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The Biblia de Alba.

The Examination of the Method and
Sources of a Translation of a 15th Century
illuminated Spanish Bible Translation.

by

Leon Klenicki

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters and
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Digest

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the spiritual conditions of the Jewish community in Spain between the years 1391 to 1422. The writer analyzes the riots of 1391 that devastated many Jewish communities and forced thousands to convert to the Catholic Church. Behind the persecutions, economic factors played a role. That is, the disintegration of feudal society, and also, the anti-Semitic agitation of priests like Vincent Ferrer. There is also to be considered the activities of certain conversos, like Pablo de Santa Maria, who contributed with their Jewish knowledge to the background of the Tortosa Disputation. The Disputation is studied later on, showing the consequences of the conversion of the scholars on the mood of the Jewish community in Spain. In this atmosphere of general hostility, the Maestro de Calatrava invited Rabbi Moses Arragel to translate the Bible into Spanish.

The second part analyzes the manuscript of the Biblia de Alba, it considers the history of the Military Order of Calatrava, the life of the Maestro Luis de Guzman, his cultural milieu, and finally, considers the correspondence between the Maestro and Rabbi Arragel concerning the translation. The rabbi was reluctant to accept the task. But finally, he went to Toledo where he spent eight years in translating the Holy Writ from the Hebrew into Spanish. The rabbi was under the supervision of the Franciscan Order and his translation was supposed to be adorned with illustrations (which he refused to

do), and glosses explaining the obscure passages of the text. The glosses came from Jewish sources, Talmud, Midrash, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, etc. He was supposed to add the Catholic opinions and in this, he was instructed by Fray Arias of Toledo, who introduced him to Lyra's Postillae.

The third part studies the method and sources of the translation. It starts enumerating the existing manuscripts of the Spanish Bible to 1422. Special attention is given to the method of translation done by Arragel, as it is explained in his letter to Guzman. The writer considers the Glossary of special terms added by Arragel to the manuscript where he explains the meaning of terms that may become a source of confusion for the reader. Finally, the first eleven chapters of Genesis are analyzed in the glosses written by Arragel. These chapters have always been important in the conflicting theologies of Judaism and Christianity, and Arragel explains those obscure passages based on Jewish and Catholic sources.

For Ana

En donde está la salvación? Lo sabes?
Vuela, corre, descansa, as arbol, nube?
Se la coga a puñados, como al mar,
o cae sobre nosotros en el sueño
sin despertar ya mas, igual que muerte?

.....

y aunque su hecho mismo se nos niegue
- el arribo a las costas celestiales,
paraiso sin lugar, isla sin mapa,
donde viven felices los salvados -
nos llenará la vida
este puro volar sin hora quieta,
este vivir buscandola:
y es ya la salvación querer salvarnos.

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Chapter I

The Spiritual Condition of the Jewish Community in Spain, 1390-1422

The 15th century in Spanish history had one meaning for its Jewish community: the expulsion of 1492. This year marked the end of Jewish history in the Iberian peninsula and the beginning of a long exile for their Jewish inhabitants. The process of deterioration in the relations between Christians and Jews started in the 14th century and had its culmination in the expulsion. The deterioration was related to a deep crisis in the structure of Spanish society, and was due specially to the constant attempts to centralize royal power. Spain was divided into several kingdoms that battled each other and also the Moslems, who had been the conquerors of the country for centuries. After the Reconquista a slow movement of centralization of power starts that will finally become a reality with Isabelle and Ferdinand. At the height of central power the Jewish community suffered its most terrible blow, that is, it was forced to abandon the country of their parents.

Two events announced the sort of future of the community under the new social order. One of them occurred in 1391 and the other in 1412. Both had a deep influence upon the Jewish community and prepared the way for the future destruction. The destruction of whole communities in 1391 started with the public harangues of Ferrant

Martinez¹ against the Jews. Martinez, who became the administrator of the Seville diocese in 1390, called upon the Christian population to demolish the synagogues and asked the authorities to confine Jews to special quarters. He hinted in his sermons that the rioters would not be punished by the royal authorities. The situation became serious for the Jewish community when King John I of Castile died on October 9, 1390, leaving a boy-king of 11 years old and a Consejo (a Regency Committee) composed of six prelates and noblemen, and six citizens who were to be elected from the cities of Burgos, Toledo, Murcia, Leon, Seville and Cordoba. The powers behind the scenes of the meeting looked for a screen and found it easily in the antisemitic speeches of Martinez.²

Meanwhile the gathering of the Cortes (the Spanish Courts) in Madrid was marred by the attacks of the "gente menuda" (little people, the commoners) on the Jewish delegates. These delegates came to discuss with the royal powers the question of taxes and levies that were still part of their concern. The people started the riots that, at the beginning, were checked by the city authorities but soon were out of their control. The attacks spread like fire to nearly all the cities and also into the country side. Synagogues were sacked, destroyed or converted into churches. Property was confiscated or taken by the rioters,

thousands were killed or forced to embrace Catholicism. Many chose martyrdom, like Rabbi Judah, a grandson of R. Asher ben Yehiel, his family and students in Toledo. But the amount of conversos was very great, and their troubles were over with their acceptance of the Catholic faith, but were to come back in the future after the Expulsion. The incitement of Martinez was condemned by his superiors.³ The Archbishop Don Pedro Gomez Barroso called him a "rebel and a suspect of heresy," and he was forbidden to preach but this measure came too late: the priest had already incited the populace against the Jews. The serious economic situation of Spain at the time helped the rebels in their attacks. It was easy to blame the Jews for all the economic troubles because many members of the royal treasury and government were Jewish or of Jewish origin.

The persecutions started in Seville with the death of 4000 Jews and many conversions. From this city, it spread to other cities in Andalusia, and extended to Castile.⁴ In certain places the destruction took terrible forms like in Barcelona where everything was demolished, no Jew was left alive unless he asked for conversion. Hasdai Crescas describes the event as follows:

And they fought the Jews that were
in the fortress with bows and cata-
pults, and beat and struck them
there in the tower. Many sanctified
the Holy Name, my only son among
them, an innocent lamb; him have I

offered up as a burnt offering, I shall vindicate God's judgment against me, and I shall be comforted with the goodliness of his portion and the sweetness of his fate. Many slaughtered themselves and some threw themselves from the tower... and some went out and were martyred in the street... And all the others changed their religion. Only a few fled to the places of the nobles... a child might count them... but they were notables. And for our many sins there is not this day a single Israelite to be found in Barcelona.⁵

One of the elegists remembers the Holy community of Barcelona in these words:

For Barcelona moan! Her pride is over-
thrown. Sew the sack over thee, and
all thy jewelry fling away. Alas for
that pure maid who now has strayed,
Raised her skirts and stripped herself
for all to see!⁶

References in Jewish literature acknowledge great suffering and destruction. Josef Ha-Kohen sums up in one paragraph the persecutions started by another popular preacher Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) who was the private chaplain and confessor of Pedro de Luna who became the anti-Pope Benedict XIII:

He was a gifted orator and used his abilities in conversionist activities among the Jews. He was responsible for the conversion of many distinguished Jews to Christianity, among them Rabbi Solomon Levi of Burgos, who became to be known as Paul of Burgos.⁷

Samuel Usque makes a similar reference to the activities of Vincent Ferrer but does not elaborate on the disturbances of 1390 and following years.⁸ R. Hasdai Crescas is one of

the main sources of direct information on these events.

In a letter of June 4, 1391 he writes

the Lord bent His bow like an enemy
against the community of Seville...
they set fire to its gates and killed
many of its people but most changed
their religion, and some of the women
and children were sold to the Moslems...
and many died to sanctify His Name,
and many violated the holy covenant.

On October 19 he writes

In the city of Gerona, where learning
and humility were joined in one place,
the rabbis of the community publicly
sanctified the Holy Name. But few of
the people changed their religion, and
most took shelter in the homes of the
Christian townsmen. Now they are in
the castle.⁹

The poet Solomon de Piera describes the attack on his
house and his family in this manner:

That day death's angels ransacked my
home... Around my house the foe en-
camped, built his ramparts and his
ramp And broke inside; there lustily
He sacked and pillaged pitilessly...
My sons sought the safety of the stony
cliff, and fled Without a blessing on
their head. My fine young bucks, who in
captivity Now banished are by iniquity!
... Hunted like fledglings, I know not
where They rest tonight nor whether
they are Not somewhere sold or
slaughtered; nor on what pyre Their
bodies' flesh is broiled by fire...
The earth is clean dissolved and broken
down, And down is come the town's
foundation stone.¹⁰

The life of this poet is interesting as a testimony of
loyalty to Judaism in times of persecution. It also gives
an inside into the ruling Jewish classes of his century. He

belonged to a group of intellectuals who were not devout Jews but were mainly concerned with secular culture, and specially philosophy. But while other prominent Jews, thoroughly cognizant of Jewish tradition, accepted conversion, Piera remained faithful and defended his faith against those who abandoned it. The higher the social position of the Jew in court and government, the easier it was to accept the dominant religion, and not only because of economic or social reasons but also by following the philosophy that dominated that time, that is Averroism. These ideas will be explained further on. It is important here to say that Piera was very critical of those who followed Averroist philosophy as a source of guidance and consolation. Piera who escaped Catalonia and found a refuge in Saragossa as the tutor of the children of Don Benveniste de la Cavalleria, encountered in the city the same spiritual conditions of his former home. The upper Jewish classes interested in philosophy and the Averroist symbolism, indifferent to the plight of the Jewish masses in the hands of the persecutors, Hasdai Crescas recalls that in the midst of the disturbances the Jewish intelligencia was arguing:

the object of all commandments is the comprehension of intellectual concepts, and in support of this they cite the worthy verse "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God, etc. (Deut. 6:5); around this axis their exegesis revolves. They also cite as proof what the Torah says about the love of God (Deut. 11:13);

for who, they say, can love Him that has not known Him? Not only this but they have subordinated the practice of the commandments to the theory, so much so, that they have invented a rationalization, forgotten the entire purpose of the commandments and argued that the object of the laws concerning tithing, gleaning, and so forth, is to instill in the soul the spirit of charity.¹¹

The intellectuals followed an Averroistic approach to Jewish law and religion that could equally function in any other religion. They practiced a religion of their own within an organized religion. At a moment of danger they could transfer allegiance without doing violence to their symbolic thought. Their case is different from the pious leaders of German Jewry who preferred Kiddush HaShem rather than convert, and the Sefer Hassidim is the testimony of such total identification and solidarity. Their social positions were equally different, while the Spanish Jew reached all the spheres of power in their country, the German Jew was relegated to inferior positions. Y. Baer concludes the following in relation to these leaders of Spanish Jewry at their tragic hour:

Those individuals who habitually looked down upon the simple masses who scrupulously observed all the commandments and were not afraid, even in a time of national and religious emergency, to proclaim their faith - these same men, when the test came, lacked the spiritual fortitude to prefer death to apostasy. In much the same spirit as they had previously denied the authority of biblical law, they now accepted the rites and ceremonies of an alien religion; ultimately

they remained faithful to their "religion of the intellect," the crowning article of faith for all Averroists whether Jewish or Christian.¹²

The other event that touched deeply the Jewish community in Spain was the controversies among Jews and Christians. It was a long process that started in 1391 and finished in 1415, with the closing of the Tortosa Disputation.¹³ The disputations were discussions on religious matters and were aggravated by the active presence of the conversos, former Jews who would add their knowledge of Jewish faith to the Catholic arguments. An example was Solomon Halevi known as Paulus de Santa Maria after his conversion.¹⁴ He was a descendant of a distinguished family in Burgos who had been engaged in government business and tax farming. He was well versed in Jewish sources, studied Talmud for years, and was interested in matters related to Jewish law. This is seen in his correspondence with Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet in the early 1380's "devoted to a discussion of what is or is not ritually lawful, that is to say, of matters which an intellectual who carried aloft the banner of the religion of the intellect might presumably regard as remote from his own range of interests."¹⁵

Solomon Halevi belonged to a social milieu very well integrated into the higher social structure of his time. He followed the tradition of his elders but he, like many members of his social group, rationalized the old faith along the paths of philosophy, which at his time was

Averroism.¹⁶ This doctrine was created by Abul Walid Muhamed Ibn Ahmad Ibn Roshd, an Arab philosopher of the 12th century and widely admired in Jewish circles. Jews were the main translators of his books. Averroes taught that philosophy does not contradict the truths of religion, that his search for truth was not an attack on the Koran or any other sacred literature. The deepest truths of religion are understood in their purest form only by the philosophers. But he recognized that few can attain this stage, so the Koran (or the Bible and Rabbinic literature in the case of the Jews) was deliberately revealed so that the humblest intellects could benefit by it. God is an Intelligence, a First Mover who is the cause of all celestial movements. He postulated the eternity of the world and denied freedom and immortality. Averroes was the main commentator of Aristotle whom he explained in terms of his Muslim religion. For the Jewish thinkers it was not difficult to translate these terms into their religious experience. There were frequent criticisms of religious Averroism, as for example the sermons of R. Isaac Arama. The common man cannot grasp the whole truth, that religion is given to him in symbols which the philosopher interprets allegorically, but which the common man takes literally. There were frequent criticisms of religious Averroism among the Jews, specially in the sermons of R. Isaac Arama. In his sermons there are many references to the beliefs of the followers

of the Arab philosopher, their identification of Torah with natural morality and natural law, and their final acceptance of Aristotle's Ethics. In one of his sermons he writes:

For the men advocating this wisdom have stepped forward and prepared seductive words for thoughtless students and brainless children, saying to them, "Why do you study the laws of ritual slaughtering with Abaye and Rava; come with us and learn the marvelous wisdom of Aristotle and his disciples and commentators!" Blast the souls of these braggarts, who say that in the (Talmudic) tractate Nazikin our blessed rabbis were dealing only with secular and transatory matters! If they were wiser they would know better; let them put hand to mouth and thank the Lord for His kindness...

(These intellectuals)... have been a sinful obstacle in the way of our Redemption, for those who have been enticed by them into believing that all is the product, not of good deeds or Divine Providence, but of fate, have ceased to practice the repentance which leads to Redemption; rather they fix their eyes on the heavens and wait upon the constellations great and small for from them they expect Redemption to proceed; and all this is in addition to their lack of understanding and paucity of faith in the Torah and its Commandments.¹⁷

Solomon Halevi was versed in this philosophy and also in Jewish theology. For years he showed interest in Christian thought and finally he accepted baptism in the city of Burgos, July 21, 1391, in the midst of the great persecution. He went to Paris to study Christian theology and to Avignon where he became close to Cardinal Pedro de Luna, who became

Benedict XIII in 1394. Paulus de Santa Maria returned to Spain and became bishop of Burgos. In his old age he wrote the polemical work Scrutinium Scripturatum and also an addenda to Nicolas de Lyra's commentary on the Bible. In both books, he shows his vast knowledge of the Jewish sources, Talmud, Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Maimonides.

He had a polemic with Joshua Halorki of Alcaniz who in a few years would also convert and became Hieronymus de Sancta Fide and very much involved in the Tortosa Disputation. Joshua Halorki tries to understand why his friend has converted and writes in a letter to Paulus:

Did you perchance lust after riches and honors? Or did the study of philosophy cause you to change so radically and to regard the proofs of faith as vanity and delusion, so that you therefore turned to things more apt to gratify the body and satisfy the intellect without fear and anxiety and apprehension? Or, when you beheld the doom of our homeland, the multitude of the afflictions that have recently destroyed us, the Lord having almost turned away His countenance from us and given us for food the fowl of the air and the beasts of the field - did it then seem to you that the name of Israel would be remembered no more? Or perhaps the secrets of prophecy have been revealed to you and the principles of faith - matters not revealed to the great pillars of faith whom we had with us in all the ages of our Exile; and you saw that our fathers had inherited falsehood, that they had but little comprehension of the intent of the Torah and the Prophecy, and you chose what is true and established?

