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TITLE PAGE

A STUDY OF GEDALIAH IBN YAHYA'S

"SHALSHELET HA-KABALAH"

.... being a dissertation submitted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements
for graduation from the Hebrew Union
College

By

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I

EXPLANATIONS

Abbreviations used:

J	"Rod of Judah"
J.E.	Jewish Encyclopedia
M.	Mahozza
M.J.C.	Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles
M.M.	Margolis - Marx "History of the Jewish People"
M.S.	Minyan Shema ^a rot"
O.S.	"Ozar Sefarim"
P.	Pumbeditha
S.	Sora
Sh.	"Shalshet ^a ha-Kabalah"
SY	"Sefer Yuhasin"
R	Received the Tradition
V	Sh. Venice 1587
U	"Consolation's of Israel's Tribulations"

The references parenthetically placed in the text refer to Sh. ed. Warsaw 1877.

CHAPTER 1.

GEDALIAH ibn YAHYAH: HIS ANTECEDENTS: HIS LIFE: HIS WORKS.

Gedaliah ibn Yahyah, an Italian Rabbi of the sixteenth century, author of the "Shalshet ha-Kabalah", was descended from a long line of prominent and illustrious forebearers. The ^{Yahyah} Gedaliah family as such boasted of a long history extending generations back from before the birth of our Chronicler; it had included among its members, statesmen, scholars, rabbis, physicians and soldiers. Unfortunately the sources for the history of this group are limited. The major portion of the material, and the only concentrated passages, dealing with the chronicles of the Yahyahs is to be found in the book written by this Gedaliah. He is not accurate in his statements. His errors of omission and commission result from ignorance, confusion and from an intense family pride. Carmoly cautions his readers, "Do not turn to the foolish lies of "Ba'al Shalshet ha-Kabalah", who did not know his own father and mother and who was not familiar with the house of his father." ¹ The idealization and glorification of his ancestors and immediate relatives by Rabbi Gedaliah must be discounted. Nevertheless, in presenting the antecedents of this man we shall follow his own presentation, attempting to check errors as far as is possible.

The "House of Yahyah".... "a holy people and dynasty which ruled in Portugal....their mansions were filled with worldly goods, but all this they rejected to serve God"², was established by Don Yahyah ibn Yaish, (also called ibn Yahyah). It is difficult to determine the exact date and details of this man's life. According to his descendant, he was a contemporary of Sherira Gaon (d.c.1000) (p.53).³ ⁹⁹⁶ About the year 996 C.E. he became a court favorite and was granted some territory as reward for his services. If this date is correct the patron of Yahyah must have been one of the Mohammedan rulers;

indeed, the text calls this ruler Antrik, a grandson of Antrik the first who lived in the same century as did Constantine the Great. This is an obviously impossible description of the Mohammedan ruler. The date 996 and also the date of death, 1040, are universally rejected. In attempting to determine the correct date we note that Joseph B. Solomon ibn Yahyah as a student was a colleague of Rashba. Rashba died 1310.³ This Joseph ibn Yahyah belonged in the fifth generation of his family. Allowing thirty years for each generation and setting 1275 as the period when the two mentioned studied together, we arrive at 1125 as the approximate date of Don Yahyah I.⁴ It is possible then that Don Yahyah served as a steward to Alfonso Henrique, first Christian King of Portugal, and not under a Mohammedan Prince. The reference to Arabic persecutions suffered by succeeding generations might be understood in the light of the continuous warfare then being waged between the Moors and the Christians for the possession of the country.

Don Yahyah was supposedly descended from King David and Jesse. A genealogical document supporting this claim existed in his time, but this was lost during the following generations. Yahyah, in addition to his duties at the royal courts assumed the task of collecting levies for the support of the Yeshibot; these Yeshibot~~s~~ ceased to exist after his death. As a family seal the founder of the Yahyah clan adopted the head of his King, but because of the faith of the monarch a band was placed over the eyes. Prior to this time the insignia had been a wierd animal - the head and the shoulders being those of a lion and the posterior being that of an eagle. This purported to show the descent of the family from the old Hebrew royal dynasty.

Don Yahyah left a son, Judah, who inherited a portion of the father's power at the royal palace. During his lifetime there was some suffering in the Jewish communities due to Moorish depredations;

whether by Moorish neighbors or Moorish soldiers in the course of battle cannot be determined definitely, but the latter is probable. (loc.cit.) Judah had two sons, Joseph and Yahyah.

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The former formed the third link in the family tradition. Joseph was more scholarly than his father, grandfather or brother Yahyah. Things of the spirit attracted him more than did those of the flesh. He produced a commentary of the Gemara, which subsequently was lost. From his wealth he provided funds for the erection of a great Synagogue in Lisbon.⁶ (loc.cit.) According to our calculations Joseph flourished about 1200.

His brother Yahyah followed in the footsteps of his father as a political power and courtier. It was he who strengthened his house and his nation, the Jews, so that they were able to weather the storms of persecution and suffering which resulted from the incessant warfare in the land. Yahyah II received the Spanish Jews who fled from the Moorish scourge after the death of Joseph Megash, so our source declares. (loc.cit. and p.55) This cannot be true as ibn Megash died in 1141 about sixty years prior to the time of Yahyah II.⁷

Don Solomon, the son of Rabbi Joseph, constitutes the fourth link. It is explicitly stated that he served a Christian monarch about 1190. (p.74) This date cannot be correct; it is too early. Don Solomon commanded the mounted soldiers of the Portuguese army. He was also a scholar. During his days Israel prospered. He met a soldier's death, being killed in a battle with the Moors. Two sons survived him.

Gedaliah, the older, was the fifth generation of the Yahyahs. As far as we know, he was the first in the family to become a doctor. The King of Castile called him to his court to minister to his physical condition. (loc.cit.) Later the Portuguese ruler recalled him to the land of nativity to practice his profession in the royal

court and to act as advisor to the king. The monarch granted him a large annuity which the doctor used in part to support the Yeshibots. A turn of events caused him to flee to Castile. The Castilian army had invaded Portugal. The older members of the king's council had advised the monarch to refrain from fighting and to allow nature to defeat the Spaniards. Gedaliah was one of these advisors. When the sovereign hearkened to the impetuous advice of the younger men to engage in open warfare, the conservative councilers were forced to take to flight. Ibn Yahyah was received by the Castilian king who showered him with honors. The tax derived from Schehita was granted him and he was given power to appoint Jewish scribes and judges. After his death his body was interred in Toledo. Two sons survived him, Todros and David.

Don Joseph ibn Yahyah (Joseph II) (pp.74f.), the younger brother of Solomon is endowed with high sounding titles which are probably exaggerations. He is called "Ab la-Hahamin" and "Rosh-Golah". (p.80). It has been mentioned that he studied with Rashba in Castile. Don Joseph enjoyed a long life living to the ripe age of ninety years. His one son died as a youth. His literary fame consisted of his grammatical and poetical works, the majority of which were destroyed by fire but a fragment of an elegy on his schoolmate is preserved in the "Shalsheles".⁸

Our source is undoubtedly in error concerning Todros b. Gedaliah ibn Yahyah. (p.78) Don Gedaliah might have had a son named Todros but he could not possibly have taken part in the Tortosa disputation against Joshua al-Lorqui. The Ba'al Shalsheles declares that this theological tournament was held in 1284 according to the common era and 5013 according to Jewish calendar; 5013 corresponds to 1353. Furthermore the Pope Martin II mentioned as the one who sanctioned the verbal jousts ruled 942 - 946. The Pope before whom the

disputation did take place was Benedict XIII. Our source culled its information from the "Shebet Yehuda", which does mention a Todros ibn Yahyah but who could not have been the son of Gedaliah.¹⁰

The second son of Gedaliah, David ibn Yahyah, was the sixth in the line. According to Carmoly the account of his life in the "Shalsheles" is entirely fallacious. Our text states that David lived most of his life in Spain but near the end of his days was forced to flee from there because of persecution. This was in 5150 = 1390.

(p.85) Carmoly using manuscripts and records of tombstones as sources declares that R. David died in Toledo in 1397 and was buried between the graves of R. Asher b. Yehiel and R. Menahem b. Zerah.¹¹ He was Rabbi in Castile and a prolific writer. Four sons survived him but only two are mentioned by name.

Judah (Judah II) the oldest of the four was a writer and a poet who signed himself "2 י" meaning "א" / 2 א 3 י א' א"ל. A lamentation written by him was included in the Mahzor as a part of the ritual for the ninth day of Ab. He remained in Castile all his days. (loc.cit.)

Solomon, (Solomon II), described as the youngest of the four boys was the seventh generation. (loc.cit.) We are told that Solomon fled from Spain with his father David; however we have already noted the opinion of Carmoly on this point. Carmoly declares that Solomon fled from the persecution in 1391 and that he was the only one of his immediate family to abandon Castile.¹² He left two sons, but only one is mentioned by name, David.

David, (David II), was the eighth generation. He advised his sons not to acquire real estate because they might be forced to forsake their homes as their forefathers had been compelled to do on several occasions. He died at a very old age in the year 5225 = 1465.¹³ (loc.cit.) He had four sons but only Gedaliah and Joseph are mentioned by name. The accounts of the life of this Gedaliah ibn Yahyah in

(Gedaliah) Carmoly's work and in our source vary greatly. The latter gives a very brief sketch. Gedaliah was a physician and a great scholar. He left Portugal for Constantinople where he had some intercourse with the Karaites. He felt the urge to go to Palestine but his wish was never fulfilled as he died en route and he was interred in Safed. (loc.cit.) Carmoly gives a more detailed chronicle.¹⁴

Gedaliah, born 1437 was a great scholar from his youth. He served Alfonso V as court physician until after the death of Gedaliah ibn Yahyah, his father. Wishing to go to Palestine R. Gedaliah left Portugal 1487. R. Isaiah ~~of (Lisbon)~~ extended to him the hospitality of his home. Traveling toward Constantinople Gedaliah fell sick and died in that city. His body was laid to rest in the cemetery of the 'Gedaliah (refugee) congregation.¹⁵ During his lifetime he wrote a booklet entitled "Shiba 'Enaim".

We approach the study of the immediate progenitors of Gedaliah, the author of the "Shalshelles ha-Kabalah". As is to be expected details become more ample. Joseph ibn Yahyah, (Joseph III), son of David was the ninth generation of the family. (pp.85f) He was the great grandfather of our author. Born in the city of Lisbon¹⁶ he became a very powerful figure among the Portuguese Jews. He was a great favorite in the court of Alfonso V. When that monarch died, John II succeeded him. For a time David maintained his position in the court, but when John II sought to accomplish the conversion of the Jews to Catholicism, he decided to attempt to induce or to force Joseph ibn Yahyah to accept baptism and thus to set the example for the rest of the community.¹⁷ When Joseph was informed of this intention he gathered his family and departed from the land. The refugees eluded their pursuers and reached Castile where they were joined by Dinah the wife of David b. Joseph, grandmother of Gedaliah, our author. As their presence violated the decree of 1492 they were taken into custody and

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condemned to death. Through the intervention of Don Alvarez of Braganza, himself a refugee from the Portuguese court, the penalty was averted. From Castile the refugees took ship for Italy; after a journey of five months the boat finally reached Pisa. This voyage was especially hazardous for Dinah because she was then pregnant with Joseph, the father of our author. Pisa at the time was filled with the French soldiers of Charles VIII. The French imprisoned them and exacted a payment of a large ransom after which they were released. They proceeded to Florence where Joseph was born. From there the family removed to Ferrara. Our author described their advent in this province as very pleasant. The Duke of Ferrara had heard of the greatness of Joseph in the Portuguese realm and paid honor to him. He received him with "sebar panim". Joseph the father of Gedaliah, however, states that the rulers of Ferrara imprisoned the family once again and exacted a large fine from them because they aided the Maranos. Joseph died in Ferrara in 5258 = 1498; his body was sent to Safed for burial. (loc.cit.) The three sons of Joseph were named David, Solomon and Meir.

Solomon migrated to Turkey. He died in Rhodos on the 14th day of Sivan, 1536.¹⁹ Meir, who was a poet and a grammarian went to Safed where he passed away in the year 1530. He left no children. (loc.cit.)

