוהו, "אמר שאין יכולין לתפוש.

ואז רכב על סוס ורץ אחריהו הוא ועבדיו ושריו, והלכו סמוך לנהר ההוא ולא ראוהו, וקראו לו והשיב להם: אי שוטים הגבי הולך לדרכי, אם יש בכם כח—רדפו אהרי! ויפרוט סודרו בנהר גוזן ויעבור את הנהר וזה ראה המלך איך עובר וכן ראוהו עבדיו.

אז אמר המלך: דבר כזה אין כח לשום אדם כי אם למי שהמלך המליכו, רצוני לומר, מלך העולם, ומשם המליכו האיש הזה, ועליבו להודותך אמרו לו עבדיו ושריו: מצינו מעשים בכשוף ובמראית העין לבד.

אז צוה המלך שיביאו אניה שים ויעברו את הנהר. ועברו הנהר כמה פרשים רצים ולא הסיגוהו, כי הלך ביום ההוא

Yet all their work was in vain, for on that day David traveled the equivalent of ten-days' journey by skillfully harnessing the power that resides in God's ineffable name.

The king saw how little his might availed against David and how his forces were mocked. He therefore sought revenge in another way.

He proclaimed throughout all Persia that the Jews had to deliver David dead or alive or face death by the sword.

In tribulation and in anguish, the innocent Israelites were compelled to draft a letter to Emir el-Munemin in Baghdad, asking him to discuss with the princes of the diaspora whether they should kill David or deliver him alive, so that only one individual might be sacrificed and the rest escape death.

And they wrote to David himself, who was in that city, entreating him to desist from his folly and not to involve them in any more difficulties than those they already suffered in their captivity; if he did not listen, they were in danger of losing their lives, and they would be forced to excommunicate him.

To deliver these letters

מהלך עשרה ימים.

ובאשר ראה המלך שלא הועיל בדרך
זו לקח דרך אחרת...

ושלח שלוחים לראשי הגולה שיתפשו את
האיש ההוא ויביאוהו לפניו, ואם לא—
שיהרג את כלם בער וזקן יחדיו, ולכל
ראשי הגולה יענה ביסורין ואחר כך
ישרפם אחד לאחד. גם שלח כתב לאימיר
אלמועדין היושב בבגדד שיעשה בזה
כל החריצות אשר ראוי ויתרה לראשי
הגולה על הדבר הזה.

אז בקבצו ראשי הגולה ושלחו לדוד
אלויד שישוב משטותו, ואז טוב לו
לכל עדת ישראל אשר הם בסכנה
עצומה, ואם לא ישוב—שיהא מוחרם
חרם עולם בעולם הזה ובעולם הנצחי.

גם שלחו כתב אל זכאי הנשיא אשר

they sent Zakkai, the Prince of the Captivity, whom they summoned from Syria and Rabbi Joseph Borhan. However, these letters had no effect, and David paid no attention to what they wrote him.

The people realized their predicament. They continually offered prayers and fasts to the Lord for their deliverance until he answered them by raising up a Turkish king named Sin-el-Din, a tributary of the king of Persia. Sin-el-Din sent for David's father-in-law, who lived in his domain, and promised him ten thousand ducats if he would deliver David dead or alive. David's father-in-law, moved by the affliction of his brethren in Persia (not by reward), chose to kill him rather than to deliver him to the enemy's cruel torture. While David was asleep on his bed, his father-in-law killed him with a single blow on the side of the heart, and my children were at last freed from their anguish.

Then Sin-el-Din, the Turkish king informed the king of Persia of David's death. The king was delighted with the news and granted an amnesty to the rebels. They were a very large and

בארץ אשור ולרבי יוסף בכרן אלפלח החוזה אשר שם ושיכתבו גם הם בשמם, כי עת צרה היא ליעקב וצריך להצלתו רחמי שמים המרובים. וכלם שלחו לדור אלדויד להזהירו מאד ישוב מדרכו הרעה. וקבל כל הכתבים וקראם ולעג עליהם ושחק ולא שמע ולא חרד מפניהם.

והאל המרחם שם בלב מלך אחד, מלך תורגמה ושמו זיד אלדין, ומועבד היה למלך פרס, ואוהב היהודים היה מאד, ומכיר היה לחמיו של דוד אלדויד, ואמר לו: אתה ידעת את עמך, ואיך הם בצרה עצומה עם מלך פרס, לכן עליך להציל את נפשך ולהציל את עמך, עשרת אלפים זהובים יתנו לך היהודים ואני מבטיח עליהם ומכניס תדעם, אם תהרוג האיש ההוא החוטא אשר שם כמה בפשות בקיים בסכנה, גם שכר תקבל מאת האל, כי הצלת את עמך הבקיים.

והאיש ההוא להצלת עמו ולאהבת התועלת שם פניו לגמור הדבר. ובלילה ההוא קרא לדוד אלדויד אל המשתה, והשקהו כראוי, ובחצי הלילה ההוא בטוח וישן שכור, קפץ עליו וכרת את ראשו...

...והביא הראש ומסרה ביד המלך זיד אלדין. ואמר המלך כאשר ראה את הראש: דמך בראשך! והמלך זיד אלדין שלח הראש למלך פרס עם עדים באמנים כי הוא המשיח אשר שאל

rich group, and agreed to pay a hundred quintals of gold to be restored to the king's favor.

Our Rabbi Moses (Maimonides) writes about this event in a letter. He tells us that when the Sultan asked David whether he was the Messiah, he answered that he was. The king said to him, "What proof will you give?" David answered that he should cut off his head, and he would revive. The king said, "If this be true, I will compell my people to become Jewish," and he ordered David's head cut off. However, David has not yet come back to life, since this was really a shrewd trick; he preferred to die this way rather than by the many tortures he feared the enemy would inflict upon him.

At the conclusion of both the Usque and the Verga accounts there is a mention of the Iggeret Teman of Maimonides.⁶⁵ Usque, however, does not utilize any of the material, merely stating that information about Alroy is

עליו, וחמת המלך שככה מדוד אלדויד.
אבל מכל מקום אמר המלך שרצונו לקחת
בקמה מן היהודים הנמשכים אחריו,
ושאל מכלל הקהלות שימסרו בידו כל או-
תם שנמשכו אחר אותו ארור, והם הסיבו
כי אין מכירים בהם ואצלה יבקשום? אז
צוה המלך לתפושם, ומבית מאסרם שמו אמו-
צעים ונתפסו עם המלך בממון עצום,
והם מאה ככרי זהב.

והר"ם כתב, כי השולטן שאל לו אם הוא
משיח, ואמר: הן! ואמר לו: מה האות?
והשיב שיכרתו ראשו וישוב ויחיה. אז
צוה המלך וכרתו ראשו ומת, ואמרו כי
זה לו שלא למות ביסורין קשים. וקצת
מן הפתאים ממתינים שישוב ויחיה ועדיין
הסומא לא בא.

mentioned there, which is incorrect. Verga, however, does closely parallel the final section of the Epistle:

אגרת תימן או פתח תקוה
יש עליכם לדעת: כי בתחלת מלכות
ישמעאל עמד איש בעבר הנהר ואמר
שהוא משיח, ויצא בכלל עשרת
אלפים מישראל; והיה האות שלו:
שלן מצורע והשכים בריא. ולא
בשלם עסקו; ולא עמדה עצתו וחזר.
ונטאר ישראל אחריו בערי אספה
בעצם הגלות והתחדשו עליהם
בגללו צרות.

וכמו כן: עמד איש אחד במדינת
פאס, היום שמונה וארבעים שנה,
ואמר שהוא מבשרו של משיח;
ואמר שבאותה שנה יגלה—ולא יצא
דברו לאור, והתחדשו לישראל בגללו
צרות, והודיעני הדבר הזה מי שהיה
מצוי בכלן.

וקדם זה כמו עשר שנים, עמד
בארצות ספרד במדינות קרטונה איש
אחד ואמר שהוא משיח—וכמעט קם
היתה כליה על שובאיהם של ישראל
בגללו.

וקדם זה כמו שלשים שנה, עמד אחד
בצרפת ואמר שהוא משיח, ועשה או-
תות לפי סברתם—והרגוהו הצפרתים
והרגו עמו כלל מקהלות הקדש.

66
אמר שלמה ו' וירגה המעתיק:
מצאתי להר"ם שאמר כי בתחילת
מלכות ישמעאל עמד איש בעבר
הנהר, ואמר שהוא המשיח, והיו
ישראל בסכנה עצומה, ויצאו מכלל
הדעת עשרת אלפים מישראל. והיתה
האות שלו שלן מצורע והשכים בריא.
ובסוף גפל ונטארו ישראל בעצם
הגלות והשנאה. וכמו כן עמד
איש במערב במדינת פאס ואמר שהוא
משיח, ופתחדשו מצוקות רבות לישראל.
וקודם זה עשר שנים עמד משיח ב-
מדינת קורדובה וכמעט היתה כליה
בשארית ישראל. וכן בצרפת
עמד איש ונהרגו עליו כמה קהלות.
וכן בזמן הרשב"א קם משיח אחד,
כמו שכתוב בשאלותיו.

There are a number of sections of Verga which are drawn directly from Josippon. Although it is not always clear exactly which edition or manuscript Verga may have

used, the textual parallels are close enough to leave no doubt that this was indeed an important historical source for the composition of the Shevet Yehuda. One important section is Verga number one.⁶⁷

יוסיפון ע' ס"ד

ובשנת עשרים ושנים למלכותה החריב
קסיוס המלך במצות קיסר רומי...
ויעל גם על ירושלים ולחם עם
היהודים וילכדם, וישלול את ההיכל
...חשק אנטונינוס—מגדולי מלכי
רומי וקיסריה—את קליאופטרה
המלכה, כי הללו אותה אליו.