I can find in your case only the last

reason, namely examination and testing of the different religions and prophecies, Furthermore, I knew you delved into the hidden treasure of Christian books, commentaries and principles, having a mastery of their language, and there found many things not discerned by any of the Jewish scholars of our time.¹⁸

The letter continues to discuss the conditions that must be met by a true Messiah, and set forth arguments against the Christological interpretation of the Messianic prophecies. But although he was defending the faith of Israel, Halorki demonstrated that he had entered the 'grove' of Christological homiletics by the method of Abner of Burgos, the outstanding apostate and master of all those Jewish intellectuals who longed for a new Torah. For Baer

Joshua Halorki wrote as one whose faith had long before been undermined. This document reveals anew the character of those Averroist intellectuals who sought to enjoy all the cultural values and treasures of enlightenment, while their ties with the traditions of their own people slackened more and more. Eventually they turned to the Catholic Church which, though its principles, too, were irreconcilable with their religion of the intellect, nevertheless offered them a reasonably coherent system of dogmatics as well as a rich tradition of humanism and secular culture.¹⁹

Paulus de Santa Maria's answer has been preserved only in part. He postulates that "all those born into a false religion are under obligation, without fear of divine punishment to test the truth of their faith." He based his inquiry into the true nature of religious belief on Maimonides' Guide, chapter 40. Anyone living in the midst

of different religions has the obligation to examine his religious belief and search for the true way of salvation. This was Paulus' way. His choice of the Church came after such a period of search for a true and meaningful religious faith. He finishes his letter to Halorki with a mock remark on Averroes, with whom he was quite familiar.²⁰

Paulus' example was followed by many members of his family and friends. He became a man of great power in ecclesiastical and courtly circles. His conversion was felt by other intellectuals who entered the Church during and after the riots of 1391. Besides Joshua Halorki, we can mention Magister Bonet Bonjorn of Perpignan. He was criticized by Magister Profet Duran who was a disciple of Hasdai Crescas. He represented another trend of Jewish thought, a spirit inclined to take a middle course between tradition and philosophy, in the manner of Maimonides. Duran answered defending the purity of Israel in a simple manner strengthened by his knowledge of philosophy.²¹

The discussions between Jews and conversos were the prelude to the Disputation of Tortosa. While the discussions took place among former friends the Disputation was an official act, and it meant for the Jewish community an insult that reminded everybody of the dark ages. The Disputation was preceded by a series of oppressive measures in 1412, inspired mainly by Vincent Ferrer and written, according to certain historians, by Paulus de Santa Maria.²² As

"Canciller Mayor del Reino" (Royal Chancellor) Paulus redacted the "Ordenamiento sobre el encerramiento de los judios e de los moros" (Decree concerning the segregation of Jews and Moslems), in the city of Valladolid on January 2, 1412. The decree was signed by Queen Catalina, and had very repressive measures against the Jewish community. The purpose of the decree was to abolish all Jewish rights and to destroy the legality of the al jamas. The new law had 24 points, among others the following: every Jew had to live in a special area, la juderia, isolated from the rest of the population; they were forbidden to hold high positions in the government; could not interfere with the conversionist actions of the Church; the community was forbidden to have its own judges; the juderia would not have shops for Christians; no Jew could help a sick Christian; the Jews were supposed to wear special clothing and signs that would identify them at once; etc.²³

These laws however were modified. Communal autonomy and freedom of movement were restored, while criminal jurisdiction was abolished. Jewish landowners were permitted to employ Christian laborers on their estates. Only two provisions of the decree were carried into effect, the removal of the Jews to separate quarters, and their exclusion from tax farming.

When the danger of the "Ordenamiento" was over, the Jewish community was faced with another trial.²⁴ In late

November of 1412, Pope Benedict XIII, the anti-Pope of Avignon, ordered each community of Aragon and Catalonia to send no later than January 1413 scholars to Tortosa in order to receive instruction in the Christian faith. The order was inspired by the above mentioned Joshua Halorki who embraced Catholicism under the name of Hieronimus de Sancta Fide. Halorki converted after twenty years of wrestling with the problem. The meeting with Vincent Ferrer, as also the example of Paulus de Santa Maria, decided the matter. He immediately proceeded to attack his friends and former brethren in faith. In August 1412, he dedicated to Pope Benedict XIII a treatise written in Latin and Hebrew, a collection of strongly biased Christological midrashic homilies which had been assembled since the days of Raymond Martini. Martini or Ramon Martin, was a Spanish Christian theologian who died in 1284. He had a good knowledge of oriental languages, and was widely read in Hebrew literature, Biblical commentators, Talmud, etc. His book Pugio Fidei²⁵ contains a section of talmudic and midrashic quotations that were used to substantiate his idea that Jesus is announced in rabbinical literature. The book was very well known and used, and became the main source for Dominican polemics.

Pope Benedict XIII was determined to convert the Jewish population of his native Aragon. His authority as a Pope was at that time challenged by the Ecclesiastical

Council at Constance that would ultimately depose him. The aged Pope, chosen when the schism occurred in the Church, wanted to achieve his dream of religious unity and started with his own country. The Aragonese Jewish community received the invitation with dismay; it was already feeble after so many persecutions and found Ferdinand I, who ascended the throne thanks to the efforts of Vincent Ferrer, of no help. The king did not aid his Jewish subjects for the simple reason that he had to please those who put him into power.

The following rabbis represented the Jewish side of the Disputation: R. Zeharia Halevi (R. Ferrer Saladin) of Saragossa; R. Mattityahu Hayitzhari; R. Moses aben Abez; Rabbi Joseph Albo from Daroca; R. Astruc Halevi from Alcaniz; Bonjudah Jehasel Hakaslari; Profet Duran, and the poet Solomon Bonafed. Other men, like Vidan ben Benvenist de la Cavalleria "well versed in court etiquette," came along as advisers.²⁶

From the beginning, the Jews were in a peculiar position. Benedict XIII clearly declared that "the disputation was not between two equal parties, but that it was proposed to prove the tenets of Christianity, which were beyond all doubt, from the Talmud."²⁷ The discussions were opened on February 7, 1413 by Hieronimus de Sancta Fide and the subject was the Messianic doctrine. The Jews defended the concept that the Messiah was yet to come while the Pope and his theologians

tried to demonstrate that Jesus was the Messiah. The discussion continued until August 30th and was resumed on November 29th. Y. Baer resumes the results of the first part of the Disputation as follows:

The replies of the Jewish scholars at this stage of the great disputation were among the very best ever given by defenders of Judaism to Christian arguments in the whole course of the Middle Ages. They interpreted the messianic doctrine of the Mishnah and the Talmud more explicitly and comprehensively than any of their predecessors or successors; and it is a great pity that they did not publish their statements in a Hebrew work for their own generation and for posterity. Generally speaking, they deviated in a considerable measure from the philosophy of Maimonides and adhered closely to the fundamental lines laid down by R. Moses b. Nachman in his polemical works and in his commentary on the Bible. On a number of points they copied his statements almost word for word. To Halorki's sophistical arguments they replied clearly and simply, point by point. In particular, their expert and bold criticism of the libellous aggadoth which their opponent had borrowed from Raymond Martini's collection of texts, is deserving of the highest praise. It may well be that such Christological midrashim were current, in various versions, among certain Jews, and that those inclined to err may have been led astray by them. In any event, the scholars who defended Judaism at Tortosa were not responsible for the lapses or failures of others.²⁸

The polemic on the Messiah finished on April 19, 1414 with a final triumphal speech by Hieronymus, wherein he used arguments for Jesus messianic nature, basing his opinions on Midrashim and rabbinic texts without showing the source

of his quotations. His aim was to reduce the opponent to silence and gain the upper hand - the kind of argument employed at that moment did not matter in the least. The Jewish scholars fought for freedom of worship and for the right of a religious group to continue with their traditions:

The scholars who participated in the Tortosa disputations were ready to die for their faith, and thereby doubtless fortified the spirits of many waverers. Except at some of the early sessions, they fought on a united and joint front in which there was no breach. Differences of opinion developed in their midst not in regard to the Aggada, but as to whether faith in the Messiah was one of the articles of the Jewish faith. R. Zeharia Halevi adopted the point of view of Maimonides, while R. Astruc Halevi and R. Joseph Albo followed the way of R. Hasdai Crescas. At a later date, R. Joseph Albo elucidated his philosophy in detail in his Sefer ha'Ikkarim. As a matter of fact, the same views had already been put forth by R. Moses b. Nachman, who had not, however, formulated them in a scholastic and dogmatic manner. Nachmanides' doctrine stood the disciples of his disciples in good stead, and they too were inspired by his spirit and his courage.²⁹

The practical result of the Disputation was an ordinance against the Jewish communities which strongly resembled the Castilian laws of 1412. The new law forbade Jews to teach and study the Talmud, the bishops were supposed to take all the copies available and keep them in the churches; any Hebrew book that had information concerning Christianity that was contrary to the official doctrine of the church was forbidden; Jews were not allowed to pronounce the name of

the Holy Trinity; A Jew could not be a judge, physician, druggist, etc. Jews were not allowed to build new synagogues, and had to use special clothing that would identify them easily; Jews had to listen to sermons by Christian priests, etc.³⁰

The situation of the Jewish communities in many cities was desperate. They became the target of lunatics of religious fanatics who would force them to convert or abandon all their properties and escape to other cities. An example of such a situation was the city of Daroca, the home of R. Joseph Albo. The Jewish population was harassed by the bailiff who allowed five or six men to molest or arrest the Jews on any account. Most of them had to flee at night. The Infante Don Alfonso, son of the king, wrote to his father a detailed report where he says among other things:

And from what they did to this emissary of ours His Majesty may infer how the Holy Ghost acted upon them in the matter of the conversions... And let not his Majesty think that I would interfere for anything in the world with the conversion of any unbeliever and his adoption of the holy Catholic faith. On the contrary, I would rejoice in every sinner who repents and returns to our God and Creator; and I would give all possible aid in such a matter. But in this case, when the conversions resulted from overt pressures and coercion, there can be no talk of deeds pleasing in the sight of God, for He desires voluntary and not compulsory sacrifices. Moreover, experience has shown that, contrary to expectations, the recent converts to the holy Catholic faith still continue most meticulously and reverently - even in an exaggerated

form - in their perversities and faith in the false religion in which they believed before the illumination of the Holy Ghost came upon them. I can testify that I have observed this in my own private concerns and at my court.³¹

The demise of Benedict XIII and the death of King Ferdinand I in April of 1416 changed the situation for the Jewish community. There was some relaxation in the political atmosphere that allowed the Jewish population to rebuild the al jamas before the Expulsion of 1489.

One of the consequences of the Disputation was a new wave of conversions. Many of them occurred among the Jewish delegates to Tortosa. Nearly the whole Cavalleria family accepted the Catholic faith, and they immediately occupied posts of great importance in the court and government. The poet Solomon de Piera who so fervently defended Judaism during the riots of 1390 also converted. The list of conversos was enlarged by other names of well known families who continue, and even increased in many cases, their power at the court after their baptism.³² The masses, however, remained faithful and many became martyrs at the hands of Ferrer's fanatics. Solomon Bonafed bitterly attacked those men who were so well prepared in Judaism but betrayed their people after riches or social comfort:

Day and night I see the foes of my peace. What power can I summon to succor me... Or how can my heart be at rest... When I see, as in a dream, Levi (i.e., Don Vidal ben Lavi, now

an enemy), Like a column of diamonds,
pound day after day with his demands
upon my communal peers; And when I
see how hearts and faces are trans-
formed, and how the learned wise speak
those things which my Torah condoneth
not. Scholars who were precious beyond
words, who girded themselves with valor!
My stars have changed and left me!
Yes, I remember them their company, I
recall them not in parting, for ever since
my heart and soul are lost! Their names
are engraved on my forehead! How now,
that they are gone, shall I erase those
pleasant names from my doorposts?
I cry for desolation and dispersion! I
weep like the sea for my redemption which
exile postponeth! Yes, I cry, and they
laugh...³³

In another passage Bonafed shows quite Well the spiritual
state of his generation:

When I see how the hand of faith has been
weakened and how the feet of many of our
dispersed brethren falter for lack of hope;
and how that they promote alien wisdom in
order to extirpate the roots of religion;
and how that our pious men believe that
philosophical contemplation is more im-
portant than the performance of the command-
ments, so that their ignorance has led them
to believe that the Torah is essentially
only to the welfare of the masses, who are
raised in the lap of faith and tradition,
whereas theory... is knowledge of the books
of nature and of Aristotelian metaphysics,
which view they have hung upon a mighty
tree, that of Maimonides, may he rest in
peace.³⁴

The men and women of the upper classes, well educated
in Judaism and general culture betrayed Judaism at a moment
of greatly needed solidarity. They preferred to continue
with the privileges of their class rather than to join the
masses and exile. Y. Baer describes the process with a

deep concern over Jewish leadership then and in every century:

In 1414, as in 1391, a variety of spiritual factors, both external and internal, undermined the faith of the Jewish community and impelled many of its less steadfast members to adopt Christianity. There is reason to assume that Vincent Ferrer's sermons made an impression upon both humble and educated classes, and that the Church's "victory" at Tortosa bewildered many. For all this, the more enlightened undoubtedly realized that the entire disputation was primarily an anti-Jewish demonstration, a great political trial held by a Church bent on destroying its few remaining Jewish opponents. It is most unlikely that all of Spanish Jewry should have recognized the religious validity of the outcome. Intellectuals like Vidal de la Cavalleria assuredly did not convert for reasons of conviction. Such men had received a thorough Jewish education. They had been taught the Bible and the Talmud, Hebrew philosophy and poetry, and, it would seem, a smattering of jurisprudence and early Renaissance humanistic learning - the sciences usually studied by Christian statesmen in those days. Overnight, Jews who had adhered to the highest material and spiritual values of their people became Christians honored citizens of their townships and kingdom, jurists and administrative and diplomatic officials, sharing Christian privileges and Christian outlooks. Obviously, such men were not troubled by prolonged mental struggle, nor was their conversion the result of any spiritual crisis. Both before and after their conversion, they remained Averroists, unaware of any uniqueness in their national tradition. Their attitude toward their persecuted people, composed as it was of artisans and simple folk, was one of contempt, and they had lost all desire to be a partner in its common destiny.³⁵

The influence of Averroism among the Jewish upper classes and the conversos strongly continued in the 15th century. The gap between the rich and the poor was as wide as before. The impact of the persecutions did not influence the outlook of the rich elements of the population, despite the fact that certain areas of economic concern were closed to them. Conversion, however, would immediately open all the avenues. The masses continued their simple life as in the days before 1391. They held fast to the main principles of Judaism and defended their faith with courage and "Hidalquia" (honor). There was a shift of population from the cities to small communities in the country side where Jews would not be molested, and where they were useful citizens as physicians or shopkeepers. The upper classes returned in many ways to the days before 1391, for awhile they forgot the lessons of the persecution until they were awakened by the Expulsion of 1489. R. Solomon Ibn Verga in his Shebet Yehudah, thirty years after the Expulsion, recalls that Jews and Christians in this period of the 15th century before 1489, had a good relationship. The Jews moved with ease in the courtly circles and Christians visited synagogues to hear good sermons, as was the case in the city of Cuellar where they went on Rosh Hashanah to hear R. Samuel, physician to the Duke. This preacher joined the Church at the time of the Expulsion.