After the death of his father David, who was the tenth generation of the Yahyah family, settled in Imola, a city in Romagna. For some years he remained there as Rabbi of the congregation (p.91). His grandson describes him as the greatest scholar of his generation, a trifle exaggerated. In the middle years of his life he moved to Naples. The Shalshelles idealizes the actual circumstances of this change. Instead of receiving a call from this congregation he went there to settle the estate of his son, Judah.²⁰ Don Jacob Abravanel and his son-in-law, who was also his nephew, Samuel Abravanel, headed

the Neapolitan congregation. They offered the post of Rabbi to David ibn Yahyah but he agreed only to serve as spiritual leader until the litigation involved in the settlement of his son's estate should be terminated. Subsequently political events in Rome made it advisable for him to remain in Naples. He served this community for twenty two years, leaving there about 1541, because of an edict of expulsion. During his incumbancy in Naples he encountered difficulties in collecting his salary, and presented a memorandum to the community complaining about the matter. This leads to the opinion that the wealth gathered together for the life in Portugal was dissipated by reason of the vicissitudes which the family encountered in Pisa and Ferrera. David ibn Yahyah died in the year 1542.

Joseph ibn Yahyah, eleventh in the line, was born in Florence in 1495 (p.91). The harrowing experiences of his mother Dinah while pregnant with him probably affected his physical development. He served the community of Imola as their Rabbi. He was the author of the following books: "Sefer Torah Or", commentaries on the Hagiographa; "Sefer Derek Hayyim", a commentary on the Midrashic Elements of the Talmud; "Sefer Ner Mizwah", a commentary on the commandments. The last two volumes were destroyed by fire in Padua in 1554 at the instigation of the local officials. He died at the age of forty five in 1539. Over study had contributed to his failing health. Ten years later, about 1549, his remains were exhumed and sent to Safed where they were interred by Joseph Karo. Joseph ibn Yahyah was the father of David, Gedaliah and Judah.

David died at the age of fifteen. This is all the information offered about him. (loc.cit.) The youngest of the trio, Judah, was born in 1539. He studied in the school of Rabbi Meir Katzellenbogen of Padua. In 1557 he was graduated as a doctor with the highest honors ever accorded a Jew, if his brother is to be believed. His career

was short lived as he passed away at the age of thirty one years, in 1560, presumably in Naples. (loc.cit.) Gedaliah ibn Yahyah, the second son of Joseph and the twelfth generation of the family, was born in Imola probably some time c. 1520 (pp.91f.) He was ordained by David Frinzi and Abraham and Israel Rovigo. He married in Imola before the year 1549. During the following years of his life, in fact, almost to the year of his death he travelled extensively. It is probable that he served as an itinerant preacher. In 1565 he was forced to leave Rome by the decree of expulsion. At his departure he left a small fortune of ten thousand ducats ^{there.} (p.159) He was a scholarly individual and very likely spent a great deal of his time and his money collecting books and manuscripts. He wrote prolifically. From the descriptions of his writings we learn that he was the father of one daughter Maxine, and five sons: Joseph, Moses, Solomon, David and Enoch. He described himself as having been in Rome 1549, Codinolla 1566; Pisa 1570; Pesaro 1575; ^{Alessandria} Alexandria 1576; Cast^{elletto} 1577; ^{Chieri} Cairo 1578; ^{ssandria} Alexandria 1578; Castito 1579; Pumo 1581; ^{ss} Alexandria 1583. It is probable that he died in Alexandria about 1587. ²¹

Gedaliah ibn Yahyah states that he wrote twenty one books on a variety of subjects. Only one, our source, was ever printed. A complete list of his books follows:

- I. "Sefer Abot L'ibn Yahyah". A collection of "Peshatim" from his ancestors. He began this book in his youth, before his marriage.
- II. "Sefer Yahyah". To make known the Chain of Tradition from Moses unto his own day. Started in 1549. ²² Dedicated to his son Joseph.
- III. "Sefer ha-Derashot". A collection of sermons delivered in many cities in Rome. The volume was begun in 1552. In contained one hundred and eighty sermons at the date of ~~the~~ writing.

- IV. "Sefer Dibre Hayomim le ~~Toldot~~ B'Né Yahyah". A history of the family from Yahyah I. Dedicated to his son Judah, 1556.
- V. "Mishle Sh'Lomo." An interpretation of dreams started in Imola, 1557. Dedicated to son Solomon.
- VI. A lexicon of ~~foreign~~ ^{strange} terms in the Sephardic Mahzor. Codina-
ola, 1562. Dedicated to son David.
- VII. "Sefer Enoch". A dissertation on palmistry and kindred arts. ~~Pisa~~ ^{Pesaro}, 1570. Dedicated to son Enoch.
- VIII. "Sefer Gedaliah". Interpretations of certain portions of the written and oral laws including some fine interpretations. Pesaro, 1575. Dedicated to grandson Gedaliah.
- IX. "Sefer Beth Emunah." To show the value of Torah and of Moses. Alexandria, 1576. Dedicated to another grandson, Gedaliah.
- X. "Sefer Har Sinai". Interpretations of variations in the two versions of the Ten Commandments. Alexandria, 1577. Dedicated to grandson Moses.
- XI. "~~En~~ ^{Lenon} Ha-minyan". On the selection of Israel and other topics. Cast~~ello~~ ^{ello}, 1577. Dedicated to grandson R. Moses, Gedaliah.
- XII. "Sefer Ha Maskil". A disputation between the evil and good desires on repentance; some decisions on the laws for the New Year and the Day of Atonement. ~~Gairo~~ ^{Chieri}, 1578. Dedicated to grandson Moses.
- XIII. "~~Sefer~~ ^{Halleluyah} Le'avyah". A detailed commentary on prayers from "Baruch She-amar" to the end of the eighteen Benedictions. ~~Gairo~~ ^{Chieri}, 1578. Dedicated to Manahem Sinai.
- XIV. "Sefer ~~Nah~~ ^(N)". A commentary on Jacob's blessing, on his death and on the death of Joseph. Including some instructions on mourning and the consolation of mourners. Alexandria, 1578. Dedicated to grandson Judah.

- XV. "Sefer ha-Oshrim". A commentary on Psalm 119. Dedicated to grandson David. Cast^{etto}~~eto~~, 1579.
- XVI. "Sefer ha-Musar". A compendium of writings on the subject of repentance including a beautiful "prayer of confession" by himself. Puma, 1581.
- XVII. "Sefer ha-Limmudim". A commentary on many fables and stories found in "'En Yisroel" and other books. Puma, 1581. Dedicated to his ancestors.
- XVIII. "Darke No^{am}". Concerning the way in which a man should walk to inherit eternal happiness. Includes twenty four sermons on portions of the Torah. Puma, 1582.
- XIX. "Sefer Parashiyot". The reasons for a Parasha being open or closed. The ^{order} positions of the Parashiyot. Alex^{ss}andria, 1583.
- XX. "Mo^{el} Katon". Sermons for the holidays. Alex^{ss}andria, 1581. Dedicated to grandson David.
- XXI. "'Ez Hayyim". Answers to doubts on resurrection^{ss}. 1586, probably Alex^{ss}andria. Dedicated to grandson Hananel.

CHAPTER II.

SHALSHELES HA-KABALAH; PURPOSE, NAME, CONTENTS AND SOURCES.

A. PURPOSE

The prolific pen of Gedaliah ibn Yahyah produced twenty one books, according to his own statement. Of this entire number but one was ever preserved in print; the remainder have been lost. The fame of this sixteenth century chronicle rests upon the "Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah", his opus magnum. It was issued in 1587 by the press of Di Yara. Subsequently several other editions were printed.

The introduction to the "Shalshelet" contains the purported *raison d'etre* of the book. The work was undertaken at the urgent behest of his eldest son, Joseph, who urged him to write a history. To strengthen his plea his son presented to the father a brief listing the benefits of such a volume. "You (Joseph) asked me; for you had found it strange that from the time of Rabad (Rabbi Abraham ibn Daud) unto this day no one has inscribed in a book and in order the tradition of our holy Torah from generation to generation; as did the Rabad in his "Order of Tradition" and as did Rambam in his introduction to the "Mishnah Torah") (p.1).

The above statement, that from the time of Rabad and Rambam no one had written a formal history, is not entirely correct. The "Order of Tradition" of Rabad was written in 1161 and the Mishnah Torah was completed in 1180.¹ The Shalsheles ha-Kabalah was not begun until 1549. In the first half of the sixteenth century two writers produced what may be called formal histories. Rabbi Abraham b. Solomon, born in Tourniel, Spain, and a refugee from that country in 1492, when but a lad of nine or ten years of age, ^{wrote a continuation of} based his efforts on the chronicle of Rabad. He settled in Fez, Morocco, where he wrote his appendix to the "Order of Tradition".² Another product of the period was the "Book of Genealogies" by Abraham Zacuto. This book was

written before 1520 and is "An annalistic history, both general and Jewish....from the beginnings until the year 1500".³ It is often quoted in the Sh. The brief presented by the son~~x~~ to the father contained twelve items, each item describing a specific benefit of a history of the chain of tradition. (pp.1f.) We present a short summary:

1. Commandments. Would stir scribes to emulate the great men of previous generations and to follow in their footsteps.
2. ~~Enlightenment~~^{Wannep}. Publicize the writings of Jewish scholars.
3. Opinions of the "Poskim" presented.
4. Teachings. Show the dates of the Poskim so that decisions could be made according to the latest authorities.
5. Make famous the miracles performed by God both for the individual and the nation of Israel.
6. Stories told in the book would influence the reader to make the supreme sacrifice for the sanctification of God, "Kid-dush ha-Shem", if necessary.
7. Show the perfection of the Torah; a desirable instrument given to the people.
8. Honor. Will stimulate the reader to study; which is the greatest good.
9. Will strengthen faith. The recital of the catastrophes and exiles of Israel will demonstrate the patience of God. Despite the people's³ sins He favors ~~them~~^{it} with His special providence.
10. Holiness and purity. Will keep clear the family records.
11. The ~~presentation~~^{development} of the oral law from Moses to the present generation.
12. Faith. - "Enumah. Belief in stories of Adam and early characters must be based on faith as there is no evidence to

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substantiate ancient history.

These are some of the reasons and benefits which you cited in order to cause me to do thy will....to write a small collection on the order of the tradition that it might be a charge unto you and a ~~project~~^{fit} to future generations". (2)

The Sh. was started in 1549 and was the second project undertaken by the author. He did not work steadily upon this volume but probably collected materials and wrote portions from time to time. Before completing the book in its present form he at least started nineteen others; many years elapsed between 1549 and the day he could write "and when the author noted the beauty and the glory of his work he broke into song....he called to his four sons...." (p.7). The book was probably completed between 1575 and 1580 and the author was nearing the end of his life.

B. NAME

Although the book was issued under the title "Shalshelas ha-Kabalah" in 1587 this was not the name designated by the author. The question of a title worried Gedaliah for some time and he gave it a great deal of consideration. He finally decided to call it "Sefer Yahya" (p.7). One wonders why he did not name it after Joseph, to whom it was dedicated as he called most of his work after the sons or the grandsons to whom the particular tome was dedicated. However, he does give many reasons for his choice. "נ" resembles the Hebrew for Life נֶחֱם; by the process of ^{allusion} ~~intimation~~ he derived the theory that one who agreed with this tradition would be blessed with prolonged life. Furthermore, the ^{NUMERICAL VALUE} ~~geometrical~~ of the term i.e. the addition of the numbers symbolized by the letters of "נ" equal thirty-nine which equals ⁶⁰ ~~39~~-dew. This led to the hope that in the future God would cause dew to fall and to resurrect those who had believed in this tradition.⁴ A third reason was found in the ^{fact} ~~back~~ that the term

is composed of the initial "letters" of the following Hebrew phrase

פְּדוּתָא דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיָמֵינוּ . The author hints that the believer in this tradition would enjoy the additional blessings of having this phrase applied to him. Last but not least this was the patronymic; the value of the family lay not in its riches and aristocracy but in its wisdom and its fear of God.

C. CONTENTS.

Gedaliah ibn Yahyah possessed "knowledge" of a wide variety of subjects. This is manifested by the range of matters treated in the pages of our text. Scattered through the various sections of the Sh. are a multitude of historical, philosophical, folk-loristic, literary, and other teachings. The author divided the contents into three main divisions "so that the ideas should not be confused" (p.5).

The first of these divisions is the longest and deals mainly with the tracing of the Tradition of the Torah from Adam to the generation of the author (pp.8-97). In addition to the head of the generation the leading personalities are mentioned. Some are treated at varying lengths e.g. the ten martyrs (p.41). Solomon ibn Gabirol (p.54) Judah the pious (p.73). ⁵ Hundreds of names of Rabbis in different epochs of Israel's history are mentioned with only a statement about their approximate date and country of residence e.g. the Italian rabbis (pp.9f.).

