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THE INFERNO OF IMMANUEL HAROMI

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Rabbinic thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for Ordination

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DIGEST

This thesis considers a fraction of the life and work of Immanuel Ben Solomon of Rome. It focuses on the twenty-eighth chapter of HaRomi's *Maqama*-like collection of verse and prose known as the *Machberot Immanuel*.

There are three main sections to this thesis. The first section is an introduction to the work and provides some background on Immanuel, his influences and his contribution to the Jewish and Italian cultures of his generation at the dawn of the renaissance. His friendship with Dante is discussed, focusing on the years 1315-1320 in Verona at the Court of Can Grande Della Scala.

The second section of the thesis is an annotated translation of the first part of HaRomi's twenty-eighth composition, an imitation of Dante's *Inferno*. The final section of the thesis is a comparison of the two works and a discussion of the implications made by differences and similarities between them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION	2
INTRODUCTION.....	3
BIOGRAPHY OF THE POET	4
INFLUENCES	6
IMMANUEL AND DANTE.....	7
TRAGEDY AND FELLOWSHIP	8
THE ROMAN IN VERONA.....	12
IMMANUEL AS INFLUENCE.....	15
EARLIER TRANSLATIONS OF TOPHET.....	21
TRANSLATION.....	25
CANTO I.....	25
CANTO II.....	30
CANTO III.....	34
CANTO IV.....	41
CANTO V.....	42
CANTO VI.....	43
CANTO VII.....	54
CANTO VIII.....	55
A COMPARISON OF WORKS.....	60
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES.....	67
APPENDIX: HEBREW TEXT	70

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This work is dedicated to Ida Frances.

INTRODUCTION

This work considers a fraction of the life and contributions of Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome.¹ It focuses on the twenty-eighth chapter of HaRomi's collection of verse and prose known as the *Machberot Immanuel*. The first publication of the *Machberot* was in 1492 in Brescia. What follows is an annotated partial translation of Immanuel's "twenty-eighth notebook". That chapter is known as "Hell and Heaven" or, in Hebrew, "*HaTophet Ve HaEden*."

In this first section, Immanuel introduces his work and meets his guide, a mysterious 'Daniel'. The two men journey through the gates of Hell and observe the torments of the damned. HaRomi recognizes many figures from scripture and from history. Some of the lost are familiar to Immanuel and he interacts with them, learning their sin and its wages.

Much of this material is immediately recognizable as based on the *Inferno* of Dante. At the same time its language is familiar to Hebrew ears. Each verse is filled with biblical references, much of it exact quotes of scripture, others playful reinventions of an obscure phrase from the prophets. The work itself lives in many worlds at once. It is satirical, outrageous even in its crudity and its near-sacrilegious use of text. At the same time it is brilliant, disturbing and thought provoking. People of various levels of education may enjoy the work. All who hear it receive its warning and its social criticisms. As a didactic-moral allegory it is effective and well crafted. As an imitation of the *Inferno* written perhaps contemporaneously with its object of homage, it demonstrates the presence and involvement of the Jewish artist in the birth of the Italian Renaissance.

¹ My preference is to refer to the poet by his proper name *Immanuel*, or by the Hebrew descriptive surname *HaRomi*.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE POET

HaRomi was born into a prominent Jewish Roman family, known by the name Ziphroni². He is referred to in various languages as Immanuello Romano, Manoello Romano, Manoello Giudeo, Immanuel, Emanuel, Immanuel Ben Solomon, Immanuel HaRomi, Immanuello Giudeo, Da Romi and Di Roma. HaRomi is interesting to scholars because of the influence he can be shown to bear on the greatest poet of his age, Dante Alighieri. His popularity and longevity in circulation are best suggested by a mention in the Shulchan Aruch, where Rabbi Joseph Caro forbids the reading of "Immanuel" on Shabbat.³

Most of the biographical information we have about the poet comes directly from HaRomi himself. In the text of his collected compositions, which he called *Machberot*, we learn of Immanuel's education under Binyamin and Zerachia ben Yitzhak ben Shaaltial of Barcelona. Benjamin ben Yechiel, a noted physician and Hebraist, was one of Immanuel's first tutors. From his instruction presumably came Immanuel's knowledge of Maimonides. HaRomi's relative and Hebrew teacher, Leone Romano, was tutor to Robert, King of Naples. Leone was also a translator of Thomas Aquinas' work. Immanuel's instruction in literature and poetry came under Judah Siciliano. The prominence of HaRomi's instructors was responsible in part for the young poet's

² Guy Shaked, *The Poetry of Manoello Romano: Biography, Writings, Short Poems*, p. 1

Shulchan Aruch: Orech Hayyim, 307:7³
טז מליצות ומשלים של שיחת חולין ודברי חשק כגון ספר
עמנואל וכן ספרי מלחמות אסור לקרות בהם בשבת ואף
בחול אסור משום מושב לצים ועובר משום אל תפנו אל
האלילים לא תפנו אל מדעתכם ובדברי חשק איכא תו
משום מגרה יצר הרע ומי שחיברן ומי שהעתיקן ואי צ לומר
המדפיסן מחטיאים את הרבים: הגה ונראה לדקדק הא דאסור
לקרות בשיחת חולין וספורי מלחמות היינו דוקא אם כתובים
בלשון לעז אבל בלשון הקודש שרי (וכנ"ל מלשון שכתבו
התוספות פרק כל כתבי וכן נהגו להקל בזה):

introduction to the highest echelons of Italian society.⁴ HaRomi married the daughter of a respected rabbi, Samuel, from Rome, and the couple had children. Immanuel sung the praises of his wife in several works and two elegies mourn the death of their eldest son, Moshe.

HaRomi read voraciously in such diverse subjects as mathematics, medicine, grammar, philosophy and mysticism. He studied Arabic, Latin, Science and History. He traveled extensively and studied in Verona at the Talmudic academy there. He wrote on many different topics including a commentary on the Book of Proverbs. He was successful as a liturgical composer, in particular with an extended contemplation of Maimonides' *Thirteen Attributes*. HaRomi's poem provided the source and inspiration for the popular "Yigdal" hymn.⁵

Our poet returned to Rome in 1315 in order to succeed his murdered father-in-law there as head of the Jewish community.⁶ HaRomi was fifty years old and his personal generosity, literary achievements and expansive knowledge had brought him renown. HaRomi had also acquired many personal admirers and friends. These friendships were to some degree responsible for his leaving Rome. Immanuel, according to his own account, had acted as security for a friend's business venture. When the venture failed, Immanuel himself became liable for a great deal of money. His fortune gone, Immanuel left Rome for the last time.

Another possible explanation for his leaving is his rejection by prominent members of the community. Many were infuriated by Immanuel's provocative and irreverent literary

⁴ Chotzner, *Hebrew Humor and Other Essays*, (Luzac & Co., London: 1905) pgs 82-102.

⁵ As demonstrated in the rabbinic thesis of B. Cantor, *Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome* (Cincinnati: 1916)

⁶ Chotzner, p. 84.

creations. This faction used Immanuel's financial problems as an opportunity to attack Immanuel publicly and force him out.⁷ Immanuel and his wife left Rome in disgrace and eventually spent time in Fermo, in the Ancona district, on the eastern coast of Tuscany. Benjamin, Immanuel's patron there, is believed represented by the "Sar" figure in Immanuel's *maqama*.⁸

INFLUENCES

Immanuel was clearly inspired by the Spanish school represented by HaLevi, Ibn Gabirol and Al-Harizi. The *Tachemoni* of Al Harizi is to the *Machberot* in general what La *Commedia Divina* is to *Ha Tophet Ve Ha Eden* in particular. This series of points within the plane of medieval literature describes a band of influence. Arabic and oriental forms were adapted by Jews living in Moorish Spain, and in part through Jews make their way to Italy, where their influence is evident in the work of Dante. Men like Immanuel HaRomi were one of the main conduits by which transcultural exchange took place⁹. The *Maqamat* form of literature introduced by Arabic poets and popular in Spain found new life and expression in the works of HaRomi. Like the great composition of Al-Harizi, the *Machberot* takes the form of a conversation between a powerful noble, an autobiographical narrator and others. It is a combination of satirical and philosophical dialogues, poems, stories and other entertainments. It is via the work of the Spanish poets that Immanuel comes in contact with the particular structures and rhythms of the *Maqamat* and the philosophical elements that are reflected in the *Machberot*. In addition, Immanuel displays both swagger and self-effacement, a peculiar combination found in the

⁷ *ibid*, p. 85

⁸ The conceit of a dialogue between a noble or powerful figure and a narrator-minstrel is common to this Arabic form made popular in Hebrew in Spain. Judah HaLevi's *Kuzari* uses a similar form for philosophical ends.

⁹ Giorgio Battistoni, *Jewish Channels and Medieval Sources Available to Dante: 1. Hillel Ben Shemuel Ben Eleazar of Verona; Labyrinthos*, Volume XIII, Issue 25/26, 1994.

writings of his Spanish heroes. There are also Italian influences visible in HaRomi's *Maqama: rima chiusa, rima alternativa* and the sonnet form that would be known as *petrarchan*. Petrarch himself was born in 1304, when Immanuel may have already been writing *petrarchan* sonnets. Immanuel lived at a precise meeting of ages: the medieval and the renaissance. He lived as an Italian, a Jew and in agency of cross-cultural exchanges

IMMANUEL AND DANTE

It has been established, (See the considerable amount of scholarship here done by Giorgio Battistoni) Immanuel spent time with the famous Rabbi Hillel of Verona. Rabbi Hillel, a respected scholar and leader, is presumed to have died in 1295.¹⁰ Throughout his life, Immanuel remained close with the Verona academy of Rabbi Hillel. It is reasonable to suggest that Immanuel could have stayed in Verona for some time in the years between 1316 and 1321. At this time, Dante was residing in Verona, had just published the *Inferno* and was working on the rest of his *Commedia*. In 1320, he delivered a public lecture on a scientific topic, entitled "*Questio de Aqua et Terra*." As both men are known to have traveled to other towns to meet with fellow poets and thinkers, there is no reason to rule out the attendance of Immanuel at that lecture.

According to Graetz, Dante and Immanuel were born in the same year, 1265.¹¹ Both men were prominent in their communities and were involved in the literary circles of their age. Both were highly educated, politically active poets. Each was caught between two worlds at the dawn of a new age. Where Dante stood between the Latin of the middle Ages and the Italian of the Renaissance, HaRomi had one foot in Ancient Israel and the

¹⁰ Battistoni, translation: <http://www.geocities.com/dantestudies/hillel.html>

¹¹ Chotzner, p. 82

other in "Young Italy". These two controversial men found themselves in middle age condemned to exile and a life of wandering from city to city, seeking patronage and security. Both men were guests in Verona with the Can Grande della Scala. Men of the same age, each widely known and admired, living in exile and traveling in the same social circles would have been likely to cross paths.

Unfortunately neither Dante nor HaRomi mention a meeting between them in their writings. Without any real evidence of a personal encounter between them there is no way to establish the two were acquaintances or friends. If HaRomi met Dante, it seems logical the *Machberot* should contain a record of that meeting.

It is possible Dante and Immanuel met and spoke at the court in Verona among many other courtiers and literati that flocked around Can Grande. Dante is known to have stayed there for an extended period while completing *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. The earliest drafts of *Inferno* were known and available in 1315.¹² The entirety of the *Commedia* was not publicly released until after Dante's death in 1321.

TRAGEDY AND FELLOWSHIP

In 1321 Immanuel suffered the loss of his wife. That same year, Dante died in Ravenna. It is then that the lawyer and poet Bosone composed the poem of consolation often used as evidence of the friendship among the three men. Immanuel in response composed his own sonnet. His reply to Bosone indicates the facility he had with their common tongue and his mastery of the contemporary poetics of fourteenth century Italy.