ויצא...וימלוך עליה. ומשם באה
ללכת ארץ טרסוס, כי שם היתה קלי-
אופטרה אז. וכשמוע קליאופטרה את
שמעו, יצאה ממדינת טרסוס הגדולה
לקראתו, ותקבלהו בשמחה, ותביאהו
אל המדינה. וילכו שניהם יחדיו
באלכסנדריה המדינה, ושם בשא
אנטונינוס את קליאופטרה לאשה.
ומשם הוליכה עמו אל רומא, ויגרש
את אשתו אקטביאה הראשונה—אחות
המלך אוקטביוס—עם בניה מביתו.
ומלכי הרומיים, כאשר שמעו את
הדעה והחרפה אשר עשה אנטונינוס
קיסרם, כי בשא אשה על אחות המלך
אוקטביוס, ויסכימו להסיר את כתר
הקיסרות ממנו. ויעש כן, וימליכו
לקיסר על כל מלכי הרומיים, את

השמד הראשון

בדמן אנטונינוס קיסר רומי, אשר
שם פניו לעלות על ירושלים בחיך
כבוד, הלוה עמו מלך אחד ממלכי
יון אשר בקרא שמו קיסיוס...
ובהגיע הקיסר סמוך לירושלים שמע
איך בתאלמנה מלכת מצרים, אשר
שמה קלופטרה, יוצא שמה כי אין
כמוה בארץ ביופיה, והקיסר הזה
חשק בה כדרך בשר ודם.
ושלח שלוחים למצרים לבקש עליה
בתרצית ולקחה לו לאשה, אבל בתנאי
שיגרש אשתו ראשונה אשר ברומי,
וכן עשה.

והמתגרשת היא אחות אוקטביוס
קיסר, וחכמי יועצי הרומיים, כאשר
ראו בנלה זו, הסכימו להעביר מאג-
טוניוסכתור הקיסרות ונתנוהו...

בראש אגוסטוס.

אגוסטוס אחי אקטניוס ואחי אוק-
טביאה.

אחר זה קמו קצת מאויבי היהודים
ואמרו, כי מלכת שלום ואהבה הייתה
לה עם יהודים והם יעצו לאנטוניוס
ומלכת מצרים על הבישואין ההם, כדי
שעל ידה יסלק אנטוניוס מלחמה מעליהם.
הם. וכאשר שמעו הרומיים הדבר
בזה, יעצו לקיסר אגוסטוס שילך
אל ירושלים ויקח בקמת אנטוניוס
ראשונה ואחריה—מהיודים.
אז הלך אגוסטוס בהיל עצום מכל
משפחות האדמה, כי הרומיים היו
מוסלים עד סוף העולם ובמשכה
המלחמה בין אנטוניוס ואגוסטוס,
ובצח אגוסטוס, ואנטוניוס ברח.
ואגוסטוס הקיסר הרג את קלופטרה
וטבי בניה עמה אשר לה מבעלה
הראשון.

ותהי מלחמה עצומה בין אגוסטוס
הקיסר ובין אנטוניוס המלך, על
גרש אחותו. ויגבר הקיסר אגוסטוס
על אנטוניוס המלך, ...
ויהרגו ויהרוג את קליאופטרה ואת
ביאוס וקסידיוס בניה.

The same is also clear for the opening part of Verga
number two. This is also undoubtedly drawn from Josippon:

השמד השני	יוסיפון ע' ס"א
בזמן בן סירא, ושמד גדול היה,	ובימים ההם הרגו הרומיים ארבע
ולא בודע אצלי סבתו, אבל מצאתי	רבוא גאלאטיואס. ובשנה ההיא היה
כתוב שיצאו מכלל הדת מרע"ה	יהושע בן סירך שר וגדול על היהודים.
שלשים אלף נפשות, ואותם שפטו	
על קדושת השם בשרפו.	

Baer also finds that Verga number twelve and number thirty-two are comparable to a number of segments from Josippon.
He has pieced these together and they form a large section of material.⁶⁹

Baer does not cite Nathan of Baghdad as a source of Verga number forty-two. Nevertheless, a comparison shows that these two are parallel sources, and that Verga's account is dependent upon the earlier account of the installation of the exilarch. A comparison of the two texts leaves little doubt as to Verga's source. The order differs somewhat, but there are repeated uses of the same terminology and phraseology.

These direct borrowings include the description of the collecting of the leaders of the Jews at Baghdad for the event.⁷⁰ The description of the official ceremony on Thursday is also in identical terms, although the order is inverted.⁷¹ The Sabbath services begin at the same point in the liturgy, with the cantor chanting "ברוך שמו" ⁷² As the service proceed, despite the fact that several items, including the Torah service, are in a different position in Verga's account, the sermon is described in identical terms.⁷³ Furthermore, the same addition is made to the Kaddish at the conclusion of the service.⁷⁴ The life of the exilarch after his installation is also described similarly, although Verga mentions a meal following the services of installation which is not in this section of Nathan, including

formation of a daily minyan at the house of the exilarch.⁷⁵ Finally at the Caliph's palace, the protocol of the visit is identical to the description of the manner in which the exilarch prostrated himself and arose.⁷⁶ A direct and full comparison if the rearranged text of Nathan shows that this surely is the source of the material which Verga is presenting:

<p>סדר התמנות ראש גלות ומה שאמר עוד ר' נתן הכהן על דברי ראש גלות היאך יתמנה והיאך יכרתו לו כל העם ברית בשעה שיתמנה כך הוא הדבר:</p> <p>אם הסכימה דת הקהל למנותו, מתקב- צין שני ראשי הישיבות עם בני ישיבתן עם כל ראשי הקהל והזקנים בבית אדם גדול שנבל, מגדולי הדור... וזה שמתקבצים בביתו מתכבד בכבוד, ויש לו שבת גדול בו, וכבודו מתעצם, בהקבץ הגדולים והזקנים בביתו.</p> <p>ומתקבצין בבית הכנסת ביום החמישי באים ראשי ישיבות, ונותנין יד עליו, ומברכין אותו ונותנין יד עליו</p>	<p>אמר שלמה: ראיתי לכתוב הנה סדר הנשיאים בבבל ובמלכות פרס, ולמה בתבטל, והוא מכלל הצרות. גם יודע הדור וכבוד אומתנו בזמן שעדין לחלוחית ממסלתם היתה עומדת. וענין זה מצאתי בתשובת גאונים ראשונים ז"ל.</p> <p>בשעה שישראל היו מבקשים להקים עליכם נשיא, והוא נקרא ראש הגולה, היו מתקבצים כל ראשי ישיבות וראשי עם בדיבים וזקנים ושופטים אשר במלכות, והיו באים לבבל, ומיחדים שם בית גדול מעוטרת בשם ורקמה ומושובין שם כסאות לכל ראשי הישיבות ולכל החכמים והזקנים, ושם כסא מהודר להושיב הנשיא, ושני כסאות מימינו ומשמאלו לראש ישיבת סורא ולראש ישיבת פומבדיתא, ושם קם ראש סורא ואומר לנשיא דברי תוכחות—לומר שלא ירום לבנו מאחור, כי עבודת ברוכים לו ולא ממסלה, שבאמר: "אם היום תהיה עבד לעם הזה." וביום הה' הולכים לבית הכנסת, ושם באים ראשי ישיבות, ונותנין יד עליו, ומברכין אותו ונותנין יד עליו</p>
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ותוקעין בחצוצרות וקול שופר
ומברכין אותו, ואומרים בקול רם:
יחי אדוננו הנשיא לעולם! הוא
בשיאנו, הוא ראש גלות ישראל!
ומלוין אותו עד ביתו, ושם חוזרין
ותוקעין בחצוצרות, ומתירין בו
שיבהג ביושר צדק ומשפט ומישרים
עם טוב ההבנה וההנהגה והסבלנות,
ועל מנת שהם טרחנים ורגזנים יקבל
עבודתם, כי היא עבודת שמים, שאם
"אלופינו מסובלים", רוצה לומר
יודעים לסבול "אין פרץ ואין
יוצאת", ויצאים מלפניו. וביום
הז' שולחים לו מתנות ודורות
מכסף וזהב וכל אחד לפי כוחו,

והוא טורח בסעודה ביום החישי
וביום הששי בכל מיני מאכל ומיני
משתה ומיני מגדים, כגון מיני
מתיקה.

ותוקעין בחצוצרות וקול שופר
ומברכין אותו, ואומרים בקול רם:
יחי אדוננו הנשיא לעולם! הוא
בשיאנו, הוא ראש גלות ישראל!
ומלוין אותו עד ביתו, ושם חוזרין
ותוקעין בחצוצרות, ומתירין בו
שיבהג ביושר צדק ומשפט ומישרים
עם טוב ההבנה וההנהגה והסבלנות,
ועל מנת שהם טרחנים ורגזנים יקבל
עבודתם, כי היא עבודת שמים, שאם
"אלופינו מסובלים", רוצה לומר
יודעים לסבול "אין פרץ ואין
יוצאת", ויצאים מלפניו. וביום
הז' שולחים לו מתנות ודורות
מכסף וזהב וכל אחד לפי כוחו,

ורחר זה הנשיא מכין סעודה גדולה
ליום השבת, כי שם יאכלו עמו ראשי
הישיבות וזקני העיר וגדולי המלכות
הנצמאים שם.

ובערב שבת בונים לו מגדל בבית הכנסת,
ומכסין אותו בבגדי משי ורקמה.

וכבר הכינו לו בבית הכנסת מבעוד
יום מגדל עץ... ופזרנים עליו בגדים
באים מן המשי ומן התכלת ומן הארגמן
ומתולעת השבי, עד שיתכסו כולו ולא
יראה ממנו כלום.⁷⁷

וכשמשכים ללכת יום שבת בבית הכנסת
רבים מגדולי הקהל מתקבצין עמו
ללכת בבית הכנסת. ובכנסים תחתיו
בחורים וותיקים, בעלי קול, בעלי
נעימה, וקולם ערב ובקיאין בתפלה
ובל עניניה. וראש גלות עצמו יהיה

וביום השבת הולכים לביתו בבקר כל
ראשי השבטות וראשי עם ומלוין אותו
עד בית הכנסת, והוא הולך לפניו,
כי כך מנהג המלכים והשרים במלכות
ההוא ללכת לפני עמם. וכשהנשיא
הולך פניו מכוסות בבגד משי ולא

יראו פניו.