Averroism continued to be the intellectual game of the

Jewish aristocracy and the conversos. Rabbi Hayyim ibn Musa complained of this undermining influence of philosophy on religion and ethics. He describes the general situation in his book Magen va-Romach (The Shield and the Spear)

In the days of my youth, I heard a certain preacher who preached on the unity of God by way of inquiry after the manner of the philosophers, and he said many times: "And if He is not One, it must be thus and so." Thereupon a certain householder, a God-fearing man, arose and said: "Everything I had was robbed from me during the rioting in Seville, and I was beaten and wounded and left for dead by my smiters; and all this I endured for the faith of 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One.' And now you take the tradition of our fathers and examine it in the light of philosophical inquiry, saying: 'If He is not One, it must be thus and so.' And the householder said: 'I prefer the tradition of our fathers and I do not care to listen to this preaching. Then he left the synagogue and most of the congregation went with him..."³⁶

The political situation after the Disputation calmed down in general. A new sort of monarch appeared in Castile and Aragon. John II (1406-1454) and Alfonso V (1416-1458) were more interested in secular culture than in Ferrer's fanaticism. They held more political power than their predecessors and were willing to restore autonomy to their Jewish subjects. Together with Pope Martin V, a mild natured man who wanted to blot out the image and action of the former anti-Pope Benedict XIII, they abolished the edicts promulgated during the riots of 1391 and after. The

study of the Talmud was once again allowed, and synagogues were returned to their former owners. But Jewish life would never regain the splendor of the days before 1391.³⁷

It was at this time, the first part of the 15th century, that Rabbi Moses Arragel received an invitation to translate the Bible into a romance language, Spanish. He lived in the town of Maqueda, Castile, and later moved to Guadalajara. Nearly nothing is known about his life, he may have moved to Maqueda to avoid the persecutions of 1391. His relationship with the Master of the Order of Calatrava reminds the reader of better days, and it may have been one of the last intellectual "dialogues" between a Christian and a Jew before the Expulsion.

The Biblia de Alba. General Description.
Luis de Guzman and his correspondence with
the rabi Mose de Arragel.

It was in the spring of 1422 that Rabbi Moses Arragel was approached by Don Luis de Guzman, the Maestro de Calatrava, (Master of the Military Order of Calatrava) with a special request. The powerful aristocrat wanted a new translation of the Bible into Spanish. The new edition was to have comments and explanations for the better understanding of the text. The Maestro was a typical example of his social class.³⁸ His family was of noble origin, active in the royal courts and in the wars against the Moors. In 1407, he was elected Master of the Order of Calatrava by those members of the group who were opposed to the candidacy of Don Enrique de Villena, who was favored by King Henry III. The Maestro lived several years exiled in Alcaniz, but in 1414 he was officially accepted as the XXVth Master of the Order. In 1431 he defeated the Moors and obtained rich booty. He was also involved in the internal disputes of the Spanish courts. He fought the Infantes de Aragon in favor of John II, and was a good friend of Alvaro de Luna with whom he had an exchange of properties. In this exchange, the town and castle of Maqueda, the residence of Rabbi Arragel, became Luna's property. The Maestro de Calatrava passed away in 1443 while he was involved in problems of authority with the Caballeros of the Order.

The military order of Calatrava was founded in Castile

in the 12th century, and was considered a military branch of the Cistercian Order. Calatrava is a town on Guadiana river, south of Toledo, reconquered from the Moslems in 1212 by the king of Castile, Alfonso VII. The war against the Moslems was of a peculiar nature, a sort of "gorilla war" in which it was difficult for the royal armies to keep the conquered areas, cities or castles. For this reason, the military orders were created in order to face such a situation.

Rodrigo de Toledo tells the legend of the creation of the Order of Calatrava. When Alfonso VII realized that he would not be able to hold the castle of Calatrava, he requested the help of the Knights Templars but they soon abandoned the defense. It was then that Raymond Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Fitero offered his help and that of his monks. They were armed and in this manner, a new order was created; it received the name of Calatrava in honor of the defense of the town (1157). The definite rule of the Order was approved in 1187 by Pope Gregory VIII. Their victory was recognized in Spain and the new Order was invited to participate in many actions against the Moslems. By the end of the 13th century, the Order of Calatrava was a powerful organization, with rich resources in both manpower and wealth. It suffered several schisms due to power struggles for control of the Order. One of these divisions occurred in 1414, with the final result that Luis de Guzman became the Maestro of the Order. The

decadence started in the 17th century when the Order became the center of religious reaction against Liberalism. They finally dissolved in 1838.³⁹

The Order of Calatrava had a strict system of customs taken from the religious rules of the Cistercian Order. They observed "rules of silence in the refectory, dormitory, and oratory; of abstinence on four days a week, besides several fast days during the year; they were also obliged to recite a fixed number of paternosters for each daily Hour they held office; to sleep in their armour, to wear, as their full dress, the Cistercian white mantle with the scarlet cross fleur de lisee." Biblia de Alba, after page 35, where the Maestro de Calatrava is sitting surrounded by his knights and wearing the mantle and the fleur de lisee, which is also on the mantles of each member of the group.

These strict rules were somewhat relaxed as time passed by, and specially when the Order became increasingly concerned with royal and courtly policies. The Maestro de Calatrava was not only a strict religious man but also a man well versed in the literature of his time.

Spanish literature at that time had two distinct forms: one was the sentimental novel (la novela sentimental). It was the product of a new sensibility where love had a new meaning: it transcended the realm of religiosity by entering into the human sphere. The Agape of the Church was becoming the Eros of the Castle; the love of God was slowly

being transformed into the ideal love of the lady by an errant "caballero." The mystical love for the Holy Virgin became the human idealized love of the knights for his lady.

The other literary form, that Guzman favored, was the so called "novela caballeresca," a series of stories about gentlemen and their fights for the honor of country and the glory of God. The "Amadis de Gaula" is the classical example of this genre. It is a story of war, but also of love between the hero and princess Oriana. The chivalry novel reflected a monarchist and courtly ideal, a sentiment that would give away under the pressure of the modern world.

J. Huizinga describes this literary and social phenomenon as follows:

Medieval thought in general was saturated in every part with the conceptions of the Christian faith. In a similar way and in a more limited sphere, the thought of all those who lived in the circles of court or castle was impregnated with the idea of chivalry... This conception even tends to invade the transcendental domain. The primordial feat of arms of the archangel Michael is glorified by Jean Molinet as 'the first deed of knighthood and chivalrous prowess that was ever achieved.' From the archangel 'terrestrial knighthood and human chivalry' take their origin, and in so far are but an imitation of the host of the angels around God's throne... The conception of chivalry constituted for these authors sort of magic key, by the aid of which they explained to themselves the motives of politics and history... What they saw about them looked primarily mere violence and confusion. War tended to be a chronic process of isolated raids and incursions; diplomacy was mostly a very solemn and very verbose procedure, in which a multitude of questions about juridical details

clashed with some very general traditions and some points of honour. All notions which might have enabled them to discern in history a social development were lacking to them. Yet they required a form for their political conceptions and here the idea of chivalry came in. By this traditional fiction they succeeded in explaining to themselves, as well as they could, the motives and the course of history, which thus was reduced to a spectacle of the honour of princes and the virtue of knights, to a noble game of edifying and heroic rules.⁴⁰

When the Maestro de Calatrava was tired of reading this sort of literature, of playing chess and hunting, he may have yearned for a more meaningful prose, a sort of literature that would prepare him for the final judgement and save his soul. In his letter to Rabbi Arragel, he explains that he is in need of a good translation of the Bible into Spanish with explanations, because he considered existing translations linguistically unsatisfactory. The Maestro may have ignored Latin and desired a version of the Sacred Text into Castilian. When he heard that in the town of Maqueda a rabbi had arrived who was known for his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and Hebrew, he wrote to him on April 5, 1422. He invited Rabbi Mose Arragel de Guadalajara to undertake the job of translating and annotating the Bible into Spanish.

Very little is known concerning this rabbi besides the information derived from the Biblia de Alba. He was originally from Guadalajara and later on moved to Maqueda where he was contacted by Guzman. He may have moved to this village for peace and protection, as many Jews die in those

days. Steinschneider derives his name from the Arabic,⁴¹ and according to H. Derenbourg it is derived from the Hebrew "ha-gagil" (the expert).⁴² He was apparently a man of great erudition, not only Hebrew tradition but also secular culture, as is evident from his comments to his translation. His sources are taken from the Sifre, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Maimonides, Tur, the Targum, Josephus, Greek philosophers like Aristotle, and Catholic authors, such as Saint Bernard, Saint Ildefonso, and Nicholas de Lyra.

He accepted the commission of the Maestro de Calatrava and started the translation in 1422, and was finished on June 2, 1430. The rabbi had to go to Toledo to receive instructions from Fray Arias who gave him the Latin gloss on the Book of Genesis and on other parts of the Bible. He resided in Toledo for several years, coming and going from Maqueda, and his work was under the constant control of the Franciscans.

When the translation was finished, Arragel presented it in the Monastery of San Francisco of Toledo on Sunday, November 5, 1430. The translation was previously checked by Fray Juan de Zamora in Salamanca before coming into the hands of the Maestro. Moses Arragel is quoted as having delivered a long speech divided in seven parts, where he praised humbly the Maestro and the Franciscan Fathers that housed him in Toledo. He calls the priests "angels, and not men," and he considers the Franciscan Seminary and the city of Toledo as

a "place where many teachers of theology, and many gentlemen and knights and Jews and Moors live together, listening to the word of God; it is a river of true theology coming out of paradise." Arragel continues for long paragraphs praising his masters and finally informs the audience that the translation took him eight years, and that he, his wife and children spent a thousand "dobles" on maintenance.

The frontispiece of the manuscript reproduces the presentation of the Bible. The Maestro sits on high with the Cistercian robe and the red cross of the Order of Calatrava. He is accompanied by knights, and on one side is probably the Franciscan Arias de Enzina and on the other side the Dominican Juan de Zamora. Rabbi Arragel is in front of the Maestro, on his knees, presenting his translation. He has the Jewish sign on his robe and seventeen knights of the order are around him. All of them wear the ~~fluer~~ ^{flower} de lisee of the order. In between the figure of the Maestro de Calatrava and Arragel, there is a group of knights of the Order helping and feeding some Jews.

Nothing else is known of Rabbi Moses Arragel. He may have been recompensed by the Maestro and returned to Maqueda.

The manuscript of the Biblia de Alba is a volume of 515 pages, written on two columns. The order of the books follow in the main the Hebrew Bible, and not the order of the Vulgata. The gloss is written on the margins, the scripture is very small and follows the script of the codices of the XVth century.

Each book starts with a capital letter, 29 in total, coloured or in golden. There are 334 illustrations, six of them are full page. They have a Jewish interest and some of them are copies of other illustrations appearing in other Bibles.

R. Gottheil has suggested that they may have been inspired by Rabbi Arragel himself despite his categorical denial.⁴²

Some of the illustrations in the first part of the manuscript explain the process of the translation. After page XXII the editor reproduced the letter of Don Andres Pacheco, Grand Inquisitor and Bishop, who gave the manuscript to the Count of Olivares in 1624. On the next page, we have two miniatures, one showing the Maestro de Calatrava "figura del Senor Maestro que mando fazer la biblia," and the other depicting Rabbi Arragel in front of a book, the Latin Gloss, and having the two priests on the sides, the Franciscan and the Dominican. On page 13, a miniature shows Fray Arias and Rabbi Arragel kissing his foot. On the next page Arragel receives the Latin Gloss from Arias in Toledo. The final illustration, before the beginning of the Book of Genesis, is the presentation of the translation already described.

The manuscript is not mentioned in the legacy of Luis de Guzman, neither in the will of his widow Dona Ines de Torres, nor in the wills of other members of the family. The Bible is mentioned again in 1622 when it was given by the grand Inquisitor Andres Pacheco to Gaspar de Guzman, count of Olivares. When the duchess of Olivares, Dona Catalina de

Haro y Guzman Enriquez married the tenth Duke of Alba, Don Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, it became part of the Duke of Alba's library in the 18th century.

It was published by the Duke of Berwick and Alba as a token for his membership to the Roxbourghe Club:

It was the purpose of the House of Alba since the days of my deceased mother to publish this Bible known as the Bible of the House of Alba; but the task was delayed by the printing of other books. The rule of the Roxbourghe Club of London, to which I belong, is that each member should publish a manuscript of his library, and this condition has hastened the decision of the present edition, for despite the many problems that indutires are going through, I had the satisfaction to see the final edition of the Bible that started in July 1917.⁴³

A limited number of copies were sold privately by Maggs & Brothers, of London, that explain in this manner the editing of the Alba manuscript:

The reproduction of a Manuscript of this kind was no easy task, owing to the minute care required in the transcription of the text and the cost entailed in publishing the work befitted its importance. The Duke of Alba, however, convinced of the importance of the book from the points of view of philology, exegesis, and historical research in general, bore the whole expense of publication, and now, after four years of incessant labour, rendered more arduous by the delays and difficulties occasioned by the war, has the satisfaction of seeing his desire fulfilled.

He entrusted the work to this Librarian, Don Antonio Paz y Melia, formerly Director of the Department of Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and to the latter's son, Don Julian Paz, who, before assuming the control of this department, was Director of the Archives of Simancas. Don Antonio Paz

is also responsible for the Introduction to this Bible.

The Hispano-Moresque binding, which is a faithful reproduction of the binding of the Toledan Missal shown in the Biblioteca Nacional, was executed in Madrid.