¹² R.W.B.Lewis, *Dante*; New York: Putnam, 2001 p. 130

Messer Bosone a Manoello Giudeo, essendo morto Dante

*“Duo lumi son di novo spenti al mondo
in cui virtù e bellezza si vedea;
piange la mente mia, che già ridea,
di quel che di saper toccava il fondo.*

*Pianga la tua del bel viso giocondo,
di cui tua lingua tanto ben dicea;
omè dolente, che pianger devea
ogni omo che sta dentro a questo tondo.*

*E pianga dunque Manoel Giudeo:
e prima pianga il suo proprio danno,
poi pianga 'l mal di questo mondo reo;*

*ché sotto 'l sol non fu mai peggior anno.
Ma mi conforta ch' i' credo che Deo
Dante abbia posto 'n glorïoso scanno.”*

Mr. Bosone to HaRomi upon the Death of Dante

*“Two lamps of life have waxed dim and died,
Two souls for virtue loved and blessed grace;
Thou, friend may'st smile no more with happy face
But weep for him, sweet song's and learning's pride.
And weep for her, thy spouse, torn from thy side
In all her charm of native loveliness,
Whom thou hast sung so oft ere thy distress,
That is mine, too, and with me doth abide.
Not I alone bewail thy hapless lot,
But others, too: do thou bewail thine own,
And then the grief that all of us have got,
In this the direst year we're have known;
Yet Dante's soul, that erst to us was given,
Now ta'en from the earth, dost glisten bright in Heaven.”*

A messer Bosone da Gubbio

*"Io, che trassi le lagrime del fondo
de l'abisso del cor che 'n su le 'nvea,
piango: ché 'l foco del dolor m'ardea,
se non fosser le lagrime in che abbondo.*

*Ché la lor piova ammorta lo profondo
ardor, che del mio mal fuor ml traeca;
per non morir, per tener altra vea,
al percoter sto forte e non affondo.*

*E ben può pianger cristiano e giudeo,
e ciaschedun sedere 'n tristo scanno:
pianto perpetüal m' è fatto reo.*

*Per ch' io m'accorgo che quel fu il mal'anno;
sconfortomi ben, ch' i' veggio che Deo
per invidia del ben fece quel danno."*

To Mr. Bosone of Gubbio

*"The floods of tears well from my deepest heart;
can they e'er quench my grief's eternal flame:
I weep no more, my woe is still the same;
I hope instead that death may soothe the smart.
Then Jew and Gentile weep, and sit with me
On morning-stool: for sin hath followed woe;
I prayed to God to spare this misery,
And now no more my trust in Him I show."¹³*

Sometime around 1328, HaRomi returned to Benjamin, his patron in Fermo. At Benjamin's suggestion, HaRomi began the compilation that would become the *Machberot*. HaRomi died in exile, as had Dante. Upon HaRomi's death, his friend Bosone da Gubbio

¹³ Hyman G. Enelow, *The Jewish Interest in Dante: Selected Writings of Hyman G. Enelow Selected by Dr. Felix A. Levy*; Volume IV: Scientific Papers (Private, 1935.) pp. 366-392

exchanged sonnets with Cino da Pistoia. Pistoia had earlier exchanged letters with Dante that are ambiguously suggestive of a sexual relationship. Dante moved on, chiding the younger Cino for his fickle love and the poems between Pistoia and Bosone hint at some residual anger Cino felt toward Dante. Cino's poem informs Bosone that Immanuel and Dante are in Hell together. Bosone's letter defends the two men. As Pistoia died around 1336, it seems that HaRomi's life ended sometime before then and after the 1328 compilation of the *Machberot* in Fermo.

Cino to Bosone after the Death of Dante and the Jew Manoel

*"Bosone, your friend Manoello is dead,
Still keeping fast to his false, idle creed;
Methinks to the regions of hell he is sped,
Where no unbeliever from anguish is freed.
Yet not 'mongst the vulgar his soul doth abide,
But Dante and he still remain side by side."*

Bosone's Answer.

*"Manoel, whom thou hast thus consigned
Unto the dark domains of endless night,
Has not within those regions been confined.
Where Lucifer holds sway with awful might.
Lucifer, who once 'gainst Heaven's lord,
In lust for empire drew rebellion's sword.
And though he in that loathly prison pine,
Where thou hast brought him though he willed it not;
What fool will trust this idle tale of thine.
That he and Dante should be thus forgot;
Well, let them for a time endure their fate,
God's mercy will be theirs or soon or late."¹⁴*

These poems indicate others observed a friendship between Dante and Immanuel.¹⁵

Unfortunately, some respected scholars doubt the authenticity of these poems.¹⁶ While

¹⁴ Enelow ppg. 85-86

¹⁵ Chotzner, p. 85

¹⁶ Chotzner, p. 87

there was clearly some relationship between the work of the two men, nothing more can be said with certainty.

THE ROMAN IN VERONA

From one of HaRomi's Italian compositions we find evidence of an encounter at Verona with the Can Grande della Scala. This Can Grande was also Dante's friend and patron. Dante dedicated the *Paradiso* to Can Grande and wrote him a lengthy, well-known letter. Immanuel dedicated his *Bisbidis* to Can Grande.¹⁷ This coincidence might offer us reason to suspect a personal friendship existed between Immanuel and Dante. The poem is written in Italian, but is heavily influenced by the Hebrew tradition. This influence is made clearer when comparing the *Bisbidis* to biblical texts or to liturgical hymns such as the relatively contemporaneous *Adon Olam*. Ibn Gabirol, who is credited with the composition of that hymn, was widely proclaimed to be the greatest poet in Spanish Jewish history. They are counterparts if not precise contemporaries. Both poets were inspired by Arabic culture and both drew upon the tradition of Hebrew poetry rooted in *Tanakh*.¹⁸ Immanuel's work, like Ibn Gabirol's, combines cultures: Italian (or Spanish), Arabic and Hebrew; and involves Biblical, Classical, Medieval and Renaissance poetics in their formulation. Immanuel's Italian poem "Bisbidis" has consistently medial caesurae that divide each verse into isochronistic hemistiches. Immanuel's chosen structure here, a classically influenced *hemistichomythia*, makes for a poem that sounds like a *Piyyut*.

¹⁷ "Bisbidis" is a nonsense word invented to imitate the whispering of the Veronese noble's attendants and counselors.

¹⁸ For an example, see the song of the sea in Exodus 15.

BISBIDIS

"A magnificenza di messer Cane de la Scala

*Del mondo ho cercato – per lungo e per lato
con un caro mercato – per terra e per mare.*

*Vedut' ho Soria – infin Erminia
e di Romania – gran pane, mi pare.*

*Vedut' ho 'l Soldano – per monte e per piano
e sì del Gran Cano – poria novellare*

[...]

*e questo è 'l Signore--da tanto valore,
che' l suo grande onore--va per terra e mare."*

"To his magificence, Mr. Cane Delascala

*The world I have searched--both long ways and wide
as if it were a lovely market--over earth and sea*

*I have viewed Syria-- the ends of Erminia
And of Romania--A great part I viewed.*

*I have visited Sultans, on mountains and plains
But the home of Gran Cano, this appeared new!*

[...]

*And to this Gentleman—of such valor
'his great honor—travels over earth and sea?'"¹⁹*

Perhaps the *Bisbidis* was written for Can Grande sometime in 1320. If that is so, it is possible that Dante was present for the reading of this poem. The reading would have taken place while Dante was in Verona at the court for the presentation of the lecture *Questio de Aqua et Terra*. The text of Immanuel's poem to Can Grande makes reference

¹⁹ Trans. Siger, Italian from *Machberot Immanuel*, ed. Haberman, Tel Aviv, 5706.

twice to Dante's work, as well as to the master himself. The first of these references comes at the beginning of the poem.

“Vedut' ho 'l Soldano – per monte e per piano
e sì del **Gran Cano** – poria novellare”

“Gran Cano” is a play on Can Grande, the name of their mutual host. It is reminiscent of the words for “Big Dog”. It is also commonly thought that Can Grande is portrayed as the Greyhound in Dante's *Inferno*.²⁰ Next, *per terra e per mare* may be a reference to Dante's *Questio de Aqua et Terra*. That Italian phrase is repeated a second time in the final strophe of the *Bisbidis*. Within that strophe, it is also possible to discover the name of Dante, concealed in a manner not unfamiliar to students of Hebrew liturgy or poetics. As is the case with many hidden words and names in Hebrew compositions, one needs to know in advance what they seek. One cannot say for certain that Immanuel intended to place these references in his poem either obscurely or openly.

e questo è 'l Signore--**da** tanto valore,
che' l suo grande onore--**va** per terra e mare.

e **questo** è 'l Signore--**da** tanto valore,
che' l suo grande onore--**va per terra e mare.**

²⁰ R.W.B. Lewis expresses this view in his recently published *Dante*; (Penguin, New York, 2001).

IMMANUEL AS INFLUENCE

With sufficient time and research, perhaps a stronger argument can be made in the case for a real friendship between Alighieri and HaRomi. As it stands, the greatest indication of a personal relationship between Dante and Immanuel emerges from the two texts that link their authors; *HaTophet Ve HaEden* is clearly Immanuel's version of Dante's trip to the afterworlds.

The earliest public distribution of the *Inferno* and *Paradiso* took place sometime after 1318. Dante dies in 1321. Immanuel died approximately ten years later. When did Immanuel come in contact with these texts? Chotzner suggests that Immanuel was exposed to Dante's work through the "Young Italy" circle and was present at a reading of the work by Dante during their contemporaneous wanderings of the years before 1321. If this were so, it would explain a great deal about the inspiration and creation of HaRomi's work and the friendship alluded to by the Italian poets who corresponded with and about the two men. In the absence of any such friendship it remains very difficult to explain how Immanuel was exposed to a newly released *Inferno* and an unfinished *Paradiso*. Maybe he was hired to copy manuscripts of the *Commedia*. Perhaps he came across one and upon reading it was inspired to write his own. However, whenever and wherever the introduction took place, Immanuel was influenced by Dante's *Commedia*. Dante had many influences, including Islamic eschatology. Arabic thought and culture had come to the Jews of Verona at least a century earlier, through men such as Abraham Ibn Ezra. How the Arabic culture, certainly assimilated into Judaism with Ibn Gabirol, Al-Harizi and Ha-Levi, gets to Dante is another story. It is possible Immanuel HaRomi was one of Dante's influences in this area.

On Dante, Giorgio Battistoni suggests, "The contact [with the world of Islam] could have been brought about via the medium of some Italian rabbi who was expert in Islamic eschatology."²¹ That rabbi was Hillel of Verona, and his familiarity with Jewish mysticism was shared with those close to him. This group included Immanuel, who may have passed some of it on to Dante:

*So, to end, we have precisely that Hillel as the agent who, through Immanuel, would have enabled Dante's access to the esoteric Jewish notions whose paternity Umberto Eco attributes to the Kabbalist Avraham Abulafia.*²²

Mr. Battistoni's work in the field of Judeo-Arabic influences on Dante is considerable. He is responsible for the volume of *Ha Tophet Ve Ha Eden* published as Italian translation in 2000. In discussing the relationship between Rabbi Hillel of Verona and Dante, Battistoni suggests Immanuel is the conduit by which the wisdom of the deceased Rabbi Hillel reaches Dante during the composition of the *Commedia*.

*"We find it necessary to mention the relationship, if not the intimacy, between him [Immanuel] and the above-mentioned Hillel of Verona, to show that our poet must for a long time have enjoyed in that city [Verona] relations of friendship and study. This makes it all the more plausible that during his peregrinations he would have been present there as a guest and would have met people, especially on occasions of celebrations; and thus it would also have been possible that he would have met Dante there, as well as being present at the "open house" maintained by Can Grande della Scala and so bizarrely but effectively described by [Immanuel] in his famous popular song [the 'Bisbidis']"*²³

²¹ Giorgio Battistoni of Verona, *Jewish Channels*, Trans. Ed Emery, <http://www.geocities.com/dantestudies>

²² Giorgio Battistoni of Verona, *Verona as a Context for Understanding "The Paradigm of the "Three Rings": Jewish, Christian and Islamic Convergences at the Court of the "Gran Lombardo"*, Trans. by Ed Emery.

²³ Battistoni, *Jewish Channels*

Many believe Dante's work displays an Arabic influence, as well. The breakthrough text on this issue was published, in Spanish, in 1919 by Miguel Asin y Palacios. In that essay, entitled *La Escatología Musulmana en la "Divina Commedia,"* Palacios concludes,

"If to all these coincidences of undertaking, action, allegorical finality, principal and episodic characters, architecture of the astronomical heavens, didactic curiosity and literary artifices to syncretize an encyclopedia of an entire people, one adds the abstruse, intricate, difficult, enigmatic style of both literary pieces [...], it will easily be understood why we have considered this allegorical ascent, written by the Murcian Ibn 'Arabi in the thirteenth century, to be a Muslim type coming close to the Dantean Paradise in particular, and to the whole of the Divine Comedy in general... as a didactic-moral allegory."²⁴*

Another Muslim literature, the *Mi'raj* story, was widely known in Europe by the end of the thirteenth century. These stories recount the legendary afterworld journey of the prophet Mohammed. In these tales, Mohammed is brought through Heaven to visit God's throne. In 1264, Alfonso the Wise had a Castilian text of the *Mi'raj* tradition known as "The Book of the Ladder" translated into French and Latin.

Cecil Roth points out the Spanish text used for the French and Latin translation was a work of translation from Arabic undertaken by King Alfonso's Jewish Astrologer, Don Abraham al-Faquim.²⁵ From Roth we also learn that Dante relied heavily on the work of a Provençal Jewish luminary, Jacob ben Makhir ibn Tibbon of Montpellier (d. 1308). Jacob's "Perpetual Almanac" contributed greatly to the astrological and astronomical features of the *Commedia*²⁶. This Jewish influence would coexist with the Arabic influence suggested by Palacios.

²⁴ Carlo Saccone: *Muhammad's Mi'raj: A Legend Between East and West*. [Postface to *Il Libro della Scala*], (Ed Emery, translation; url ctd.)