מכוסה במקום עם ראשי הישיבות,
והבחורים עומדים תחת המגדל, ולא
ישב עליו אדם.

וחזן הכנסת מתחיל ב"ברוך שאמר",
והבחורים עוינים (אחריו) על כל
דבר ודבר ב"ברוך שאמר": "ברוך
הוא." ובהוא אומר "מזמור שיר
ליום השבת" עוינים אחריו "טוב
להודות לה'." וקוראין כל העם
כאחד פסוקי דזמרה עד שגומרין
אותן. ועומד ההחזן ופותח ב"נשמת
כל חי," והבחורים עוינים אחריו
"תברך את שמך." הוא אומר דבר
והבחורים עוינים אחריו, עד שמגיעין
לקדושה, ואומר הקהל אותה בקול
במוך והבחורים בקול רם, ומיד שות-
קין הבחורים והחזן לבדו משלים עד
"גאל ישראל."

ואח"כ מוציא ספר תורה וקורא כהן
ואחריו לוי. וחזן הכנסת מוריד
ס"ת לראש גלות, וכל העם עומדין.
והוא מקבל ס"ת בידיו ועומד וקורא
בה. וראשי ישיבת סורא מתרגס עליו,
ומחזיר ספר תורה לחזן, ומחזירה
לתיבה, וכשהוא מגיע לתיבה ישב
הוא במקומו. ואז ישבו כל אדם
במקומם...⁷⁸

וכשיושבין כל הקהל, יצא ראש גלות
מהמקום שהיה מכוסה בו. וכשרואים
איןם כל העם עומדים על רגליהם עד
שישב על המגדל שעשו לו. ויצא ראש
ישיבת סורא אחריו וישב על המגדל
לאחר שיתן לו כריעה כפוף ויחזיר לו.

וכשמגיעין לבית הכנסת מתחיל החזן:
"ברוך שאמר" וראשי ישיבות עוינים:
"ברוך אומר ועושה" ותחזור החזן
ואומר "ברוך גוזר ומקיים" והם
עוינים "ברוך עושה בראשית" ובאופן
זה עד "נשמת כל חי." אחר זה
מתקבצים החזנים וכל יודע בטיב שיר
סביב המגדל ואומר התפלה בנגון
עד הוצאת ספר תורה.

ואז מעלין הנשיא לראש המגדל,
ופניו מכוסות, וראש ישיבת סורא
ואחריו ראש ישיבת פומבדיתה
ומושיבין הנשיא בכסא שבמגדל
ומוציאין ספר תורה מן ההיכל,
ומביאין אותו אל המגדל לקרוא,

וקורא ראשון ואחריו ראשי הישיבות.
ואחר סיום הקריאה פותח הבטיא...

...ודורש...

...ועוצם עיניו מפני כבוד התורה,
ואם ירצה בותן רשות לראש ישיבת
סורא, ודורש לרבים דברי כבושין
ותוכחה, ומעורר הלבבות לצדקות
והגדבות הצריכות לתלמידי הישיבות.
והוא פותח תחלה בגדבה לפי עשרו,
ובגדבות עצומות היו עושים שם
לכבוד התורה וכבוד הבטיא.

אחר כך קמים כולם ומברכין את
הבטיא ואומרים "קדיש", וכשמגיעין
ל"בחיכון" אומרים: "ובחיי אדוננו
בטיאנו ראש גלות ישראל."

ואחר כך יצא ראש ישיבת פומבדיתא,
ויתן לו גם הוא כריעה, וישב
לשמאלה. ובכל זה העם עומדים על
רגליהם עד שיתקנו שלשתם ישיבתם.
ויושב ראש גלות באמצע, וראש
ישיבת סורא לימינו וראש ישיבת
פומבדיתא לשמאלו. ובינם לבין
ראש גלות מקום פנוי. ועל מקומו
פרשו עליו בגד באה על ראשו, ממעל
לכגדל, אחוז בחבלי בוך וארגמן.⁷⁹
ופותח ראש גלות ודורש בענין הפר-
סה של אותו היום, או יתן רשות
לראש ישיבת סורא לפתוח ולדרוש,
וראש ישיבת סורא בותן רשות לראש
ישיבת פומבדיתא, והם בזהגין כבוד
זה לזה, עד שפותח ראש ישיבת סורא.
והתרגמן עומד עליו ומשמיע דבריו
לעם, וכשדורש דורש באימה וסותם
את עיניו, ומתעטף בטליתו, עד שהוא
מבסה פדהתו. ולא יהיה בקהל, בסעה
שהוא דורש, פוצה פה ומצפצף ומדבר
דבר.

וכשורגיש באדם שמדבר פותח את עי-
ניו, ונזופלעל הקהל אימה ורעדה.
וכשהוא גומר מתחיל בבעיא ואומר:
"ברם צריך את למילף" ועומד זקן
החזן ואומר קדיש. ובשמגזע
"בחייכון וביומיכון" אומר:
"בחיי בטיאנו ראש גלות ובחייכון
ובחיי דכל בית ישראל."

אחר זה היה הבטיא קם על רגליו,
ומבקש תחבה ובקשה מאת האל לכל כת
וכת בפני עצמה, מפני הכבוד. ראשונה
מבקש תחבה על ראשי ישיבות שיצליחו
בתורתם ותלמודם, ואחר כך מבקש תפלה
על המתנדבים בעם, ואחר כך כל
מתפלל על כל העוסקים עם הצבור,
ואחר כך מתחנן על כל מדינה
ומדינה בפני עצמה, ואומר: מדינת
פלובית האל יברכה ויצליחה מחרב
מדבר ומכל רעות ובימים תושע יהודה
וכו'. וסוף זה היה אומר בקול
במוך שלא יסמעו הזוכרים שלא יאמרו
שמבקשים השפלת המלכות, כי לא יקומצ
אלא בהספלת אחרים!

והולכין אחר התפלה עמו לביתו שטים
ושמחים, ומושיבין הש לחבות ואוכלין.
ובברכת המזון אומר ברכה לבטיא
מיוחדת ומתוקנת. ומן היום ההוא
והלאה אין הבטיא יוצא מפתח ביתו,
וסם באים יחידים ומתפללים עמו בכל
יום, בין בחול בין בשבת.

וכשגומר הקדיש מברך ראש גלות
ואח"כ מברך ראשי ישיבות.
וכשהוא גומר את הברכה עומד ואומר:
"מדינת פלובית וכל בנותיה, כך
וכך בא מהן." וזוכר כל המדינות
שהן משלחות לישיבה ומברך אותן.
ואחר כך מברך האבשים שבהן,
סמתעסקים בנדבה, עד שתגיע
לישיבות.
חזן הכנסת מכניס ראשו בסדינו
בפני המגדל ומברך אותו בברכות
מתוכנות, שהתכינו לו מאתמול
שלשום, בקול גמור, כדי שלא יסמעו
אותו אלא היושבים סביבות המגדל
והבחורים שהם תחתיו, ובשעה שהוא
מברך אותו עובין אחריו הבחורים
בקול רם: "אמן!" וכל העם שותקים
עד שהוא גומר ברכותיו.
וכשיוציא ראש גלות, כל העם יוצאין
לפניו ואחריו, ואומרים לפניו
דברי שירות ותשבחות עד שהוא
מגיע לביתו... ומאותו העם ואילך
אינו יוצא מפתח ביתו. והעם
מתקבצין ומתפללין עמו תמיד בין
בהול בין בשבת בין בימים טובים.
ואם רוצה לצאת לעשות צרכיו רוכב
במרכבת המסנה כמרכבת שרי המלך
ובגדים נאים. והולכים אחריו
עד ט"ו אבשים, ועדבה יהיה רץ
אחריו. וכשעובר על אחד מישראל
רצים אליו ומחזיקים בידיו
ומסביהין פניו. וכן עושה כל אחד
מישראל שיעבר עליו, עד שיקבצו

עליו כמו ב' או ס' עד המקום אשר
הוא בא שם. וכשהוא חוזר אל ביתו
עוֹשִׂין כזה המבזה. ולעולם איבד
יוצא עד שהולכין אחריו כל
סיעתו...⁸⁰

וכשהוא רוצה ליפנס לפני המלך
לבקש ממנו דבר או לראות פביו,
מבקש אליו ונותנין לו רשות (ומצה)
על השוערים להכניסו. וכשהוא נכנס
רצין לפניו כל עבדי המלך. והוא
הכין בחיקו זהובים וזוזים שיתן
לאותם העבדים הרצים לפניו עד שלא
יכנס, והוא מכנס ידו לחיקו ונותן
לכל אחד ואחד מה שיזמין לו הקב"ה.
והם מכבדים אותו ואוחזין בידו עד
שהוא בא ועומד לפני המלך, ומשתחוה
לו, והוא רומז עליו, שהיה עומד על
רגל אחת וסדמך בשבית, עד שרומז
המלך לאחד מן העבדים עליו ולקחו
בידו ומושיב אותו במקום שרומז לו
המלך במקום שיושיבנו בו. ואח"כ
מדבב עם המלך, והמלך שואל אותו
על שלומו ועל דבריו ועל מה נכנס
עליו, והוא מבקש רשות ממנו שידבר
בפניו, והוא מרשה אותו. ואז מתחיל
בהלולים וברפדת המוכבים לו מקודם
לכן ומסזר לפניו ערבים עד שעושה
בקשתו ונותן לו כל חפציו שיבקש
ממנו, ויוצא משם ונפטר ממנו בשמה
ושלום.