The Bible is published in two volumes, the first containing 846 folio pages and the second 992. In order that the bulk of the volumes should not be still further increased, the 290 smaller illuminated miniatures have been grouped in sheets intercalated in the text; and the same has been done with the reproduction of the twenty-nine capitals, with illuminated borders, and the full page miniatures, all of which are in gold and colours.⁴⁴

The first volume contains the Prologue by the Duke of Alba, an Introduction by A. Paz y Melia and the reproduction of the correspondence between the Maestro de Calatrava and Rabbi Moses Arragel, a letter of Fray Arias to Rabbi Arragel, and the long speech of Arragel to the audience during the presentation of the Bible. Finally there is the answer of Fray Arias to the words of Arragel. Before the speech of Arragel, the reader will find a glossary of words used by Arragel or translated by him with a special tone. Some of the words are to clarify theological concepts that may confuse the Maestro, or it may be that Arragel included the glossary to defend himself of any heretical accusation by the Church, Margherita Morreale says that the glossary was a way to find a common language between Christians and Jews in a time when this sort of dialogue was not so common:

In this way, a few years after the severe Edict of 1412, the rabbi of Guadalajara was

seeking a manner of coexisting with his powerful Christian neighbors without renouncing to the thirteen articles of his faith. The Glossary is part of this effort and it shows us through the study of the vocabulary that the rabbi did not act merely by compulsion. In the philosophic and moral interpretation of Scripture Arragel saw a common ground where Jews and Christians could meet, and it is this interpretation that was most of his interest, as it corresponded to a man of his century and his people.⁴⁵

The correspondence between the Maestro and Arragel started on April 5, 1422 when Luis de Guzman wrote the following to his subject Arragel in Maqueda:

We, the Maestro de Calatrava, send regards to Rabbi Moses Arragel, our servant in our village of Maqueda, whom we wish honor and good luck. We have been informed that you are a wise man, who knows the Law of the Jews, and that you have recently moved here. Rabbi Moses: let it be known to you that we need a Bible in Castilian, with glosses and illustrations. We believe that you are capable of this task. Two motives move us to demand this from you: one, the fact that the language of the actual Bible is very corrupt; and secondly, that we are in great need of the glosses for the understanding of the obscure passages. For God knows that in these few moments left to us after battling the evil Moors, the enemies of the Holy Catholic Faith, and the service of our Lord the King and the honor of his kingdom, it is convenient for our Order to listen attentively to the Bible. This should be done in order to contemplate God, rather than hunting or reading novels or hearing poets, or playing chess or similar games. It is evident that by reading the Bible, one may reach beatitude and happiness, and this is because it is the Law of God. On the other hand, by reading novels and playing, one is distracted and man turns from this sacred task (the salvation of the soul). For we see that in order to avoid laziness and evil thoughts, kings and knights find time for these games, and forget to read in the Law of God. But we would

like after those hours, to hear the Bible at every possible moment. And you Rabbi Moses, if you will fulfill our desire accordingly, we will consider it a special service and we will be beholden to you, this is of course depending on the advise of the two teachers in sacred theology. I mean specially, what my two dear cousins will order, the reverend scholars Don Vasco de Guzman, of the city of Toledo, and the famous and revered teacher Fray Arias de Enzinas. Besides, we will bestow on you much wealth and favors every year. And, write to us concerning what you will decide to do, and send it back with the carrier of the present letter. May God give you grace. Written in the monastery of St. Augustine of Toledo, which is the site of the court of our Lord the King. Sunday, April 5 of the year 1422 of our saviour Jesus Christ. We the Maestro.⁴⁶

Nine days later, Rabbi Moses Arragel answers the Master of Calatrava in a long letter wherein he explains his position in the delicate matter of translating the Holy Writ into Spanish. He questions his capacity to undertake such a task, discusses the problems of theology, and offers countless excuses for not accepting the offer of the Maestro. The letter is divided into fifteen chapters, some of them dedicated to explain notions of Catholic theology that differ from the Jewish faith.

Arragel starts his letter by saying that he is not a scholar able to undertake such a translation:

To the Great and Virtuous Lord and Master:
a rabbi with no science, Moses, a servant
of your Highness, with humble reverences,
kisses the dust, and afterwards the feet
that tread on it, and then the hands.
Benevolent Sire: I have received your
letter and I can deduce from it the follow-
ing four points: one, the fame that you

heard about me; second your pleasure of knowing that I am living in Maqueda; thirdly, the fact of hunting; fourthly, the desire for a Bible according to the conditions established by you.⁴⁷

Rabbi Arragel answers the first point by saying that fame and truth are not members of the same class, and that many times fame goes against real truth. He tries to explain the second point, the Master's pleasure of knowing that a rabbi is living in his village of Maqueda, in historical terms. The present glory of the Jewish community, or of any Jewish person, has its roots in the Jews of years ago when the community brought prosperity and good customs to every city of their residence. He backs his words with citations from Aristotle and Salomon's Proverbs. Christian kings and knights sought the Israelite nation as friends and civil servants received them with clemency and good will. And he adds:

that the Jewish subjects of Castile, resembling the magnificence of their kings, were the wisest, most trustworthy men in all the kingdoms of their wandering in four manners: in family honor, in riches, in goodness, and in science.

The present state, hints the rabbi, is quite different and the Jewish community cannot offer such a proportion of wise and rich men. This paragraph of self defense has been considered by certain scholars, the editor of the Biblia de Alba in 1922, and by Claudio Sanchez Albornoz as an example of "Jewish pride," and even of arrogance. Sanchez Albornoz even says that

the version of the Biblio de Alba done by

Mose de Arragel of Guadalajara for the Master of Calatrava don Luis de Guzman... is a task without great importance and one that cannot be compared with the true creations of the Christians of that time.⁴⁸

Sanchez Albornoz, however, does not include in his critique the values by which he judges the translation of Arragel as "tarea sin relieve."

Rabbi Arragel wanted to show that the glory of Judaism in Spain was a thing of the past, and that his presence in Maqueda did not necessarily denote excellence in scholarship and knowledge of the Jewish Law. Arragel here and in other parts of his letter, tries to avoid the main issue as pointed out by the Maestro, that is, the translation of the Bible. Moses de Arragel may have had fresh in his mind the recent history of Jewish sufferings in the Spanish kingdoms. There were certain events that still haunted the lives of the community, such as the persecutions of 1391, the Tortosa Disputation, the Ordenamiento of Benedict XIII, and the general climate of intolerance that prevailed ever since in Spain. His lack of will to translate was a manner of defending himself and his family of possible controversies with the Church authorities.

In the third chapter of his letter, he comments on the virtues and disadvantages of hunting for the gentlemen of the court, and supports his ideas with biblical, greek and latin examples. He also refers to playing of chess and other games, recalling the story of a king who was asked by a saint the

reason for his playing chess instead of doing more important things. The answer was that God made him king in order that he should take care of every moment of his life, even of those dedicated to the games. The rabbi used a literary example to hint to the Maestro that the courtly life was a proper one, and one quite convenient to the position of the Master of Calatrava.

At this point of the letter, the rabby may have felt that the Maestro's patience would run short, and he dedicates the next chapters of the letter, four to ten, to a study of Jewish and Christian theologies. In the fourth chapter, he emphasizes the thirteen articles of faith that would give to his translation a very special flavor -- one quite different from the texts that the Maestro was accustomed to hear in the Catholic Church. The principles follow the Maimonidian Credo even though Arragel does not mention the name of the author:

1. To believe that God is the "prima causa." Existence of God.
2. That God is One.
3. God's Incorporeality.
4. God is eternal.
5. Only God must be worshipped.
6. Prophecy.
7. The superiority of the Mosaic Prophecy.
8. That the Torah is divine revelation, given to Moses on Mount Sinai.

9. The Torah is unchanging.
10. God knows all the deeds of men.
11. Reward and Punishment of men by God.
12. The Messiah.
13. The Resurrection of the Dead.

In the fifth part of the letter, Arragel explains to the Maestro that these precepts are divided into "three positive", "eight necessary to believe," and the final two are a mixture of both "positive and necessary." But all of them must be believed in order to be accepted by the synagogue as a Jew. In the sixth chapter Arragel gives the reasons for accepting these principles of faith. He explains in detail every one of them for the benefit of the Maestro de Calatrava who may have ignored these details of Jewish theology. Arragel had in mind one purpose in detailing the articles of faith: he tries to inform the Maestro that his glosses will be based on these articles of the Jewish faith:

But, Lord Master, it is clear that all the Jewish glosses have these thirteen articles as a basis. And I would do thusly, because I firmly believe in these thirteen articles or fundamentals of the Mosaic Law, as my parents and spiritual guides believed ever since Sinai. And if I write glosses as you have demanded I would follow this concept of the thirteen Principles of Faith), and it is evident that you the most virtuous, benevolent Catholic and faithful Christian, would not profit (from reading them), and I would have worked in vain... I infer that the Roman Church based the fundamentals of her belief and faith on fourteen articles, seven of them referring to humanity, and the other seven have a relation to the Divinity, some of which are in conformity with the ones expressed in the

Hebrew articles of faith, and many others are different.⁴⁹

The Catholic articles of faith mentioned by Arragel are divided into two parts, Chapter VII deals with the articles on God and Chapter VIII with the humane articles. The ones on God are:

1. The unity of God.
2. The attribute of God as Omnipotent Father.
3. The Son of God.
4. The Holy Spirit.
5. God is the creator of all, heaven and earth.
6. The grace of God as the agent to redeem men and forgive sins.
7. God rewards (Heaven) or punishes (Purgatory or Hell).

The other seven articles refer to humanity or to the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ:

1. Jesus Christ conceived by the Holy Spirit.
2. Jesus born of a Virgin, the Holy Virgin Mary.
3. Jesus received passion and death at the cross.
4. He descended into hell.
5. He was resurrected on the third day.
6. He ascended to Heaven and is at the right side of God.
7. He will judge the living and the dead at the end of days.

In the ninth and tenth chapters, Arragel studies the symbols of the Church, and the meaning of certain saints in Catholic theology. Arragel mentions the Nicene credo and the fight against Arrianism. He finishes this section of the

letter, recommending that these articles of the Catholic faith will have to appear along with his glosses based on the Thirteen Principles, which are naturally different from the Catholic formulation.

The eleventh chapter of his letter deals with the textual problems of the Bible. The Christians follow, in the opinion of Arragel, the editions of Saint Jerome as the definitive text of the Divine Word. This version, he goes on saying, differs somewhat from the original Hebrew Bible. Arragel feels that the Maestro would find sections that are not in accordance to what he is used to read. Arragel takes the occasion to convince the Maestro of the impossibility of the work, but with no positive result; Arragel writes;

in this manner, if I would translate into Spanish in a different fashion from the Latin version and St. Jerome the Master would find the translation quite corrupt, and if I would follow them (the two above mentioned versions), there are already others who have done better than I can do.⁵⁰

Later on, in the Proplogue of the manuscript dedicated to the problems of the translation, Moses Arragel says that he followed a conciliatory method: when it is possible he tries to find a concordance between the Hebrew text and St. Jerome, and when this is not possible, he follows the Hebrew Bible.

The twelfth chapter touches a delicate matter for Arragel. It concerns the desire of illustrations demanded by the Maestro. Arragel takes a strong position concerning this. He says that according to the faith of Israel, it is forbidden

to use images and he cannot at this point please the Master and draw or instruct painters to do the illustrations:

Once again, O most Noble Sire, another problem arises because of your demand (of illustrating the Bible) that restrains me to accept (the task). It is important to mention to you that the Ten Commandments commands us not to make images, and how much the more to worship them, and it is a great danger to give form to the image of God, for God is incorporeal, with no form comprehensible to us or to any angelical nature. And to draw images would go against what God Himself said in the giving of the Law in Deuteronomy, original of the formal words: you will avoid making images of God, for you did not see any image on the day that God spoke to you on the Mount. Isaiah: To whom can God be compared or to which image can you liken Him? And on this is based all the metaphysical philosophy and holy theology, that the image occupies space and whatever occupies space the space is larger than it, and consequently God would be limited.⁵¹

He goes on with a philosophical consideration of the relation of the image and the concept of God, demonstrating that a plurality of images may imply the recognition of the existence of many gods. He recognizes the **fact** that Christian theologians have allowed images in temples and books for the benefit of simple people who would deny God if they could not see Him in a physical representation. He feels also that the Roman Church sustains the idea that God became human and therefore it needs the figure to exemplify this religious concept. He finally states the opinion of the Jews in this manner:

But, O Sire, the Hebrews do not accept this, for they do not understand or believe that God has a human form. It is well said that the scientist, the simple man, and the children and women must be informed that God

has no form or image, and that there is nothing similar to God, no being to His Being, nor any life like His Life, and no science like His Science, and that the division between God and them is not of more to less, but infinite... And in this manner, the Jews affirm that God is more glorified than by means of representing Him by images. Consequently, I cannot have forms or images and it would be a sin for me to order others to do it, for I do not know anything about the art of painting...⁵¹

The Maestro de Calatrava finally ordered some painters of Toledo to illustrate the manuscript. The method followed is explained in the letter sent to Arragel by Fray Arias, which is translated below. It may have been that despite his refusal Rabbi Arragel may have advised the painters. There was a tradition of illuminating manuscripts in his time, and an educated and sophisticated man like Arragel may have known some examples of this art.

Chapter XIII of his letter, is another plea to be excused from the translation. He calls attention to Aristotle and his notion of the difference between the imagination and the desired thing. Arragel recognizes that the Maestro wants to read the Bible for eight reasons, and that he imagines that the rabbi from Maqueda will be able to do such a satisfactory job and fulfill all the requirements. For Moses Arragel, the eight reasons are as follows:

1. The reading of the Bible would stop the desires of the flesh.
2. The reading will teach men how to obey God.
3. The Bible teaches familial and social conduct.

4. It teaches loyalty to king and kingdom.
5. The reading of the Bible teaches how to love friends and hate enemies.
6. It teaches how the children of God must provide.
7. How and against whom to battle.
8. That the reading of the Bible is a source of philosophical knowledge.

In his final phrase he states, that all these conditions which the reading of the Bible must have, can be obtained only through the help of "divines in holy theology" and not through a simple man like himself. The translation, therefore, should be made by Catholic scholars rather than by a Jew. A similar thought is developed in the fourteenth section. Here he details the thirteen virtues that any good commentator must have. These virtues are also extended to those who write books. They are as follows:

1. That the sciencia of the man of knowledge is like riches, one should gain it, try to spend it in one's own house, and help others.
2. One should treasure a teacher's knowledge even when one does not need his help anymore.
3. To maintain what was learned.
4. That he should have no such science that it should suffice for him and for others.
5. That he should respect and esteem his knowledge as much as the person to whom he is writing the

glosses.

6. That there should be a close relationship between the work of the commentator and his personal opinions.
7. That the commentator should be happy with his work and despise worldly possessions.
8. That he should not consider the recompense superior to his work.
9. That his comments should satisfy those who are wise and those who are ignorant.
10. That he should be careful in the explanation of certain ideas.
11. That he should please the friend for whom he is writing the glosses.
12. That he should include those comments that he considers necessary in the text.
13. That he should not speak ill of other sciences.

Arragel humbly finishes the paragraph, saying "and Sire, all these conditions and others that the sages have established, are not to be found in me."

The final section of his letter, chapter XV, is dated April 14, 1422, in the village of Maqueda. He points out that there has been a tradition of commentaries on the Holy Script in Judaism. It is a tradition that dates from the days of Moses and was handed down to the succeeding generations. Even in the forty years exile in the desert lectures (lecciones) were given for the instruction of the people. This art of

commentary was rich in Spain also, and Moses Arragel reminds the Maestro that the Jewish Community in Castile was in its time the pride and glory of Israel in prosperity and science. The picture now has changed. The community is like an orphan lacking knowledge, economic security, and good scholars. Arragel finally recommends the Maestro de Calatrava to look for a translator and a commentator, not among those left in the Hebrew nation, but among the theologians and famous scholars of the Christian nation.

Rabbi Moses Arragel of Maqueda in his long letter answering Guzman's invitation tried by all means to persuade him to do the translation. Arragel excused himself on the grounds of a lack of knowledge, the fact that he strictly followed the Thirteen Principles of the Jewish faith that are different from the Catholic dogma which may influence the Maestro's reading of his glosses; the question of the impossibility of illustrating the translation; his lack of virtues as a commentator, and finally, the spiritual poverty of his community that did not produce any scholar of importance, in contrast to the glorious days of Castile where Jewish scholars were abundant.