²⁵ Roth, "In the Steps of Dante", *The Jews in the Renaissance*, p. 89

²⁶ *ibid*, p. 87

Maria Rose Menocal, in her essay "Italy, Dante and the Anxieties of Influence," criticizes Palacios' work. She believes the Spaniard goes too far in attributing the *Commedia* to Dante's "wholesale and quite detailed copying"²⁷ of existing Arabic literature. She does not discount his work entirely however. In fact, she agrees with Palacios in principle even if she does not support his findings:

"Asin's instinct may have been quite correct. Research on directly and indirectly related matters in the years since his book was first published, as well as the adoption of a different concept of the cultural gestalt of the Middle Ages and how we conceive of influence operating within it, all converge to indicate that Dante may indeed have been strongly affected, not only by knowledge of some variations of these specific texts, but also by the whole Arabic cultural and ideological entity, of which such texts may well have seemed emblematic."²⁸

There is general agreement that Dante was influenced in one way or another by the Arabic and Judeo-Arabic cultures that traveled to Italy through the crossroads of Medieval Spain. Dante represents a similar crossroads in Italian literary history and indeed in all of western civilization. His *Commedia* is second in scholarly attention only to the Bible. We know the *Commedia* was being written while HaRomi was active in the same literary, political and social circles as Dante. Some suspect the two men knew each other, at least in passing. Perhaps they discussed the passions and areas of interest they held in common. Perhaps they discussed troubles they experienced in their respective hometowns. Perhaps they discussed the deaths of Beatrice and of Immanuel's son Moshe. Perhaps they discussed Muslim eschatology, *Hechalot* literature and medieval visions of the afterworld. Perhaps they discussed the removal of the Papal seat from

²⁷ Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History*, p. 122

²⁸ *ibid*, p. 123

Rome and the unrest that resulted in the murder of Immanuel's father-in-law. Perhaps they discussed the languages spoken by angels and demons. Dante himself neither claims nor displays any familiarity with Hebrew. Chotzner suggests Immanuel is responsible for the Hebrew-sounding phrases of the *Commedia*.²⁹ Dante seems well disposed to some of Immanuel's people, going so far as to place Rachel alongside Beatrice in *Paradiso*, Canto XXXII³⁰ and there he describes a parade of Hebrew women:

*"Within that order which the third seats make
Is seated Rachel, lower than the other,
With Beatrice, in manner as thou seest.*

*Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and she who was
Ancestress of the Singer, who for dole
Of the misdeed said, 'Miserere mei,'*

*Canst thou behold from seat to seat descending
Down in gradation, as with each one's name
I through the Rose go down from leaf to leaf.*

*And downward from the seventh row, even as
Above the same, succeed the Hebrew women,
Dividing all the tresses of the flower..."*

Another section of Dante's work possibly makes reference to a complaint about the Talmud. The Talmud contains sections that are derogatory of pagan and Christian practices. Because the Talmud likens some non-Jews to dim witted cows, anti-Jewish groups often assert Jews hate Christians. Dante might speak to this particular misunderstanding in *Paradiso* V: 80-81³¹:

²⁹ Enelow, pg. 370

³⁰ Enelow, pg 391

³¹ Chotzner, *Hebrew Humor*, pg. 83

*“Uomini siate, e non pecore matte,
Sì ch’ il Giudeo di voi tra voi non rida.”*

*“Act ye as men, and not as stupid cattle,
Lest the Jew in your midst should scorn you.”*

The “Giudeo” in Dante’s midst might have been none other than Manoello Giudeo, an Italian variant of HaRomi’s name. The two would have had an opportunity to meet while both of them were in Verona. Chotzner reads this part of *Paradiso* as an apology, evidence Dante was well disposed to Jewish people and their traditions. This would be a result of his relationship with Immanuel.

While it is possible to read this as defense of the Jews and the Talmud, what we know of Dante and his work would suggest a different interpretation. It is likely that Dante was here entreating Christians to hold themselves to a higher standard. It would not be appropriate, in his view, for the spiritually inferior and ultimately damned Jews to be placed in a situation where they can mock Christians. The saved must be ever aware of their responsibility to be beyond reproach, especially Jewish reproach. He may have had Jewish friends but Dante was no friend of Judaism. As it stands, if there were a particular and personal Jewish influence on Dante, chances are it originates in the circle of Rabbi Hillel and his Veronese Academy. As part of that circle, HaRomi is part of its influence.

If there was a meeting of Dante and Immanuel, it may have been in Verona during the time of the writing of *Paradiso*. If the two had an established friendship, it is probable they spent time together at Can Grande’s invitation. If the relationship between the works of Dante and HaRomi is rooted in a relationship between the two men, it is plausible their

respective poems were partly composed in Verona during the years 1316-1320. Such contemporaneous composition would explain a great deal about the similarities displayed in the two didactic-moral allegories. Further study of the *Machberot* and *Ha Tophet Ve Ha Eden* may yield clues as to when exactly the piece was written.

EARLIER TRANSLATIONS OF TOPHET

This project began with a desire to make available an English translation of HaRomi's twenty-eighth notebook faithful to the intent of the original.

The last major translation of *Ha Tophet Ve Ha Eden* was by Hermann Gollancz in 1921. It was published as "Tophet and Eden."³² There are several major problems with Gollancz' work in terms of making HaRomi's work accessible to English readers. First the work is out-of-print and difficult to obtain. Secondly and more importantly for serious students of poetry and literature, the translation is inaccurate. Gollancz takes great liberties to fashion a construction of rhymed stichs, attempting to mimic the repetitive rhyme heard in the Hebrew original. Unfortunately, this requires a great deal of flexibility in diction and sentence construction. Often Gollancz adds entire phrases in order to achieve a sing-song cadence and rhyme structure. This approach fails as translation and wanders into a cruder kind of interpretation. While faithful to HaRomi's poem in terms of the story it tells and the plot of that story, Gollancz' work is anything but faithful to the text of the poem itself.

Here an accurate translation is important. Equally important is capturing and transplanting HaRomi's style: his construct of biblical quotation and wordplay is remarkable and it seems only sensible to try to present that as much as possible in

³² London: University of London Press, 1921.

translation. There is a rhythm to HaRomi's work or, rather, there seem to be many rhythms. His meter is organic and pliable, yet the work has a kind of formality. It is a sermon of sorts, certainly allegorical and displays the classic elements of rhetoric: logos, ethos and pathos. All of these deserve to be represented in any offering of HaRomi's work, though it is a decidedly tall order to fill. I made no attempt to capture the *Tophet* in a cage of strict rhyme or meter. Robert Lowell, one of the greatest poets of the twentieth century addressed the problem of poetic translation:

"Most poetic translations come to grief and are less enjoyable than modest photographic prose translations... Strict metrical translators still exist. They seem to live in a pure world untouched by contemporary poetry. Their difficulties are bold and honest, but they are taxidermists, not poets, and their poems are likely to be stuffed birds... I believe that poetic translation—I would call it imitation—must be expert and inspired, and needs at least as much technique, luck and rightness of hand as an original poem."³³
(*Imitations*, xii)

Even with the "strategy of free verse" Lowell might suggest, any imitation of HaRomi involves a great deal of Biblical translation. While the Hebrew poet takes great pleasure in manipulating the text of the *Tanakh* to fit his poem he has the advantage of writing in the same language. And so it falls upon any (according to the Lowell school of thought) translation of HaRomi to present his quotes from the Bible in a way that they are recognizable as Biblical text to the modern English ear. What this translation attempts to do is evoke a feeling of formality, even quaintness, while not becoming burdensome.

What follows is an excerpt from the prologue to *Tophet*. Gollancz' translation is first, then my proposed translation of the same lines. The Hebrew text is from the pointed edition of HaRomi's *Machberot Immanuel*, originally edited by Dov Yarden.³⁴

³³ Robert Lowell, Introduction to *Imitations*; Farrar Strauss & Giroux, New York: 1958

³⁴ Jerusalem, 1957

The difference in approach between these English treatments is apparent immediately. Also demonstrated is their consistency of plot and meaning.

GOLLANCZ' TRANSLATION

*"Sixty years of my life had now passed,
and the pains of mortal had come on me fast,
when of a sudden a man full of life and deeds,
of piety too he had sown the seeds,
bade adieu to the worlds and its ways,
he was junior to me in years and days,
and as I dwelt on the sorrowful sight,
I was seized with pain, horror and fright.*

*Then said I, woe to me, benighted fool!
Be ashamed and confounded thou wretched tool
of transgression and sin, error and crime,
sunk in the depths of the mire of time.
Have not God and man by me been cursed,
more than my forbears in iniquity nursed?
Were I of a sudden to be called on high,
borne on the shoulders to the grave near by,
and my comrades would seek me in vain with a sigh,
what provision have I made on the journey to start,
when the desolate soul from the body shall part?
How shall I then speak and with Judgement cope,
if for the mercy of Him who forgiveth I cannot hope?"³⁵*

SIGER'S TRANSLATION

*"After sixty of my years had passed, the pain of mortality
rushed upon me a man died quite suddenly,
a man of life, of noble deed, of holy seed,
he was years younger than I.
Upon my seeing this despair overcame me, thus I spoke:
"Woe is me, an ignorant fool: How shall I not be embarrassed or ashamed?
For I have done(5)wrong, I have sinned,
I have transgressed: I have committed iniquities!
I am sunk in the mire of the depths of time,
God and man alike have I cursed.*

³⁵ Excerpted from Simcha Paull Raphael, *Jewish Views of the Afterlife*, Jason Aronson, New Jersey: 1994

*my shameful guilt exceeds that of those that presaged me! Alas!
Were I called on high suddenly, placed on the shoulders
of those who pallbear, and those that know my name
will seek me, they shall not find me!
What then is the preparation I have made?
What awaits my ruined soul
on the day of separation from this mortal frame?
What shall I say, and what justification can I make,
What should I hope, if not for His patience,
The one who pardons and absolves? (10) “*

The division here of the poem into “cantos” represents my attempt to manage the episodes of HaRomi’s narrative. It is, in part, an attempt to create a structure by which the *Inferno* can be compared with the Hebrew *Tophet*. Another factor in my decision to break down the literal “block” of text was desire to reflect contemporary poetic elements, something I believe HaRomi would have done in his own day. This English presentation wants to be read as modern and familiar. In this regard it is no different from the translation done by Gollancz in the last century. No stress or syllabic meter is enforced, and unlike both the Hebrew and Gollancz’s translation, no rhyme structure was established. At times, a pattern of rhymes is evident in this text but these patterns are serendipitous. Central to this English translation is a desire to remain accurate to the language and rhythmic flow of HaRomi’s work. His Hebrew poem is constructed around biblical excerpts and exhibits the influence of Moorish Spain, Medieval Provencal and Italy. It displays a mind versed in Plato, Talmud and Thomas Aquinas. The translation here seeks to represent a fourteenth century Hebrew imitation of the Italian Dante’s *Inferno* in post-modern American English free verse. In some ways, this is not unlike HaRomi’s attempt to imitate one of the Great Works of Western Literature. As we turn to a section of the new translation, Robert Lowell speaks a warning: “The excellence of a poet depends on the unique opportunities of his native language.”

TRANSLATION

THE MACHBEROT of IMMANUEL HA-ROMI:

28: HA-TOPHET VE-HA-EDEN

Translated and Annotated by Jonathan Siger³⁶

CANTO I

After sixty of my years had passed, the pain of mortality
rushed upon me a man died quite suddenly,
a man of life, of noble deed, of holy seed,³⁷
he was years younger than I.
Upon my seeing this despair overcame me, thus I spoke:
"Woe is me, an ignorant fool: How shall I not be embarrassed or ashamed?
For I have done(5)wrong, I have sinned,
I have transgressed: I have committed iniquities!³⁸
I am sunk in the mire of the depths of time,³⁹
God and man alike have I cursed.
my shameful guilt exceeds that of those that presaged me! Alas!
Were I called on high suddenly, placed on the shoulders
of those who pallbear, and those that know my name
will seek me, they shall not find me!⁴⁰

³⁶ The notes are a combination of those of Dov Yarden's Hebrew edition of 1957, the Italian Battistoni /Giuntina edition of 2000 and my own glosses and insights. The Hebrew text by HaRomi is available as an appendix to this translation and the line numbers in bold here correspond to that Hebrew text.

³⁷ Ecclesiastes 9:12

³⁸ 2nd Chronicles 6:37, Daniel 3:29-33; 9:5

³⁹ Psalms 69:3

⁴⁰ Proverbs 1:28

What then is the preparation I have made? ⁴¹

What awaits my ruined soul

on the day of separation from this mortal frame?

What shall I say, and what justification can I make, ⁴²

What should I hope, if not for His patience,

The one who pardons and absolves? (10)

And with such things placed upon my mind,

my heart burned within me. ⁴³

The gates of my tears were opened, ⁴⁴

my roars poured forth like waters, ⁴⁵

I made great and grave mourning. ⁴⁶

My thoughts now fixed on the fate of my lost soul.

It shall answer to my maker!

Who had I been serving? Now again I spoke:

Where, where is Daniel, the man of delights! ⁴⁷

Where are your wisdoms!

Who shall give me to know and to find you?

I could go before your throne,

I would ask you and you would tell me;

with the river of your pleasantness you would slake my thirst.