וכשרוצה ללכת לדבר אל המלך שולח
שם שליח לקבל רסיון, והמלך אומר:
יבוא! ושולח לו מרכבת המשנה אשר
לו לתת כבוד לזרע דוד, כי כל
הנשיאים מזרע דוד היו, ולא היה
רוכב בה, מפני כבוד המלכות, אבל
הולכת לפניו, והוא הולך בלבוש
רקמה, וחמשים איש רץ לפניו.
וכשמגיע לחצר, סריסי המלך
יוצאים לקראתו ורצים לפניו עד
הגיעו סמוך למלך, ועבד הנשיא
עובר לפניו בכיס זהובים ומפזר
לפני הנשיא. וכשמגיע הנשיא אל
המלך משתחוה ואחר כך קם על רגלו
אחד, כי כן מנהג המלכות להראות
שהוא נכבד ועומד כעבד, והמלך
רומז לסריסיו שיויבו הנשיא בכסא
הסמוך לו לשמאלו, והמלך שותק
מעט, כי כן המנהג להראות כבודות
ואחר זה המלך הופך פביו אל הנשיא
ואומר: נשיא אי שלומך? והוא אומר:
שלום, שלום בחיי מלכנו וראות
פביו! ואחר כך אומר לו: אי שלום
עמך? ואז מתחיל ואומר שאלותיו.
ובתת שאלתו קם על רגליו, ואומר
ברכה מתוקנת בחכמה והולך לו.
לזמן כאשר ראו אנשי בבל גדולת
הנשיא, קנאו הסדים וגם עם הארץ.

ואמרו: הנה עם בני ישראל הולך
 וגודל, ומחר יקופו עם עזר זרע
 דוד, והם זרע מלוכה, וימלכו עלינו,
 לכן הנה נתחכמה! והסכימו כי
 בשיעבור הצטיא יהרגוהו, ואחריו
 ראשי היהודים. וכאשר נשמע כבית
 המלך יצאו לעזר, אבל הנטיא
 כבר נהרג. והצילו אצת שאר העם,
 וכשישראל ראו זה אמרו לבטל
 הנטיאות מן היום ההוא והלאה, והיה
 לו לזרע דוד כתב איך בא מזרעו, אבל
 לא שום שררה על ישראל, עד יסקיף
 וירא ה'.

In other cases, Verga uses only a brief excerpt from some known source in order to bolster the argument of a section or make it clearer. Some of these show the direct utilization of an extant text. If we compare number three with the Sefer ha-Kabbalah of RAbad,⁸¹ we note as did⁸² Neubauer that we must ignore Verga's citation. In reference to number four, both these texts have the same date.

The Wiener Gesera, suggested as a source of number thirty-six by Goldmann⁸³ shows the parallel story, with the Jews found dead in the synagogue. They are ordered to be left unburied, and so they remain, although Verga adds the story of the magical mountain burial.⁸⁴

Kabaks Jeschurun parallels the Diputation of Tortosa.⁸⁵

The pope states that he does not want to discuss the conditions for the Messiah, rather he is concerned with the 'aggadah which says that the messiah has already come. Verga adds the same words, placing them in the mouth of Don Vidal, stating that the Jews must follow the wishes of the pope. Between these two statements, Verga adds that the pope already knows that the Jews try to twist a question or discussion.

Verga's number seven includes a conversation with a prince of the Abravanel family of Seville, which is reported by Thomas.⁸⁶ This is parallel to Abravanel's commentary to Deuteronomy 23:20, his discussion of the words nokhri and nosri.

Other places show a text with a known parallel, although the common source of these accounts is as yet unknown or unidentified. One such case is the medieval chronicles of Abraham Zacuto,⁸⁷ Solomon ben Abraham and Joseph ben Zaddik, all of which share a common source for the report about the attacks of Gonzalo Martinez with Verga.⁸⁸ An interesting comparison centers around the dates reported in these chronicles. Joseph ben Zaddik reports 5100. Abraham ben Solomon has 5110, apparently in error for 5100.⁸⁹ Juchasin also reports 5100. Verga has

no year, but reports that it occurred during the reign of Alfonso the son of Sancho, son of Alfonso the Great of Castile.⁹⁰ The three apparently share a source. Abraham ben Solomon and Zacuto both tell of the purchase of land by Joseph of Ecija, whom Verga mentions. All deal with the fall of Abu Malik.⁹¹

Abravanel also appears to be the source of number fifty. This time, Verga is drawing from the commentary to Deuteronomy 28:15, known as the Chapter of the Rebukes.⁹² This is used to explain the great pogrom, although the chronicle of Don Judah Abravanel upon which it is based did not survive.

The work of Solomon Alami, Iggeret Musar, mentions the persecutions of 1391 and 1412 together. This is different than the accounts in contemporary sources.⁹³

Usque, so often parallel to Verga, has the same information in III, 21 as does Verga in number forty-four. Nevertheless, there is no clear link between the two texts, which deal with the downfall of the enemy of the Jews.⁹⁴ This is also true in comparing U III, 21 with Verga's number forty-eight and forty-nine. The same place names appear in these accounts of the persecutions: Seville, Cordoba, Ecija, Madrid, Illescas, Ocana and Huete. The same kind

of account is also given.⁹⁵

There are many ways in which Verga uses other texts in the development of the Shevet Yehuda. There are instances where Verga has copied another text as seen in number six about the Pastoreaux, which comes from the unknown source shared with Usque. There are also numbers eighteen and twenty which parallel Usque III, 12 and 13 in the description of the expulsion of the Jews from England. Verga's account of the Italian persecution in number fourteen is shared with Usque, and also from the unknown source. The descriptions of the expulsions from France are common to these two books, appearing in Usque III, 20 and Verga numbers twenty-one, twenty-four and twenty-five. The Black Plague is described in Verga number twenty-six by paralleled Usque III, 19. The same is true of the leprosy persecution and water-poisoning libel in Verga number forty-three and Usque III, 18. Usque III, 8 and Verga number thirty-one are both dependent upon Benjamin of Tudela for their account of the pseudo-messiah. The intermediary they used remains concealed. Verga also used Josippon for information about Anthony and Cleopatra,⁹⁶ the period of Ben Sirah⁹⁷ and the early history of Rome.⁹⁸ Finally, as we have shown, Verga utilized the writings of

Nathan of Baghdad for his description of the coronation of the exilarch.

At other times, Verga merely paraphrases a text so that his account is parallel to some extant account, but not identical. Verga number thirty-six paraphrases the Wiener Gesera. Another is number seven and Abrabanel, from which Verga drew an account parallel to Josippon about the early Roman kings.⁹⁹

There are also times when Verga apparently worked through an oral tradition. He did not always have a text before him, according to statements which he makes in various places in the book. In number thirty-four he tells us that he heard the information from a great scholar.¹⁰⁰ In number thirty-five he says that he heard the account from an accepted authority who came from France,¹⁰¹ while in number thirty-eight he mentions his source as R. Abraham ibn Arama.¹⁰² In number fifty-two, which probably is attributable to Joseph, we learn that this was heard from elders who left Spain.¹⁰³ In the case of one other account-- number sixty-one--he says that it has been heard but not seen written.¹⁰⁴

We also know of original material which is drawn from Verga's experiences. Among these are the occurrences

in Spain numbered twenty-seven, forty-five, forty-six, forty-seven and fifty. He also experienced events in other places, such as those described in numbers fifty-three, fifty-five, fifty-six, fifty-seven, fifty-eight, fifty-nine, sixty and sixty-two.

In other places, however, Verga does suggest that he had a text before him. He may have read these interpretively, or relied upon his own imagination, at times vivid, for details. Some of the texts seem to be multiples. He tells us in number thirteen: "There are versions of this story, but this is the way I saw it written in the chronicles of the French sages."¹⁰⁵ In another case he says: "And others who tell this story say that it was not at this time, but was (about) another decree for another reason."¹⁰⁶ He had multiple accounts for number thirty-three as well: "... because I saw many oral accounts which differed greatly..."¹⁰⁷ In number forty-four, he clearly indicates more than one tradition: "There is another oral version of this, but this is the way I found it written."¹⁰⁸

CHAPTER V

DID VERGA USE JOSIPPON, JOSEPHUS OR BOTH?

Josippon is a proven source of Shevet Yehuda, as Baer has correctly stated. The account of Anthony and Cleopatra in number one is drawn directly from Josippon.¹ The pogrom in the time of Ben Sirah is in part also drawn directly from Josippon.² Baer conceives of number seven as reminiscent of Josippon. The names of the kings--Latinus and Janus--appear in both places. So too does a mention of the worship of Sabbethai and Lucifer. Also mentioned are the names of the people Verga lists. Other events such as the founding of the Samaritan Temple and the death of the elephants in the Hasmonean Wars, as well as the destruction of the seige tower in the final battle for Jerusalem are all derived, at least in part from Josippon.³

Verga claims to have translated number twelve and number thirty-two from the Latin, but the source is Josippon. The words are from the speech by Joseph ben Gurion ha-Cohen to the Jews just before the destruction of the Temple. So too, in the chapter about the Temple service, the Consul

Marcus appears in Josippon, as does mention of the letter of Versoris.⁴

A number of additions to this list were made by E. Schochet in the notes to the 1946 edition of the Shevet Yehuda. He notes in number eight the statement, "There are those who say that she is the woman..." is drawn from Josippon, Chapter 3.⁵ On the same page, Schochet notes: "And there are those who say that it is the inclination of man..."--apparently on the basis of the statement: 'Which is the hero--he who conquers his (evil) inclination,' Avot, chapter 4, 1. In Josippon and his sources it is 'the truth' and not the 'inclination of man.'"⁶

Notes were also added to the acknowledged citation of Josippon number one. In reference to the decision to stop the war against the Jews, Schochet notes that the conversation is the invention of Verga, although similar to other statements in Josippon.⁷ He also attributes the statement "Do not lay upon me the sin..." to Josippon, Chapter 89.⁸

Schochet also added notes to number seven. In reference to the story of Manasseh and Sanballat, he correctly points to Josephus as the original source, although Verga apparently used Josippon as his immediate text. There is much which Verga added on his own to this account.⁹