Interwoven with the generations are discussions of subjects that might be considered extraneous of the main theme. In this first division we find a description of the First Temple (pp.20-24), the mode of selecting the exilarchs (p.28), the service in the Second Temple (p.32), the translation of the Septuagint¹a (pp.32f); the Aramaic translations of the Bible (p.38); a note on the authorship of the Zohar (p.43); another of the literature of the Talmudic period (p.46); a summary of the verses of the Bible (p.49); a section giving

the total number of tractates and chapters of the Talmud (p.49); a treatment of messianic speculations (pp.61-65); some advice to his son concerning the study of philosophy, especially pointing out the little value of Isaac Israeli in this field (p.60); and other minor subjects. At the end of this division we find the autobiographical material mentioned in chapter I of this dissertation (pp.91f); a section on the order and authorship of the books of the Bible (p.94); a description and discussion of the Apocrypha (pp.94f.); a brief note on the Masorites (p.96); and a chronological order of the events of the Torah (pp.96f).

The second main division is entirely non-historical. It deals with a number of things of general interest to a sixteenth century Jew. In the introduction the contents of this portion of the text are outlined. "General writings on Spheres and the Heavenly World. Embryology, Eschatology, Witchcraft. Briefly written.....Coins and measures in the Talmud". (p.5) The "general writings" are not to be considered detailed and complete, but merely "a start for the son so that he might read comprehensive works on the subjects".

The first section of this division is a discourse on cosmology and its various aspects (pp.97-106). It is followed by a section dealing with embryology, physiology and anatomy (pp.107-114). The material presented is not very scientific; superstitions are given as fact; they probably are representative of the medical knowledge of the author's day.⁶ Some ideas concerning the copulation of animals are presented. A part of this section is devoted to the study of the soul, which is based on cabalistic theories. The birth and death of a soul are discussed, as is reward and punishment. The section is somewhat repetitious. At the end Gedaliah summarizes the teachings of the Zohar and Rambam on rewards and punishments and bids his son select the most likely concept.

^{second} The ~~third~~ section of the book is a dissertation on witchcraft in which ibn Yahyah explains the demon⁷ their origin and their appearance. (pp.114-121) He describes the different types of mediums, soothsayers, clairvoyants, and others of this ilk; he seems to represent that he himself has faith in these miracle men, although Rambam denied them any value. He deviates from the main theme of this section to expound on the highest good of the soul and upon the faith of the spirit of man.

^{also contains} The last section of the second division is an attempt to translate the value of coins and measures found in the Bible and the Talmud into sixteenth century Italian standards. (pp.121-124) This is based on various authorities like Rif and Bartanor. "Now I shall arrange for you the coins and the measures mentioned in the Bible; I shall compare them with Italian standards so that you may easily understand them", so he addresses Joseph (p.121).

According to the author the third division is devoted to "The ~~development of the arts~~ ^{chain of sequence of the scholars} among the nations and the persecutions of the Jews....Beautiful and nice novelties of each generation". (p.5) This statement is too simple to give the entire truth. The third and last division of the text can almost be termed encyclopedic in nature (pp.124-160). Following the scheme of the generations to a more or less limited extent Gedaliah presents a general history of the world; the account is confusing, to say the least. He declares in the introduction "nothing is too unimportant for the welfare of the reader" (Ibid) and he seemingly attempts to include everything, although he does admit that "due to circumstances he might make some omissions" (Ibid). The nations of the world, the invention of farm implements, the arts, the sciences, philosophy, religions, the founding of cities, the wars of the Gentiles, the history of the Jewish sects, geography, the Biblical translations, the Catholic papacy, the heathen gods, general European history and a host of other items are treated by his

pen in relation to the leaders of the generation. The last pages of the division - the end of the book - are devoted mainly to a detailed account of the persecution which Israel suffered in European land from the time of the Visigoths to 1565 when Pope Pius V drove the Jews from the domains under his control. (pp.149-160)

D. SOURCES.

The introduction to the "Shalshet ha-Kabalah" makes specific mention of the sources which the author regarded as most important for his purpose. He vows that he would not "make mention of any scholar, Jewish or Gentile, or tale, or event if he had not seen it in manuscript or in print, or had not heard it orally from reliable persons". (p.5) He mentions (p.4) the renowned letter of Sherira Gaon, Rabad's "Order of Tradition"; Maimonides' introduction to the "Mishneh Torah" and to the commentary on the Mishnah; "Sefer Kretot ~~to Hal-~~ ikot" by Sampson of Chinon; ^{"Sefer Halikot Olam" by Yeshuah Halevi b. Joseph} Zacuto's "Book of Genealogies"; the famous

Josipon chronicle which was written about 950 by an unknown Italian rabbi and which for one thousand years was the source for almost all information of the Jews concerning events from Nehemiah to the end of the Second Temple; ⁸ "Seder Olam Rabba" and "Seder Olam Zuta"; many documents by others; and the most reliable of the Gentile writings. A friar, ⁹ Jacomo Phillip of Bergamo is mentioned by name as being the "latest and truest" writer among the Gentiles (p.5). This man is unknown.

There are indeed "many documents". Of course the Bible and rabbinic literature were the most important sources for the early characters and for the Talmudic age. The rabbinic literature is quoted hundreds of times. Responsa and other books are frequently mentioned. We enumerate some of them: Responsa, by Rambam, (p.61); by Rashba, (p.74); by the Gaonim, copied from the "Rod of Judah", (p.28). Other sources are:

The Super commentary of Mordecai b. Hillel on Al-Fasi (p.54).

Mordecai was one of the six hundred and twenty eight Jews who lost their lives in the Rindfleisch riots, August 1,
¹⁰ 1298. This work was published in Venice 1552.
¹¹

"Sefer Sha'are Zion" by Isaac b. Jacob ^{6c} ~~Leuch~~ ^{lattes} (p.84). This is a book on the oral traditions. In the introduction the au-
¹² thor discusses the great men of each generation.

"Shabbat LeKet" by R. Zedekiah b. Abraham (p.72) a book on the Ritual. The first complete edition was published by S. Buber in Wilna 1886. The author was a member of the famous
¹³ Italian Avaro family. The commentaries of Abraham ibn Ezra. (p.54)

"Sefer ha-Teruma" by R. Baruch b. Isaac. A volume on the laws of what is forbidden and what is permitted. The author, a Tosaphist, was born in Worms but lived most of his life in
¹⁴ Ratisbon.

"Sefer Minhag K'hot" by Abba Mari b. Joseph (p.82). A collection of letters sent to Rashba and Asher b. Jehiel, urging
¹⁵ them to ban philosophy. Abba Mari lived in Lunel and Montpellier. He took part in the third phase of the ~~anti-~~
¹⁶ philosophy battle c. 1305.

"Sefer Yesod Olam" (p.47) by R. Isaac b. Joseph Israeli. He was requested to write this volume on astronomy and the
¹⁷ calendar by R. Asher b. Jehiel. It contained some historical facts.

"Zohar" (p.9) This renowned book is frequently quoted.

"Sefer Mizvot G'dolat" by Moses of Coucy (p.73) Moses was one
¹⁸ of the last scholars of northern France. He is listed as the leader of the generation.

"Aruk" (p.33) by Nathan of Rome, who with his brothers headed the Roman College. The Aruk was completed in 1101.

"Sefer Tashbatz" by Sam^yson b. Zadok. Sam^yson wrote a great deal of the Responsa²⁰ from the dictation of R. Meir of Rothenburg and added some of his own material. ²⁰ This is *Tashbatz* ^{istatop Samson b. Zedek.}

"Migdol Oz" (p.60) This is a commentary on the Mishna²¹ Torah. Gedaliah contributes this work to Yom Tob b. Abraham, but it was written by Shem Tob ibn Gaon, a Spanish Talmudist and cabalist, born Soria 1283, died after 1330.

"Shebet Yehuda", by Judah ibn Verga. This book is an account of the persecutions of the Jews. The stories served as the bases for many of the Sh. versions in the last pages of our text.

The above enumerations lists only a few of the many books utilized by the author of the Shalshelas. In addition to the books mentioned by name old documents are frequently cited as the sources for statements. Oral traditions came to him from the disciples of R. Meir Minz of Padua (p.67); the disciples of R. Leon de Morial (p.67); from the elders of the generation (p.66); and from the scholars of the generation. There are also many non-Jewish sources mentioned. The most important is, of course, the one mentioned in the introduction. The writings of Plato, Ptolemy and Pythagoras are cited, (pp.98f.) as is also Eusebius (p.16). An unknown fellow townsman, and Alexander of Inola furnished some material (p.33).

CHAPTER III

CRITICAL VIEW OF SHALSHELES HA-KABALAH.CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PORTIONS.

*Neither are
-notorious but
-more
-historical*

History did not attract Hebrew scholars of the middle ages. At least not many who lived before the sixteenth century devoted their talents to writing formal history "for the next formal history (after Abraham ibn Daud) we must pass to Abraham's Zacuto".¹ During the sixteenth century several histories, or chronicles, were written. Those of Abraham b. Solomon and Zacuto have already been mentioned. Most notable among the others were Joseph ha-Cohens' "Vale of Weeping", Azariah dei Rossi's "Light of the Eyes", Judah ibn Verga's "Rod of Judah", and of course the subject of this dissertation "the Shalsheles ha-Kabalah".

Unfortunately most of these books were not very accurate. Abrahams calls the "Sefer Yuhasin" "more celebrated than historical".² Joseph ha-Cohen was fairly accurate and painstaking in his historical research but his arrangement was poor.³ De~~f~~-Rossi "was far ahead of his time in applying scientific methods to Jewish literary and historical questions and also in making use of non-Jewish sources."⁴ "The Rod of Judah" is historical in some accounts, fanciful in others.

A product of this, the infancy of Jewish historical writings, the Sh. is more uncritical, fanciful and unhistorical than any of the others. Later commentators severely criticize the book. Graetz declares "He (Gedaliah) had seen and read much, both in sacred and profane literature, but without independent judgment, without discrimination and without appreciation of the essence of truth..... (the book) is a confused medley of authentic historical narratives and mere fables but in spite, or perhaps because of its legendary contents, his book has found more favor among the Jews than the

researches of De⁵ Rossi". The fables and legends which are presented as historical data by the author in the opinion of Abraham⁵ give the pages of the book warmth and light in spite of its critical weakness. "Gedaliah ibn Yahyah was so utterly uncritical that his "Chain of Traditions" was nicknamed by Joseph del Medigo, the "Chain of Lies"The "Chain of Tradition" is a picturesque and enthralling book. It is a warm and cheery retrospect and even deserves to be called a prose epic. Besides many of his statements that were wont to be treated as altogether unauthentic have been vindicated by later re-⁶search". Loeb also put in a good word when he declared "⁷....plus exact qui on ne croyait".

Very little further comment is necessary. Abraham⁵ does seem a bit too rhapsodic but there are many portions, the legendary elements, which provide most interesting reading. Considered as an historical document the book does not rate very highly, perhaps it does not even merit the title of a history but should be termed a "chronicle"; as a storehouse of folk-lore, both Jewish and general it is very valuable. We shall now consider some selected passages and compare his statements with the findings of modern historical re-
search.

A. CHAIN OF TRADITION

Following the completion of his account of the generations from Adam to his own day Gedaliah presents for the benefit of his son, a resume of these generations starting from Adam (pp.93f). As the Tradition begins with Moses we commence at that point and prove the errors in the presentation of the author.⁸

Moses received 2448 = 1372 B.C.E. M.M. p.14 date of Moses c. 1220. However there can be little criticism of the author's dating as the year of Moses and the Exodus cannot be fixed with exactness.

Joshua R 2488 = 1342 B.C.E. This date would of course be incorrect according to M.M.

Pinhas No date is given.

Eli R 2830 = 930 B.C.E. M.M. p.36 c. 1080.

Samuel R 2831 = 889 B.C.E. M.M. p.37 c. 1100-1020.

Ahiyah the Shilonite R 2882 = 878 B.C.E. M.M. p.66 c. 933.

Elijah R 2962 = 798 M.M. pp.72f c. 865 B.C.E. during the reign of Ahab.

Elisha There are three variant readings given by the author the first is 2047 which is probably an error for 3047 = 713 B.C.E. Another is 2990 = 770 B.C.E. while the third is 3015 = 745 B.C.E. The date in the first account (p.24) is 3047 M.M. p.79 gives the date of Elisha about 843 B.C.E.

Jehoida R 3051 = 709 B.C.E. The first account (p.25) reads 3055 = 705 B.C.E. M.M. p.81 states that he was a contemporary of Elisha.

Zachariah Two dates are given the first is 3067 = 693 B.C.E.; V. p.67b reads 3087 = 673 B.C.E. The other date in the resume is 3070 = 690 B.C.E. M.M. p.120. Zachariah was a prophet of the Second Temple about 520. The great error here is probably due to the tradition that Zachariah was the son of Jehoida.