You would show me the measure of my days and my end,

⁴¹ Joshua 1:11

⁴² Genesis 44:16

⁴³ Psalms 39:4

⁴⁴ Genesis 7:12

⁴⁵ Joshua 7:5

⁴⁶ Daniel 10:2

⁴⁷ Cecil Roth suggests that "Daniel" here refers to Daniel of Gubbio, a friend and patron of Immanuel's. Daniel had suddenly died soon after Immanuel had come to stay with him.

and you would show me the place of my final rest and my reposing.⁴⁸

(15) And while I was sinking in the mire-depths of grief,

my tears flowed in streams.⁴⁹ And in sorrow and groaning

I lay the night entire: when dread, dark and great fell upon me.⁵⁰

A vision appeared unto me,⁵¹

it was as though I was being swept away.⁵²

my mind was intercepted and returned like lightning flashes⁵³--

I raised my eyes and looked and beheld⁵⁴

a great and strong wind hovering and radiating,⁵⁵

splitting mountains and shattering the cliffs,⁵⁶

and following the rush of wind,⁵⁷ His voice rang within my ears,

water in channels streaming from my eyes,⁵⁸

and after, the rush of fire⁵⁹ and the whispering voice⁶⁰

and the seven-fold lamp, like the brightness of the sun.⁶¹

I beheld an old man, girdled and enrobed,⁶²

(20) passing before me, and he appeared

as the appearance of an angel of the LORD.⁶³

⁴⁸ Psalms 39:5

⁴⁹ Psalms 119:136

⁵⁰ Genesis 15:12

⁵¹ Numbers 12:6; vision Job 4:13-14, 33:15-18; also Alighieri *Inferno I:10-11*

⁵² Ezekiel 1:3

⁵³ Gen. 8:8-11.

⁵⁴ Ezekiel 1:14 &tc.

⁵⁵ Alighieri, *Inferno III:133*

⁵⁶ Elijah in the cave 2 Kings 19:11-13

⁵⁷ Exodus 19:16-19, also Alighieri, *Inferno III:130-131*

⁵⁸ Psalms 119:136

⁵⁹ see Alighieri *Inferno III:134*

⁶⁰ 1 Kings 19:12

⁶¹ Isaiah 30:26

⁶² 1 Samuel 28:14

⁶³ Job 33:23-24; 1 Kings 19:5-7; 2 Samuel 14:17

Seeing him, I was impelled,
and cast myself upon the ground,
without arising, and could not make a sound.⁶⁴

So when the man saw that I could not muster strength,
then he spoke to me: "What is with you?"⁶⁵

I don't recall asking you to lie down!
Get up, this is not the time to rest!⁶⁶

Today, I will bring forth respite for you!"
And the grief and anguish were then lifted,
and in his speaking with me I was emboldened⁶⁷
and I grasped the corners of his garment,
hugged⁶⁸ the dust at his feet, and kissed them⁶⁹

and then I spoke to him:

"By my life, my Lord! If I have found favor in your eyes,
I and your people⁷⁰, I pray thee tell me your name!"⁷¹

And he then said, (25) "I am Daniel, 'the man of pleasantness'
you have called upon and for whom your eyes are shedding tears!"⁷²

When you began your plea a command went out;

⁶⁴ Ezekiel 2:1-2; Daniel 8:18, 10: 9-10 also Alighieri, *Inferno III:135-138*, *Inferno V: 142*

⁶⁵ Alighieri, *Inferno II:121*

⁶⁶ Isaiah 28:12; Joshua 7:10

⁶⁷ Daniel 10:19

⁶⁸ Judges 7:5-7

⁶⁹ Isaiah 49:23

⁷⁰ Esther 5:8; 7:3

⁷¹ Judges 13:17-19; Genesis 32:30

⁷² "Daniel" here may refer to Dante, who was led on his voyage by Virgil. Cassuto suggests that it is a reference to Immanuel's brother. The guide may be the prophet Daniel himself. The debate is made more complicated when we consider the reference to a separate "Daniel" with whom Immanuel will be seated in paradise, made in the *Eden* section of the poem. I am of the opinion that following Dante's death, Immanuel wanted to remember him in the text of his poem, as Dante had Virgil.

to show you the awesome and perplexing;⁷³

Now I will show you wondrous things,

secrets you did not know!⁷⁴

Open your eyes and see!

understand in word, comprehend in observation,⁷⁵

For your sake I was sent,

now I have arrived!⁷⁶

For your enlightenment,

I have come to give you understanding!⁷⁷

Question deep or lofty I shall not forestall to answer!

And then I said to him,

"O, would that it were before you my lord

to show me the eternity that all are sentenced to,⁷⁸

the pit that has been set for the wicked since time before

and to make known to me the place of my descent **(30)**

beyond my death. Which is the house⁷⁹ they are building for me?

Which is my resting place? My dwelling?

As for my desire, it is to follow you!⁸⁰ And now he said,

"I shall do as you ask!" And the man then inquired of me

and said, "Where should it please us to begin? I answered saying,

⁷³ Daniel 9:23

⁷⁴ Numbers 12:7-8; also Jeremiah 33:3

⁷⁵ Daniel 9:23

⁷⁶ Ezekiel 40:4

⁷⁷ Daniel 9:22

⁷⁸ Alighieri *Inferno I:114*. The Aramaic influenced "Aroch" implies something measured, or laid out. Similar phenomenon exists in the phrase "he did a stretch of time in prison" in contemporary American English.

⁷⁹ Isaiah 66:1

⁸⁰ Songs 1:4; 1 Samuel 25:19; also Alighieri *Inferno I:136*

"The Inferno should come first so Eden shall come afterwards⁸¹"

CANTO II⁸²

THE INFERNO

Now it came to pass that the man said to me:

Grab the hem of my cloak and hold fast thereto;

So that even the wind shall not come between you and I, ⁸³

For the place we are going is a land parched,⁸⁴ black as pitch⁸⁵ and chaotic;⁸⁶

It is called by its name: The Valley of Corpses.⁸⁷

(35) So I held fast to the hem of his cloak, my mind filled with fear,

as we proceeded, we descended⁸⁸

And the way was a road unpaved, gloomy, precipitous⁸⁹ and black,

crooked paths that we did not see but for lightning and explosions,⁹⁰

And we heard nothing but the voice of the afflicted and pained⁹¹

as though giving birth the first time;⁹²

And I called that day the Day of Crossing⁹³

⁸¹ aka Gehenna, see Isaiah 30:33; Jeremiah 7:31-32, 19:6; 2 Kings 23:10.

⁸² In Yarden's Hebrew edition, what is past is prologue. Here begins the *Tophet* proper. I consider the prologue Canto I. A new episode begins and marks the beginning of the trip to Hell and the start of Canto II.

⁸³ Job 41:8

⁸⁴ Psalms 68:7

⁸⁵ Job 10:21-22, Jeremiah 13:16

⁸⁶ Jeremiah 2:6

⁸⁷ Psalms 84:7; *Inferno. IV:8*

⁸⁸ Particular thanks to S.E. for this magnificent phrase.

⁸⁹ *Inferno IV:10*

⁹⁰ *Inferno IV:9*

⁹¹ Micah 4:10, Isaiah 26:17, Psalms 48:7

⁹² Jeremiah 4:31

Now finally we had come to a decrepit bridge,
and under it a river surged—seeing it
one's heart rips and splits wide,
my soul grew sick to turn around,
And at the head of the bridge is a gate,
and there a blazing sword revolves⁹⁴.
And the man said to me
"This is called the (40) Falling Gate⁹⁵,
and all those banished from the world,
destined to camp in Hell,
this way lies before them.⁹⁶
We shall not move on from here,
not for an hour's time, or two!
We shall see of those cast out from the world to come
Many multitudes, all on the earth of but two "amoth,"⁹⁷
And how the Angels of Death drive them
on the scorched earth, black as pitch!
Then we shall inquire of their corruption,
you shall see their end!
Now you should not be astounded at their evils,
their bone breaking pains,

⁹³ This pun on the words for "Crossing" and "Wrath" is an example of Immanuel's wordplay. Indeed there are multiple levels to the play, for the words are similar in Hebrew and our protagonists are witnessing the "wrath of God" while "crossing over" into the netherworld. This line can be compared to Immanuel's *Machberot IV:1* and to *Inferno III:122-124*.

⁹⁴ Genesis 3:24, Deuteronomy 32:41, Ezekiel 21:20-21

⁹⁵ *Inferno III: 112-117*

⁹⁶ *Inferno III: 123*

⁹⁷ Numbers 11:31. This is a small amount of space.

they are a perverse generation,⁹⁸
they have no faithful sons among them,
for that, destruction awaits their hearts.
And while we were still sitting there,
(45) a frightful voice was sounding,
And lo, we heard a voice as that of one afflicted,
and how it terrified us! The voice of many saying:
"Our hope is abandoned, we are cut off, all of us!"⁹⁹
And as we drew nearer we saw a charge
of Evil- Angels passing through:
they were dragging away the corpses
by the hundreds and by the thousands.¹⁰⁰
In their passage over the gate-path
they were saying to each of them,
"Son of Man, who gorged on worldly songs,
Drank the cups of God and men¹⁰¹
and shunned the righteous edict!
Now you shall vomit what you have swallowed,¹⁰²
reap the fruits of your deeds that you have sown.¹⁰³
Here you find the reward for your actions!
Those who enter shall enter,
those who seek to leave shall never (50) leave!"¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Jeremiah 5:23, Deuteronomy 32:6

⁹⁹ Malachi 1:4

¹⁰⁰ 1 Chronicles 13:1

¹⁰¹ Isaiah 51:17, 22

¹⁰² Proverbs 23:6-8, Jeremiah 51:44

¹⁰³ Micah 6:15

¹⁰⁴ b. Shabbat 17a, compare with *Inferno* III: 9

Now those being dragged and dragged away
did cry out in a bitter voice,
they were groaning piercing groans,
in their knowing that they suckled
from the poisoned heads of vipers!¹⁰⁵

Now the man said to me:

Are you looking at this flock of the lost?
Those prepared as targets for infernal darts?
Return again and see up close
some of the damned,
like the stars of heaven in multitude!¹⁰⁶

And when we had crossed over the bridge,
we came to the depths of the earth,
now all who saw me said to me

"What breach have you brought upon yourself to breach thus?"¹⁰⁷

(55) And there we saw a great pyre, on charred earth,
its sparks were sparks from the flame of the fire of God,¹⁰⁸
and kindled by conflagrations and forests,
night and day it is not extinguished!¹⁰⁹

Then my guide said to me "that is the pyre
that like a torrent-river of brimstone¹¹⁰ consumes,
which is for the souls of deep rebellion and apostacy,
and if you would know the names of the wicked here and their brand;

¹⁰⁵ Job 20:16

¹⁰⁶ Deuteronomy 1:10, 10:22

¹⁰⁷ Genesis 38:29, Isaiah 30:13

¹⁰⁸ Songs 8:6

¹⁰⁹ Isaiah 34:10

¹¹⁰ Isaiah 30:33,

look closely at the names engraved on their foreheads.¹¹¹

CANTO III¹¹²

(59) And when I investigated along the pyre,

I saw and beheld there the men of Sodom and Gomorrah.¹¹³

And Esau who hath despised his

(60) birthright,¹¹⁴ and there I found Shimi Ben Gera,¹¹⁵

there Atalياهو, who destroyed all the royal seed,¹¹⁶

there Absalom ben Makha,¹¹⁷

there the Levite who stood in the house of Mikha.¹¹⁸

There Achazya who fell upon the lattice-work.¹¹⁹

There Sisera concealed beneath a mantle,¹²⁰

There Haman ben Hamdatha, oppressor of the Jews,¹²¹

and there Amalek, who had enjoined battle on the Israelites

in their places of resting.¹²²

There Yazanyah ben Shafan¹²³ and Yoav¹²⁴

¹¹¹ Exodus 28:38-39. This also refers to a midrashic tradition related to Ezekiel 3:7.

¹¹² At this point, Immanuel begins a catalog of personalities. If pressed to present the *Tophet* in a nutshell this section would make a good choice. Within this episodic framework it seems to stand well as a separate Canto. It is distinct and it presents the general theme of the whole poem. Also: *Purgatorio* IX:112.

¹¹³ Genesis 13:13

¹¹⁴ Genesis 25:31-36

¹¹⁵ 2 Samuel 16:5

¹¹⁶ 2 Kings 11:1

¹¹⁷ 2 Samuel 3:3, 16:22

¹¹⁸ Judges 17:9

¹¹⁹ 1 Kings 22:52, 2 Kings 1:2

¹²⁰ Judges 4:18

¹²¹ Esther 3:1. Haman is a descendant of Amalek.

¹²² Exodus 17:1, Numbers 33:14. Immanuel places Haman and Amalek together, in keeping with tradition, and displays a sophisticated form of amplification.