Death by starvation is also mentioned in Josippon, but in chapter eighty-one.¹⁰ Schochet calls Johanan the prince of the breakthrough in relation to the battle for Jerusalem.¹¹ He finds that the story of the four youths who left Jerusalem comes from chapter eighty-seven of Josippon.¹² Schochet lists Josippon chapter twenty-four as the source of the elephants story.¹³

There are also added notes to number sixty-four. He finds information about the size of the Temple of Solomon and Herod in Chapter fifty-five.¹⁴ His other discussion of Herod also is from Josippon, chapter eighty-nine.¹⁵ The description of the completion of the Temple buildings in Herod's time is seen as an erroneous understanding of Josippon, shared with Abravanel.¹⁶ Verga's statement that Herod built the Temple to accommodate the pilgrims is possibly drawn from one of the Josippon versions.¹⁷ The vine in the Temple appears in Josippon, chapter fifty-five,¹⁸ as does the golden sword.¹⁹

There are several other possible uses of Josippon of note. One of these is in number seven, a possible parallel to Josippon. Schochet believes that the proximate source is Abravanel. In the telling of the war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus,²⁰ we learn that both brothers

sought the aid of Pompey. Aristobulus sent tribute to Damascus, which is described: "And the tribute was a golden vine weighing five hundred talents of gold with precious stones and pearls."²¹ Josippon writes: "And Aristobulus also sent a gift to him (i.e. Pompey), a golden vine weighing five hundred talents and also a garden of gold called the Terphin in Greek."²²

Both Josippon and Verga also give the same account of ancient worship. Both mention King Janus, who is the same figure with the same legend attached to him. The accounts are parallel.²³ Verga also mentions the writings of Titus, although there is no known author in antiquity by that name. Josippon claims Titus wrote about the deeds of Pompey.²⁵

Nevertheless, some of the sections which Baer and Schochet mention as derived from Josippon cannot be accepted without qualification. In relation to the account of the golden vine, Josippon gives two accounts, of which neither is really attuned to Verga's.²⁶ In Josippon chapter thirty-eight, there is both a vine and a garden, while Verga has only a vine. In chapter fifteen, the affair is again discussed. Mention is made of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus contesting for the support of Pompey. Josippon

ends with Aristobulus as king, while Verga has Aristobulus led away in chains. These would seem to exclude Josippon as a source in these cases.

In seeking a better source, Josephus must be tested. The books of Josephus had been published in both Latin and Spanish in Spain during the lifetime of Solomon ibn Verga.²⁷ They certainly were current in the non-Jewish culture of his time. A major question may clearly be asked by observing the texts in relation to the death of the elephants. It is to be noted that Verga agrees with the Spanish and Latin texts of Josephus, both of which indicate that Eleazar stabbed the abdomen of the elephant, while Josippon uses the specific term for navel.²⁸

The Latin text of Josephus reads:

Eleazarus aut frater eius que Maurone vocabant: vides sublimori elephatu ornatu loricis ii regulibus & putans in eo seder regi accessit ad eu virtute & multos circa elephantue pimes: alios disperit & fugere copulit. & sub ventre elephati ingressis eu pcussit. Qui mortali plaga pcussus mories cecidit: & Eleazaru fuis copressum, poderibus interemit. (italics are mine)²⁹

The Spanish is virtually identical in meaning and in choice of words as well.

Eleazar su herman, al qual llamuan
Auran viedo un elephante mas alto que los

otros adoniado con guarniciones de Rey sobre el con muy grande animo arremetio a el: y matado mucho antes que llegalle a el, y los otros dieffende miedo lugar a que passasse, metiose debaxo de la barriga del elephante, y comole matasse de una herida, el murio juntamente cayendo sobre el todo peso que llevaba..."³⁰

Similarly the study of Josephus produces his account of the Golden vine sent to Pompey. He writes: "A little later Pompey came to Damascus and marched over Coele-syria; at which time there came ambassadors to him...out of Judea, for Aristobulus had sent him a great present which was a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents."³¹

On the basis of this information gathered about Josippon and Josephus, it can be concluded that Josippon is a source which Verga used freely. This is delineated in Baer, concentrating on the account in number one about Anthony and Cleopatra, the account in number two about the time of ben Sirah, the various small sections in number thirty-seven, the sections of twelve and thirty two which Baer elucidates and the names used in number sixty-four describing the Temple service.

There are however, places where Josephus seems to be the superior reading to Josippon and might be considered a source, such as the texts presented above about the Elephants and gift of Aristobulbus to Pompey.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

¹Isidore Loeb, Josef Haccohen et Les Chroniquers Juifs, (Paris: A. Durlacher, 1888). Extract from La Revue les Etudes Juifs.

²Heinrich Graetz, Geschichte der Juden (leipzig, 1873), esp. vol. 8.

³Fritz Baer, Untersuchungen ueber die Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda (Berlin; C.A. Schwetschke und Sohn Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1923).

⁴Martin A. Cohen, ed. Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

¹Isaiah 59:21. The translation is from the Jewish Publication Society, 1917.

²"God watches over the Jews in the most important matter, which is keeping the faith of Moses our teacher, peace be upon him," Solomon ibn Verga, Shevet Yehuda, p. 119.

³Leviticus 26:36.

⁴i.e. Spain; cf. Obadaiah 1:20.

⁵i.e. France; cf. Obadaiah 1:20.

⁶i.e. Germany and Central Europe.

⁷Verga, p. 120.

⁸Amos 3:2.

⁹Verga lists a paremters of this disintegration jealousy of religion, jealousy of women and jealousy of wealth.

¹⁰Verga, p. 141.

¹¹Ibid., p. 142

¹²Ibid., pp. 142-143.

¹³Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁴The list also includes arab lands, Jerusalem, Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Naples, Spain and Portugal.

¹⁵cf. Verga, p. 224, note to p. 154, line 24.

¹⁶Ibid., p.155.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 160-161.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 28.

²⁰Ibid., p. 32.

²¹Ibid., p. 63.

²²Ibid., p. 72(#29).

²³Don Samuel ha-Levi is unknown in other sources, but also appears in number forty-one. This could possibly be a reference to Samuel Abulafia, (d.c. 1361) who was chief treasurer to King Don Pedro the Cruel(reigned 1350-1369). cf. Baer, pp. 46-47.

²⁴Verga, p. 126(#61).

²⁵4004 = 244 C.E. The account is drawn from the letter of Sherira Gaon(c.906-1006) who gives the more reasonable date of 4229(469), although this, too, is long before the Hegira. cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol 14, col. 1381.

²⁶Verga, p. 21(#3).

²⁷i.e. 1112 C.E., but since this is based upon the Almohad conquest of 1146, Schochet suggests 4950(1190).

²⁸Anusim means forced converts and is generally applied to those who secretly maintain their old faith.

²⁹Verga, p. 21(#4).

³⁰Verga names the location "Cities of Greece," although Istanbul is clearly meant. cf. Joshua Starr, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204."

³¹Verga, p. 72(#28).

³²Ibid., p. 94(#39).

³³Samuel ha-Nagid, Ismail ibn Nagrel'a(993-1055/6) vizier of Granada, whose career as statesman, poet, scholar and military commander mark the highest achievement of a Jew in Moslem Spain. cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 14, columns 816-18. His son was Johoseph.

³⁴Verga, p. 22(#5); Verga says this originated in the worksof R. Abraham ben David of Posquieres(c.1125-1198), who was the leading Rabbi of Provence in his time. cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 2, columns 136-139.

³⁵Note the affinity of this section to number thirty-six, which Goldmann claims is based on the "Wiener Gezera" although Schochet notes a parallel in Sefer MA-aseh Nissim of Eliezer Lieberman ben Yiftah Yoseph, #10.

³⁶Verga, p. 91(#34).

³⁷Ibid., p. 92(#36). Goldmann claims this occurred in Vienna in 1421.

³⁸or 1321; this occurred in France,

³⁹Verga, p.116(#43).

⁴⁰i.e. the noahide laws, or seven laws considered by rabbinic tradition to be the minimal moral duties for all men, as discussed in Sanhedrin 56-60. cf. Encyclopedia Judaica vol. 12, column 1189.

⁴¹Verga, p. 51(#9).

⁴²Manuel I of Portugal reigned 1495-1521, during the period of Portugal's great discoveries. Abraham Zacuto was his astronomer. He forced conversion of the Jews (May 30, 1497) but protected the conversos after the Lisbon riots of 1506. cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol 11, col. 899.

⁴³Verga, p.59(#13).

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 78.

⁴⁵i.e. Pope Martin V (1417-1431) may have discussed theology with a Jew. He issued an edict forbidding expulsion of Jews in 1422, although he was later forced to withdraw it. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 11, column 1063.

⁴⁶Verga, p. 107(#41).

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 161.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 26f(#7).

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 59(#13).

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 63(#17).

⁵¹Isaac Hamon was physician in the court of King Abdullah of Granada in the second half of the fifteenth century. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 7, col. 1248.

⁵²Verga, p. 93(#37).

⁵³i.e. 1390.

⁵⁴on anusim, cf. note 28 above.

⁵⁵Verga, p. 71(#27).

⁵⁶i.e. 1391.

⁵⁷Verga, p. 119(#47).

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 118(#45).

⁵⁹172 or 1412.

⁶⁰Verga, p. 118(#46).

⁶¹i.e. his commentary to Deuteronomy 28:15. This does not specify Vincent Ferrer, but is more general.

⁶²Verga, p. 120(#50).

⁶³Ibid., p. 120. Shevet Evrato is unknown.

⁶⁴R. Judah ibn Verga was apparently a relative of Solomon whom he seeks to commemorate in this book. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 8, col. 1203.

⁶⁵Verga, p. 127(#62).

⁶⁶i.e. in 1497, converting all the Jews to Christianity.

⁶⁷Verga, p. 125(#59).

⁶⁸year 1506.

⁶⁹Verga, p. 125.

⁷⁰Ibid., p.124(#58).

⁷¹Ibid., p. 122(#53).