Hosea R 3090 = 670 B.C.E. M.M. p.92 Hosea c. 760. Hosea should precede Zachariah and follow Amos.

Amos R 3110 = 650 B.C.E. M.M. p.90 c. 760.

Isaiah R 3140 = 620 B.C.E. M.M. p.96. He was called to prophetic office c. 735 B.C.E.

Micah R 3160 = 600 B.C.E. M.M. p.100 c. 725 He was a

not see
2 Chron. 24:20

- younger contemporary of Isaiah.
- Joel R 3190 = 570 B.C.E.
- Nahum R 3240 = 520 B.C.E. M.M. p.105 c.630
- Habakkuk A difference in dates is probably due to typographical errors. The resume has R 3284 = 476 B.C.E. The original account (p.26) reads 3254 = 506 B.C.E.; this latter date is also found in V 68a. The exact¹ date of this prophet is difficult to determine.
- Zephaniah 3285 = 475 B.C.E. However the original account (p.26) and V p.68a give 3280 = 480 B.C.E. M.M. p.105 about 630.
- Jeremiah R 3314 = 446 B.C.E. the original account (p.26) and V. p.68a give 3316 = 444 B.C.E. M.M. ministry of Jeremiah extended from 626 to 585 B.C.E. It is interesting to note at this point that the date of the destruction of the First Temple is stated by the author to be 3338 = 422.
- Baruch R 3350 = 410 B.C.E. Original account (p.26) has 3390 = 370 B.C.E. but all V readings agree with the resume. Baruch was the scribe of Jeremiah and nothing is known of him except as related to that prophet.
- Ezra R 3370 = 390 B.C.E. in Babylon. The original account (p.29) declared that he received from Baruch. This is obviously false. M.M. p.122 Ezra returned to Jerusalem in 458 B.C.E.
- Simon the Just R 3400 = 360 B.C.E. from the remnant of the Great Synagogue. In the third division of the book (p.138) he is said to have received in 3417 =

343 B.C.E. J.E. vol. XI, pp.353f. The date of Simon I is given as 310-290 or 300-270.

Antigonus of Soko The resume reads 3606 = 170 B.C.E. but this is incorrect. In the original version (p.31) the date is 3460 = 300 B.C.E. This is probably the correct reading. Abot. I; 1 lists this man as a disciple of Simon I. The date must be adjusted accordingly.

The Five Pairs.

Jose b. Joezer and Jose b. Jonathan received 3500 = 260 B.C.E.

The lacuna between the accepted date and the Sh. date widens once again. J.E. vol XII p.242. This pair is placed in the early Macabean period c. 150 B.C.E.

Joshua b. Perahiah and Nattai the Arbelite R 3560 = 200 B.C.E.

There was some confusion in this and the next pair. In the original account (pp.33f) several opinions concerning the makeup of this pair are stated. The author finally declares he would follow Rabad who coupled Nattai and Judah b. Tabbai for the second pair and Joshua with Simon b. Shetah for the third. Here in the resume he reverts to the opinion which he had already rejected pairing them as listed. The resume is correct while the original account is in error. The date, however, was 149 B.C.E. J.E. vol. 7, p.295.

Judah b. Tabbai and Simon b. Shetah R 3621 = 149 B.C.E. M.M. p.160 date c. 75 B.C.E.

Shemaiah and Abtalion R 3722 = 48 B.C.E. By a leap of one hundred and one years, much too long for one generation, Gedaliah reaches a correct date for this, the fourth pair. cf. J.E. vol. XI, p.268.

20

Hillel and Shammai R 3728 = 32 B.C.E. The main figure in

this pair was Hillel. J.E. vol. VI, p.397.

Hillel was active from 30 B.C.E. to 10 B.C.E.

Gedaliah also declares that his leadership

extended for this number of years (p.35). The

rule of Hillel, however, lasted for one hundred

years; it was carried on by his descendants.

Sh. declares that Hillel lived to see Johanan

b Zaccai but is not explicit as to what year this

was (p.94). The children of Hillel were:

Simeon b Hillel

Gamaliel I

Simeon b Gamaliel. Our source states as fact

the tradition that he died in the war against the

Romans. There is some doubt about this. M.M.

p.206 Simeon...."appears to have died during the

war" J.E. vol. 11, p.347, declares explicitly

that there is no historical support for this

statement.

They are all subsumed under Hillel but each

is considered a separate entity as six genera-

tions are counted from Hillel to Johanan b Zac-

cai, inclusive.

Johanan b Zaccai R before the complete destruction of the

Temple and retained his leadership for three

years. 3828 = 68 C.E. is given as the date of

destruction.

Gamaliel II R 3840 = 80 C.E. One wonders about the inter-

regnum between 71 and 80 C.E. J.E. vol. V, p.560

During this time Johanan b. Zakkai was...

Gamaliel was active 80-110 C.E.

Akiba R 3860 = 100 C.E. M.M. p. 113 dated c. 130

Simon b Gamaliel II R 3890 = 130 C.E. J.E. Vol. XI pp. 347f. *approximately correct date.*

Judah ha-Nasi R 3920 = 160 C.E. M.M. p.220. Judah became
the patriarch c. 170 C.E.

Hanina b Hama R 3980 = 220 C.E. J.E. vol. VI, p.216, c.

250 C.E. He completes the Tannaitic generations.

The Amoraim

9

The seven generations of Amoraim are based on Rabad. In
Sh. the leaders of the generation are all Babylonians. Today the
Amoraim are usually divided into six generations extending from 219
to 500 C.E.:
10

I	219-297	IV	375-427
II	257-320	V	427-468
III	320-375	VI	468-500

There are some discrepancies in dates between the Sh. presentation
and the division of generations outlined above.

Counted to
Rab or Abba Areka (S) and Samuel (N) R 3999 = 239 C.E. J.E.
Placed in first generation.

*Huna
Succeeded
that in 254
after death of
Samuel*
Judah (N) and Huna (S) R 4014 = 254 C.E. J.E. Placed in
second generation hence date too early.

Hisda (S) and Rabbah b Nahmani R 4050 = 290 C.E. J.E. in
second generation.

Abbaye (N) and Rabbah (M) R 4113 = 353 C.E. J.E. in third gen-
eration.

Ashi (S) and Zabid (P) R 4127 = 367 C.E. J.E. in fourth gen-
eration.

Merimar (S) and Gebihah (P) There are variations in the read-
ings of their dates. The original account (p.48) and

28

V 68a give 4185 = 425 C.E. while the resume reads 4175 = 415 C.E. The former is probably the correct reading. J.E. places them in the fifth generation. In the original account (p.48) Mar Bar Ashi is included but he is omitted from the ^{re}capitulation. Gebihah is not listed in the J.E. account of prominent Amoraim.

The Saborites

The period of the Saborites was exceedingly short extending from 504 to 540 C.E. ¹¹ However, ibn Yahyah in Sh. includes five generations, apparently basing his division on Rabad. ¹² His Saborite period extends from 471 to 680 C.E. at the utmost, making a possible total of one hundred nineteen years; this is in contradiction to a statement of his (p.49) which declares that the Saborite era totals one hundred and eighty-seven years; it is possible that his arithmetic was a trifle faulty. According to J.E., all but the first two generations in this period should be placed in the early Gaonic division.

Joseph (P) R 4238 = 478 C.E. However, in the original account (p.48) there is a minor variation, the date being 4231 = 471 C.E. All V readings are 4238. This is about forty years too early for the terminus a quo - of the period as defined by J.E.

'Ena (S) and Ahai (P) R 4270 = 510 C.E. They are placed in the J.E. Saborite period but their dates cannot be definitely determined.

Hanan, or Nahman, of Iskya R 4379 = 589 C.E. He belongs to the Gaonic period. J.E. vol. V, p. 571.

Isaac (P) R 4360 = 600 C.E. J.E. ibid. The only man by this name mentioned is dated c. 560 C.E. They are

probably identical.

Huna (S) and Rabba (P) The date 4340 = 580 C.E. is in error.

R 4370 = 610 C.E. as we read (p.49) V p.36a and V p.68a

They were Gaonim J.E. ibid a Mar R. Huna is listed, but his date is indefinitely stated as being after 609 C.E. A Mar R. Rabba is placed after 660.

The Gaonim.

13

The eight generations of Gaonim are also based on Rabad.

We have already discussed the terminus ad quo of this period.

Haninah (P) and Huna (S) R 440 = 680 C.E. J.E. ibid a Haninah is listed c. 630 C.E., while a Mar R. Huna is listed about 625 at S. We note here that Gedaliah followed the confusions of Rabad concerning the schools of some of the Gaonimian.

Jacob (P) and Judah (M) R 4490 = 730 C.E. J.E. ibid R. Jacob of Nehor Pekod in S. 715. Judah is listed in the following generations.

Mari (P) and Judah (M) R 4500 = 740 C.E. J.E. ibid R. Mari ha-Kohen of Nehor Pekod is listed under S. Judah is listed under P. between 719 and 739 C.E.

Bar Abba R 5559 = 799 C.E. J.E. ibid no Bar Abba is listed. He might be identified with R. Isaiah ha-Levi b Mar R. Abba 796 C.E.

Joseph (P) and Hilai (M) Rd. 4590 = 830 C.E. J.E. ibid Hilai b. Mar R. Haninah c. 825 C.E. R. Joseph b. Mar R. Hiyya c. 828 C.E.

Kimoi (P) and Isaac (M) The resume reads Mari; Kimoi which appears in the original account (p.50) is correct.

R. 4645 = 885 C.E. The original account (ibid) reads

4640 = 880 C.E. J.E. ibid. R. Kimoi b. Mar R. Ashi listed under S. c. 829. Isaac is called Bar Yashi (ibid) but no such name is listed in J.E.

Nahshon b. R. Zadok (M) and Aaron (P) R 4700 = 940 C.E. J.E.

ibid Nahshon c. 874 C.E. and Aaron c. 943 C.E.

Sherira (M) and Sa'adya (M) R 4720 = 960 C.E. This date is impossible for the latter ^{person} man. M.M. p.264 Sa'adya d. 942 C.E. M.M. p.247 Sherira became head of P. in 968.

Post-Gaonic Period.

There are some grievous errors in this last division of the chain. However, by making great leaps in his dating the author is able to correctly place many of the generations.

Joseph b. Samuel ha-Levi R 4800 = 1040. This date is correct or nearly correct as Joseph died December 30, 1066 M.M. p.321.

Isaac Al-Fasi R 4850 = 1090. M.M. p.322. Al-Fasi lived 1013 to 1103.

Rambam and Rashi R 4900 = 1140. This date is impossible for either the one or the other. It will be discussed in detail below.

Rashbam, Ribam and Tam R 4920 = 1160. These three brothers Samuel, Isaac and Jacob, grandsons of Rashi are somehow or other placed in a date which is almost correct. This is despite the fact that Gedaliah is radically in error concerning their grandfather. Tam died June 1171, M.M. p.367. Isaac and Samuel died before Tam.

Moses of Coucy and Ramban R 4951 = 1191. This date is much too early. Moses flourished about 1268 M.M. p.379. Ramban (d.1267) will be discussed below.

Rashba (Solomon) ibn Adret and Rif (R. Perez) R 5000 = 1240.

In the last division of the book (p.153) the date is 5040 = 1280. The latter is more correct. M.M. p.430. Rashba lived 1235 -1310 J.E. vol IX, p.600. R. Perez d. before 1298.

Rash (R. Asher b. Jehiel) and Ralbag (R. Levi b. Gershon) R 5050=1290. In the last division of the book (p.154) the date of this generation is given as 5150 =1390 which is an obvious error. The resume date is a possibility for Rash who lived 1250-1328, M.M. p.435; it is too early for Ralbag, whose dates are 1288-1344, M.M. p.400.

Isaac Sephardi (Isaac Compaton) and Israel Ashkenazi (Israel Isserlein) R 5120 = 1360. In the third section there is some confusion about the date. Our edition (p.156) reads 5155 = 1395 while V. 115a has 5020 = 1260. The V date probably should be 5120. All dates, however, are impossible. Compaton (p.84) d. 1463. This is correct; cf. Graetz vol. III, p.230. Isserlein, the head of the school at Neustadt d. 1460; M.M. p.408.

Joseph (Chiquitilla) and Jacob (ibn Habib) Seferdim R 5240 = 1490; in the previous account (p.86) the date is 5207. The former date is more probable but there is a long interval of one hundred and thirty years between this and the preceding generation.

JL

We could find nothing about him.

Jacob Habib was one of the Spanish Emigrés of 1492. He was the author of "'En Jacob". His dates were 1460-1560 M.M. p.514.