¹²³ Ezekiel 8:11

Yoyakim and the men of Cozevah and Yoash and Saraf
who were lords of Moab.¹²⁵

There Johanan ben Qareach¹²⁶

and Ya'azenyah ben Hoshayyah¹²⁷

and there Yishmael ben Netanya.¹²⁸

There (65) Pharoah Necho¹²⁹ and Pharoah Chefra¹³⁰

and there Gehazi the Leprous,¹³¹

There Balaam ben Beor,¹³² on account of Cozbi,¹³³
on account of Peor.¹³⁴

There Aveelech ben Yeruba'al.

There all the prophets that prophesied for Ba'al¹³⁵.

(66) Over there, Achitophel the Gilonite.¹³⁶

There Sheva ben Bichri,¹³⁷ the man on the right,

Zimri ben Salooh,¹³⁸ prince of the house

of the father of Lashmon.

There Sanvalat the Horonite

and Tovia the servant and Amonite,¹³⁹

¹²⁴ 1 Kings 2:5; 2 Samuel 3:27, 8:10

¹²⁵ 1 Chronicles 4:22

¹²⁶ 2 Kings 25:23, Jeremiah 40:8

¹²⁷ Jeremiah 42:1

¹²⁸ 2 Kings 25:23, Jeremiah 41:1

¹²⁹ 2 Kings 23:29; 2 Chronicles 33:23-24; Jeremiah 46:1

¹³⁰ Jeremiah 44:30

¹³¹ 2 Kings 5:27

¹³² Numbers 22:5-41, 23:1-30, 31:8; Micha 6:5; Jose 13:22

¹³³ Numbers 25:7

¹³⁴ Numbers 25:18

¹³⁵ Jeremiah 23:13

¹³⁶ 2 Samuel 15:12, 16:15

¹³⁷ 2 Samuel 22:1

¹³⁸ Numbers 25:14

¹³⁹ Nehemiah 2:10, 3:33-35

There Geshem the Arvvi¹⁴⁰ and Naval the Carmelite,¹⁴¹

Hophni and Pinchas the sons of Eli,¹⁴²

given to sewage,¹⁴³

paying for lying with women of station¹⁴⁴,

(70)There Ahav ben Kolayyah and Zadkiyahu ben Maaseyah

from whom we learn the meaning of "Curse"

darkness was close upon them.¹⁴⁵

There Doeg the Edomite,

the earth forget the memory of evil ones,¹⁴⁶

who attacked eighty priests, mantled with linen!¹⁴⁷

There is Cain, who slew Abel,¹⁴⁸

there Ahav and Jezebel.¹⁴⁹

There Zedkiyah ben Chnaanah,¹⁵⁰

there Rekhev and Vaanah,

answering for their killing of Esh-Bosheth.¹⁵¹

There Zeevah the servant of Saul, who spied on Mephibosheth.¹⁵²

There Ham, who looked upon the nakedness of his father,

went with his urges,

told his two brothers outside.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁰ Nehemiah 2:19

¹⁴¹ 1 Samuel 25:3-5; 2 Samuel 2:2-3

¹⁴² 1 Samuel 1:3

¹⁴³ 2 Kings 10:27

¹⁴⁴ 1 Samuel 2:22

¹⁴⁵ Jeremiah 29:21

¹⁴⁶ Psalms 34:17

¹⁴⁷ 1 Samuel 22:9, 18

¹⁴⁸ Genesis 4:8

¹⁴⁹ 1 Kings 16:30-33; 20:1; 21:17

¹⁵⁰ 1 Kings 22:11, 24; 2 Chronicles 18:10

¹⁵¹ 2 Samuel 4:1; 1 Chronicles 8:33 (pun: "Killing of a man! Shame!")

¹⁵² 2 Samuel 4:4; 9:2; 16:1; 19:28

There the daughters of Lot, they took seed from their father.¹⁵⁴

(75) There Pashur ben Imer the Priest,¹⁵⁵

there Sihon the king of the Amorites,¹⁵⁶

the sons of Seir the Horite,¹⁵⁷ there Og, the king of Bashan!¹⁵⁸

Let his smoke rise like the smoke of a furnace!¹⁵⁹

There N'vuzaradan, master of slaughter,¹⁶⁰

and lo! Senacharib¹⁶¹ and Nevuchad-Nezer,

who destroyed the house of the LORD.¹⁶²

There Berah, king of Sodom and Birsha,¹⁶³

There Kushan Rishatayyim¹⁶⁴ and there, Meishah!¹⁶⁵

There! Titus the wicked!¹⁶⁶

There Ahiman, Sheshei and Talmi, sons of the Anak!¹⁶⁷

And there is Antiochus--may he nurse from the viper's head!¹⁶⁸

There was R'huum, lord of decrees and Shimshei the Scribe.¹⁶⁹

There is Shlomit, the cursed daughter of Divri!¹⁷⁰

There Uziyah, king of Judah, (80) with his leprous forehead!¹⁷¹

¹⁵³ Genesis 9:22

¹⁵⁴ Genesis 19:36-38

¹⁵⁵ Jeremiah 20:1

¹⁵⁶ Numbers 32:23; Deuteronomy 22:24

¹⁵⁷ Genesis 36:20; 1 Chronicles 1:38

¹⁵⁸ Deuteronomy 3:1; Psalms 135:11; 136:20

¹⁵⁹ Genesis 19:28; Exodus 19:18

¹⁶⁰ or "Chief Executioner" 2 Kings 25:8; Jeremiah 39:9; 52:12

¹⁶¹ 2 Chronicles 32:1; 2 Kings 18:13; 19:1-37

¹⁶² 2 Kings 24:1; 25:1; Jeremiah 52:1

¹⁶³ Genesis 14:2

¹⁶⁴ Judges 3:8

¹⁶⁵ 2 Kings 3:4

¹⁶⁶ Titus was responsible for the destruction of the second Temple in 70 c.e.

¹⁶⁷ Joshua 15:14; Judges 1:10; Numbers 13:23

¹⁶⁸ Daniel 7:8; 11:36

¹⁶⁹ Ezra 4:8-9; 17; 23

¹⁷⁰ Leviticus 24:11

and there Hiyel house of Haeli, who built Jericho,¹⁷²
there Yeroboam ben Nevat, damned for his golden calves
and for the new thing which he devised on his own.¹⁷³
There, thousands of the priests of high places,
there the wicked wives without number¹⁷⁴
and, at their head, the wife of Potiphar.¹⁷⁵
There is Amon,¹⁷⁶ who is a heretic
since he despised the word of God
and ignored His commandments.
There is Yehoakeem,¹⁷⁷ who profited in sin,
there Amonon and Yonadav ben Shimah his associate.¹⁷⁸
There is Peninah who so enraged Hannah,¹⁷⁹
and there is S'chem ben Hamor, who tormented Dinah.¹⁸⁰
There is Yehoash, in the blood of Zechariyah¹⁸¹
yonder Ahaz ben Yotam (85) ben Uziyah.¹⁸²

There is Baasha ben Ahiyah,¹⁸³
and there Azariyah ben Amaziah.¹⁸⁴

And there Yehoyakim,¹⁸⁵ he extorts and oppresses,

¹⁷¹ 2 Chronicles 26:16-23; Leviticus 13:30

¹⁷² Joshua 6:26; 1 Kings 16:34

¹⁷³ 1 Kings 11:26; 12:28-33; 14:16; 15:30

¹⁷⁴ Battistoni gives '*donne perverse*' pg. 15

¹⁷⁵ Genesis 39:6-20

¹⁷⁶ 2 Kings 21:19-26; 2 Chronicles 33:21-25

¹⁷⁷ 2 Chronicles 36:5-8; 2 Kings 23:34-35

¹⁷⁸ 2 Samuel 13:3

¹⁷⁹ 1 Samuel 1:2-8

¹⁸⁰ Genesis 34:1-3

¹⁸¹ 2 Chronicles 24:19-22

¹⁸² 2 Chronicle 27:2-9; 28:1

¹⁸³ 1 Kings 15:33-34; 16:1-6

¹⁸⁴ 2 Kings 15:1

¹⁸⁵ 2 Kings 24: 6, 13

and Zimri who ruled in Tirzah,¹⁸⁶

There was the foolish Merodech¹⁸⁷ the seducer,

There Belshazzar, grasping frantically

at the burning coals upon his head,¹⁸⁸

for he had brought out the vessels

of the house of the LORD.

He a drunk; the rule of his land: his wives.

The kingdom's nobility: his consorts and concubines!

There Canaan¹⁸⁹ the cursed,

his sins are stored up, his iniquities bound.

They will grind him with a mortar and he'll stew in a pot.¹⁹⁰

There those murderous enemies of Judah and Benjamin,

that protested and opposed (90) the builders.¹⁹¹

There Aristotle, shamed and mute—

He believed in the pre-existence of the world.

There! Galen, the first of the healers,

because things he said did not agree

with the teaching of Moses, the lord of the prophets.¹⁹²

There sits Avunazar,¹⁹³ his day cut down,

For he unites the human intellect

with the individual intellect,

¹⁸⁶ 2 Kings 16:8

¹⁸⁷ 2 Kings 25:27; Jeremiah 52:31

¹⁸⁸ Jeremiah 23:19; 1 Samuel 25:39; Psalms 7:17

¹⁸⁹ 1 Kings 22:11,24-25; 2 Chronicles 18:10

¹⁹⁰ Numbers 11:8; Isaiah 63:3

¹⁹¹ Ezra 4:1; Nehemiah 3:36-38

¹⁹² This is almost certainly meant satirically. Immanuel was educated in and appreciative of classical thought and the healing arts.

¹⁹³ a.k.a Al Farabi

An old crone's ramblings !
He believed in the transmigration too
Of lost souls, those cut off from among their people:
he said that others might take their place.
There is Plato, chief of the philosophers
for he said, to the heretic and unbeliever,
reality exists (95) outside the mind!
He thought his words were words of prophecy!
There is Hippocrates, for he sought profit from his learning
and he hid his books of medicine!
There Ibn Sina,¹⁹⁴ brought to mockery,
for saying that people might have been born
of something less human a long time ago,
and the mountains were formed through natural means.
If he would just remain silent!
He was carried away believing in
the pre-existence of the world!
And there are people without number,
dead in times both near and remote,
the young and old, who cannot be counted for their multitude.

¹⁹⁴ Ibn Sina (d. 1037) was a major figure in medieval Islamic thought. He was neoplatonic in outlook and influenced, among others, Al Farabi.

CANTO IV¹⁹⁵

(100) And when we had gone from that place
we looked and beheld a boiling cauldron,
suspended by cords,¹⁹⁶ and within it were copper
and iron, tin and lead,¹⁹⁷ and a voice was saying,
"Place the cauldron, place it upon the burning coals, prepare the wild beasts!"¹⁹⁸
For here was an army, of adulterous women, ensnared by their perversity.¹⁹⁹
They do not want eternal life, they shall be put to shame!
The voice still spoke, they passed by like a Negev sandstorm.²⁰⁰
They were cowering, disgraced and devastated,
crying out like doves of the valley,²⁰¹
tears on their cheeks. Their warbling is akin
to the voice of the (105) dove,²⁰²
they beat upon their breasts.²⁰³ Behold!
Flights of Evil Angels threw 'em²⁰⁴ in the boiling cauldron!

¹⁹⁵ As the poem moves to a new location it is a change of scene, and a new episode or "canto" begins. The previous canto, a catalog of the damned, ends with a series of scientific or philosophical figures guilty of apostasy. There is a change of category here as well, and this new theme is adultery.

¹⁹⁶ Jeremiah 1:13

¹⁹⁷ Ezekiel 22:18-22

¹⁹⁸ Ezekiel 24: 1, 3-5

¹⁹⁹ The women remain anonymous and are identified only by the class they represent.

This stands in sharp contrast to Dante's treatment of the lustful in *Inferno* V: 61-62.

There, Virgil identifies and describe some female members of a group of "carnal sinners".

Immanuel does not describe individual members of his "army of women."

²⁰⁰ Isaiah 21:1

²⁰¹ Job 39:13-15

²⁰² Ezekiel 7:16; Isaiah 59:11

²⁰³ Nahum 2:8

²⁰⁴ The Hebrew text here has a masculine pronoun. The women are treated grammatically as masculine.

Those in the cauldron, they simmered like meat which is stewed,²⁰⁵

and a terrible voice screamed out above them:

"You did not want the honey of heaven on high,
so take for yourselves from the well of destruction!"

Snare, Terror and the Pit!²⁰⁶ Eat and be sated
from the honey of the lowest reaches of Hell!²⁰⁷

CANTO V²⁰⁸

We traveled on from there, and came to a deep chasm.

Chaos, confusion and calamity!²⁰⁹

One hears within it only the voice of weeping
and the (110) sound of screaming.

Within it were lions and leopards,
scorpions of every color.

My guide said to me, "This is called The Waste Land"²¹⁰
and by another name: "The Under-Hell."

This was the place of men who played dice,²¹¹
who said, "God will not see!"²¹²

²⁰⁵ Micah 3:3

²⁰⁶ Jeremiah 48:43-44; Psalms 9:16-17

²⁰⁷ Proverbs 1:31

²⁰⁸ A new scene begins, and a new level of Hell is reached.