⁷²Ibid., p. 123(#56).

⁷³Ibid., p. 123(#57).

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 123(#55).

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 120(#50).

⁷⁶As Joseph states, he utilizes here the text of Abravanel's commentary to the opening of the book of Kings in his language. The differences that appear apparently are copying errors.

⁷⁷1492.

⁷⁸Isaac Abravanel(1437-1506) statesman, philosopher and exegete born in Lisbon who served successively King Alfonso V of Portugal, Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain and the Kingdom of Naples. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 2, columns 103-109.

⁷⁹It would be incorrect to attribute #52 to Solomon as he himself was among the generation which left Spain. Rather, it was probably added by Joseph.

⁸⁰Verga, p.122(#52).

⁸¹Moses Hamon (1490-c.1554) succeeded his father as physician to Selim I and Suleiman(1520-1566) becoming the leading court physician, he was able to intervene on behalf of his fellow Jews.

⁸²Verga, p. 78.

⁸³Suleiman the Magnificent(1520-1566). Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 14, columns 503-504.

⁸⁴Amasiya was a chief district in Northern Turkey and important during the reign of Suleiman. There was a blood libel there during the reign of Suleiman, between 1530 and 1545. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol.2, col. 794.

⁸⁵Jacob ben Joseph Aboab perhaps to be identified with the Jacob ben Isaac Aboab, known as the last gaon of Castile who fled to Constantinople. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 2, col.: 91.

⁸⁶Verga, p. 144.

⁸⁷It has not been possible to locate Joseph's source for this material. Schochet suggests a secular chronicle.

⁸⁸Turgama, or Turkey, and Teman or Arabia(Genesis 36:11, Jeremiah 49:7, Ezekiel 25:13, Amos 1:12, Obadaiah 1:9, Habakkuk 3:3). Turgama is a later usage.

⁸⁹These names appear in the Bible: Edom in Judges 5:4, I Samuel 4:47, etc.; Moab in I Samuel 14:47, Genesis 36:35, Exodus 15:15, Numbers 21:29,22:3, etc.; Canaan in Genesis 12:5, 16:3, Leviticus 25:38, Numbers 34:2, Deuteronomy 32:49, etc.; Philistia in Psalms 87:4, 108:9; Midbar Sinai is the wilderness of Sinai; Mitsrayim(Egypt) in Genesis 13:10, Exodus 21:21, etc.; Ludim in Genesis 10:13, I Chronicles 1:11; Cushim in Genesis 10:6; Utz in Genesis 10:23 and Job 1:1, etc.; Yavan(Greece) in Isaiah 66:19 etc.; Meschah in Psalm 120:5, Ezekiel 38:2,3; Tiras in Genesis 10:2, I Chronicles 1:5; Aver ha-Nahar(across the river) refers to the East bank of the Jordan River.

⁹⁰Belgrade was conquered in 1521.

⁹¹February--March, 1524.

⁹²Verga, pp. 144-145. Note the similarity to the outline of the book of Esther, also used as a model by Solomon in number ten.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹Fritz Baer, Untersuchungen ueber die Quellen und Komposition des Schebet Jehuda, Berlin, 1923.

²Ibid., pp. 1-2.

³Antonio Pacios Lopez, ed., La Disputation de Tortosa, Vol. I, (Madrid-Barcelona: Instituto "Arias Montano" 1957) pp. 315-333.

⁴Baer, pp. 38-39.

⁵Verga, p. 94.

⁶Baer, p. 39.

⁷Ibid., pp. 40-41. Baer identifies Solomon Isaac as Solomon Maimon.

⁸cf. Baer, p. 42, note 2.

⁹Baer, p. 45; Verga, p. 104.

¹⁰Bonastruc Desamestre, a prominent citizen of Gerona was among the delegates invited to Tortosa by Pope Benedict XIII because of his erudition. Cf. Jewish Encyclopedia, vol 3, pp.302-303.

¹¹Baer, p. 40.

¹² Fortalitium Fidei by Alfonso D'Espina, a Franciscan proposed a plan for heresy hunting among converts. It is seen as a harbinger for the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 8, column 1382.

¹³Consolations for the Tribulations of Israel, by Samuel Usque, translated into English Martin A. Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965).

¹⁴Baer, p. 18.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 47. The texts of the Spanish chronicle:

1) don jucaf de ecija que ovo grand logar en el casa del Rey et grand poder en el regno con la merced que el Rey le facia.

2) et porque aquel Don Jucaf de Ecija...traia grand facienda et muchos cabelleros et escuderos que la aguardaban et era hombre del consejo del Rey et en quien el Rey facia fianza.

Verga writes:

והמלך...הפקידו בכל מלכותו איבנו גדול במלכות קאסטיליא ממנו הסכנה למלך...ויהיו ליוסף משרתים בני שרים אוכלים על שלהנו ויעש לו מרכבה וסוסים וחמישים איש רצים לפניו.

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¹⁷Baer, p. 35.

¹⁸Iggeret Musar by Solomon Alami(d.1415).Adolph Jellinel, ed.(Vienna:1872).

¹⁹Baer, p. 35.

²⁰Valladolid Laws of 1412, paragraph 19 (Baer).

²¹Goldmann, "Das Judenbuch des Scheffstrasse zu Wien," in Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden In Deutsch--Oesterreich, I, 1908, p. 112.

²²The text of the Wiener Gesera reads: "Da es taget, schrien die ירושלים auf die יהודים in der Schule, so entwert inen nimanen; so sprachen si: vielleicht schlafen si, mir wele hoch schreien; sie horten aber kein antwert, so gingen si auf das Dach, un' sachen die קדושים do ligen...Als bald befel der דוכוס, man solt si werfen fuer di stat auf das Feld, so legt man si nit weit von einem Weingarten. Da geschah es ein נס, das auf si fil ein steinen Mauer, so lagen sie as in einem קבר un' kein כלב noch חיה noch בהמה ruert keinen an.

²³Baer, pp. 18-19. The Almohades were a fanatic Berber Dynasty whose conquest of Spain in 1146 ended the

flourishing Jewish community life there. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 15, col. 225.

²⁴Baer, pp. 14-17.

²⁵Ibid., p. 21.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 19-20.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 2-12.

²⁸Usque III,17 and Verga #14 and #19.

²⁹Baer, pp. 23-25.

³⁰Usque III,18 and Verga #43.

³¹Baer p. 25, Usque III,19 and V^u_erga #26.

³²Usque III,20 and Verga #21, #24 and #25.

³³Baer, p. 21.

³⁴Ibid., p. 22.

³⁵Usque III,21 and Verga #27. Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican friar, is reported to have brought thousands of Jews to the baptismal in 1411.

³⁶Baer, pp. 26-30.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 30-34.

³⁸Verga, p.25; Usque III,16 and Verga #6.

³⁹Baer, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 3-5.

⁴¹Baer suggests Cordel written with a cedilla.

⁴²Verga lists:

Usque has fortalezs narbona (Fortress of Narbonne) while Verga has migdal narbona (Tower of Narbonne).

⁴³Baer, p. 5. Martin di Lucena is unknown.

⁴⁴Usque III,8 and Verga #31.

⁴⁵Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, Marcus N. Adler, ed. Benjamin Travelled between 1159 and 1173 for unknown reasons. Page numbers are references to the manuscript pagination as this corresponds to both Hebrew and English texts in the reprint of the 1907 edition.

⁴⁶Place names:

Benjamin:	עמדיה	הרי חפתון
Usque	Hamaria	rio habiton
Verga	עמריה	נהר סבטיון

⁴⁷David's name and his teacher:

Benjamin	דוד אל ראוי	ראש הישיבה של גאן יעקב
Usque	David Aldui	o mayoral de cidade
Verga	דוד אלדויד	אדם גדול ראש ישיבה

⁴⁸i.e. Rosh Golah; Usque has "O mas letrado judes de todo desterro."

⁴⁹Benjamin writes: ...וכי איני ירא סמך ולא מכל עבדיו. מיד צעק המלך לעבדיו לאמר תפסוהו וענו עבדיו אין אנו רואין אדם אלא בסמיכה האזן... (79)

⁵⁰Usque, p. 174.

⁵¹Baer, p. 16.

⁵²i.e. touca in Usque; Verga has .

⁵³see above, Chapter III, p.

⁵⁴Baer, p. 18. This would indicate that Usque and Verga are removed from one another by more than one generation of historians, which Baer considers, although he does not reach a conclusion on this point.

⁵⁵On Abravanel as a source of Usque, see Usque, pp. 274-277.

⁵⁶Usque III,12 and Verga #18 and #20.

⁵⁷Baer, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁸Usque III,20 and Verga #22 and #23.

⁵⁹i.e. Saint Louis.

⁶⁰Baer, p. 32.

⁶¹Iggeret Musar, op. cit.

⁶²Usque III,21, and Verga #27.

⁶³Baer, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁴Baer, p. 35.

⁶⁵Joseph ben Zaddik (late fifteenth century), Abraham ben Solomon (B. 1482) are in Adolph Neubauer, ed. Medieval Jewish Chronicles; Abraham Zacuto (1452-c.1515) ed. Filipowski.

⁶⁶The texts of 1391 and 1412 use the same words:
 1391: אנושי הכפרים... ומקצתם היו ניצולים בתת יגיעם ומסובבם לרודפים...
 1412: וקצת מהם ניצולו בתת נכסיהם לעוברים, אנושי הכפרים.

⁶⁷Baer, pp. 26-31. The process of corruption as outlined here is interesting and humorous.

⁶⁸Verga's list omits Valencia,

⁶⁹Baer, pp. 28-29.

⁷⁰Baer, p. 79.

⁷¹Verga, p. 34 line 14-15.

⁷²Baer, p. 61.

⁷³Pope Martin V--see above Chapter II, note 45.

⁷⁴Pope Benedict XIII, the anti-pope Pedro de Luna (1395-1417) whose hostility toward the Jews was often in evidence tried to use the Disputation of Tortosa to convert the Jews of Spain after his expulsion from Avignon in 1411. Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 4, col. 482.