Rik, (Joseph Karo), "Rigel", and Rashdam (Samuel di Medina) R. 5260 = 1500. This last generation is confused. In the original account (p.88) the colleague of Joseph Karo is Moses di Trani. Rashdam was mentioned merely as a leader in Salonica. We cannot identify the other member of the trio. Furthermore, our date is wrong as all other readings for this generation have 5300 = 1540, (pp.88, 158 v. 68b). Karo lived in Safed at 1488-1575; M.M. p.320. samuel di Medina lived in Salonica where he was principal of the Talmudic College; here merely went to Constantinople on some mission; he never served as Rabbi in that city; J.E. vol VIII, p.424.

B. Maimonides. (pp.58-60)

We find typical examples of the "historical" methods of Gadaliah ibn Yahyah in his accounts of Maimonides, Rashi, and Nahmanides. Fact and legend are gathered from various sources and presented as truth; in addition, sources are often misquoted which adds to the general confusion.

Moses Maimonides and Rashi are coupled as co-receivers of the tradition about the year 4900 = 1140 C.E. (pp.58, 94). Rambam's birthday is quoted from several contradictory sources with no attempt to reach some conclusion. The chronicler declares that the

"Yesod Olam" of Isaac Israeli gives the date as 4895 = 1135, but this is not in that text.¹⁴ From an unidentifiable author Solomon ibn Yahyyun he derives the same date 1446 M.S. = 1135. The date presented by "SY" is given as 4891 = 1131 but the date in that source is 4895 = 1135;¹⁵ this, of course, might be a typographical error. A manuscript by David, grandson of Rambam, appended to the commentary on the tractate Rosh Hashonah is quoted as giving Nisan 14, 1446 M.S. = 1135 as the date of birth. 1135 is correct as Rambam first saw the light of day in the city of Cordova March 30, 1135.¹⁶ An interesting legend about the ancestry and the early inability of the great philosopher to learn anything is included in the account of Abraham Maimonides, the father of Moses (p.62).¹⁷

Maimonides We are told that the only outstanding teacher of Rambam was Joseph ibn Megash, but various sources also include Isaac ibn Ghayyath and Al-Fasi as his masters. None of these men ever taught Maimonides.¹⁸ Ibn Megash of Lucena lived 1077-1141; Isaac Al-Fasi died 1103¹⁹ while ibn Ghayyath preceded both of them in death.²⁰ His only teacher was his father.²¹ The statement that he dwelt in a cave for twelve years, derived from the "scholars of the generation" is pure fable. It is reminiscent of the tradition about Simeon b. Yochai. Following an old document in his possession our author dates Rambam's flight to Egypt from Spain in 1148 (p.59). He fled because of slanderers. Another account of this flight is mentioned in the section dealing with the persecution (p.150). It is said that a band of Mohammedan robbers pillaged a Mosque and the watchman, to save his own skin blamed the outrage on the Jews, Rambam being among them. The old document adds that he established a school in Egypt and that after seven years devoted to the study of cognate semitic languages he was made physician to the caliph.

read
1148
when had
to leave
land

Accepted history states that the great Jewish scholar fled Spain before 1268 because of Moslem fanaticism. He was appointed doctor for the Saladim's Vizier. His fame gained for him the leadership of the College of Rabbi. The Vizier appointed him "nagid" of the Jewish community.²² Two legends are related about his office of physician; rather they are two versions of the same story. They relate the victory of Rambam over the jealous doctors who conspired against him (pp.559f).

The first great composition of Rambam was a commentary on the Mishneh. An old document furnishes our chronicler with two dates for the beginning of this work (p.58). One declares that the author of the commentary was but eighteen years old when he began the work, while the other gives his age as twenty three years. Rambam is reported as having written at the conclusion of the work that he completed it in Egypt at the age of thirty in 1479 M.S. = 1168; however, in 1168 he was thirty three years old. He began the work at the age of twenty three and completed it in 1168.²³ According to Yahyah the great masterpiece, the Mishneh Torah, was started in 4936 = 1176 (p.58). The "Yesod" is quoted as saying that this project took five years to complete. This book states that Rambam worked on the Mishneh Torah from 4938 to 4948 which equals 1178-1188.²⁴ Another source is quoted as saying that the great composition was completed twelve years after the commentary which would be in 1180.²⁵ No effort is made to reach a conclusion.

The Moreh Nebukim was written when Maimonides was fifty years of age while five years later he addressed the famous Epistle to the community of Yemen; these statements are culled from Zacuto's book.²⁵ The Moreh was completed c. 1195 when the author was sixty

years old; ²⁶ the "letter" was written much earlier; the Yemenite community turned to him c. 1171. ^{26b} The letters of Elijah Hayyim and the tradition relayed by the elders of Salonica probably referred to the Yemenite Epistle (p.58). The Marseilles communication is discussed at length by Alexander Marx in the Hebrew Union ²⁷ College Annual.

Yahyah makes reference to the commentaries on the Gemara by Maimonides. Rambam in the introduction to his commentary on the order "Zera'im" of the Mishneh states that he wrote on the Gemara of "Mo'ed" "Nashim" and "Nezikin". Of these writings only the commentary on the tractate "Rosh ha-Shonah" is known. Nothing is known ²⁸ of the commentary on the laws of the p. Gemara. In the introduction to Perek Helek, so Gedaliah claims the scholar mentioned several books. Our chronicler is confused. Rambam never wrote separate books on the "Derashot" or the principles of the faith; the book of prophecy is an illusion to the "Guide to the Perplexed".

The "historian" is furthermore confused about the quarrel between Rambam and Rabad. He follows the error of his source, Sampson b. ^{Zerah} Zadok, who declares that he heard that the philosopher saw the attack of Rabad. Sampson identifies the critic with Abraham ibn Daud but he is to be identified with Abraham b. David of Posquierres ²⁹ who severely criticized the "Mishnah Torah" of Maimonides. Joseph the son is told that there are many more deeds of Rambam which might be related but must be omitted due to lack of time, (p.60). The date of death quoted from the unknown Solomon ibn Yahyyan and the manuscript of David Maimuni as 4965 or 1516 M.S. = 1205 is correct.

C. Rashi (pp.65-67)

In the analysis of the "Chain of Tradition" the coupling of Rashi with Maimonides as a co-receiver in 1140 was noted. This did not prevent ibn Yahyah from quoting sources to show that Solomon b. Isaac died about thirty five years before the supposed date of the link in the chain. No date is given for his birth. Rashi was born at Troyes in 1040 and died July 13, 1105.³⁰ Remarks concerning the birth of the great commentator are legendary; the advent of this man into the world is connected with the loss of a jewel by his father. The "Yesod Olam" is quoted as saying that Rashi lived in Ramersapt. There is a confusion in the date. Our text reads 4900 = 1140 as the date of death mentioned in the source but V. 48a reads 4865 = 1105.³¹ The Yesod states that Rashi of Troyes died 4068 = 1108.³² "SY" is the source for the statement that Rashi lived to be seventy five years old and that he was called 'מגיד' - "Explainer of the Law".³² However, an old document which stated that Rashi lived to be sixty four was the most accurate record.

Although the date of Rashi's death was before 1140, although the "Old Men" of his generation told him that Rashi lived before Rambam Bedal'iah firmly believed that the two Rabbis were contemporaries. He identifies the R. Solomon quoted by Abraham ibn Ezra with R. Solomon Sephardi - (Solomon ibn Gabirol) or some other Solomon. Evidence to strengthen the claim concerning Rashi and Rambam is presented.

- A. Abraham ibn Daud who wrote his "Order of Tradition" in 1161³³ made no mention of Rashi. This is especially strange, if Rashi lived before Rambam, in the face of the statement that the former traveled throughout the world and visited all the schools.

- B. Tam and Rashbam lived about 5039 = 1279. Rashbam studied with his grandfather. This would have been impossible if there had been more than one hundred years difference between master and disciple.
- C. R. Simha of Vitry spoke with Rashi and with Tam.
- D. Rashi and Rashbam in the Talmud commentary mention Nathan; therefore, the "Ba'ha-Aruk" must have preceded Rashi; it has been demonstrated that Nathan lived in the second generation (p.56).
- E. A tradition transmitted by the "Elders of the Generation" stated that Rashi had been in Spain. Why had not one of the numerous writers mentioned him?
- F. When Yahyah was in Salonica in 1568 he learned that Rashi had been the guest of Rambam in Egypt. The host had afforded his guest every courtesy. He had given him the finest balsam oil procurable, a liquid which was worth its weight in gold.
- G. This point is rather confusing. It involves relations of masters to disciples. First, Raban ^{Eliezer} Abraham b. Nathan - flourished about 1145, belongs in the Maimonidean generation. His son Riba ^{Eliezer} Isaac b. ~~Abraham~~ according to "SY" was a pupil of Rashi. Simha, another disciple, wrote from the dictation of Riba. A certain Ram ^{Eliezer} Rabenu Elakim was a pupil of Jacob b. Yakhar the master of Rashi.

H. Why did not Rambam ever mention Rashi?

The case is summed up with the statement that it must be maintained that Rashi and Maimonides were contemporaries and perhaps the latter knew nothing about the former. This is indeed

strange for one of the points in the argument is the tradition about Rashi having been the guest of Rambam. Furthermore, Gedaliah reports an old document which contained a statement to the effect that Rambam had seen the work of the Frenchman and had declared that he would have liked to write another commentary if the Frenchman had not preceded him. Analyzing point by point the argument concerning Rashi and Rambam we find:

- A. Rabad mentioned both Rashi and Rabenu Tam. ³⁵
- B. The date for the grandsons is wrong. In the Chain they are reported as having received with their brother Isaac in the year 4920 = 1160. The section in our text on these men is also very confusing; we make no attempt here to analyse it (pp.70f). R. Tam who outlived his ³⁶ brothers died in 1171.
- C. R. Simha is mentioned as a disciple of Rashi in the ³⁷ quoted source. This is no valid point as we have pointed out the error in the date of Tam.
- D. The "Aruk" was completed in 1101. As Rashi lived to 1105 it was possible for him to quote this book. Of course there is no question about Rashbam having been able to read the book.
- E.&F. There is no historical evidence for the travels of ³⁸ Rashi.
- G. Raban might be ³⁹ R. Abraham b Nathan of Myance mentioned by Sacuto. A raba, R. Isaac b. Abraham ha-Levi is ³⁷ mentioned as a contemporary of Rashi but not as a pupil. No mention of R. Simha in connection with him is to be found. Ram is mentioned by Zacuto but not as a pupil ⁴⁰ of Jacob b. Yakar of Myance. The latter, who died c.

1070 studied with Gershom and taught Rashi.⁴¹

H. We cannot answer this question but we have already noted the written document which contradicted its contention.

In conclusion, the entire argument is invalid and very weak. There are errors in the quoting sources, legends are employed as fact, and there are internal contradictions. It is a glaring example of the "historical method" of the author.

The rest of the material on Rashi presented in the Sh. is either pure legend or contentions which cannot be corroborated. The travels are discussed in greater detail in connection with the story of his birth and the completion of his commentary on the Torah. A dictionary "Roots" is quoted as stating, under the root רש that Rashi was a doctor. The present edition of this book, which was probably composed by David Kimhi does not contain this information.⁴² A legend about Rashi and Godfrey de Bouillon is given.⁴³ There is a legendary report by some Mantua traders that they saw the grave of Rashi in Prague. Another tradition transmitted by the disciples of R. Meir Minz of Padua states that Rashi wrote the "Sefer Ha-Parnos" for a wealthy Jew in Spain during his pilgrimage. There is a book on the ritual "Sefer ha - Pardes" from the school of Rashi. A "Sefer ha - Parnas" was written by a Moses Parnas of Rothenburg⁴⁴ about 1250. A true tradition, an exception to the various reports, is the statement that Rashi had no male issue.

D. Nahmanides (pp.75f)

Moses b. Nahman of Gerona, in the province of Catalonia, Spain, is treated at some length by Gedaliah ibn Yahyah. The exact date of Ramban's birth is unknown; no date or tradition concerning

this event is found in our account; Graetz places the date about ⁴⁵ 1195. There is a statement from the Responsa of Tashbatz that Ramban was a descendant of Isaac b. Reuben al-Bergeloni. ⁴⁶ This man, mentioned in the second generation after the Gaonim (p.55) is one of the Five Isaacs who were famed for their knowledge of the Talmud. This statement cannot be verified. Modern histories do not include it. An old document is the source for the statement that Nahmanides had been a doctor and a philosopher; in fact, he is said to have opposed ^{Kabbalah} ~~cabalism~~ utterly at one time. His conversion to this branch of thought was accomplished by the miracle wrought by an adherent of that system who saved himself from the flames of the stake when condemned to death on a charge of immorality. This example of the supernatural potency of cabalism transformed the erstwhile rationalist into a confirmed mystic who studied day and night to master the teachings of the system and who became its foremost exponent. This, of course, is legend not fact. Nahmanides was always opposed to rational philosophy. The cabalism exemplified by the fable is thamaturgic such as was practiced in Germany in the thirteenth century. In Provence and in northern Spain at this time the system was theosophical. Nothing is known ⁴⁷ about Nahmanides having been a doctor.