²⁰⁹ Nahum 2:11

²¹⁰ or "The Land of Oblivion"

²¹¹ Here is an example of what I refer to as Immanuel's spiritual maturity. HaRomi lost his fortune at the hands of gamblers. Given an opportunity to publicly shame those that harmed him he condemns their type instead. This might reflect HaRomi's positive view of communal salvation (damnation in reverse) over individual salvation. Such an attitude would be consistent with normative Jewish philosophy. Dante, coming from a place of personal salvation, focuses strongly on the personal in Hell.

²¹² Jeremiah 12:4; Ezekiel 8:12

How their blood is steeped in fantasy!
Therefore the hand of God is sore upon them,
upon their souls, their bodies!
They turn to cry to Heaven
for sake of their gaming,
curse God in their mouths and in their hearts,
as though their vessels sat empty.
Therefore their actions shall be measured
and returned to their bosom, without pity,
on the Day of Vengeance.²¹³

CANTO VI²¹⁴

(115)And when we had gone from that place,
and arrived at another found in the Inferno:
I saw a man, of the mighty on Earth, breached by sufferings²¹⁵
and his skin was rolled back upon itself.
His face was ruined.²¹⁶ Burning in fire,
Flame ate at him yet he was not consumed.²¹⁷
He recognized me and I recognized him!
In days past, he had loved me and I him²¹⁸

²¹³ Proverbs 16:33

²¹⁴ Another new location in the Inferno signals a new episode. What follows is the first personal encounter Immanuel has with someone he knew on Earth. Here a particular if anonymous soul relates his story. This storytelling is not unlike what Dante's, or Chaucer's, characters do.

²¹⁵ Psalms 102:4; *Purgatorio* XXIII: 24

²¹⁶ *Purgatorio* XXIII: 43

²¹⁷ Exodus 3:2

when he saw me going about, walking and observing,
a deep sigh spilled from his body, and he said to me,
"What are you doing here, and for whom have you here come?"²¹⁹
Is it possible that you have fallen, as the sons of the wicked fall?
You too, are sick like us? Have you become like we are?"²²⁰
And then the man who held my right arm said²²¹, "
Behold (120) we swear by my great might that this man,
who I protect as the apple of my eye,²²²
is not like one of you!
Even when he runs, he will not stumble!"²²³

So I questioned this man, who was burning in the fire of the Inferno,
and I said to him, "Tell me please, you in pain and who suffers,
what matter brought you to this station?
You were chief among the sons of your generation, the jeweled crown!
And now, how is it you are far from salvation and peace?"
And the man answered from the storm,
from the burning fire, in a bitter voice,
and he raised his voice and cried: "Woe me!
The bitterness, the one in anguish and in distress!
My soul mourns for me, and (125) my flesh pains me!"²²⁴
How very foolish I was, when I built a home

²¹⁸ *Purgatorio* XXIII: 116

²¹⁹ Judges 18:3; *Purgatorio* XXIII :52-54

²²⁰ Isaiah 14:10

²²¹ Psalms 63:9; *Inferno* III:19

²²² Isaiah 42:6-7; Deuteronomy 32:10; Psalms 17:8; Proverbs 7:2

²²³ Proverbs 3:23; Hosea 14:10

²²⁴ Job 30:30

and palace²²⁵ in a place I can not dwell upon!
If only I could have built it in Heaven,
founded it upon the highest mountains!
Cursed am I, for I was a worthless shepherd,²²⁶
leaving my followers to others,²²⁷
I glorified my own deeds, and never did I say
Where is my LORD, my God, my Maker?²²⁸
I made for myself gardens and orchards,²²⁹
and gathered for myself much silver and gold,
wealth, properties,²³⁰ plump swans
and the finest of trinkets. Yet I forgot
to protect the dispossessed,²³¹ refused to give bread **(130)** to the poor.²³²
Oh, to how many vain and unscrupulous
men did I show loving-kindness, and have them feast at my table?
Instead of engaging in the study of testimony and laws,²³³
I ate of the fat and drank of the sweet. For in exchange of good deeds,
mine was the sweet fruit, strong wine and bright wool.
As for Torah and Witnessing, I said that these things held no light.²³⁴
I said to myself, "I'm going up to Heaven,"²³⁵ yet I have fallen wondrously!²³⁶

²²⁵ Ecclesiastes 2:4

²²⁶ Zachariah 11:15-17

²²⁷ Psalms 49:12; Ezekiel 34:2

²²⁸ Micha 7:10; Jeremiah 2:8

²²⁹ Ecclesiastes 2:5; Isaiah 1:29

²³⁰ Ecclesiastes 2:8

²³¹ Genesis 15:1

²³² Job 22:7

²³³ Genesis 26:5; Deuteronomy 4:5-6; Jeremiah 44:10

²³⁴ Isaiah 8:20

²³⁵ Jeremiah 46:8

²³⁶ Isaiah 14:13-15; Job 28:18; 30:26

Time has ensnared me,²³⁷ and I was trapped,²³⁸
like the weaver of webs. I entangled my life,²³⁹
and prepared my bed in darkness,
and now mourn the depth of my fall
beneath the One I did not serve.
(135) If I am to perish, I shall perish!²⁴⁰
I deserted my possession,
nothing remains to show for my labors.²⁴¹
What profit have I gained? I have worked for emptiness!²⁴²
As I have bereft, I am bereaved!
Who drove me to acquire things, domestic
and foreign, compulsively gather property?
I had neither son nor daughter, nor inheritor nor heir,
no relative that I would wish for his benefit.²⁴³
I left it all to the one who will lie with my wife,
upon my very platform bed he shall mount and ride!
How did I not give of my wealth: to wed the widowed²⁴⁴
and grieving women;²⁴⁵ to quench with fine oil the souls

²³⁷ Ezekiel 11:3; Micah 7:11

²³⁸ Job 29:18; 30:26

²³⁹ Isaiah 38:12

²⁴⁰ Esther 4:16

²⁴¹ Ecclesiastes 2:10; Habakkuk 2:9-13

²⁴² Isaiah 26:18; Proverbs 30:4; Ecclesiastes 5:15

²⁴³ Ecclesiastes 4:8

²⁴⁴ Immanuel is displaying a strong social conscience here. The wealthy man here laments that he did not help widowed women by providing a dowry for them and helping secure them new spouses. This would have been a real concern in Immanuel's day and there were many young widows left to fend for themselves when their husbands died. Immanuel, while irreverent, was a committed and faithful mosaic and maimonidean Jew. Such an approach to charity is highly regarded by these schools of thought.

²⁴⁵ Isaiah 1:23

of the orphan and waif?²⁴⁶ What was I thinking,
to secure myself with a fortress in the (140) mortal world²⁴⁷
and build in Heaven neither house nor courtyard?
How I have learned that "The task is great and the day is short!"²⁴⁸
Therefore I now reap what I have sown,
Behold, in the hands of my oppressors,
I am as clay in the hand of the fashioner,²⁴⁹
In a narrow place where there is no way to turn to the right or left.
And because I had no compassion for the poor yesterday,
no man today has compassion for me.²⁵⁰
I had no grandchild among my people or great grandson:
what cause had I, not to bring joy to the heart of the widow?
For all that I spent on my windows,
I could have wed how many widows?²⁵¹
Woe is mine! A heart of vanity turned me away,
a cloak (145) of pride has covered me.
I sought to build a temple like the mighty,
with strong clear windows to gaze out of,
to fill it with much treasure,
to show its beauty to ministers and gentry.
I thought my works would make me greatest
of the sons of my people,²⁵² for I said,

²⁴⁶ Job 22:9

²⁴⁷ Psalms 49:17-18

²⁴⁸ Avot 2:20

²⁴⁹ Jeremiah 18:6; Lamentations 4:2

²⁵⁰ Judges 1:7

²⁵¹ The reiteration of this concern leads one to suspect that Immanuel knew of a wealthy man who would not help a young widow. This episode may well be based on a real person, but he remains anonymous, reflecting certain sensitivity in Immanuel.

"I have no son, so now, in the future,
my name will be remembered!"

Now, I thought my wife would dip
into the *Mikveh* waters for my sake.²⁵³

She has immersed therein before another,
to my embarrassment and shame!

I planted a vineyard but I shall not glean it.²⁵⁴

I have seen it all and had no foresight.

I established a sanctuary and did not dedicate it.²⁵⁵

I had olives in all my groves but I did not **(150)** press oil.²⁵⁶

Those that watched while I built the palace said,

"How fortunate!" They did not know that I would leave it
to one who shall come after me.²⁵⁷

I did not lodge there even temporarily.

I began its construction and another has completed it.²⁵⁸

I did not know that my name would be
cut off from among my brothers, and from its place at the gate!²⁵⁹

And what is the purpose for my building such a grand house of furnished floors,
and gilded the bolts with silver and gold,²⁶⁰

and I filled my house and treasury with flowers,

the bounty of the sunlight and the produce of the moon's glow.²⁶¹

²⁵² 1 Kings 6:4

²⁵³ Psalms 69:8

²⁵⁴ Deuteronomy 6:11-12; 20:5-7; 28:30; Micah 6:15; Zephaniah 1:13

²⁵⁵ Amos 9:14

²⁵⁶ Deuteronomy 28:39-40

²⁵⁷ Ecclesiastes 2:18; Isaiah 65:21

²⁵⁸ Amos 5:11

²⁵⁹ Ruth 4:10; Proverbs 10:7; 12:7

²⁶⁰ 2 Chronicles 3:7

I have not father nor brothers, no sons nor daughters.

I bore no gifts or sweets for (155) the orphan or widow,
for the abandoned wives, the anguished and oppressed,
those convulsed with hunger at the end of every thoroughfare.²⁶²

Now, two years after my death,
these wicked things revisited me.

two men affrighted me,
and brought me up --out of my grave,²⁶³
and bore me on the wings of eagles,²⁶⁴
and brought me to the city of Ancona,²⁶⁵
to the midst of my palace!

Now to myself I thought,
"Perhaps this is the end of days arrived,
God has forgiven the sins of the multitude
and will strike the evildoers!"²⁶⁶

Maybe from this day forward I shall be comforted!"²⁶⁷

(160) Now I was dwelling on this thought and that,
when they said to me, "Listen! It is not as you think,
you wicked man, for you are seated upon scorpions!

From evil unto evil you are going,

More bitter than death is what you shall find!"²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ Deuteronomy 33:14

²⁶² Lamentations 2:19

²⁶³ Ezekiel 37:12-14; Numbers 35:30; Deuteronomy 17:6; 19:15; 1 Kings 21:10

²⁶⁴ Exodus 19:4; Proverbs 23:4-5

²⁶⁵ Immanuel represented the community of Ancona in their ill-fated appeal to the Jewish leadership in Rome for tax relief.

²⁶⁶ Exodus 34:7; Numbers 14:18; Ecclesiastes 5:6

²⁶⁷ Psalms 88:11

²⁶⁸ Ecclesiastes 5:6

And when I heard that, the light before me went dark.
I gave my hand to them and I was drawn behind them,
so we came to the house of immersion.
There they showed me my wife, and her new husband.
I saw her removing her embroidered clothes,²⁶⁹
her new husband stood before her,
in the very pool of waters I had
constructed for attendant-women!²⁷⁰
And while I watched, she dipped therein²⁷¹
(165) and my eyes began to weep.
I suffered from pains and sorrows
the mouth cannot bear to speak of,
nor the ear receive. There they said to me,
"What is the matter with you, man of wickedness?
If you run with footmen and are fatigued,
how shall you contend with the cavalry?²⁷²
If watching your wife immerse, you stand shaken,
you will go crazy seeing this next sight!"
And they brought me to the bedchamber.
While my eyes swept back and forth,
I saw there a freshly made bed.
My wife, with her new husband, lay thereupon,
plump and voluptuous,²⁷³

²⁶⁹ Ezekiel 16:10, 15-16

²⁷⁰ 1 Samuel 2:22

²⁷¹ 1 Kings 22:38

²⁷² Jeremiah 12:5

²⁷³ Deuteronomy 32:14

his left hand lay beneath (170) her head while his right embraced her.²⁷⁴

And a voice called out: "You shall engage a woman,
and another man will lie with her;"²⁷⁵

It was as though fire from on high was sent
into my bones, and it was melting them.