⁷⁵Verga, pp. 73, 160 and 50. Juan de la Vera lived in Granada in 1478.

⁷⁶Baer, p. 63.

⁷⁷Verga, p. 66.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 118.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 90.

⁸⁰Baer, p. 63.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 64.

⁸²Graetz, 4th edition, p. 173.

⁸³Baer, p. 66.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 66.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 70.

⁸⁶Verga #59 and #60.

⁸⁷Baer, p. 70. Cf. Alexandre Herculano, History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, (New York: KTAV Publishing, Inc., 1972), pp. 130-133.

⁸⁸Zacuto writes:

צורר היהודים

Abraham ben Solomon writes:

הוא הרשע המלך מאנויל

Elia Kapsali writes:

ושמו דון עמנואל ואף כי שמו המגואל היה מורה על טובה בהפך כמן רגע וגדל הנגע ולא עמנו אל.

M. Lattes, De vita at scriptis Eliae Kapsalii, (Padua: 1869), p. 83. Cf. Baer, p. 71.

⁸⁹Verga, p. 157.

⁹⁰Baer, p. 74.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 69-70.

⁹²Joseph ibn Verga, son of Solomon, was a student of Moses Hamon and lived in the Ottoman Empire. He published the first edition of the Shevet Yehuda c. 1570, dedicated to Sūltan Sulaimān. Cf. M. Wiener, Das Buch Schevet Jehuda, (Hannover: Carl Ruempler, 1856), p. vii.

⁹³Joseph's gloss about Turkey is on p. 78. Another addition is on p. 120 in Verga.

⁹⁴Baer, p. 68.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

¹Verga #9; (612-620), who was an Arian Christian despite Verga's date of 800.

²A thirty day period of grace was also given to the New Christians for repentance before the introduction of the Inquisition. cf. Baer, The Jews of Christian Spain, pp.444-456.

³Verga, op.cit. p.141f.

⁴Ibid, p.142. "אמר המלך, לפי מה שאתם יסרתם אונו, אם היה קורע הים להטביע אתכם לא להציל..."

⁵Ibid., p.143. "מפני שהגויים מסבת שנאתם לא ינקשו עלינו רחמים."

⁶Verga #38

⁷Verga #37

⁸R. Isaac Hamon was royal physician in Granada ca. 1475, during the reign of King Abdallah.

⁹In Verga #49, the Valladolid restrictions of 1412, the prohibition of the practice of medicine specifically omits the royal physician.

¹⁰Verga, op.cit., p.63

¹¹Ibid., p.72

¹²cf. Verga #7, etc.

¹³Verga, op. cit. p.29.

¹⁴Ibid., p.29 "יש להשיב כי זה הוא יהודי ליהודי, אבל יהודי ההורג את הנוצרי לא נחשב לו לאדם..."

This kind of argument rests upon the responsibility in the case of a goring ox, in which a Jew is responsible for the damages to the ox of another Jew. cf. Mishna Baba Kama, 4:3.

¹⁵cf. Abravanel to Zechariah 12:1, where the difference between a notzri(Christian) and a nocri(Pagan) is discussed.

¹⁶Verga, op.cit. p. 78. The characters are fictitious.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁸i.e. Martin V. cf above chapter III, note 73, and Masechet Sofrim 15a.

¹⁹not identifiable, but an archetype for the convert in pursuit of the Jews.

²⁰Verga, op. cit. p.117. Schochet suggests that Verga's models were Torquemada (?1420--1498) and Queen Isabella(d.1497).

²¹Ibid., p. 32.

²²Ibid., p. 32. "כבר ידע המלך החולי המביע אתכם ושהדין עמכם, שהיודים הארורים לקחו ממנוכם..."

²³Ibid., p. 141.

²⁴cf. Abravanel to II Kings, end.

²⁵Verga, p. 34. Schochet notes a similarity to Flavius Josephus, Against Apion, II,6.

²⁶Ibid., p. 31

²⁷Ibid., p. 127. כי שלוש קבאות עצומות הם: קבאת הדת, קבאת בסיס, קבאת ממון, וכולם בישראל עם האומות כי כבר התחילו בספרד לתת עיניהם בבנות הארץ מרוב ההרגל וקצתם לקחו היתר לאמר כי אין בו אלא מלקות ולא ראו כי קבאים פוגעים בו ויש בו כרת מדברי קבלה ועל כל

העובות שאם תתעבר הוליד בן לעבודה זרה...
...ועל הכל כאשר ימצא איש גרוב או גוזל מסילים את האשמה על כולם כדרכם.
cf. Sanhedrin 81a et seq.

²⁸Ibid., p. 27(#7)

²⁹Ibid., pp. 33f.

³⁰Ibid., p. 34, the king says: "And here our fathers the great kings bragged that they were of the seed of Godosh (Goths) and some of the writers say that Goth was a descendant of Jacob the Patriarch..." but the Jews are all of the seed of David.

³¹Ibid., p. 21(#4).

³²agunot and yebamot--married women separated from their husbands and cannot remarry or obtain a divorce from him(aguna), or it is uncertain whether or not he is alive; yebama applies to levirate marriage.

³³Verga, op. cit. p. 144.

³⁴Ibid., p. 158.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 72-73.

³⁶Ibid., p. 119. ודי בזה הוראה שהאל משגיח בנו בדבר
עיקר והוא קיום דת משה רבינו עליו השלום.

³⁷Ibid., p. 21. ...כי הדת המוכרחת אין תולעת בה לעולם.

³⁸i.e. Noahide Laws.

³⁹Verga, p. 51(#9).

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 78("The story of King Don Pedro the elder and the Wise Man Nicholas of Valencia").

⁴¹The book was written after the forced conversions of the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century, when the conversos were already being persecuted as Jews. cf. Fortalitium Fidei).

⁴²Verga, p. 124(#58).

⁴³Ibid., p. 144.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 46(#8).

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 59 (#13).

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 63(#17).

⁴⁷Martin di Lucena is unknown other than in this citation.

⁴⁸Verga, p.117(#44).

⁴⁹cf. Baer, pp. 2ff.

⁵⁰cf. Usque, pp. 186-190.

⁵¹Verga, pp. 22-26.

⁵²Ibid.,pp. 60-61.

⁵³Ibid., p. 190.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 66 and p. 67.

⁵⁵Usque, pp. 180-185.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 192-194.

⁵⁷Verga, pp. 69-70.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁹Usque,p. 192.

⁶⁰Verga, p. 117.

⁶¹Usque, pp. 190-192.

⁶²Intinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, pp.77-79.

וברום הצלחתכם הוא זמן המלך
הראשון שאול לוקח היה את בניכם
לרוץ לפני סוסי והנערות
למבטלות ואופות.

ראיתי בעיני כי אתם מחפשים
מיתתכם בברות ועם אבקת שריפת
בית אלוהיבו
...אני איני דואג על שבי חומותיך
באשר כבר נפל...

האם הוצרך אברהם אפילו תפילה
כאשר לקחו ממנו שרה בשכבו על
מטתו בגף ה' את פרעה וכאשר חשב
לגלות מסתורי שרה גלה ה' מסתורי
פרעה לעיני הרופאים ולא הועיל
וכאשר הקיץ אברהם מצא שרה בצדו
וכתר מלכות בראשה.

אי ירושלם מי הביא עליך אויב כי
אם בניך מי השיא אנטוניוס
וקאסיאנוס ומי הביא ברוך קיסר הלא
בניך שלחו בעדו מפני מחלקותם

...וימלוך עליכם שאול בן
קיש ויתר המלכים ועבדתם אותם
והיו בניכם לעבדים לו הטובים
מכם למשרתים ובנותיכם היקרות
לרקחות ולטבחות ולאופות...
...כי אתם הנוערים מכל
הגוים ומחפשים המות בברות

...של מה בוטחים מעתה הלא
שתי החממות נהסרו ולא נשארה
רק אחת...

...ועתה...זכור את אברהם אביכם
...במה נצח את פרעה...כי אנסו
ויקח ממנו את שרה אשתו רק כי
חלה את פני ה' בתפילה ובתחנונים
ויצר ה' את רוח פרעה וישב לו את
שרה אמו...כי אברהם אבינו ע"ה
היה שוכב על ערשו במצוחה והשקט
ובשלווה ובבטחה ופרעה המושל היה
מתנגע ומתכאב במכאובות ובנגעים
...אשר בגעו ה' על דבר שרה...על
אשר חמד אותה המושל פרעה...
ויקחנה אליו למען עשות לה נבלה
ולגלות אליו את מסתוריה ולא נתן
ה' לאומיו לגלות מסתוריה אמנם
עקב אשר בקש לגלות את בשרה ולגבל
את מסתוריה גלה את בשרה להראות
מסתוריו ואת אברי ערותו לרופאים
...ואחרי זה הרבה המושל פרעה
להלבישה בגדי חמדה ולשלחה בכסף
וזהב ואנבים יקרין והיה אברהם
אז יושב בביתו והנה שרה באה
אליו בכל מיני מחמדים וגם
בכשרון צניעות טהורה וקדושה...
...כי מי הביא רומיים על
עיר ירושלם ראשונה כי אם הורקנוס
וסוסיאנוס שרי הרומיים על ירושלם
אם לא הורדוס...ומי קרא את ברוך
קיסר למלוך עליכם הלא אתם
קראתם אותו

⁷⁰Nathan ha-Bavli, "Seder ha-Yeshiboth," in Sifrut
ha-Historit ha-Yisraelit, p. 65.

נתן: "מתקבצים שבי ראשי הישיבות עם כל ראשי הקהל והזקנים..."

וירגה: "מתקבצים כל ראשי ישיבות וראשי עם נדיבים וזקנים..."

⁶³Usque, pp. 174-176.

⁶⁴Verga, pp. 74-77.

⁶⁵Iggeret Teman, end.

⁶⁶Verga, p. 77.