All these excuses were of no avail, and on April 18th, the Maestro de Calatrava writes to Moses Arragel in these terms:

We, the Maestro de Calatrava send regards to you Rabbi Moses Arragel our subject, to whom we wish much honor and good luck. We have read your letter excusing yourself from translating the Bible. Truly what we can answer now is that wise men have always had

these manners of conduct, including those things that you have said concerning you, and which appears to us as much arrogance, and even sometimes fantasy. And we have shown your letter to the most noble and virtuous teacher Fray Arias de Enzina, who is my relative by blood and spirit, and to whom we entrust all our business, and God willing, his good sense will inform us in matters like those related to faith. He has seen your letter, he understands your doubts and tribulations, and according to him, they are reasonable; but he says that he has gained much knowledge (of your person) from the letter, and if you would like to please us, you should come here to San Francisco de Toledo, where he is the guardian of the convent, and you will be informed concerning all the problems outlined by you. We pray and order you, then, that you should consider what our revered cousin the guardian (of San Francisco) writes to you, and putting aside excuses, you should promptly accept the offer and obey whatever the teacher will order you to do. You should not feel either that you cannot accept the commission on the grounds of the small pay that some knights are accustomed to give in such deals. For, by the present letter we assure you that we will recompense you well for this work, according to the advice of the teachers in Holy Theology, with riches and rewards and all expenses that you may incur (we will return). As soon as you will come, we will order food and money for your living. Even if you would not live in our territory, you would not lose anything in pleasing us and would not incur our rage. And finally, O Rabbi, it is convenient that the matter should not be delayed, and action should follow immediately. May God keep you. Written in St. Augustine of Toledo, April 18, 1422. We the Maestro.⁵²

On April 25th Fray Arias de Enzina writes to Arragel according to the wish of the Maestro de Calatrava. His tone is severe in certain parts, and he even tries to invite the rabbi to convert to the Church:

My friend Rabbi Mose: the teacher Fray Arias

de Enzina, guardian of the convent and study house of San Francisco de Toledo, sends greetings and good wishes to you. I inform you that my Lord and cousin, the most Catholic virtuous and benevolent Maestro de Calatrava Luis de Guzman showed me your letter dealing with the matter of the Bible. Due to my many passions and poor health, and my sins, and the great amount of work in this convent I cannot answer in detail the chapters of your letter. I cannot do it because it would take much time and writing, and I am not in a condition to waste time. It pleases the Maestro that you should come here, and I will tell you with great pleasure concerning the marvellous matters and ideas described in your letter, and also about other dubious things in your letter, for I am curious to see how you defend them. But in relation to the translation of the Bible, ordered by the Maestro, a task that you imagined you could excuse yourself from, your letter, so well conceived, shows that you are a scholar and that you will serve the Maestro well. Concerning your fear that you may err in the Catholic or Jewish articles of faith, and by so doing you would be in a dangerous position in regard to both nations (Christian and Hebrew), let me tell you my dear friend rabbi that it would be better if you should recognize the Holy Trinity and the Roman Faith, and in this manner illumine with truth your soul and avoid hell, and know the real saviour the king Messiah, Jesus Christ. But perhaps in your hardness you want to continue your heritage, and you want to be like that individual who used to eat bad food, and was asked the reason, and answered that he was so accustomed because his father did the same. If you want to serve the Maestro, be it known to you that in his honor, I will help you with pure and noble advice to the extent of my possibilities. It is important to know, however, that the Maestro requires this translation, not because of a lack of Christian scholars, as you saw it, but with the purpose of knowing the glosses of your modern doctors, those did not include Nicolas de Lyra. When it comes to the ideas and glosses of the Roman Church that have to be included, I will give you the information, so when you arrive at the Hebrew opinion, you will add the information supplied by me, of the opinions of the Roman Faith; and when you reach a chapter where

I do not supply you with the Latin opinion, you simply add your glosses. You should not fear in this, for it occurs many times among us that people have erroneous opinions, which are not according to the law, without affirmation or explanation. If you serve in this manner to your Master (The Maestro) you will avoid offending both nations. In relation to the matter of the illustrations concerning God, it is not denied that the divine essence is non corporeal and without compare, and this doctrine is sustained much better by the Catholic Church than by the Jews, and for more important reasons. But if we personify God, it is because of our concept of humanity, for the passion that He experienced, hence this account appears illustrated so that it reminds Christians of the event. And due to the fact that you are a stiff necked Jew, and you do not even want to advise the painters concerning the illustrations of God, I will personally give the order as to which images will illustrate certain portions of the text. When you come to the portion you will leave a space where in your opinion the artists should illustrate the text and I will advise them concerning the chapter. The painters are mainly from this city, and I will show them the Bible of the Main Church (Iglesia Mayor), which has good images, and this copy of the Bible and my notes will instruct them about their job. You cannot know the Latin glosses without information and teaching, less can you act without the teacher's knowledge in our illustrations, which ones they are, and where they are supposed to go, and in all this, you only have to show the painters my orders, and they will act accordingly. Your stubbornness is great, but with this solution of the problem you can serve the Maestro and come to the city, God willing, and we will talk personally about the matters slowly, concerning your letter and the Bible, because even this letter is written with hardness due to my excessive work. May God be with you, and may He bring you to the better life and the salvation of your soul. Written on April 25th. The teacher Fray Arias, guardian.⁵³

The manuscript has a note informing us that three days after receiving this letter, Rabbi Mose Arragel went to Toledo

and was instructed personally by Arias de Enzina about the method of commentating the obscure parts of the Bible. Arragel would receive one Latin gloss at the time and return after his work was completed. He would also leave open spaces for the illustrators of the text.

The translation was finished on Friday, June 2, 1430. The Maestro de Calatrava, and the Comendador Mayor of the Order Don Juan Ramirez de Guzman were busy at the time in gathering troops in their war against the kings of Aragon and Navarra. The Maestro sent the manuscript to be checked by Fray Juan de Zamora in Salamanca. Finally, rabbi Moses Arragel presented the translation on Sunday, November 5, 1430 at a special gathering. He pronounced a long speech divided in seven chapters, and he was answered by Fray Arias Enzina. This is the last thing that is known about Arragel who may have retired to Maqueda or returned to his native Guadalajara.

In the first part of his speech, Rabbi Arragel speaks of different forms of petitions and his high regard for his tradition, that it may be well received and corrected by the wise men of St. Francis after working eleven years in it. The second chapter is a discussion of the prophetic word and of the truth that the human mouth may emit. He clearly points out that the mouths of the priests are the purest for they are in constant converse with God, and especially those of the reverend teachers of the convent. The third

chapter of Arragel's speech continues with the subject of the priest, and continues with other figures of Jewish history. He finishes with a praise for the Franciscan Order, from whom Christians should ask for the Law and he particularly asks for the correction of his translation of the Bible.

The fourth chapter is a moral lesson showing that blessedness is reached by man through the cultivation of science and good behavior. In the fifth chapter he makes a difference between the Law of God from other laws, that the law of the Greeks take one form while Jewish law has a definite and different form. Secondly, the Law of God is not only law but also a way for the salvation of the soul. Third, the Law of God has a universal tone while the other laws are related to specific areas of activity. Fourth, the Law of God does not ask of its observants sacrifices of children like Moloch, but the purity and the delight of the heart. Fifth, the other laws are obscure, but the Law of God is grounded on the natural sciences, philosophy and theology. Sixth: in the Law of God all is clean. Seventh, The Law of God is eternal. Eighth, the other laws promise gold and silver if the worshipper keeps them, but the Law of God is true blessedness. Nine, the other laws promise terrestrial delights, but the Law of God is far removed from this world. Arragel following a medieval concept considers that the soul is a "tabula rasa" upon which the Divine Law acts and is transformed into angelical material. And in

similar manner he requests the priests of the order that will correct his translation and glosses to transform the work into angelical material.

The sixth and seventh parts of his speech are dedicated to a praise of the Franciscan Order which is for him the highest form of wisdom, its priests like angels and its benevolence supreme. The last part of his speech Arragel analyzes the symbol of the seraphim in St. Francis and relates it to Ezekiel and Isaiah. The last paragraph requests Fray Arias Enzina and the others charged with correcting the translation to say a good word in his behalf and in this way he would be recompensed by the Maestro. He informs the audience that since the beginning of his work, he has spent a thousand *doblas*, a value unknown to our days, in food for his wife and children.

Rabbi Moses Arragel used many words of praise for the Maestro and his audience of knights. Some of his words may sound humiliating in the mouth of a man of such science and knowledge. But Arragel was living in an adverse period of Jewish history in Spain and he had many things to defend, his life, his peace, his family. The translation may have meant a lot for him, it was the intellectual work of eleven years, and even if he accepted it reluctantly in the beginning, he shows his enthusiasm and scholarship in the development of his translation and commentary.

Fray Arias de Enzinas is moved to answer Rabbi Moses

Arragel informing him of the good will and wisdom that will be used by the brothers in the supervision of his translation of the Bible:

Friend Rabbi Moses: These fathers and teachers, students of the seminary, have heard your good speech, but it is not time now to reply and argue in some of the things said by you, but we accept your good intention. It is true that the Order of the blessed father St. Francis has all the virtues that you have mentioned and many others that you do not know. But concerning what you say about my person, you express well what the Philosopher said in the Rethoric, that the best thing of rhyming and inventing, is to know how to write well, and concerning me, I well know who I am and my shortcoming in the sciences, good manners, and it would be better if you excuse them, rather than to say things that the thing has not, in a way it is a form of diminishing the very little that a man possesses. But about the Bible and the sefvices rendered to you by myself, with which you did more and invented more, these scholarly teachers who serve the Maestro, helped me in the correction of this Bible, because, according to my feelings, I could not correct it alone by myself. And be sure that if it pleases God what is inside the Bible, as what appears outside, this is the most famous work that exists in many kingdoms, and even if the translation into Spanish from the Hebrew is not close to St. Jerome's version, it will not harm our Holy Roman faith, and you will be excused in the glosses that do not touch our faith. In our information to the Maestro, these fathers and myself say that meritorious of much goodness, and that this work has no value that the Maestro can pay accordingly. And be sure that once the Bible is corrected, we will write to the Maestro informing him about our feeling. Presently, I pray the honorable fathers doctors my brothers Fray Johan de Santa Clara and the Doctor Fray Diego de Fresno, and the Doctor Fray Diego de Atienca, that they and myself will be in charge of the correction.⁵⁴

The rest of the manuscript says that the correction started on the 6th of November and lasted till June of 143... The final date does not appear on the page.

The translation of Rabbi Moses Arragel: method and sources.

The translation of Rabbi Moses Arragel was not the first one in Spain. There were partial translations already in the 13th century. The Spanish language was in the process of becoming the official language of the courts, the grammar was also in a state of final formulation.⁵⁵ Poetry was having a start with Gonzalo de Berceo, the first Spanish poet known by name. Manuscripts of sections of the Bible were read in courtly circles, but also and mainly among Jews. Americo Castro says on this respect:

The desire for popularization ad usum regis coincided with the Castilian Jews only slight interest in Latin, the medium of expression which reflected the Christian unity of the Occident. His language par excellence was Hebrew; then came Arabic as the expression of the most valuable culture; and then, from the thirteenth century on, Castilian was imposed on him as the language of his only possible homeland.⁵⁶

These translations may have been numerous because in the Tarragona Concilium of 1233 Jaime I of Aragon decreed the prohibition to have or to read the Bible in Romance:

It is commanded that no one should have in his possession any copy of the Old or New Testament, in the Spanish language. And if someone has a copy he has to turn it in the next eight days, from the day of the publication of this order. It should be given to the bishop of the place so he will burn it. If he would not do it, to give up the copies, this person either cleric or commoner, will be considered a heretic until he rectifies his position.⁵⁷

Jose Llamas refers to the fact that at the time of the decree it is supposed that a Castilian version of the Bible

was credited to David Kimhi, but there is no evidence for this notion. This concept of a Kimhi version has been considered absurd by the Hispanist M. Morreale.⁵⁸ The prohibition to read or own a Spanish version of the Bible was related to the conviction that the translation may deviate from the official text of St. Jerome and thus induce people to sustain false concepts. The distrust continued for centuries. We know that in Salamanca in the XVth century many manuscripts of the Bible were burned because of this reason:

On the 25th of September 1492, some Bibles written in Spanish, more than twenty volumes, were condemned in the city of Salamanca as heretic, and also for contradicting our tradition. They were translated after the fashion of the Hebrew texts, that they (the Jews) have already corrected and in many places are far from the truth, and specially in those passages referring to Christ the Saviour. For this reason, they were burned.⁵⁹

Alfonso el Sabio (1252-1284) in 1280 published his famous history "Historia General donde se contiene la Version Espanola de toda la Biblia, traducida literalmente de la latina de San Jeronimo," in five volumes and kept it in the Escorial Library. It was a General History but also included a translation of the Bible. Concerning this work, the Spanish historian Mariana says the following:

The king ordered to have this translation of the Bible with the purpose that this language that was so simple (the Spanish) should become richer in expression. He believed that the faithful one would use it a book where words of health and truth

are written, and also the external life.⁶⁰

The purpose of the king, who had a group of translators working for him, known as the "school of Tolosa," was to purify the Spanish language through a good translation of the Bible. The style of this translation became the style of the official documents of the court.

Another version of the Bible was ordered by Juan II (1408-1453) and the fact has been registered by the Spanish historian Hernando del Pullagar in his book De los claros Varones de Espana, who says that the king "le placia oir lecturas y saber declaraciones y secretos de la Sagrade Escritura."⁶¹

Samuel Berger in a note published in 1899 describes another version of the Bible that he saw in Spain during a trip at that time. He describes as follows his impression:

While in all of the rest of Europe it is not possible to find a version of the Bible in European languages done from the original Hebrew, it is in Spain, from the 13th century that we find Castilian texts translated from the original Hebrew and many corrected with the help of the original Hebrew text. Such one is the version of the Psalms of Herman el Aleman, a Latin translator of Aristotle, that lived in Toledo around 1250, who translated the Psalms in accordance with the "Hebrew" text of Saint Jerome, and was revised with the original Hebrew in sight (Escorial, ms. I. j.8). In the next century, when Samuel Levy was the minister of Pedro el Cruel, the influence of the Hebrew Bible is felt less in the translations. We have a group of biblical Spanish texts that are revisions of former translations rather than new ones. But this revision is done very carefully and with

a great scientific spirit; the order of the books of the Bible follow the order of the Hebrew Bible. Ordinarily, they added the books of Machabees that do not appear in the Hebrew Canon, but this could not be avoided due to the warlike spirit of the Spaniards.⁶²

The author advances the theory that many of these translations were copies of earlier works. He follows this idea in relation to Arragel's version, as we will see later on.

There is no complete list of the Spanish biblical manuscripts. Partial lists, or sporadic studies have been published in the last years. Many of these manuscripts, translated from the Hebrew or the Latin, are still uncatalogued in provincial libraries in Spain, or at the homes of prominent citizens. The study of the Biblia Romanceada is in its beginnings, and the main work has been done in Spain in the last twenty five years. Margherita Morreale writes that:

It is a strange fact, that despite the importance and quantity of the Spanish Bibles, so little has been studied. And today that the revelations between Jews and Christians are widely discussed it is difficult to understand that the precise documentation offered by the medieval versions is not the object of more research.⁶³

Rabbi Arragel in his long letter of introduction to the Maestro de Calatrava included a section commenting on the method and purpose of his translation of the Bible. He starts the first chapter of his introductory remarks with a prayer to God "Who enlightens his eyes so he would not make any mistake." In a beautiful old Spanish style, with deep religious resonances, the rabbi asks God for the favor of

understanding His Law, and avoid mistakes while he is working.

After thanking the Creator he turns to the problems that a translator faces in his work:

Here it is important to show, O Highness, that every national language has special expressions, and especially Hebrew, and one part of the phrase may be understood in many ways.