And afterward they brought me here,
bewildered and astounded, as my lord sees,
now my soul pours out before me,

I cannot turn to side or side.²⁷⁶

My sin and my guilt have made a snare for my steps,²⁷⁷
brought rot into my bones.²⁷⁸

Now at noon my skies blacken,²⁷⁹
and what was gathered by my fathers
and the fathers of my fathers
I abandoned in half my days.²⁸⁰

Naked from my mother's womb I emerged,
and naked I returned, to leave as I arrived.²⁸¹

(175) Nothing at all have I gained from my labors,
save for the tattered rags that fell to my lot.²⁸²

My estate has been turned to strangers, my houses to aliens.²⁸³

²⁷⁴ Songs 2:6; 8:3

²⁷⁵ Deuteronomy 28:30

²⁷⁶ Ezekiel 4:8

²⁷⁷ Psalms 140:6; Proverbs 5:22; Lamentations 1:13

²⁷⁸ Proverbs 12:4; 14:30

²⁷⁹ Jeremiah 4:28; 15:9; Amos 8:9

²⁸⁰ Psalms 102:25; Jeremiah 17:11

²⁸¹ Battistoni cites Ibn Gabirol, *La Corona Regal*; Job 1:21; 27:19

²⁸² Psalms 49:14

²⁸³ Lamentations 5:2

What good has it done me to build a summer home
and a winter house,²⁸⁴ when all have turned their back to me?
In place of the bath and baking oven,²⁸⁵ I see a river of fire.
Instead of the wine cup wrought in the form of a tulip²⁸⁶
I see tongues of fire and oven smoke.²⁸⁷
And my fists are full of toil and the blackening soot of the forge.²⁸⁸
And instead of the birds that were around me,
I see a great and fearful darkness falling upon me.²⁸⁹
And where I had drunk the sweet drinks and ate the delicacies
and before me appeared regal men,²⁹⁰ I stumble at (180)
noontime as though in darkness, and like the dead among the vigorous.²⁹¹
And in the place of plump swans, I am seen as sheep at pasture.²⁹²
Sorrow yet does cover me as waters cover the ocean,
and to replace a freshly made bed, I make the howl of jackals,²⁹³
and mourn like the Ostrich-whelp.²⁹⁴ In the evening,
I shall lie down crying, and face the morning wailing.
And instead of horns of ivory and bone,²⁹⁵ and gold and many pearls,
and drinking from golden vessels and taking service from service
of many kinds; rings, nose-rings, sublime treasures, fields and vineyards-

²⁸⁴ Amos 3:15

²⁸⁵ Jeremiah 36:22

²⁸⁶ 1 Kings 7:26

²⁸⁷ Genesis 19:28

²⁸⁸ Exodus 9:8-10; Ecclesiastes 4:6; Numbers 19:17; Malachi 3:19

²⁸⁹ Genesis 15:12

²⁹⁰ Psalms 68:32

²⁹¹ Deuteronomy 28:29; Isaiah 59: 9-10

²⁹² Jeremiah 2:16

²⁹³ Micah 1:8

²⁹⁴ Inverse of Isaiah 65:19

²⁹⁵ Ezekiel 27:15

I will but see a dunghill, thunder, lightning and angry visages.

In the place of royal balconies, sackcloth and (185) ashes will I take.²⁹⁶

In place of parapets and terraces, my name is cut off from among its nation.²⁹⁷

In place of a majestic porch, I shall sit in shame

and be humiliated,²⁹⁸ mine is eternal disgrace!

In place of siege-walls, towers built for arms,²⁹⁹

birds and animals of every kind,

there is for me the depths of a pit,³⁰⁰

desolations and loftiness!³⁰¹

And in place of the choice flour and wheat,³⁰²

dolphin skins and cedar wood, I am bound to planks.

My soul I lay down with lions, ravenous in flame!

I see nothing but the sacrificed and slaughtered:

those brought to death, and shaking before the sword.³⁰³

Instead of dwelling in my house—

crushed by scorners and evil men!

(190) And all mouths utter profane gibberish!³⁰⁴

Here is the fire, the wood, I am the sheep for sacrifice!³⁰⁵

The dew of my youth from the womb had been clear,³⁰⁶

now my skin is black as the dark before dawn.

²⁹⁶ Esther 4:3

²⁹⁷ Ruth 4:10

²⁹⁸ Isaiah 44:9

²⁹⁹ Songs 4:4

³⁰⁰ Proverbs 23:27

³⁰¹ Lamentations 3:47

³⁰² Deuteronomy 32:14

³⁰³ Psalms 44:23; Jeremiah 12:3

³⁰⁴ Proverbs 2:12

³⁰⁵ Genesis 22:7

³⁰⁶ Psalms 110:3

The fire is eating both ends of me.
My innards are burning,³⁰⁷
and it shall be this way tomorrow.³⁰⁸
Who can relieve the happenings
on those overlooked days of my life,
that I might not be brought to this punishment!

Go, and speak to those who yet live;³⁰⁹
of what happens to the dead, and their distress,
so they might understand their end!

CANTO VII

From there we traveled and beheld a gathering of blind persons,³¹⁰
of them I recognized one hundred or so and twenty,
people who (195) were wise and eminent,
renowned in their tribes; Captains of Israel's thousands, they.
Then he who held my right hand spoke to me:
By your life, my eye's delight—these people are weary from missteps,
for they had eyes for seeing but did not see!³¹¹
They knew the merits of wisdom and it's value
and did not see light in her illumination!³¹²

³⁰⁷ Job 20:26

³⁰⁸ Job 30:30

³⁰⁹ This line provides urgency for Immanuel's message of repentance, and he becomes a messenger of eschatological proportions.

³¹⁰ Ecclesiastes 2:13-14; Isaiah 59:10

³¹¹ Isaiah 42:18-20; Ezekiel 12:2

³¹² Isaiah 60:1; Psalms 36:10

They used their wisdom for notoriety
and they were famous upon the earth.³¹³

They shamed the pleasant: wisdom-learning;

Now, at noontime they shall feel their way like the owl,³¹⁴
staggering as though they had no eyes!³¹⁵

And the notoriety that stuck to them, loving them?

It has gone, outside the camp.

(200) And so it is that their delights evaporate like water,
those that lay with their wives on ivory beds?

These things have abandoned them,
they are cursed to be made the target of arrows.

This day they are devoid of every empty pleasure,
they are wasted by their wasting,³¹⁶
in their sin they now decay.³¹⁷

CANTO VIII

From there we traveled, and beheld a man,
aged and imposing to my gaze.

They had set him for a target,
and upon his head a crown of thorns and nestles.

They had placed human shit in his nose for scent,³¹⁸
they chastised him with whips and scorpions.³¹⁹

³¹³ Psalms 49:12

³¹⁴ Job 5:14

³¹⁵ Isaiah 42:16

³¹⁶ Jeremiah 48:12

³¹⁷ Isaiah 34:3

³¹⁸ Genesis 2:7

And many (205) had beset him,
they spilled his bile upon the earth³²⁰
and a vicious serpent bites off his prick!
To the heights of a tall tower they bring him up,
from there they cast him down upon the rock-face.
Once they burned him in strange fire.³²¹
Once the night wolves tore him apart.³²²
Once a bronze bow pierced him,
once rivers of pitch and sulfur swept him away.
Once a torrent of evildoers overcome him,
once they strike him against the horns of wild oxen,³²³
They break his neck as though he were the first-born of a donkey.³²⁴
From light to darkness they push him,
Once they sling him, like a stone, from a sling.³²⁵
And they say to him: "You loved all evil words!
Happy they who (210) grasp you and cast you upon the rock!"³²⁶
They strike him with a battering ram and give him no respite.
All day long, through the night, they shall never cease.
They will forever devote each day to renewing his sufferings.
And in my witnessing these terrible afflictions,
I was shocked by the sound, stunned from the sight,³²⁷ and I spoke:

³¹⁹ 1 Kings 12:11, 14

³²⁰ Job 16:13

³²¹ Leviticus 10:1-2; Numbers 3:4

³²² Zephaniah 3:3; Ezekiel 22:27

³²³ Psalms 22:22; Deuteronomy 33:17

³²⁴ Exodus 34:20

³²⁵ 1 Samuel 25:29

³²⁶ Psalms 137:9

³²⁷ Isaiah 21:3

“Who is this man that this great distress has befallen him?”

Then my guide spoke:

“Is it possible that you do not know who this one is?”

And I said, “No, my lord!” and he said to me,

“This is that rebellious, scornful and deceptive man,
in the past his name was called ‘Master.’

No wicked one has been seen (215) to rival him
since the days of The Destruction.

He did not study for the sake of knowledge.

He, Amon, incurred much guilt.³²⁸

He had no fill of fornication,

drew near to fornicate with every beast!³²⁹

Therefore wickedness has caught up with him.

This is the man who with wine forfeited his reward,
with his abominations twisted the Law of Moses.

And to do evil in the eyes of his Lord, this man has committed himself.³³⁰

He profaned the sacred of God, which is loved,
husbanded the daughter of a foreign god.³³¹

He erred with alien things and he embraced the arms of a stranger.

He did not leave alone the foreign maidservant, or the Ammonite,
Moabite,³³² Jewish, Christian, or Egyptian handmaiden!

He hid from criticism and broke the covenant!³³³

(220) Therefore his end shall be: his soul cut off

³²⁸ 2 Chronicles 33:23

³²⁹ Exodus 22:18; *Inferno* I:100

³³⁰ 1 Kings 21:20

³³¹ Malachai 2:11

³³² 1 Kings 11:1

³³³ Malachai 2:14; Deuteronomy 29:12, 24; Psalms 78:10; Hosea 6:7

from those who fear and tremble. And also,
without knowing, he did not leave alone the menstruant,³³⁴
the post-partem, the diseased or the leprous.³³⁵
Also, the she-ass going out enburdened,³³⁶
The mouth of the pig, the "mouth" of the anus,
the lowly servant, the indentured maid,³³⁷
the fool, the madwoman, the wicked Atalyahu,³³⁸
the whore that craves it in her mouth,
the lame and the limping, the pregnant one
squatting to give birth, every woman who has known a man
who lies with males, from Jahaz, Kedemoth and Mephaath,³³⁹
was not successfully inseminated by them and
are known throughout the land.
Therefore, it is not to wonder
if he should drink (225) the dregs from the cup of reeling.³⁴⁰
He was acquainted with his Maker
and intentionally rebelled against him.
He sinned and caused ten thousand others to sin,
the sins of the many are hung upon him.
His face is covered with his own cream,³⁴¹
he is Antiochus in his actions and Haman in his thoughts;
He is Jeroboam with his golden calves, Menashe³⁴² with his sword.

³³⁴ Leviticus 15:32; 18:19

³³⁵ Leviticus 14:34

³³⁶ Leviticus 18:23

³³⁷ Exodus 21:6; Deuteronomy 15:17

³³⁸ 2 Chronicles 24:7; 2 Kings 8:26

³³⁹ Joshua 13:18

³⁴⁰ Ezekiel 23:32-34

³⁴¹ Job 15:27

He profaned The Name these days and years,
his wickedness and blasphemies, recent and remote,
are recorded in The Book. Go and tell this fool
who is tempted, how Hell has been prepared since yesterday.
He will drink from the wrath of the Almighty,
not be comforted nor shown mercy,
like the cities that the LORD overturned without pity.³⁴³
For he denied God on high (230) and he brought forth
those who think evil of the Lord. He gives false counsel
and he shall know the likes of hail
and flame itself consumed by fire,³⁴⁴ snare, terror and pit!³⁴⁵
And should any come to advocate as witness for him saying,
“Redeem him from descent into the pit!”³⁴⁶
Their fruit shall be cut off from above, their roots from below.
He shall answer for his impudent soul’s persistent revolt!³⁴⁷

³⁴² 2 Chronicles 33:1; 2 Kings 21:1

³⁴³ Deuteronomy 29:22

³⁴⁴ Exodus 9:24; Psalms 148:8

³⁴⁵ Isaiah 24:17-18; Jeremiah 48:43

³⁴⁶ Job 33:24

³⁴⁷ Amos 2:9; Malachi 3:19; 2 Kings 19:30

A COMPARISON OF WORKS

Immanuel's poem displays no obvious structure in terms of books or cantos. I believe that logical breaks in the action and narrative provide the work an inherent structure. The division of *Tophet* into *Inferno*-like cantos was based on my subjective reading and is in no way meant to suggest or reflect the intent of Immanuel. It seemed a way to establish a common structural denominator and this is important when discussing comparative and relative sizes of two works.

Inferno is the "largest" book in the *Commedia*, having XXXIV Cantos. *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* each have XXXIII. In comparison, Immanuel's *Tophet* is much larger than its sister poem, *Eden*. Dante establishes a sense of balance in the structure of his work. Immanuel imagines a larger Hell, a Heaven large enough for the righteous of all the nations. Dante's structure reflects neo-classical and Pythagorean aesthetics. Immanuel's sometimes feels like a Purim *Shpiel* and it may well have served this function.

One way to compare the two works is to consider them as entertainments demonstrating and instructing toward a good and proper way to live: as pseudo-religious texts, fit for study. In some ways they are reformulations of scripture. John Hollander points out another way in which Dante imitates the religious in his essay on Dante's use of allegory:

*"Dante, faced with the strong opposition of theologians to the idea that secular literature had any meaningful claim to purvey truth, made a bold decision. Rather than employ the allegory of the poets, which admitted, even insisted, that the literal sense of a work was untrue, he chose to employ the allegory of the theologians, with the consequence that everything recounted in the poem as having actually occurred is to be treated as 'historical,' since the poet insistently claims that what he relates is nothing less than literally true"*³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ John Hollander, "Dante's use of Allegory" (Princeton Dante Project)

Indeed, Dante went even further, suggesting that the four levels of biblical interpretation made popular by Thomas Aquinas³⁴⁹ be applied to the *Commedia*. Immanuel's primary link to sacred text is the text itself. Immanuel used the very words of scripture; Dante uses the meta-language of the Bible as well, drawing upon its conceits and themes³⁵⁰. Both poets wished to invoke the scriptures in the minds of their readers. Dante wished to do so to make a point and give his work sacred authority. Immanuel wished to do so because it showed off his knowledge: to do so was a common form of entertainment among Jewish and Islamic intellectuals. Immanuel's poem is prophetic in tone, containing strong messages calling for social and religious reform as well as for individual repentance. However, his use of biblical language is insufficient reason to conclude Immanuel wished his message to be taken seriously. What HaRomi says and how he says it are far more important in this regard.