Josiah the Babli, R. Eliezer of Worms, and R. Ezra are mentioned as teachers of Ramban. Of the first named nothing is ⁴⁸ known. An erroneous tradition was a source for the information about R. Eliezer. Eliezer of Worms, died 1238, was the author of the "Rokeah". He was the great exponent of thamaturgic mysticism ⁴⁹ in his native land. R. Ezra is identified with R. Azrail ^{ie} of Gerona, (1160-1288). He is not mentioned in the quoted source.

R. Azrail was greatly instrumental in furthering the theosophical speculations which were adopted by Ramban.⁵⁰

Three other incidents are related as having happened before Ramban's departure for Palestine. They are not historical but folk-loristic. The first describes the miraculous launching of a ship at Barcelona.⁵¹ The second concerns a former disciple, Abner a Zadokite, a euphemism for convert to Christianity, attempted to confound his former master by slaughtering and eating a hog on the Day of Atonement in his presence. Abner is probably the man who became Alphons^o of Burgois 1270-1348. He never studied with this man. The last fable relates that Ramban, who during his old age lived in Perpignan, desired to depart for Palestine to end his days there. His disciples wanted him to leave some omen for the day of his death. He declared that on that day the gravestone of his mother would be cracked and in the fissure the form of a menorah would be visible. Three years later this happened. The supernatural character of the tale found in an old document is readily discerned; furthermore, Ramban never lived in Perpignan.⁵² This story is an internal contradiction of a quotation that Ramban "lived long in Jerusalem".⁵³ He left Spain after the Barcelona disputation and arrived in Palestine in 1267.⁵⁴ He died there in 1270 so the legend is correct in this detail. The Yuhasin statement is also in error as to the year of death which is given as 5020 = 1260;⁵³ an old document giving the date as 4960 = 1200 is in still greater error.

His literary works are listed on the basis of Hayyat. They are the commentary on the Torah; the commentary on many tractates of the Talmud; "Sefer ha-Zekut" a defense of Al-Fasi against

the criticism of R. Abraham ibn David; "Sefer ha-Milhamot" another defense of the Rif; notes on the "Sefer ha-Mizwot" of Rambam, which defend Simeon Kayyara against criticisms contained in that book; "Sefer ha-Bitahon" which is a cabalistic book is ascribed to him but his authorship is doubtful; "Sefer Shulhan Arba" which is not included among his works as listed in modern history.⁵⁵ A letter written to his son Nahman was not published in the sixteenth century but had been seen by Gedaliah. It has since been published. Mention is also made of a poem in the manner of the lamentation of the destruction of the Second Temple. Many of his literary products are given no mention by Yahyah.

E. The Persecution.

The material on the persecutions is very extensive. More than a half hundred instances in the various scattered Jewish communities in Europe, North Africa and Asia are cited. The usual errors are committed but this section is more historical than any other in the book. Statements which have been accepted as truth abound in greater proportions here than in the preceding pages of the chronicle. The material is not original but is derived mostly from other texts, especially the "Rod of Judah" and the "Consolations of Israel's Tribulations" a prose poem in Portugese by Samuel Usque.

We find misquotations of sources, the inclusion of the legendary as factual and the other fallacies which we have already noted. The difficulties are increased by the mechanical mistakes of the copyists and the printers. We present a critical analysis of typical and representative items.

The First and Second Crusades. The date of the First Crusade (pp.149f) is 4856 = 1096. The depredations began in Germany and spread through France and Angora. Many cities are listed as scenes of outrages; the more prominent being Spire, Worms, My^aence, Prague and Troyes. The dead are estimated at 5000 while the number of converts is said to be inestimable. This account was fundamentally correct; the estimate of the dead has been placed as high as 10,000.⁵⁶ Two dates are cited for the Second Crusade (p.150). The first based on the destruction of the Second Temple is about 980 = 1048; the second is 4906 = 1146. We can explain this discrepancy only by describing it as a mechanical error of some sort or other. Referring especially to Germany, Gedaliah declares that the decrees were more terrible than those in 1096, but this is not true.⁵⁷

The Coronation of Richard, the Lionhearted. (p.150) The date 4902 = 1142 is given in V.IIIa as 4960 = 1200. The V. reading is more correct but is about ten years too late. The account is brief. It merely states that during the reign of Richard, King of London, many Jews, including R. Jacob of Orleans, were ^{were} killed. The King punished the mob.

This incident took place at the time of the coronation of Richard, 1189. Jews bearing gifts for the new monarch were refused admittance into his presence. Rumor was spread that the monarch had ordered the destruction of the Jews. This resulted in the death of Jacob and others. The King caused the execution of three of the rioters.⁵⁸

The Expulsion of the Jews from England. (p.150) The date 5020 = 1260. The account is based on 2310⁶²⁸. The Jews were charged with coin clipping and other charges ~~idolatry~~. After many had been

slain the king ordered them to leave the country. The order was issued for the welfare of the Jews.

This is a confused record of the expulsion by Edward I on July 18, 1290. The edict, promulgated on this date, allowed the people until October 13th to abandon the country. ⁵⁹

This incident is a fine illustration of Gedaliah's acceptance of faulty sources.

The Shepherds' Massacre. (p.151) This is an abstract of J.#6. The date 5080 = 1320 is based on U.#16. Agen is not in Spain; it is Agen-on-the-Garonne in southern France. Our account states that the boy declared the dove spoke as the Holy Ghost.

In another version the dove is transformed into a beautiful woman. ⁶⁰ There is no mention in modern history of the Jews petition to the Pope and his threat of excommunication. The ⁶¹ places mentioned by our text are confused.

Germany. In an unnamed city Jews were ordered to convert to Christianity. (p.151) They gathered together in the Synagogue and killed themselves. A tradition declared that God bent the roof over them to forma tomb. This is based on J. #36 and is at least in part legendary.

Sheriz. (p.151) This story is based on J.#38. For ^{o'9} read ^{o'9}, a little place near Seville. There are other variations in the account. Our version is much simpler. A Christian who was refused alms by a Jew, charged that the Hebrews had buried a convert in a Jewish cemetery. Under the cover of darkness the Gentile placed such a body in the burial ground.

R. Judah ibn Vengay, reading ^{רע"ל} for ^{ע"ל}, went to the ruler. He bade the king place a clean sheet of paper in his bosom; when he withdrew it the truth of the matter

Put the charges of un-
shipping
and
historical

was written out on it. An investigation was ordered and culminated in the revoking of the decree of expulsion.

Verga declares that he heard the story from one abraham b. Arma. A group of priests approached the Jew. He struck one of them. They buried the convert in a Jewish cemetery and brought the matter to the attention of the Duke. The noble *man* considered the case too important for his own decision and ordered the Jews incarcerated until such time as he could consult the king. The Jews appealed to R. Judah who performed the miracle. Neither Abraham b. *Arma* or R. Judah are known. This is another legend which our author accepted as fact.

Constantinople. (p.152) This account is found in J.#28. An emperor attempted to force the Jews to convert. He drove them out of the city and made them live like the beasts of the field. The poor people suffered for three days. The king took pity on them and gave them permission to settle in Pera 229, a nearby town, but stipulated that they might engage only in the tanning industry. Yahyah fails to note that some of the men who told this story to ibn Verga declared it was not connected with an ordeal suffered by the Jews.

Perhaps this is a confusion of events which took place in 1453 when Constantinople was captured by Mahomet II. Fugitives from the siege were allowed to return to the city three days after the fall of Constantinople. The caliph gave
62
special consideration to the Jews.

England. (p.153) 5020 = 1260. This account is a mixture of
63
fact and fable. A priest fell in love with a Jewess and allowed himself to be circumcised. The enraged Christian

become

wanted to burn both lovers. They ordered the Jews to converted^d but demanded that those who had performed the ritual operation must die at the stake. Many accepted baptism. The children above six years of age were taken away from their parents. The land was stricken by famine and pestilence. The unfaithfulness of the Jewish converts was attributed as the cause of these catastrophes. The old king died and his successor ordered the construction of two tents upon the shore of the sea. On one tent a likeness of Moses was painted and inscribed with his name; on the other that of Jesus. All the Jews were summoned and were informed that if they so wished they could return to Judaism. They had merely to enter the tent of Moses and so signify their desire. Those who did enter this tent were murdered. All died in this fashion.

This fanciful story is based on the romance of Robert of Reddinge who forsook his cloth in 1275 for the love of a Jewess. Edward I ruled from 1272 to 1307.

Lepers' Massacre. (p.154) The date is 5081 = 1321. The account is based on J.#43; the facts are fundamentally true, but the riots began in France in the province of Guienne. The Spanish Jews did not suffer at this time.

There are many more cases of persecution described but the above analysis should give the reader a fair idea of this section of the book.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOLK-LORE OF THE SHALSHELES HA-KABALAH

When Abraham¹ declared that Shalshel¹ Ha-Kabalah "is a picturesque and enthralling book, it is a warm and cheery retrospect and even deserves to be called a prose epic" he probably had in mind the great mass of folk-lore and legend which is to be found in the pages of the book. In fact almost every page of the volume contains material which might be classed as legendary or folk-loristic. There are stories about individuals; historical notions; alleged concepts of thought, medicine, geography and anthropology^x in the second and third divisions which amaze and astound the modern reader who peruses the pages. They illustrate the credulity and naivete of a sixteenth century Jew, or possibly the sixteenth century man, who is apparently well educated and thoroughly cultured. One wonders what superstitious notions the masses entertained! The folk-loristic elements of the "Shalsheles" would provide ample material for a separate dissertation. We can here give only a few examples. In the first part we shall present some stories about mediaeval Jewish personalities; in the second part we shall present some notions found in the last two portions of the book.

Part I.A. AMRAM

Among the numerous ^{Gaonim} ~~Saborites~~ was included Rab Amram, who in his youth sent the "order of the prayers" to Spain. In his old age he became a Gaon and died 4708 = 948 C.E. (p.50). Yahyah declared "I, the ^{insignificant} ~~young~~ one saw in an old document the story of the burial of Rab Amram. However, I do not know whether the Rab Amram

date
myself

- Suran

mentioned was the one in Matha Mehosa who sent the prayer book or another Gaon of the same name. In spite of this I have decided to present the story to you...." The translation of the story follows:

"Rab Amram lived in Mayence, a large city on the Rhine. He removed to Cologne to establish a school there. When he was very ill and realized that he was about to die, he commanded his disciples that after his demise they should inter his body next to those of his ancestors in Mayence. The disciples declared that to do so would be very dangerous for them.

He answered, "Wash my body and place it in a coffin. Then put the coffin in a small boat on the river and let the vessel proceed of its own accord".

The rabbi died; his orders were obeyed; the boat was carried by the river's currents to the shore near the city of Mayence. The inhabitants of that city were astounded by the sight of the boat. They said "There is a coffin with a dead man in it". They decided, "He is a saint who has come to our land for burial".

They stretched forth their hands and took hold of the boat, but the vessel receded from the shore. This amazed the onlookers. They related the incident to the governor of the city. They all returned to the river bank. There were some Jews in the crowd and the boat approached them; but whenever the Christians reached for the boat they could not take hold of it for it fled from them. This was repeated many times until they understood that the skiff would approach only the Jews, but not them, the Christians. They called to the Jews saying, "Board the vessel and see what is there". The boat approached the Jews; they boarded it, opened the coffin and

found a note reading, "My brethren, my friends, men of the Covenant of the Holy Congregation of Mayence: I died in Cologne, but I have come to you because I wish that you should bury me in the grave of my fathers. To all of you a peaceful life, so sayeth Amram". When they read the inscription they began to mourn him. They removed the coffin from the boat. The Gentiles, opposing their wishes, fell upon them and beat them. But the Christians could not budge the coffin from its place, so they immediately ordered that it remain undisturbed; and they erected a great cathedral over it.

With supplications and petitions to God, the Israelites considered ways and means of obtaining the coffin, but they were unsuccessful. Each night Rabbi Amram would appear in a vision to many of the youths of the city saying, "Bury me in the grave of my fathers." The young men took counsel with each other. One night they stole out of the city and cut down the corpse of a criminal which was hanging on a tree; they dressed it in white. Then they stole the body of Rabbi Amram and substituted the hanged man in its place. Rabbi Amram was buried with his fathers. God favored them for the deception was never discovered."