Arragel anticipates the comparisons that the Catholic scholars will make of this translation with the Vulgata. He wants to convey to the Maestro that "traduttore, tradittore," that every translation deviates from the original, that it becomes a work by itself different from the original. It also originates misunderstandings concerning words. Arragel gives the following example:

An example of misunderstandings: in the first chapter of Jeremiah the Hebrew text says these words "makel shaked ani toe." Makel means rod (verga o palo); shaked means almond tree (velador o almendro); the Jew (Arragel) according to the chapter, decided that he has to translate into Spanish "palo de almendro" (a rod of an almond tree). St. Jerome translated "palo velador" (almond tree stick), necessarily a confusion in the interpretation,, is a confusion in the gloss; and that confusion originated in the mistake of the parts...⁶⁴

He also explains to the Maestro de Calatrava the problem in Hebrew with its lack of printed vowels:

Another source of mistakes in the translation of the Bible is related to the lack of dots (nekudot) or their position in the Hebrew parts; it is to note that while the Latin and Castilian languages make use of vowels, like o, u, e, i, the Jews, on the other side

make use of dots instead of vowels. For example: for the vowel o, they set on the top of the letter a dot; and for the vowel u they place a dot in the middle of the letter... in this manner, any mistake in the setting of these dots that are in place of vowels, is a mistake in the intention of the translation.

Arragel gives an example in which St. Jerome, by mistaken the dots, understood a text completely wrong. At this point of the letter, the translator may have thought that his words could be taken as a condemnation of St. Jerome, so beloved by the religious orders. He then tells the Maestro that in these matters he can be informed by the famous Gonzalo Rodriguez de Ayllon, and two other scholarly men whose names do not appear in the manuscript. He also adds the name of the Maestro's cousin Juan Ramirez de Guzman, known by his great bravery in battle, and not by his knowledge of the humanities. One may think that Rabbi Arragel played ironically with authority, but this may not have been his main purpose. The involvement of other members of the court could easily cover the frictions, theological frictions, due to his critical attitude to the Catholic official version of the Bible.

In the second chapter of his letter-introduction Arragel explains the method followed by St. Jerome and he also hints at his own manner of translating the Bible:

St. Jerome... did three things: one, in the proemium of his Biblia he said that by undertaking the work he was venturing much; second, he left many Hebrew parts with no translation at all, and then he

added interpretations by a, b, c,; third, he said in the prologue that the help of the Jews was necessary in the doubtful passages of his translation, for they were the ones who knew well the language.⁶⁵

Arragel will follow a somewhat similar method, leaving words in the Latin that were well known in everyday conversation. He says that Latin was so popular that it may put aside the "pure Castilian," Arragel was referring possibly to the use of Latin expressions in the court, popular sayings taken from the Bible or the Church writers, but it is doubtful that it was a popular language among the members of the court. Perhaps even the Maestro de Calatrava had a poor knowledge of the language, and this may have been another reason why he requested a translation into Romance. He needed the gloss, according to his word, but he could have asked a running commentary of the Bible from Arragel, rather than a whole translation. One reason for leaving the Latin words, as he leaves also Hebrew expressions, may be the fact that they were very controversial, and a translation may have suggested changes due to the faith of the translator. The Glosario added to Arragel's introduction was a useful dictionary of basic Catholic and Jewish doctrines, but also a subtle defense of his position, which was not an easy one between the theologians charged to censor his translation on one hand and the power of the Maestro on the other.

At the end of the second chapter, Arragel explains his method in relation to St. Jerome:

Consequently, my Sire, my method of translating, done with God's grace, and also with Maestro Arias and with the help of reverend Juan de Zamora, of the order of the preachers, was to find as much as possible a concordance of the Hebrew with St. Jerome's version. Sometimes setting a phrase before, other times behind, according to the gloss. And When I was not able to find a concordance, I followed the Hebrew text. So I beg the pardon of anybody who will read this translation and the gloss, I beg of them to be gentle in judging and of good intention.⁶⁶

One problem that confronts the reader of the Arragel version is the question if the rabbi of Maqueda translated directly from the original or if he based his version on previous attempts. It is a general opinion that Arragel translated from the original, but Samuel Berger advanced the hypothesis that Arragel used and corrected other editions of the Spanish Bible. In a letter to the librarian of the Duke of Alba, A. Melia Paz, he writes the following:

I have the feeling that the version of Moses Arragel was not a direct translation done from the Hebrew but a very careful revision following the Hebrew text of an old Spanish translation which in turn was done from the Vulgate (Mss. Escorial, I.j.4 and I.j.7).

At certain points the text is so changed that it is not recognizable, but in general we have here a revision rather than a translation. It is a sure thing that Arragel had before him an old revision done from the Hebrew (Escorial I.j.3 and I.j.5)....

It would be of interest to compare Arragel's translation with the Manuscript of the Academy of History that has the Prophets in Latin and Spanish with a gloss and the Machabees cites by Equen. The vision of Isaiah--- appears exactly as the one trans-

lated by Arragel. There are some differences that remind us certain former revisions, that I can only explain as follows: we have here the first work by Arragel...⁶⁷

One may disagree on several accounts with the idea of S. Berger, and some of them are pointed out by Melia Paz. There is the first fact that the Maestro required Arragel to translate the Bible directly from the original. Arragel in his letter answering the Maestro's request said that "others already had translated the Bible into Spanish better than I can do," and it is difficult that Arragel would deceive the powerful master of Calatrava, and take another translation and fix it for this purpose. It took Arragel eleven years to finish his task. In reality it was from 1422 to 1430, but there were three years of corrections and revisions in Toledo and Salamanca. There were many involved in the process and Arragel's work was constantly checked by the Franciscans in Toledo.

Melia Paz compared the texts, as required by Berger, but found few differences. It is difficult to know if the translation comes from an older source, or if it is the product of two different men. There is the fact also of the many corrections made on the manuscript by the brothers in the monasteries mentioned above. It is important to note that the censors had in mind a complete concordance between Arragel's version and the St. Jerome translation. They made changes in order to accomodate this, and the Arragel translation becomes quasi equal with any other Spanish manuscript that followed

St. Jerome. By now the originality of Arragel's work is widely accepted.

In the fourth chapter of his Introduction to the translation Arragel suggests to the Maestro the way of reading the Bible just presented to him:

Consequently, oh Maestro, and the other knights that will read this Bible, it is important for you to know that the glosses inserted in this Bible are chosen ones, taken from many authors. And in the chapter where there is no manifest difference between the Latin and Hebrew commentators, being that the gloss is a direct one, sustaining the Jew in such and such a thing, and the Christian in such and such a thing, this gloss can stand safely, and be accepted by any of the two nations, Christian or Jewish. And in many other places, as you have heard, I was commanded to put the Jewish and Latin opinions. The Latin ones because they are Latin, and the Hebrew ones because they are Hebrew; and it is possible that I included an opinion, and forgot to advise the reader if it is a Latin or Hebrew gloss. It was not intended for the Christian, and less the Jew, to commit a mistake in his faith, where the Christian feels that some point or gloss is contrary to the articles of his faith, he finds them in relation to the point of view of the Hebrews, and not because of a spirit of polemics. The same concerns the Jew, if he finds here any gloss contrary to any of the articles of his faith, it is found here as an opinion of the Roman Church, according to the instruction given to me by the reverend Master Arias, and not by any Jewish commentator or rabbi. Besides, it is said in the Proem of each chapter the name of the person who sustained the opinion, and wherein Latins and Hebrews differ. In this manner, if the Christians and the Jews accept this schema, he will not fall into error, and will not say that he finds heresies or contradictory opinions. And each one, Christian or Jew, should not forsake the articles of his faith because of the opinions found here, but should believe these credos firmly because in this

work the different opinions are detailed, to relate without determining or affirming a disputation. For I, because I am a Jew, I believe in the Jewish opinions, as the Christian believes in his, what I have done is to relate and quote Jewish doctrines of the Jewish teachers, the best of what I could find, ancient and modern, and Christian opinions from the books given to me by the reverend Master Arias and some by the reverend Fray Juan de Zamora, by command of the Maestro in the Estudio de Salamanca. I have only related or quoted, and it is incumbent upon the individual to believe, dispute or defend his law in his own capacity. And we have shown the quality of this work. It is my opinion now that its fame will directly depend on its effects or benefits.⁶⁸

Rabbi Arragel was not satisfied with this long section dedicated to clarify the reading of his version. He may have been concerned with the possible reactions to his translation. Even though his version was carefully checked by the Franciscans in Toledo and Salamanca, he was personally vulnerable to attacks as was his community in Maqueda or other sections of Castile. The translation of certain parts of the Bible could have been taken as excuses for a new disputation, or a confrontation between the scholars and Arragel with evil consequences for him and the community. In order to avoid any misunderstanding he added a glossary of terms that were left in the original Latin and Hebrew, or words that had some theological implications, like "Son of God," "Apostol," etc. We have already quoted Miss Morreale's opinion that this glossary had more than philological significance: it was also a defense to counteract any critique from ecclesiastical or courtly circles. The translation of some words will

demonstrate how much on the defensive was the translator during his work. Some of the words used at the time of Arragel had very important connotations, both theological and political, which he tried to avoid. The style of Arragel is at its best. His use of the subjunctive verb is so subtle that it allows him to say many of the things that his heart was hiding, without incurring the wrath of the Maestro. The style shows the rich personality of the man, not only in knowledge but also in human wisdom and the art of politics.

The following are some examples of the Glosario:

Ante Christo. Antichrist, means against the Messiah, and concerning this concept Latins and Hebrews are divided. For the Latins everytime they found in the prophecies this name, in the glosses of this Bible they take the name to mean the Son of the devil who is supposed to exist and harm the faith of Jesus Christ, who is considered by the Roman Church as the true Messiah. But the Jews, who still wait for the Messiah, whenever they read the expression 'the coming of the antichrist' in the glosses, which means against the Messiah, they understand three concepts. The first one, it is taken to mean the times of the captivities... for the concept of Messiah is freedom and redemption, and the time of captivity is only subjugation. The second idea relates that when the Messiah expected by the Jews will come, Gog and Magog will also come upon Israel, big people and good warriors, and together with them all the nations will rise and will come upon Israel, and they say that they will be greatly tempted, but will be liberated (Israel)... The third form of antichrist, is important to know, it is related to the belief of the coming of a Messiah of the family of Joseph who will take Israel out of captivity, but as in the case of the Egyptian who repented of letting Israel go out of their land, and got together and persecuted the Hebrews, in a similar manner when they will be liberated from captivity by

the Messiah of the tribe of Joseph, the nations will unite and attack Israel and they will have as their captain a demon dressed in human form, named Armilos who will battle against this Messiah and he together with many of Israel will be destroyed. And while Israel will be anxious concerning the destiny of the people, God will send the Messiah son of David, and will destroy Armilos and his companions, and will convert all the nations to the Mosaic faith and will remain so forever. In conclusion, the Jews have three forms of antichrist, in accordance with the definition of antichrist: one, the time of the captivities; second, the coming of Gog and Magog; third, the coming of Armilos. In this manner, the Jew who reads in this Bible the word antichrist, may take the word according to any of these three meanings, and the Christian reads in it the time when the Roman faith was put to temptation and trial. The Jew should not be shocked when in a gloss he reads in some prophecy or psalm 'this is said for the time of the evil antichrist, for captivities, Gog and Magog, and Armilos are the antichrist, which means against the Messiah.⁶⁹

Sometimes Rabbi Arragel wants to clarify a word that may confuse the Christian reader in the belief that the meaning of a certain word is shared by both faiths. An example of this is given in his explanation of the word "apostol:"

Apostol. He is the messenger; apostoles: messengers. epistola: letter. In many places of this gloss Apostles of God will be mentioned. Also in this are Latins and Hebrews divided. For the Latins the word comes to mean the apostles that preached the faith of Jesus Christ and with them they sent letters to the provinces and kingdoms. And the Jews consider the apostles of God the holy fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the holy prophets, all of them carried the divine message and so this name of the apostles can be considered by two nations, and not only

by one of them.⁷⁰

When Arragel studies a word of deep theological implications like "Son of God" he explains the meaning of the term and invites each one to hold his own set of opinions.

Fijo de Dios. In many places of this work it is mentioned the Son of God, the true king Messiah, who will come to liberate Israel of its evils and tribulations. The Christians take these formal words as referring to Jesus Christ, and the Jews for the Messiah for whom they are waiting. And they explain that it is not surprising that God should call the Messiah my son; as in the case of Israel, God called him in Egypt my son, my first born Israel, and they maintain that David said; the Lord said to me, you are my son. Consequently, in these cases, each one should hold to the principles of his faith which he considers more truthful.⁷¹

In a word like "theology," Arragel will take the occasion to show the differences of both faiths, a difference reflected in the choice of terms and ideas:

Theologia. It is a science that goes beyond heaven, and shows us the essence of incorporeal things, that have no equals among the corporeals, in such a manner that through her we know God as powerful over all things. It is important to note here, Maestro, that there are deep differences between Latins and Hebrews concerning the definition and teaching of theology. As the Jews do not believe in the trinity of God, they say that this science is the only one that gives knowledge of God... but the Christians believe the trinity of this science, and through it they believe in all the things that the Roman Church believes. Consequently, when in this work it is said in many places: holy theology, the Jew does not think in the trinity, but in one Divinity, and they call this science that we name holy theology, the science of Elahuth; but the Christians

believe what we said before. At this point, each one should keep his law and his principles.⁷²

Rabbi Arragel comments on other words like Padre, Hostia, etc. that may be of difficulty for the reader, whether Christian or Jew, and lead them into theological confusions. His tone is always of respect and he allows himself some irony, as for example, in the explanation of anti christo, where he denies any possibility of considering Jesus as the Messiah. The style is more refined than in the rest of the letter, showing the fine knowledge of the rabbi in Catholic doctrine, and general culture. Arragel appears in the glossary as a Jew but also as a Spaniard of his time, an intellectual versed in the different traditions of his country, Jewish, Arabic and Catholic. Miss Morreale correctly says of the glossary:

The glossary can be considered a prologue of the content and the translation of the Biblia de Alba and it allows us to study the vocabulary of a Spanish rabbi of the 15th century that searched for a way of coexistence with the Christians making himself as "latin" as the Christians.⁷³

The inclusion of glosses in the Biblia de Alba was not an innovation. The gloss has a long history in Jewish and Christian interpretation of the Holy text. In the Jewish milieu the word gloss is connected to "laaz," "a foreign word or sentence, in Hebrew characters, inserted in Hebrew writings," and used to explain "to the reader the exact meaning of a Biblical or Talmudic word or sentence not easily explained in Hebrew."⁷⁴ In the Christian tradition the gloss had meant

a "word of the text which needed some explanation, and next the explanation itself."⁷⁵ The gloss becomes an explanation of the Biblical text, sometimes even a running commentary on a whole book, inserted between the lines or in the margins of the Bible or manuscript, as it is in the case of Arragel's manuscript. The Christians developed two forms of glosses: the Ordinary Gloss, compiled by Walafrid Strabo (9th century) consisting of a chain of quotations from the early fathers, doctors and divines. The second form was the Interlinear Gloss, compiled by Anselm of Laon (11th century).⁷⁶

The Jewish world considers Rashi the most prominent creator of glosses to the Biblical text. His counterpart in the Christian community was Nicholas de Lyra. He was a Franciscan monk (1270-1349) author of the Postillae perpetuae, a running commentary on the different books of the Bible that had a deep influence on the Catholic studies of the Holy text. He was widely admired in Europe and this feeling was expressed in a well known proverb:

Si Lyra non lyrasset
totus mundus delirasset.