⁶⁷Josippon, p. 64f., Verga, pp. 19-20.

⁶⁸Josippon, p. 63 and Verga, p. 20.

⁶⁹Baer, pp. 53-55.

ואתה אחי אהובי מה לכם להלכם עם
הרומיים והם מושלי הגוים...
ומשלו עד אפסי ארץ עד ברסניאה...
ובכל ארץ סקוטיניאה... ויוסביה
עם כעבקים...

... והלא ידעתם כי מתחלה היתה
עזרתו עם אנשי מצרים וימשילם בכל
העולם ואחר כן סר מעליהם ויהי
עמכם והמשילכם על כל הגוים...
ביד הכשדים וביד אשור ופרס...
ועתה עזב אותם ויהי עזרתו עם
הרומיים...

... ועתה... באומרכם במותה יחד ולא
בעבוד את מלכי הגוים... ושאלו בא
מימי אבותיכם מתי הייתם חפשים
בלא אדונים ולא היה עליכם עול
גוים.

והלא ידעתם כי בא יעקב אבינו ע"ה
... ונבטה שכמו לגור במצרים באדמת
זרים וזרים...

והלא ידעתם אשר ברדת יהודה עם
אחיו מצרימה קם יוסף
כמתנכר על אחיו... ושם היה יהודה
הנכבד בבני ישראל... והיה יכול
להכניעו אלף פעמים לא רצה...
גם לו הסית מהמצרים עצום מה היה
נחשב בעיניו... והוא לא כן עשה
במה שכמו לסבול עול ויעבוד את
יוסף... וגם שם היה יוסף... וסבל
עבודת בית פרעה...

... עוד ראו מזל הרומיים צומח הם
מושלים עד ערי בריטאניה ועד הרי
העבקים...

... אנשי מדי עברו תורות הסכל
וכעס עליהם יהמליך אנשי כשדים
כעס עליהם והמליך היוונים כעס
עליהם והמליך הרומיים כעס עליהם
וימליך אתכם אם תטיבו דרכיכם...

... וכי תאמרו איך בשתעבד ולעולם
היינו חפשים אתם תאמרו לעולם ואבי
לא ראיתי שעה שלא הייתם משעובדים
... אחד היה אברהם בחכמה ועושר
והסתחוו כמה פעמים לעם הארץ
ויעקב בשתעבד תחת יד המצריים
כי דיע שרצון האל הוא.

ומגבורת יהודה ויוסף (!) ואחיו היה
להחריד את מצרים כל שכן להרוג את
יוסף ויראו לגשת לפי שהאל
המליכו

⁷¹Ibid., p. 65..

בתן: "ומברכין אותו ונותנין יד עליו ותוקעין בשופר..."
וירגה: "ונותנין יד עליו, ותוקעין בחצוצרות וקול שופר ומברכין אותו."

⁷²Ibid., p. 65.

בתן: "וחזן הכנסת מתחיל ב' ברוך שאמר'..."
וירגה: "מתחיל החזן 'ברוך שאמר'"

⁷³Ibid., p. 65.

בתן: "ופותח ראש גלות ודורש בענין...או יתן רשות לראש ישיבת סורא..."
וירגה: "ופותח הנשיא ודורש...ואם ירצה בותן רשות לראש ישיבת סורא..."

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 65.

בתן: "ואומר קדיש, וכשמגיע 'בחייכון וביומיכון' אומר: 'ובחיי בשיאנו
ראש גלות ובחייכון ובחיי דכל בית ישראל'."
וירגה: "ואומרים קדיש, וכשמגיע לבחייכון אומרים: ובחיי אדוננו
בשיאנו ראש גלות ישראל."

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 66.

בתן: "והעם מתקבצים ומתפללים עמו תמיד בין בחול ובין בשבת ובין
בימים טובים."

וירגה: "ושם באים יחידים ומתפללים עמו בכל יום בין בחול בין בשבת."

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 66.

בתן: "...עד שהוא בא ועומד לפני המלך ומשתחוה לו, והוא רומז עליו שהיה
עומד על רגל אחת וסומך בשבית עד שרומז המלך לאחד מעבדיו עליו ולוקחו
בירו ומושיב אותו במקום שרמז עליו..."
וירגה: "וכשמגיע הנשיא אל המלך משתחוה ואחר כך קם על רגלו אחד...והמלך
רומז לסריסיו שיושיבו הנשיא בכסא..."

⁷⁷This paragraph should follow:

"וכשמסכים ללכת יום השבת...עמו ללכת בבית (!) הכנסת."

⁷⁸The Torah Service in Nathan comes just before the Kaddish.

⁷⁹The paragraph beginning "וחזן הכנסת מכניס ואשר..." is placed here in Nathan.

⁸⁰This paragraph is not really paralleled by Verga, but note that in the description of the exilarch's march to the palace he is preceded by fifty runners.

⁸¹Sefer ha-Kabbalah of RAbad, or Rabbi Abraham ben David of Posquieres (c.1125--1198), the leading rabbi of Provence who wrote many works dealing with practical matters. Sefer ha-Kabbalah passes on the history of the Jews. cf.

Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 2, columns 136-139.

⁸²cf. Baer, p. 61. Verga gives the Chronicles of the Kings of Persia as his source.

⁸³Baer, p. 50-51.

⁸⁴Verga, p. 92.

⁸⁵Kabaks Yeschurun, p. 48; Baer p. 42; Verga pp. 99f (#40).

⁸⁶Verga, p. 29.

⁸⁷i.e. Sefer Yuchasin.

⁸⁸Verga, p. 52(#10); Baer, pp. 47-48.

⁸⁹The writing of the year: "חמשת אלפים וק" could be read as 110 instead of 100.

⁹⁰Alfonso son of Sancho son of Alfonso the great of Castile, i.e. Alfonso VIII(1155-1214). He reigned after 1158, a little earlier than the dates given in the parallel texts. This Alfonso is the son of Sancho III(1104-1157) who was the son of Alfonso VII(c.1104-1157) although he was not known as the great. Encyclopedia Britannica, 16th edition, Micropedia, vol. I, p. 232.

⁹¹in re Abu Malik, cf. Baer p. 48.

⁹²Ibid., p. 58.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 26-27.

⁹⁴cf. Baer, pp. 31-32.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 32.

⁹⁶i.e. Verga #1.

⁹⁷i.e. Verga #2.

⁹⁸i.e. Verga #12 and #32.

99Josippon, ed. Hünner, p. 194; cf. Baer, p. 58.

100Verga, p. 91(#34): "I heard this from a great ashkenazic scholar who came to us as a representative."

101Ibid., p. 91(#35): "Also from an accepted authority who came from France I heard..."

102Ibid., p. 92(#38): "From the mouth of a man as righteous and wise as Rabbi A_braham ibn Arama I heard..."

103Ibid., p. 122(#52): "I heard from the elders who departed from Spain..."

104Ibid., p. 126(#61): "And I did not see it written, thus I heard (it)."

105Ibid., p. 66.

106Ibid., p. 72(#28).

107Ibid., p. 90.

108Ibid., p. 119.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

¹cf. Baer pp. 51-52

²Ibid., p. 53

³Ibid., p. 57

⁴Ibid., p. 79

⁵"There are those who say that she is the woman...' --these words of wisdom were drawn by the composer from Josippon, ch. 3." (Schochet), V. op. cit. p. 49 line 25, note.

⁶"And there are those who say it is the inclination of man...' --apparently on the basis of the statement: "which is the hero - he who conquers his inclination" Avot, ch. 4/1. In Josippon and his sources it is 'the Truth' and not the inclination of man.' Schochet note to p. 49 line 30.

⁷"Let us cease our war with the Jews' --this conversation, too between the caesra and his advisors is nothing more than an invention of the author. He took as the basis for his words the words of Josippon about Pompey: 'Pompey was surprised by the courage of the men and the lightness of the youths and decided to leave the city,' chapter 39, and like this are the words of Titus to his soldiers, Ibid., chapter 81. V, op cit. Schochet's note to p. 20, line 11.

⁸"Do not lay upon me the sin' --cf. Josippon. Chapter 89. Ibid., note to p. 20, line 22.

⁹"For there was a Jew named Manasseh' -- the source of these words is ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS of Flavius (Josephus) book XI, 8 and their contents is brought in Josippon, Chapter 5. But the author added to what was in front of him according to his good imagination." note to page 43, line 5.

¹⁰Ibid., note to p. 43, line 1.

¹¹Ibid., note to p. 44, line 28

¹²Ibid., note to p. 44, line 30.

¹³Ibid., note to p.aa, line 34.

¹⁴Ibid., note to p. 133, line 22.

¹⁵Ibid., note to p. 135, line 8.

¹⁶Ibid., note to p. 135 line 11 reads: "'And on the roofs he placed eagles and lions'--Apparently free work of the author. In Josippon: 'Bridges and floors of stone,' and so, too, copied Abrabanel."

¹⁷Ibid., note to p. 135, line 14.

¹⁸Ibid., note to p. 136, line 31.

¹⁹Ibid., note to p. 137, line 2.

²⁰Ibid., note to p. 42, line 27ff.

²¹Ibid., p. 42.

²²Josippon, p. 132.

²³Ibid., chapter 2, p. 5 and V, op. cit. p. 27(#7).

²⁴V, op. cit. p. 128 and 130.

²⁵Josippon, p. 138 (chapter 39).

²⁶V, op. cit. p. 42, line 27

²⁷cf. BIBLIOGRAPHIE ZU FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, by Heniz Schreckenberger, where he notes the following editions: page 2: 1482, Barcelona; page 3: 1492, Seville (reprinted 1556); p. 10: 1536, Madrid.

²⁸i.e. cf. V, op. cit. pp. 44-45.

²⁹Flavius Josephus, De Antiquitatibus, Liber Duodecimus, p. cxxxvi, side 2.

³⁰Los Veynte Libros de Flavio Josepho, p. 226, side 1, column 1.

³¹Josephus, Whiston, ed., book 14, chapter 3, p. 410.

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