This story, of course, does not refer in any way to Rab Amram who sent the "order of prayers to Spain". He was a Gaon of S.
² 856-874. Kohler has a very interesting suggestion concerning this fable. Amram of Mayence founded a school at Cologne but nothing else is known of him. In connection with St. Emmeran's Church near Edinsburgh a similar story was repeated by the Christians. It told of how the Saint had died in Munich and how his body had been carried in a boat down the river Isar and up the Danube to Ravensburg, where in honor of the saint a chapel was erected. Kohler suggests

that the Jews borrowed this legend and the name Emmeran was
³
 changed to Amram.

B. SOLOMON IBN GABIROL

The source of this legend is the "scholars of the generation" (p.54).

A Mohammedan was very jealous of Solomon ibn Gabirol's great wisdom and he murdered him. The Moslem buried the body in his garden beside a fig tree. The tree brought forth its fruit before the proper season and the figs were large and beautiful to behold. All those who witnessed this phenomenon were amazed. A report of the miracle reached the ears of the king. He summoned the owner of the garden to his court and asked him by what skill or science he had caused the tree to bear fruit prematurely. The culprit remained silent, refusing to answer. The entreaty of the king availed naught. Finally the monarch ordered him imprisoned until such time as he would be willing to relate the truth of the matter. The culprit confessed after a time and told how he had killed the Jewish sage and how he had buried the corpse next to the fig tree and added that he believed that the perfection of Solomon ibn Gabirol had brought about this peculiar phenomenon. The caliph ordered the immediate hanging of the murderer."

Another version of this legend is found in the writings of Joseph b. Isaac Sambari (~~Gettner~~), an Egyptian chronicler. There is some doubt about his dates and city. One authority places him from 1640-1703, probably in Alexandria. ⁴ Neubauer ⁵ believes that Sambari wrote in Constantinople about 1792. The legends about Gabirol developed because of the mystery enveloping the facts of his death. The Sambari version follows:

"One day Solomon ibn Gabirol was walking along the road alone, a harp in his hand and playing upon the instrument. A rider approached him; the rider heard the harp and shot the pedestrian in the groin with an arrow. Gabirol fell dead. To hide his crime the horseman carried the body to his garden and buried it there. Over the grave he planted melons. The vines brought forth melons during the winter season; the watermelons were beautiful and tasty; the owner thought that a gift of this fruit, which was out of season, would be accepted favorably by the caliph, and that he might be rewarded. The king received the gift graciously, remarking upon their beauty and their pleasant taste. He ordered one of his attendants to bring a knife intending to cut a melon and to give each of his courtiers a piece of it. When he opened the fruit it was filled with blood. Astounded, the king swore that the bearer of the gift must tell the meaning of this phenomenon; if the latter refused his life would be forfeited. The culprit was forced to tell the truth and he confessed his crime, and paid for it with his life. The caliph ordered that the body of Gabirol be exhumed and be reburied with great honors."

C. JUDAH HA-LEVI AND ABRAHAM IBN EZRA

Gedaliah heard this story from an unnamed source (p.56).

R. Judah ha-Levi, the writer of the "Cuzari", was a very wealthy man. He had an only daughter, a charming girl. After she had matured her mother continually urged him to marry off the girl while he yet lived. One day the old rabbi became angered and rashly vowed that he would marry her to the first Jew who would enter his presence. The next morning R. Abraham ibn Ezra, clothed in rags, happened to enter the house. When the poor mother and wife saw him she was desolate for she recalled her husband's oath.

In spite of his garb she attempted to ascertain his name and ability. The fellow dissimulated and would not reveal the truth. The wife went to the study of her husband and wept before him.

"Do not fear!" the poet assured her, "I will teach him Torah and will make his name great!"

R. Judah went out to R. Abraham and spoke to him. The latter deceived the old man and withheld his name. After much entreaty on the part of ha-Levi the vagabond consented to study under him. He played his part so well that he gave the impression that he was really gaining something from his studies.

One night R. Judah tarried in his library; he was encountering considerable difficulty in composing the first stanza of the poem *שון יצא*. His wife urged him to eat his meal but he refused. Finally she succeeded in persuading him to forsake his task for food. The disciple asked, "What wert thou doing that thou didst tarry so long in thy study?"

The master mocked him; but Abraham insisted upon receiving an answer. The good wife went into the study, procured the manuscript and showed it to ibn Ezra. He rose, took a writing pen and made two or three changes in the poem; then he proceeded to compose the opening stanza which begins *שון יצא*. When R. Judah saw this he was overjoyed. He embraced and kissed his erstwhile student saying, "Now I know that thou art ibn Ezra and thou shalt be my son-in-law."

R. Abraham ibn Ezra, "removed the veil from his face", and confessed his true identity. Judah gave him his daughter for wife and with her he gave great riches. He then completed the first stanza which begins *שון יצא*, but decreed that the other stanza should remain among his writings in honor of Abraham.

D. RASHI AND GODFREY DE BUIILLON

No definite source is given for this legend. (p.67)

frances
under
I saw it written that there was a French noble named
Godfrey de Bouillon,⁶ who was a cruel and destructive soldier.

17
free-
murder
The fame of Rashi was known among the Gentile people for all the people made inquiries of him. One time this noble sent for Rashi but the latter refused to heed the summongs for he knew the man. Godfrey was angry; with his entire army he came to the home of Rashi and invaded the privacy of his study. He found all the gates open, the books open, but could see no person. In a loud voice he cried, "Solomon! Solomon!"

The Rabbi answered, "What desirest thou?"

"Where art thou?"

"Here"

This colloquy was repeated several times. The soldier was amazed. He left the study and asked some bystanders, "Is there a Jew here?" One of the disciples of the rabbi presented himself. Godfrey said to him, "Tell the rabbi that he should come to me, and that by my own life I pledge his safety."

Rashi descended. He bowed before the French noble. Godfrey raised him from the ground and declared, "Verily now I perceive thy wisdom. I merely desire that thou shalt give me thy counsel on a project that I am about to undertake. I have gathered together one hundred thousand ^rh~~o~~sem~~e~~n and two hundred ships for it is my wish to capture the city of Jerusalem. In addition I have seven thousand horsemen in Ekron. I trust in God to enable me to vanquish the Mohammedans who live there and to strip them of their knowledge of war. So tell me thy opinion and have no fear."

2367 since they are lacking the knowledge of destruction

Rashi answered briefly, "Thou wilt ^{so} and capture Jerusalem; three days wilt thou rule over her. On the fourth day the Mohammedans will drive thee out of the city; thou wilt ~~be~~ and wilt return to this place with but three horses."

The noble was embittered. He said, "It is possible that thy prophecy will be fulfilled. However, if I return with four horses I will feed thy flesh to the horses and I will kill all the Jews in France!"

All that Rashi prophesied happened to the army of Godfrey. After many battles which he fought during a period of four years the crusader returned to France with three horses beside his own. He recalled the words of the rabbi and he desired to punish him as he had vowed. God frustrated his plans. As he was entering the city a stone from the lintel of the gates fell and killed one of his companions and his horse. The noble was confounded. He confessed the merit of the Jew's words and went to Rashi to prostrate himself before the sage prior to returning to his own home. He discovered that Rashi had died and he mourned him greatly."

Gedaliah states that this is but a brief account of what he had seen. The legend is based on a little knowledge. Godfrey de Boullion was a contemporary of Rashi. Jerusalem fell into the hands of the first crusader on July 15, 1097, and it remained under Christian rule for almost a century.

*Godfrey never re-
turned to France*

E. MAIMONIDES

An old man told Gedaliah that this story was found in an old document (p.62).

"R. Maimon did not wish to marry. When he was middle aged a man appeared to him in a dream and commanded him to take for wife the daughter of a butcher in a town near Cordova. At first

the rabbi paid no attention to this nocturnal vision; but when he appeared several times he decided to visit that town. There he also dreamed the same thing many times. Finally he married the girl. She conceived and gave birth to a son, but died from the pains of child-birth. This boy was named Moses. Subsequently, R. Maimon remarried and other sons were born to him.

Moses as a youth had little intelligence and little desire for learning. The father chastised the boy repeatedly but finally became utterly disgusted and calling him, "son of a butcher", drove him out of the house. Young Moses went to a Synagogue and slept there. Upon awakening he found himself transformed into another person. He fled from the presence of his father to the city of R. Joseph ibn Megash.⁸ He studied with him and learned quickly.

After some time Rambam returned to Cordova but did not go immediately to the house of his father. On the Sabbath he expounded wonderful things in the Synagogue and after the sermon his father and brothers embraced him and accepted him into their good graces."

F. NAHMANIDES

An oral tradition and a written document were the sources of this story (pp.75f).

"Once upon a time Rambam and some of his disciples were at the shore of the sea at Barcelona to watch some workers launch a new ship which had been constructed on dry land. Among the onlookers was the king. The workers were unable to launch the vessel. In a facetious manner the rabbi stated that he could launch the boat with the breath of his lips. The remark

was repeated to the monarch, who ordered him to do as he boasted. When Rambam perceived that he could not flee and that he would have to reveal the secret of the oath or be condemned as a sorcerer, he ordered a small skiff prepared and a sailor procured. He boarded the small vessel. When he was out at sea he abjured the large ship to come toward him; which it did. Immediately he inscribed on a tablet the route he wished to traverse and placed it in one end of the boat. The sailor fell asleep; within a short time the skiff traversed a great distance and when it had reached the stated destination the rabbi awoke the sleeping man and bade him return to his own country.

The sailor replied, "How can I go in such a small boat over this great sea? I fear the great waves!"

Nahmanides had mercy on him and gave him a tablet engraved with the name of God. "Place this in the bottom of thy vessel and go thy way without fear; only remember to remove the ^{piece of paper} ~~stone~~ when thou reachest thy destination and to cast it into the sea."

The man departed. Once again he lay in the bottom of the boat and fell asleep. Unguided the vessel reached the shores of Barcelona, left the waters and finally came to a stop before the gate of the city. The inhabitants were thrown into a tumult because of this sight. The noise awakened the sailor; he arose, took the tablet and broke it. The skiff remained in the middle of the city and over it the people erected a tower as a memorial. This structure remains standing unto this day."

G. AMNON

The chronicler derived this story from the "Mahzor Ashkenazi", (p.77).

"R. Amnon was one of the great men of his generation, a

wealthy man of good family and handsome appearance. The governor of Mayence urged him to accept Christianity but the Jew steadfastly refused to accede to his wish. The governor and his colleagues continued daily to entreat Amnon and when their demands became insistent the harassed man said, "I would like to consider this matter for three days." He merely wished to evade them and their naggings. He had hardly left the presence of the official when he regretted the words of doubt which had passed his lips and he fretted a great deal. On the third day the ruler sent for him, but Amnon refused to obey the summons. Then he was dragged forcibly to the palace where the governor discussed with him penalties for his grave offense.

"I shall pass my own sentence," declared the rabbi. "The tongue which spoke falsely shall be severed!" He wished to sanctify God in this manner in order to atone for the words of doubt which the organ of speech had uttered.

"I shall not cut out thy tongue for it spoke the truth. However, I shall sever those feet which did not come to me and I shall chastize thy entire body."

The official gave the command and his soldiers amputated the extremities of the limbs; as they removed each digit Amnon was asked, "Wilt thou accept baptism now?" Each time he courageously answered in the negative. When the cruel torture had been completed they made him lie in one place, with the amputated toes and fingers next to him. Later he was removed to his home. So he was called Amnon because he believed in a living God.

Some time after this took place the New Year was being observed in the Synagogues. Amnon ordered that he be placed next to the Cantor. While the Kedusha was being recited he said to

the leader, "Interrupt thy services for me so that I may hallow the name of God."

In a loud voice he prayed, "So shall holiness ascend unto Thee as I have sanctified Thee for Thy Kingdom and Thy Unity".

Then he began, "We express the mighty holiness of this day....."

(Pm 3303) When he had completed the entire Kedusha he died and disappeared from sight, for God had taken him unto Himself. Three nights later he appeared in a vision to Kōlanymos b. Meshullam and taught him the entire piyyut and commanded him to send it to all scattered Israel."

Amnon was a wealthy and respected Jew of Mayence. The legend is an old one and one of the most famous of all Jewish stories. It was first mentioned by Israel of Krems or Kremsier about 1400 in his notes on Asheri. Deutsch suggests that the legend is derived in part from another story about St. Immerman.⁹

PART II

A. SPIRITS.

Gedaliah ibn Yahyah believed implicitly in, "Dybbuks", "spirits which have already died enter other bodies and affect limbs and senses". (p.119) The example par excellence makes an unusual story.