His Postillae were used by Arragel who consulted a copy at the monastery in Toledo. Lyra was familiar with Hebrew works and in many occasions he mentions the work of Rashi. He refers to him saying that "I usually follow Rabbi Solomon, whose teachings are considered authoritative by modern Jews."⁷⁷

The glosses in the Biblia de Alba then followed a known

pattern in the biblical manuscripts, the original text was adorned in the margins or in between lines with comments on obscure words or expressions. The glosses written by Arragel are a running commentary to the books of the Bible. The translator gives the Jewish opinion and sometimes only the Catholic, as he explained in his letter to the Maestro. Many times in the same paragraph the two opinions are given, as we will see later on. Arragel used classical Jewish sources and on many occasions his own interpretations based on common sense or general knowledge. There are blank places in the original or certain phrases were erased by the censors, which may indicate that Arragel's comments did not find the approval of the teachers at Toledo. The reader of the commentary has the feeling all the time that Arragel was extremely careful in his words, the style shows the exactness of his thought, the great economy of words, in order not to allow any confusion when discussing theological concepts. This manner of writing differs greatly from his letter of Introduction to the Maestro where the Spanish is abundant in adjectives and long empty phrases of courtesy or general consideration. In the comments Arragel is concise and precise.

We will analyze the first eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis through the glosses of Rabbi Arragel. These chapters have been very much discussed among Church Fathers and also in rabbinic sources. Some of the main concepts of the Roman faith, such as the trinity, the fall of man, original sin,

Adam as a typological figure of Christ, etc. have their ground in verses of these first chapters of Genesis. They were also used in medieval discussions between Jews and Christians, and Catholic scholars would base many of their arguments at the Disputations on verses of Genesis and their interpretation by Catholic sources. These questions do not take a dramatic tone in the Arragel commentary, they appear casually. The reason may be the desire of Arragel to avoid any clash with the Catholic theologians and authorities. Behind some of Arragel's comments there is the feeling of the great differences between both faiths, and the importance of certain concepts, vital importance, for each of them.

The following is a study of some of the comments of Arragel on Genesis:

Genesis I:26 Dixo el Senor: fagamos owne a muestra ymagen e nuestra semeianca (Let us make man in our image and likeness). The comment included in the Gloss is Catholic in tone. It starts denying the fact that the words "Let us make man in our image" means that God sought the advice of the angels when he planned to create man. The Midrash relates that the angels, at least some of them, reacted violently to this idea of God and resented that so much of the divine love should be lavished on a new creature. This is the Jewish explanation as found in the classical sources,⁷⁸ and it is evident that Arragel wanted to include it but the censors considered the Catholic version more important. The fact that the comment starts with

a negation of the Jewish point of view is evidence of the strict control upon Arragel's work. The Catholic opinion included in the text says that the verb in the plural "naase" means that God had the cooperation of His Son, Jesus Christ, who advised God in the creation of man. The verb is proof of the trinity.

Genesis II: 3 E bendixo el Senor el septimo dia a santificolo (and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it).

Rabbi Arragel starts his gloss with a reference to Genesis Rabba 11, but he does not mention the source by name. It refers to the fact that God gave manna on every day of the week, but a double portion for the seventh day. The Catholic opinion adds however, that as God does, the son does the same. The expressions "God kept," "God made," and "God created," are a reference to the concept of the Trinity.

Genesis II:7 del limo de la tierra (and from the ground).

Rabbi Arragel echoes Sanhedrin 38a that says that man was created from the dust of the four corners of the earth, so wherever man dies, the earth can receive him. He also says that the dust came from the place of the altar, and his source is J. Nazir 7:2. The Catholic opinion on the end of the paragraph, says that because of the fact that Adam's sin would be forgiven, he was created by God with the blood and the passion of Christ.

Genesis III:1 Era mas artera (she was the shrewdest).

The Biblical text refers to the snake. Arragel follows Genesis Rabba 19:19, that the snake was the shrewdest of all animals,

and according to this was her fall, because she was more subtle than all the animals, she was more cursed than all.⁷⁹ The commentator also adds an opinion from Rashi, who based it on the Midrash, that the snake saw Adam and Eve being intimate and she was envious of the fact of their union and conceived a plan for the fall of man.

Genesis III:4 Non morir moriredes (You shall not surely die). Arragel inserts the explanation taken from Genesis Rabba, and also mentioned in Abot de Rabi Nathan I:4, and Rashi, that the serpent pushed Eve to touch the tree. Eve was even afraid of touching the forbidden tree, lest she would die. When she was pushed by the snake, she realized accidentally that she was not going to die.

Genesis III:8 A la parte do aclarava el dia (at the breezy time of the day).

Arragel corrects St. Jerome, saying that the Hebrew does not mean "at the time of dawn" but "breezy," because God manifests himself in these forms: thunders, storms, visions, etc.

Genesis III:24 El angel cherubin (The cherubin).

The Catholic gloss corrects the Hebrew comment (echoed in Rashi) that the cherubim were devils who had the task of guarding Adam.⁸⁰

Genesis IV:2 Abel pastor de ovejas fue (Abel was a keeper of sheep).

Arragel explains the verse based on Midrash Aggadah and Rashi that Abel's choice of being a pastor was because the land was

cursed by Adam's sin.⁸¹

Genesis IV:8 Dixo Cain a Abel su hermano (And Cain spoke unto Abel his brother).

The rabbis wondered what was the content of Cain's words, for the Bible does not elaborate about them. Rabbi Arragel had many sources to consult but he takes into consideration the explanation of Tanhuma Bereshith Par. 9. The Tanhuma says that Cain invited Abel to divide the world between the two of them. Cain was going to take double portion because he was the first-born, and Abel the place where his sacrifice was favorably received by God, in addition to his part of the world.⁸² At this point, the fight started with the killing of Abel. The Catholic opinion, however, says that Cain was a sort of heretic, who denied the other world and the eternal life.

Genesis IV:15 E puso el Senor a Chayn sygna (And the Lord set a sign for Cain).

Arragel agrees that the Law does not specify which one was the sign placed by God upon Cain. He then chooses Tanhuma Bereshit Par. 10 as a possible explanation of the verse. This source explains that the sign refers to the Sabbath that pleaded on behalf of Adam, and so it pleads in behalf of Cain. The concept of the Sabbath pleading for forgiveness of Adam has its explanation in Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer, chapter 19:

The Sabbath day arrived and became an advocate for the first man, and it spoke before Him: Sovereign of all world! No murderer has been slain in the world during the six days of creation, and will You start to do this with me?... by the

merit of the Sabbath day Adam was saved from the judgment of Gehinnom.

The legend was related to the concept that Adam was expelled on the last hours before the Sabbath. Arragel followed these midrashic concepts in his explanation to the Maestro de Calatrava.

Genesis IV:23 Como yo varon mate por mi llage (For I have slain a man for wounding me).

Arragel explains the life of Lamech according to two sources. One of them refers to the fact that Lamech took two wives, one of them was destined to be a mother of many children, keeping them and looking after them, while the other was for pleasure. The source used by Arragel was J. Yebamot 6:5. The commentator also follows Rashi IV 19, who says that the woman of pleasure was given something to drink (and to eat, adds Arragel) so she would not bear children.

Genesis V:24 En andovo Enoch con el Senor (And Enoch walked with God, and he was not).

Arragel explains that God took Enoch before his time so he would not sin and follow the bad example of other men. Arragel's source for this comment is Rashi.

Genesis V:29 E engendro fiio el qual Noe por nombre puso (and begot a son, and called his name Noah).

Arragel in a short phrase explains to the Maestro de Calatrava that there is a play of words in the Hebrew, between Ben (son) and Banah (to build). The explanation is taken from Bereshit Rabbah and means that Noah will build, or rather rebuild, the

world after the flood. The Commentator takes the explanation of "the toil of our hands" that follows the preceeding biblical verse, from the explanation given by Rashi in His biblical commentary. That is, Noah introduced the iron implements for agricultural purposes, for men before his invention worked only with their hands.

Genesis VI:2 Vieron los filios de los dioses (The sons of God saw).

Arragel explains the term "sons of God" as meaning the sons of nobles, or the sons of judges. The term is not, in his opinion, talking of the children sent by God, but had the sense of higher beings, well bred beings. He follows the Targum that uses "sons of nobles," and also at the end of the paragraph the idea of Rabbi Simeon ben Johai (Bereshit Rabba 26:5) that the expression must be understood as referring to the sons of judges.

Genesis VI:4 Los gigantes fueron en aquel tiempo en la tierra (The nephilim were in the earth on those days).

The commentator corrects St. Jerome who believed that the nephilim were giants, even Rashi thinks so too. Arragel thinks that the nephilim were fallen angels. This explanation, that Arragel does not detail in his gloss, is part of a rich midrashic treasure, and scattered through many sources. These sources are divided into two opinions: one, that a group of angels became enamored of mortal women,

succumbed to lust and defiled their heavenly holiness with earthly love. Their human

consorts bore them giant offspring, violent and cruel. Having sinned first in weakness, the fallen angels went on to deliberate rebellion. A terrible punishment overtook them and their violent children; but the corruption they had wrought continued to taint all humanity.

The second opinion says that only one angel, the mightiest of all rebelled against God at the time of Creation:

His sin was pride, and he even dreamed of usurping the place of the Almighty. Cast down from heaven, he became Satan, the adversary; and out of his hatred to God and his jealousy, he led Adam to sin.⁸³

Arragel, however, does not state which one of these classical opinions he will follow, he just asserts that they were fallen angels.

Genesis VI:6 Peso el Senor porque al omme fizo e atristose en su corazon (and it repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth and it grieved Him at His heart).

Arragel writes that when one reads this passage, it should not be understood literally that God has a heart; it is only a way of comparison.

Genesis VI:7 E bestias e animalias (and beast and creeping thing).

Arragel follows the Tanhuma Yashan Noah, sustaining that as men sinned, and committed unnatural acts, so the animals followed the example of their masters. He also takes Rashi's idea that since all was created for man, and he was destined for destruction, all the other things had to go that way also.⁸⁴

Genesis VI:9 Iusto e perfecto de sus generaciones (Noah was

in his generation a man righteous and whole hearted).

Arragel explains this verse, saying that Noah was perfect, and that he passed away when Abraham was 58 years old. This information is taken by the commentator from the biblical gloss of Ibn Ezra.

Genesis VI:2 Animalias mondas (and of the cattle after their kind).

Arragel says that Noah knew the Torah, and even before the giving of the Law at Sinai, he knew the laws of ritual and of purity. This explanation seems that it was taken from Rashi and had a long history in the rabbinical tradition. Noah was a pious man, who received the seven laws known under his name, and that he followed all the details of the law in the ark.

Genesis VIII:7 E sallo e mas non torno (and he sent forth a raven).

Arragel echoes the story in Sanhedrin 108b, concerning the raven of which only a male and a female were included in the Ark. The raven was concerned that if anything happens to him, there would be no descendants of his class. The reason for only one pair of ravens was because they were unclean animals. Genesis VIII:20 E torno de todas las mondas (and took of every clean beast).

In explaining this verse to the Maestro, Arragel continues the thought expressed in Bereshit Rabba and Rashi that Noah understood that if God ordered him to take seven couples of each

species, one surely was destined for a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Arragel adds that the reason of the sacrifices will be read in Leviticus.

Genesis IX:3 Pero carne con su anima (only flesh with the life thereof).

The commentator reminds the reader that one of the prohibitions to Noah was to eat any flesh with blood in it. The matter is explained in Sanhedrin 56b, the source used by Arragel. The commentator does not mention the rest of the Noachian precepts nor elaborate on them.

Genesis IX:13 El mi arco puse en la nuue (I have set my bow in the cloud).

Arragel explains, perhaps following Saadia Gaon, that the bow existed from the very beginning of creation, and it was not a new creation of God.⁸⁵

Genesis IX:23 Tomaron Sem e Iaphth el pano (And Shem and Japheth took a garment).

Arragel does not comment, as Rashi does, that the verb "ikah" appears in the singular, but says from the beginning that Shem was the most eager in the job of covering his father. For this pious act, explains Arragel, Shem and his children merit two things: the fringes, and the Talith. The source used by Arragel is partly Genesis Rabba 36, Tanhumah Noah 15, and Rashi, who knew these sources and utilized them in his comment. Arragel, however, does not say anything concerning Japheth, who according to tradition, was rewarded with a burial in the land

of Israel.

Genesis IX:24 Como Noe esperto de su vino (and Noah awoke from his wine).

Arragel quotes the story of Bereshit Rabba 36:3, concerning a dialogue between Satan and Noah in the vineyard, and their final friendship, sealed on a sacrifice of a lamb by Satan. Based on this Midrash, Arragel expounds on the dangers of drunkenness for man.⁸⁶

Genesis X:8 E primero poderoso que ouo en la tierra (to be a mighty one in the earth).

Arragel takes among others, the opinion of Ibn Ezra that Nimrod was a powerful man over the animals, and that he built altars to sacrifice them.

Genesis XI:7 E mesclemosles ende los lenguaies (And confound their language).

The source for the explanation is Genesis Rabbah 38, that says that the confusion was so great in the tower that men could not understand each other. When one of them asked for one object he would receive another, because his fellow worker would not understand what he was asking.⁸⁷

Genesis XI:28 E murio Aran ante Terah su padre (And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah).

Arragel explains the verse based on Genesis Rabbah 38:13.

The story that appears in other versions says that Nimrod threw Abraham into the fire because he was talking against the gods of his father. But Abraham was delivered from the furnace.

Meanwhile, Haran his brother, thought that he would stand by the victor of the contest, and when he saw his brother coming alive from the fire, he stood by his side. Nimrod was so furious that he threw Haran into the furnace where his intestines were seared, and he died in the presence of his father, Terah.

At this point finishes the comments of Rabbi Arragel to the eleventh chapter of Genesis. His commentary is not controversial, he prefers to state the Jewish point of view in a mild manner and on many occasions will explain an obscure text with literary examples that do not come from Jewish sources. Other glosses are mainly of a Catholic nature and were inserted on the advice of Fray Arias and Fray Zamora. There is the possibility that Arragel had more opinions based on Jewish tradition which may have been suppressed by the ecclesiastical censors. In general, his glosses are very simple and harmless for the pious reading of the Maestro. The Master finally obtained what he wanted from the very beginning: the reading of the Bible with notes to pay the way to the salvation of his soul. Rabbi Arragel with his glosses was not an obstacle in this endeavor.

Conclusions

The Biblia de Alba is an unique document in relation to its time and creation. It is the work of one man, representing symbolically the contribution of countless generations of Jews to Spain. The effort of Rabbi Moses Arragel is in many ways the swan song of Spanish Jewry, just half a century before the Expulsion. The translation is also valuable for the philologist interested in the evolution of the Spanish language and its special peculiarities in the 15th century.

We have studied the political and spiritual conditions of the Jewish community from 1391 to 1422, at the time when Rabbi Arragel received the invitation to translate the Bible. The Jewish people were hindered in their rights by the decrees of Benedict XIII and some of the Spanish courts. The new decrees excluded Jews from important and key positions in the Spanish power structure. The tax collection in all its forms and other economic enterprises were taken over by Christians or remained in the hands of former Jews who converted after 1391. That year represented a deep crisis in the leadership circles of the Jewish community. Members of prominent families, who were involved in Jewish affairs, joined the Church and deserted their people at a bitter moment of their history. Their conversion did not mean a drastic change in their lives, it was a change in religion that did not affect their economic status, and in many cases it improved their position.