"In the year 5305 = 1545, in the month of Tebeth when I was in Ferrara, I called on a young woman about twenty five years of age. I found her stretched on the bed, like one dead, with her eyes closed and her mouth open; her tongue swollen. The people who were nursing her told me that the spirit (ruah) was at the time in her tongue.

I decided to ascertain the nature of death and begged the spirit to give me the desired information. He spoke in fluent Italian. His name was Battista of Modena and he had been hung for a theft. When he wept I consoled him and he was somewhat relieved. I questioned him about the origin of the soul, about its fate after departure from the body and about Hell, but not about the Garden of Eden for I knew that that place was barred to him. His answers were confused; he was unable to give definite data on these problems.

He declared that he had been a peasant. I could see that he was beastlike. He possessed the power to influence the girl so that she did not eat meat on Friday or Saturday and so that at eventide when the bells rang for Vesper prayers she had to recite them after the fashion of the Christians.

"What effect does it have on you if she eats meat?" I queried.

"I have sinned; when she eats I enjoy the food."

"What is your form?"

"I am unable to answer that".

"Is it like the egg of a duck or a hen or a pigeon?"

"Like that of a hen".

"What is your natural position in a woman's body?"

"Between the ribs and the loin on the right side."

"Who put you there?"

"I do not know!"

"Leave her body!"

"I cannot."

"Why did you enter the body of a Jewess?"

"I was troubled. I did not recognize her when I entered.

Had I known she was a Jewess I would never have done so."

"Where did you enter?"

"By way of the vagina."

He also informed me about the entire incident and the girl later corroborated the details. I requested that he allow the woman to speak to me. He returned to his position near the ribs. Her throat was swollen; she was in pain. All her limbs trembled. When the spirit reached its position the entire body, and especially the right side, twitched and trembled like that of a feverish person. Then she opened her eyes.

"How did this happen?" I asked.

"When I returned from the bath-house I went into the courtyard at 8:00 P.M. to draw water from the well for the preparation of the evening meal. I had a lighted candle in my hand; this I placed in a socket near the well. My husband, who had accompanied me, left me. I took hold of the bucket; immediately the candle was extinguished. The spirit seized me and lowered me half way into the well; then he raised me into the air. I knew not what was happening; I cried and I fainted."

The members of her household carried her into the building and put her into bed. She asked me for a cure for the plague. At once the spirit returned to sight causing her great pain and did not allow her to speak further."

The author states that many things as strange were told to him and he himself witnessed still others.

B. HEREDITY AND PHYSIOLOGY

The author in this section on embryology presents some interesting concepts on the determination of sex which were probably current in his day. According to varying opinions the child will be a male if the sperm travels to the right ovary; the sperm travels from the right test; if the sperm is in greater quantity than the fluid of the female. If the opposite happens the baby will be a female. The determination of the sex might also depend upon the time of conception:

one to five days after menstration,	a boy
five " eight " " " " "	" girl
eight to twelve " " " "	" boy

twelve days after date to time of next menstration the baby will be a hermaphrodite or entirely sexless. (Ibid)

Another opinion states that the great desire of a pregnant woman caused by demons entering her enable her to determine the sex. Other ideas on this subject are presented (pp.160f).

Influences on the care of the child are listed. The thoughts of the parents during co-habitation affect the baby (p.106). The stars and the fates (mazol) may also affect characters (pp.106-108). This is called the science of *ḥesed* (?).

C. HUMAN MONSTROSITIES

"They say that after the Tower of Babel God created human monstrosities and scattered them in many places. I shall describe some of them." (p.127)

Africa: Hermaphrodites who have intercourse with one another.

Scythia: One eyed people.

India: Men without mouths.

The mounts of India: Several species were reported in this vicinity:

- a. Beings with tails who do not have habits of men.
- b. Creatures with the body of a horse and the head of a ram. In their forehead there is a horn from which light emanates.
- c. People with the body of a lion and the head of a man. They have three rows of teeth in their mouths.
- d. One legged men; the sole of the foot is wide and they do a great deal of running.
- e. Creatures without necks; the eyes are located on the spine.
- f. Creatures with vegetation growing on their bodies; teeth like those of a dog.

Sythia: Beings with the forms of men but with the feet of horses; they are called satyrs. Another species exists there which in summer assume the shape of a wolf and in winter that of a human being. These creatures serve the planet Mars as a God and to this deity sacrifice humans.

Lybia: A species which detests light and eats no meat. A type which walks on the head by placing it between the thighs.

Romany: A class which eats only "glane" (a foreign term) (186) and which clothe itself in fishskins.

Ethopia: People without nostrils; people without ears; and a third class without mouths. The people

belonging to this third type have a small orifice in their faces and drink through straws.

* Western Dis- People with ears which are so long that
ticts: they cover the entire body.

Arabian A race of dwarfs. The women at the age of
Districts: five bear children; at eight they are old;
the dwarfs suffer from a scurvy which is
fatal to many of them.

Ethopia: A race which lives in caves and subsists only
on snakes. The people are unable to speak
and can make nothing but confused sounds.

D. THE GODS OF THE NATIONS.

The Egyptian warriors drew figures of animals on the shields. The man who was most valued during the course of a battle was honored by having the animal on his shield chosen as the national Deity. In this manner the calf became the Egyptian God. (p.129).

The heathens would not offer the gall bladder to the Gods because of its bitter taste. They asked sweet things of the Gods and the gall bladder might have an adverse effect. (p.129).

Special sacrifices were offered to certain Gods; to the Earth Deity four legged creatures were burned on the altar; to the harmful gods the animals were slaughtered in the bulrushes. White birds were the portion of the air gods and the blood was sprinkled around the altar. The sea gods had to be content with black birds and the wine libation was poured on the waves of the sea. The white cattle were offered to the sky gods. The limbs, the ears, the tail and the mouth were never consumed but were stored away.

These customs and the many gods persisted until the time
10 of Tola. Until his days there had been thirty thousand deities
but during his generation fifteen male and ten female gods were
selected. They remained until the time of Constantine - 4074 =
314. At that time they disappeared from the western world. How-
ever, they still exist in the east. The children of Abraham were
the only ones not to follow these customs. (ibid)

To

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I.

1. Carmoly "Dibre ha-Yomim Libné Yahyah" Introduction. However, this author is also incorrect in many statements which he makes in this book.
2. Joseph ibn Yahyah "Torah Or" Introduction.
3. M.M. p.430.
4. Carmoly op.cit. pp.5f. Also Kayserling "Die Juden in Portugal" p.2.
5. Joseph ibn Yahyah in the introduction to the "Torah Or" presents a list containing twelve generations including himself. Adding his son to this list would make thirteen generations. The Sh. list omits a Joseph contained in the other tale.
6. Carmoly op.cit. p.6 declares that this man was a poet and a meliza writer. He also states that the Lisbon Synagogue was erected about 1260. This date is too late.
7. We do not agree that Yahyah II lived more than one hundred years after Joseph ibn Megash as Carmoly contends. op.cit.p.8.
8. Carmoly op.cit. pp.9-10 mentions a few additional details which are not very important.
9. Catholic Encyclopedia, vol.IX, article Marinus II.
10. "Shebet Yehuda" #40. Carmoly suggests that a typographical error was the cause of a mistake in date; ע"ה should read ע"ס and refers to the Common Era. He also declares that Todros was the son of Judah II. op.cit.p.13.
11. Carmoly op.cit.p.10. There is a slight difference in date of death according to various records.
12. Carmoly ibid.

13. V. p.63a. For נ"ב read נ"ב.
14. Carmoly op.cit.p.16.
15. Published by Joseph Ben Tam ibn Yahyah, Constantinople, date not mentioned. Carmoly op.cit.p.17, note 63.
16. Carmoly op.cit.p.27 gives 1427 as date of birth.
17. The exact mode of information is dubious. Sh. declares the king talked with him. "Torah Or" introduction says the king sent one of his officials to Don Joseph with a conversion proposal.
18. For נ"ב read נ"ב V.p.63a. The account given here is based on our text and on the introduction to "Torah Or".
19. Carmoly op.cit.p.30 gives date of death as 1533. A branch of the family developed in Turkey.
20. Alexander Marx. Article "Glimpses of the Life of an Italian Rabbi in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century (David ibn Yahyah)". H.U.C. Annual Vol. I, pp.605-624.
21. J.E. Vol. XII, Article "Gedaliah ibn Yahyah."

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. M.M. p.342.
2. J.E. vol.I, pp.120f. The chronicle of Abraham b. Solomon printed in M.J.C. vol.I, pp.101-114.
3. M.M. p.516.
4. Haq 12b. The "dew of Resurrection is stored in Arabot, the seventh heaven. This dew revives the dead. p. Berakhot 12b. p. Ta'anit I:63d Isaiah 26:19 "....For Thy dew is as dew of Light and the earth shall bring to life the shades".
5. A critical discussion of several personalities will be found below.

6. See chapter 4 for examples.
7. Moreh Nebukim part 3 Parek 33.
8. M.M. p.300.
9. Read *1989 for 1989 as V 46.*
10. M.M. 402.
11. O.Z. p.372.
12. Ibid p.624.
13. J.E. Vol.I, pp.568f.
14. M.M. p.370.
15. O.X. p.343.
16. M.M. p.397.
17. Ibid p.435.
18. Ibid p.379.
19. Ibid p.301.
20. Toldot Poskim p.605.
21. J.E. Vol.XI, p.264.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. Abraham's "Chapters on Jewish Literature", p.216.
2. Ibid.
3. M.M. p.509.
4. Ibid p.503.
5. Graetz "History of the Jews", Vol. IV, p.516.
6. Abraham's op.cit.p.222
7. Revue des Etudes Suives Vol.1. I. Loe B "Joseph ha-Cohen et. Les Chroniquers Juifs". p.271.
8. Most references to the various books are placed in the text of this discussion for the sake of convenience.
9. M.J.C. I pp.57-61.

10. J.E. Vol. I, p.528.
11. J.E. Vol. XI, p.610.
12. M.J.C. pp.61f.
13. Ibid.
14. Israeli "Yesod Olam" p.35b.
15. SY 219a.
16. M.M. p.338.
17. See Chapter IV for translation of this legend.
18. M.M. p.325.
19. Ibid p.322.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid p. 338.
22. Ibid p.342
23. Ibid p.338
24. I. Israeli op.cit.loc.cit.
25. SY loc.cit.
26. M.M. p.344
- 26b M.M. p.344
27. H.U.C. Annual Vol.III pp.311-358. Alexander Marx "Correspondence between the Rabbis of S. France and Maimonides about Astrology".
28. J.E. Vol.IX p.81.
29. "Sefer Tashbatz" #72 p.36b.
30. M.M. pp.357-363.
31. Loc.cit.
32. SY 217b.
33. V. 48b 4921 = 1161. This is correct.
34. SY 217b. Simha called a disciple of Rashi.

35. M.J.C. p.78 Jacob p.84 Rashi.
36. M.M. p.367.
37. SY 217b.
38. cf. Liber "Rashi" *Philadelphian 1906 pp.436-*
39. SY p.221b.
40. Ibid.
41. M.M. p.356.
42. Statement of Dr. S. Mann, Prof. of History, H.U.C.
43. See Chapter IV for translation.
44. Dr. Mann.
45. Graetz Vol.III p.531.
46. Sefer Tashbatz #72 p.36b.
47. Dr. Jacob Mann. However Graetz Vol.III p.532 declares
that he was a physician.
48. Dr. Mann.
49. M.M. p.424.
50. Ibid.
51. See Chapter IV for translation.
52. Dr. Mann.
53. SY 221a.
54. M.M. pp.62f.
55. J.E. Vol. IX p.91.
56. M.M. p.363.
57. Ibid p.366.
58. Ibid p.386.
59. Ibid p.391.
60. Graetz Vol.IV pp.55-57.
61. Loeb op.cit. P.

62. Graetz Vol.IV. p.268.
63. Loeb op.cit. loc.cit. Based on J # 12,13.
64. Graetz Vol. IV p.
65. M.M. p.379 Graetz Vol. IV pp.57f.

NOTES ^{to} FOR CHAPTER IV.

1. Abrahams op.cit. p. ²²
2. M.M. p.256.
3. J.E. Vol. I p.535.
4. Ibid Vol. X, p.681.
5. Monatsschrift Vol. 36 p.500.
6. The text is corrupt. For /' /iedz read /' 82 a V.
7. Encyclopedia Brittanica Edition Art. "Crusades" Vol. ¹ pp.
8. See above p.33.
9. J.E. Vol. I, pp.525f.
10. Judges 10:1.

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