Y. Baer feels that this transition from one religious

position to another was easily done because of their adherence to the intellectual religion of Averroism. That philosophical ideology allowed the elite to transform the set of values of an intellectual Jewish religion into a Catholic one.

There were also economic overtones to their action. The move of part of the Church and the nobles against the Jews coincided with a certain transformation within the Spanish society. The feudal division was coming to an end, the independent and different courts or kingdoms were being integrated into a central power, a power centered around the king and one capital. In such conditions of monolithic power the Jewish community, as have been seen in other parts of Europe, suffered the consequences of this power integration.

Together with the economic deterioration came a decline in the intellectual milieu. Those who could not accept the Church, left the country for other places, or looked for retreats, small communities where they would not be molested by the mobs or the ecclesiastical preachers. With this movement towards the villages and small provincial cities, they lost contact with the great centers of learning which were also having a crisis due to the persecutions. One of these men may have been Rabbi Moses Arragel, who lived quietly in the village of Maqueda when he was called by the Maestro de Calatrava, Luis de Guzman, to translate the Bible into Spanish.

His correspondence with the Maestro shows his vast culture in both Hebrew and secular sources. The relationship with the

Maestro was not easy. The letters of the rabbi allow the reader to visualize a man, insecure of his social position, and who does not enjoy the freedom of thought characteristic of the Jewish intellectuals before 1391. There is an overtone of self defense all over the correspondence, and especially in the glossary, and in certain comments to the Bible.

The comments are restrained in spirit, the style is precise and careful in the use of each word. Rabbi Arragel was in many ways exposing himself and his community to great danger by writing about concepts that had in those days deep religious and political implications. A comparison of his glosses with the standard edition of the Rabbinic Bible illustrates this point. While Rashi and Ibn Ezra followed their thought at ease within the frame of Jewish tradition, Arragel carefully manages to avoid risks of a direct confrontation with the Church. He also excuses the midrashic interpretation or accepts and incorporates the official Catholic point of view.

Rabbi Moses Arragel stands as a romantic figure at the dawn of Spanish Jewry, and his translation of the Bible into Spanish, becomes the last testament of what was the glory of Jewry in Spain.

Footnotes

- ¹Jewish Encyclopedia, New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1906.
Vol. VIII, pp. 352-353.

On the political opportunism and fanaticism of Ferrant Martinez, see:

Americo Castro: The Structure of Spanish History,
Princeton University Press, 1954. pp. 507-508.

Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz: Espana un Enigma Historico.
Buenos Aires, Editorial Sudamericana, 1956. Vol. I,
p. 263; Vol. II, p. 240.

Julio Caro Baroja: Los Judios en la Espana Moderna y Contemporanea. Madrid, Ediciones Arion, 1961. Vol. I,
pp. 105-106. Mr. Caro Baroja brings the testimony of
the Chronicles of Henry III as a testimony of the fanatic
persecutions started by the sermons of Martinez.

M. Kayserling. "L'archidiacre Ferrand Martinez et les
persecutions de 1391" (Revue des Etudes Juives, Vol. 38),
Paris, 1899. pp. 257-267.

- ²Jose Amador de los Rios. Historia Social Politica y Religiosa
de los Judios de Espana y Portugal. Madrid, 1960. p. 459.

- ³M. Menendez y Pelayo. Historia de los Heterodoxos Espanoles.
Buenos Aires, Emece Editores, 1945. Vol. III, p. 428.

- ⁴Examples of persecutions in Spanish cities:
Jose Ma. Sanz Artibucilla. "Los Judios de Tarazona en
1391" (Sefarad, Ano VII, Fasc. 1). Madrid, 1947.
pp. 63-92.

Jose Sanchez Real. "La Juderia de Tarragona" (Sefarad,
Ano XI, Fasc. 2). Madrid, 1951. pp. 339-348.

- ⁵Yitzhak Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain.
Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America,
1966. Vol. II, p. 104.

Franz Kobler. A Treasury of Jewish Letters. Philadelphia,
The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1953. Vol. I,
pp. 272-275.

- ⁶Baer, op. cit., p. 105.

- ⁷Yosef Ha-Kohen. Emeq Ha-Bakha. Estudio Preliminar,
Traduccion y Notas de Pilar Leon Tello. Madrid, 1964.
pp. 154-155.

On Vincent Ferrer see:

Francisca Vendrell: "La actividad proseletista de San Vicente Ferrer durante el reinado de Fernando I de Aragon" (Sefarad, Ano XIII, Fasc. I), Madrid, 1953. pp. 87-104.

S. Mitrani-Samaritan. "Un sermon valencien de Saint Vincent Ferrer" (Revue des Etudes Juives, Vol. 54), Paris, 1907. pp. 241-245.

⁸Samuel Usque. Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel. Translated from the Portuguese by Martin A. Cohen. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965. pp. 194-195.

⁹Baer, op. cit., pp. 96 and 106.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 1134.

¹¹Ibid., p. 138.

¹²Ibid., p. 138.

¹³On the question of polemics and disputations, see: Bernhard Blumenkranz. Juifs et Chretiens dans le Monde Occidental 430-1096. Paris, Mouton, 1960. pp. 213-226.

Oliver Shaw Rankin. Jewish Religious Polemic. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1956.

Hans Joachim Schoeps. The Jewish-Christian Argument. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963.

M. Steinschneider. Jewish Literature. New York, Hermon Press, 1965. pp. 122-130.

¹⁴Francisco Cantera Burgos. Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria. Historia de la Juderia de Burgos y de sus conversos mas egregios. Madrid, Instituto Arias Montano, 1952.

Amador de los Rios, op. cit., pp. 531-532.

Sanchez Albornoz is of the opinion that he converted for economic reason. Paulus became a very powerful member of the Church after his conversion and held much power and wealth. See p. 244, Vol. II.

¹⁵Baer, op. cit., p. 139.

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- ¹⁶George Vajda. "A propos de l'Averroisme Juif." (Sefarad Ano XII, Fasc. 1), Madrid, 1952. pp. 1-29.
Baer, op. cit., pp. 253-259.
Julius Guttman. Philosophies of Judaism. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. pp. 183-208.
- ¹⁷Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 255-256.
Israel Bettan. Studies in Jewish Preaching. Middle Ages. Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Press, 1939. pp. 188 and on.
- ¹⁸Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 143-144, 145.
- ¹⁹Ibid., Vol. II, p. 148.
- ²⁰Ibid., Vol. II, p. 149.
Americo Castro, op. cit., p. 537.
- ²¹Franz Kobler. A Treasury of Jewish Letters. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1953. Vol. I, p. 276.
- ²²Baer disagrees on this, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 167.
Amador de los Rios, op. cit., p. 533, sustains that the Bishop of Burgos, Pulus de Santa Maria, was the redactor.
- ²³Ibid., pp. 534-537.
Salo Wittmayer Baron. The Jewish Community. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942. Vol. I, p. 239.
- ²⁴Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 170-243.
Antonio Pacios Lopez. La Disputa de Tortosa. Madrid, Instituto Arias Montano, 1957. 2 volumes.
Ad. Posnanski. Le Colloque de Tortose et de SanMateo. (Revue des Etudes Juives, Vol. 74-75-76). Paris, 1922-1923.
- ²⁵Y. Baer. "The falsified Midrashim of Raimundo Marti." (Sefer Zikaron A. Gulak and S. Klein), Jerusalem, 1942.

A different opinion from Baer is expressed by Professor S. Liebermann who considers that the Midrashim mentioned by Martin were not forgeries, they were the compilation of many hands (p. 46). These editors added comments of their own from biblical sources (p. 69). For Liebermann only a small number of the Midrashim cited in the Pugio are falsifications. See:

A. Liebermann. Shkiin, Jerusalem, Bamberger and Wahrmann, 1939.

Saul Lieberman. "Raymund Martini and his alleged forgeries," (Historia Judaica, Vol. V), New York, 1943. pp. 87-102.

²⁶Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 174.

²⁷Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 175. See also: Posnanski, op. cit., Vol. 74.

²⁸Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 195-196. A quite different point of view is affirmed by Pacios Lopez, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 85 and on.

²⁹Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 208.

³⁰Amador de los Rios, op. cit., p. 539.

Francisca Vendrell de Millas. "En torno a la Confirmacion Real en Aragon, de la Pragmatica de Benedicto XIII." (Sefarad, Ano 20). Madrid, 1960. pp. 319-351.

³¹Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 231.

³²On this phenomenon of conversions among the upper classes, see:

J. Caro Baroja, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 115-136.

The above mentioned C. Sanchez Albornoz takes a negative attitude and accuses the conversos of accepting baptism only for economic reasons.

Americo Castro, op. cit., p. 466 and on.

³³Baer, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 216-217.

³⁴Ibid., Vol. II, p. 223.

³⁵Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 223-224.

³⁶Ibid., Vol. II, p. 254.

³⁷Julien Weill. "Vincent Ferrer et les Juifs de Teruel (Aragon) au debut de XVe. Siecle." (Revue de Etudes Juives, Vol. 77-78), Paris. pp. 85-90.

The easiness in the relations between Christians and Jews can be seen in their commercial and labor dealings. In this respect see:

Jose Ma. Madurell Marimon. "La Contratacion laboral judaica y conversa en Barcelona (1349-1416) Documentos para su estudio." (Sefarad, Vol. 16-17), Madrid, 1956-1957.

Chapter II

³⁸A. Paz y Melia. La Biblia puesta en Romance por Rabi Arragel de Guadalajara (1422-1433) (Biblia de Alba). (Estudios en Homenaje a Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo) Madrid, 1899. Vol. II, p. 33.

Biblia de Alba (Antiquo Testamento). Traducida del Hebreo al Castellano por Rabi Mose Arragel de Guadalajara (1422-1433?) y publicada por el Duque de Berwick y de Alba. Imprenta Artisitca, Madrid, 1922. Vol. I, p. VIII.

³⁹Catholic Encyclopedia. Robert Appleton Company, New York, 1909. Vol. 3, pp. 149-152.

⁴⁰J. Huizinga. The Waning of the Middle Ages. London, 1924. pp. 56-57.

Angel del Rio. Historia de la Literatura Espanola. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. Vol. I, p. 179.

Ernest R. Curtius. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1963.

⁴¹M. Steinschneider. An Introduction to Arabic Literature of the Jews. (The Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. 11, 1899), p. 610.

⁴²Jewish Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 137.

⁴³Biblia de Alba, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴⁴Information added to the edition of the Biblia de Alba in a leaflet.

- ⁴⁵Margherita Morreale. "El Glosario de Rabi Mose Arragel en la Biblia de alba." (Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, Vol. 38), 1961. p. 147.
- ⁴⁶Biblia de Alba, op. cit., pp. 1-2.
- ⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 2-13.
- ⁴⁸C. Sanchez Albornoz, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 232. This comment is negated by the phrase of Fray Arias de Enzina, pp. 34-35 of the Biblia de Alba.
- ⁴⁹Biblia de Alba, op. cit., p. 5.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 10.
- ⁵¹Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- ⁵²Ibid., p. 14.
- ⁵³Ibid., pp. 14-15.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 34-35.

Chapter III

- ⁵⁵Robert K. Spaulding. How Spanish Grew. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962. pp. 73-74.
- ⁵⁶Americo Castro. The Structure of Spanish History. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954. p. 481.
- ⁵⁷P. Jose Llamas. Biblias Medievales Romanceadas. Biblia medieval romanceada judio-cristiana. Madrid, Instituto Francisco Suarez, 1950. 2 vols. Vol. I, p. XIII.
- ⁵⁸M. Morreale. "Apuntes bibliograficos para la iniciacion al estudio de las traducciones biblicas medievales en Castellano" (Sefarad 20). Madrid, 1960. p. 72.
- ⁵⁹P. Jose Llamas, op. cit., Vol. I, p. XVI.
- ⁶⁰Hazael T. Marroquin. Versiones Castellanas de la Biblia. Mexico, El Faro, 1959. p. 53.

⁶¹p. Jose Llamas, op. cit. Vol. I, p. X.

⁶²Samuel Berger. "Notes et extraits divers" (Revue des Etudes Juives, 39), Paris, 1899. p. 308.

⁶³M. Morreale, op. cit., p. 80.

Lists of manuscripts of Bibles in the Romance are given in:

Jose Llamas. "La antiqua Biblia castellana de los Judios espanoles." (Sefarad, Vol. 4), Madrid, 1944. pp. 219-244.

Jose Llamas. "Nueva Biblia medieval judia e inedita en Romance castellano." (Sefarad, Vol. 9) Madrid, 1949. pp. 53-74.

M. Morreale. "Las antiquas Biblias hebreo-espanolas comparadas en el pasaje del cantico de Moises" (Sefarad, Vol. 23), Madrid, 1963. pp. 3-21.

M. Morreale. Aspectos no-filologicos de las versiones biblicas medievales en castellano (Esc. I-j-4 y Ac 87). Bari, Grafiche Cressati, 1962.

The Instituto de Filologia of the University of Buenos Aires published in 1927 a "Biblia medieval romanceada," a project of which only one volume was edited. It uses several sources, photocopies of Spanish manuscripts in the library of this Instituto. Also S. Berger published at the turn of the century "Bibles Castellaines." Unfortunately, we were not able to see these two works.

The latest article on the Biblia de Alba was published by

Wallace S. Lipton. "Esther IX. 7-9 in the Biblia de Alba" (Romance Philology, Vol. XVII), Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1963. pp. 110-115.
The author deals with philological aspects of the version.

In the present work we have not dealt with the so called Biblia de Ferrara that appeared in 1553 and was printed by Yom Tob Atias and Abraham Usque and dedicated to Dorta Gracia Nagi.

⁶⁴Biblia de Alba, op. cit., p. 17.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 18.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 18.

⁶⁷A. Melia Paz, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

- ⁶⁸Biblia de Alba, op. cit., p. 19.
- ⁶⁹Ibid., p. 21.
- ⁷⁰Ibid., p. 21.
- ⁷¹Ibid., p. 23.
- ⁷²Ibid., p. 27.
- ⁷³M. Morreale. "El glosario de Rabi Mose Arragel en la Biblia de Alba" (Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, Vol. 38), 1961. p. 152.
- ⁷⁴Jewish Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 679.
- ⁷⁵Catholic Encyclopedia, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 586.
- ⁷⁶Herman Hailperin. Rashi and the Christian Scholars. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963, p. ?.
- Beryl Smalley. The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1964. pp. 46-66.
- ⁷⁷Hailperin, op. cit., p. 137.
- Maurice Liber. Rashi. Philadelphia. The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1906. p. 200.
- ⁷⁸Zohar 22b-23a.
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- Louis Ginzberg. The Legends of the Jews. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-1955. Vol. I, p. 53 and Vol. V, pp. 69-70.
- ⁷⁹Ibid., Vol. V, p. 94.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., Vol. V, p. 104.
- ⁸¹Ibid., Vol. V, p. 136.
- ⁸²Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 138-139.

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⁸³Bernard J. Bamberger. Fallen Angels. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1952. pp. 6, 89-111.

⁸⁴Ginzberg, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 180.

⁸⁵Ibid., Vol. V, p. 189.

⁸⁶Ibid., Vol. V, p. 190.

⁸⁷Ibid., Vol. V, p. 201.

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