The most obvious difference between the two poems is language; Dante writes in Italian, HaRomi in Hebrew. Despite the lingual difference between the two poems, scripture figures prominently in both works. How these poets use religious literature differently can tell us something about their respective theologies, formations and opinions. The morals their didactic allegories seek to promote are founded in a common heritage represented by the Jewish scriptures. Observing how these morals are described and demonstrated by the two works is a way to discover and explore differences and similarities between Jewish and Christian eschatology in the fourteenth century. What scriptures are used, where and when they appear in a work can be easily determined. Why certain scriptural references are chosen is a question that remains unanswerable.

³⁴⁹ Aquinas' thesis and Dante's are remarkably similar to that of Ibn Ezra (d. @1169). Leone Romano knew both men's works, as did Immanuel.

³⁵⁰ In this sense, his "interweaving" is truly similar in principle and tradition to that of the many literary ancestors he shared with Immanuel.

The pattern of choices made by HaRomi might suggest something about his personality and textual interests. Sometimes he uses quotes from the same section of scripture in close proximity to each other or in order of their appearance in the bible. Other times he exhibits no rhyme or reason for choices he makes. Further study might suggest something about HaRomi's method of composition. It is plainly seen that HaRomi uses a great deal of scripture in his poem. Peter Hawkins discusses Dante's use of Biblical text, in the essay, "Dante and the Bible." Among the observations Hawkins makes are different ways in which the Bible surfaces in the *Commedia*. Sometimes a reference is explicit, at other times allusion. An example of this kind is found in the very first line of the *Inferno*, when Dante refers to "the middle of our life". It is believed that Dante was thirty-five years of age when he wrote this line, making seventy years the lifespan of a man. This would be as written in the book of Psalms,³⁵¹ "Three score and ten are the years of a man". Immanuel's poem begins with the poet having "Sixty of my years now passed". It seems Immanuel also sets himself in the middle of life but his measure is the one hundred twenty years Jewish lore allots to the fully righteous.³⁵²

With regard to the explicit use of scripture, a comparison of Dante to HaRomi is difficult. HaRomi's poem is a literary mosaic, a single cohesive work composed of thousands of individual fragments. A great many of those fragments are shards and chips from books of the *Tanakh*. HaRomi is influenced in this by the Arabic use of Qu'ranic verses, out of context, in secular poetry. Dante chooses a significantly different structure for his poems. Though Dante cites the Bible or alludes to it often his poem is largely constructed of "new" language. Where HaRomi quotes Exodus over a dozen times in his *Tophet* alone, Dante cites the book but once, in the *Commedia*.³⁵³ Despite this, biblical themes such as the exodus from Egypt figure prominently in Dante's work. Furthermore,

³⁵¹ Psalm 90:10. Tradition holds that Moses wrote this psalm. Moses lived to 120.

³⁵² Based on the lifespan of Moses.

³⁵³ Exodus 33:19 in *Paradiso XXV: 55-56* (Hawkins, 'Dante and the Bible' pg.124)

Dante's references to Bible are weighted, with the fewest found in *Inferno* and the most in *Paradiso*. This is taken to indicate Dante's belief that Scripture, being divine, would belong among the saints and not the sinners. Immanuel's attitude differs from that of Dante. Immanuel distributes "samples" of *Tanakh* liberally throughout both Hell and Heaven. This "interweaving" of biblical text is known as *Shibuts* and is a standard feature of *Maqamat*.³⁵⁴ Because of this, it is difficult to determine Immanuel's opinion on his subject based solely on his use of scripture. HaRomi's tone is reportorial, when not consciously prophetic. His personal feelings on the matter might be described in a separate poem, translated by Allan Corre:

A Little Thought

*A casual little thought just came to me --
Heaven I'd hate. I'd rather go to Hell,
Where I'd find honey, other sweets as well,
For gorgeous women, ardent girls I'd see.*

*In Heaven loverless I'd surely be.
It's full of withered crones, as I've heard tell --
Blacker than pitch, covered with tatters fell:
Their company would give my soul no glee.*

*Heaven, you're naught to me, since you embrace
The ugly women and the bashful guys:
And so you are as nothing in my eyes.*

*Hell, you're full of majesty and grace.
The well-dressed women all live in that place,
And pretty faces come as no surprise!³⁵⁵*

Dante and Immanuel both present visions of the netherworld. Both visions are inspired and influenced by apocalyptic literature. For Dante, the paradigm is the *Revelation of St.*

³⁵⁴ Stern and Mirsky, editors, *Rabbinic Fantasies* p. 26

³⁵⁵ <http://www.uwm.edu/~corre/occasionalw/casual.html>

John.³⁵⁶ Immanuel draws his terrors from the language of *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* and from ancient and medieval mystical and rabbinic literature.

Dante and HaRomi's poems can be evaluated as two examples of "moral-didactic allegory." They teach what happens after death. In many cases the soul goes to Hell.

The inhabitants of Hell are presented differently in *Tophet* and *Inferno*. After and beyond identifying figures from history and Scripture, Dante names individuals known to him personally. He uses his poem as an opportunity to exact fantastic vengeance upon his enemies and those he wishes to condemn. He tells us who they are, he tells them who they are and he lets them have it. Immanuel does not go to such extremes. We can surmise in certain sections HaRomi has a specific person in mind. Immanuel chooses not name these individuals. Immanuel, like Dante, places many famous biblical and historical figures in Hell. Immanuel, unlike Dante, does not publicly condemn personal adversaries to Hell. If he portrays them, they are portrayed anonymously, as archetypes. Perhaps this is done so HaRomi might deny he is damning a particular individual. This might also reflect HaRomi's religious and ethical sensibilities. Perhaps he did not wish to engage in *Lashon Hara*. Mysticism was blooming at the time with de Leon's completion of the *Zohar* by 1300. Perhaps the absence of personal attacks in Immanuel's work reflects he held a belief in the *Ayinhara*. For whatever reason, Immanuel does not put the names of his enemies in print. Instead, he directs his wrath at generic types such as the hypocrite or adulterer.

Immanuel's narrator often recognizes someone and gives clues to whom that person may be, but he does not go so far as identify directly the person being eaten alive by snakes in a big fiery pit, the gambling, cheating bastard from Boston. To his credit, from the traditional Jewish point of view, Immanuel restrains himself. He does so barely, but he

³⁵⁶ Hawkins, pg. 129

does so nevertheless. By not publicly shaming others for their sins and for giving them an opportunity to repent anonymously, Immanuel's work can be said to be morally superior to Dante's from the Jewish point of view. Arguably, it demonstrates a spiritual maturity in the work distinct from that of Dante, who uses his masterpiece as a platform from which to launch gruesome, personal and public attacks on those who crossed him.

Dan Pagis once gave a lecture in which he addressed the conventional in relation to the individual.³⁵⁷ While discussing individual "style" in relationship to the "style" of a genre or school, Pagis mentions Immanuel. HaRomi, he notes, introduced the Arabic-Jewish *maqama* and its conventions to his Jewish Italian culture. This medieval *maqama* convention includes multiple voices, dialogues mixed with love poetry, satirical songs and erotic fantasies. Many of these were expressed by and through fictional narrators or exaggerated representatives of the poet. Immanuel departs from this convention somewhat. Here he introduces what Pagis might call *the individual as individual*. HaRomi speaks with convention: the identifiable voice of a generation, a genre, a literary form. Yet he also speaks as an individual: one poet encountering those generations, genres and literary forms. Interestingly, the way in which Immanuel portrays himself in his work is an indicator of his individuality. It is clear that the Immanuel in Immanuel's *Machberot 28* is meant to represent the poet, Immanuel HaRomi, going to Hell and Heaven. For the full effect of his poem to reach the reader, it has to be taken literally, invoking the suspension of disbelief.³⁵⁸ These theatrical, autobiographical and confessional aspects of the piece are more akin to those of Dante's *Commedia* than the exaggerations of earlier *maqama*. What HaRomi does is innovative, no less so than the innovation of Dante. He contributed to the creation of a new syncretistic convention: within the first example of a Jewish Italian *maqama*³⁵⁹ we find a confessional eschatology combining earlier Jewish-

³⁵⁷ Pagis, Hebrew Poetry in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, p. 60

³⁵⁸ Hawkins, *supra*, treats Dante's more extreme expression of this idea.

³⁵⁹ Pagis p.60

Arabic-Spanish-Provencal traditions with the spirit of the "Young Italy" school. In *Machberot: 28*, Immanuel uses the medieval convention expressed in his age by the *libra della scala*. He does so while showing a personal convention of the *dolce stil nuovo*: the individual spiritual experience of a particular poet--here portrayed as didactic eschatology.

Dan Pagis notes that the *Mahberot Immanuel* is unique in Italian Jewish history. No other Italian example of the *maqama* convention exists. Accordingly, the work represents an ending of sorts; true to character, it also marks the beginning of the Renaissance. There were no more *maqama* after Immanuel yet one needs only consider Eliot's *The Waste Land* or Yeats' *The Second Coming* to experience in modernity the convention of individual eschatology. Immanuel's contributions, including those made to the development of Dante Alighieri, have helped define the literature of every modern western language.

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APPENDIX: HEBREW TEXT

אמר המהפך עמואל בן כבוד רבי שלמה, זכר צדיק לברכה:

אחרי אשר עברו משנותי ששים וצירי התמותה היו באים לקראתי חשים והנה פתע
פתאום סגרת ימו איש חי, רב פעלים, נרע קדושים והיה צעיר ממני לימים ובקראותי -
נפלו עלי אימים ואמרה: אויב לי, הסכל המתעלם! איך לא אבוש ולא אכלם ואנכי
רשעתי וחסאתי ועויתי ופשעתי וביתן מצולת הזמן טבעתי ואלהים ואנשים קבעתי
5 והתביתי אשמי ונדוניי מכל אשר היו לפניי והנה פתע פתאום אל על יקראוני ורשאוני
על כתיב, יסבלוני יודעי שמי ישתרתי ולא ימצאוני ומה היא הצידה אשר הכנתי
ליום הפרידה לנפשי השוידה? מה אדבר ומה אצטדק ומה אגחלי אם לא יקדמוני
חסדי טולת ומוחל.
10 ובהיותי כדברים האלה נותן אל לבי חם לבי בקרבי ונפתחו ארבות דמעותי
ניתכו כמים שאגותי ועשיתי אבל גדול וכבדו בחשבי כי אחרית נפשי האנונה עדי
אובדי בען היותי ליצרי למס עובדי ואמרה: איפה אפוא דניאל איש חמודות, ואיפה
הקמתה? מי יתן ידעתי ואמצאה אבוא עד תכונתה אשאקה ותודיעוני ומנחל עדניך
משביעני ותודיעני מדת ימי נקציי ומראני מקום מנוחתי ודבציי!
15 ובהיותי ביתן מצולת היגון טובעי ודמעתי כנחל נובעי ומיגון ואנוחה לגמי שבעי והנה
אימה חשקה גדולה נפלה עלי וחיון נראה אלי ואני הייתי על אוכל אולי לבי יצא
יצוא נשוב כמראה הזנף ואשא עיני ואראה והנה רוח גדולה וזנף מרחף ומתנברי
מפרק הרים וסלעים משברי ואחר הרוח רעש, לקולו צללו אונני ופלגי מים ירדו עיני
ואחר הרעש אל נקול דממה ואור שבעתים כאור החמה והנה איש זקן, עוטה מעיל,
20 עובר לפניי ומראהו כמראה מלאך אדוני ובקראותי אותו - נכעמתי ונפלתי ארצה
מלוא קומתי ונאלמתי וכראות האיש כי לא עצרתי כחי ויאמר אלי: מה לך, נרדם,
הלא אבקש לך מנוח! קום, כי לא זאת המנוחה היום אמציא לך רוחה ונסו יגון
ואנוחה ובדברו עמי - התחונקתי ובכנף מעילו החונקתי ועפר רגליו לחכתי ונשקתי
ואמרה אליו: בי אדוני! אם נא מצאתי חן בעיניך, אני ועמך הנידה נא שמך! ויאמר
25 אלי: אנכי דניאל איש חמודות אשר קראתני ועיניך מים יורדות בתחלת פתנוניך וצא
דבר להראותך גוראות וחידות היום ארצה בצורות נסודות! פקח עיניך וראה ובין
בדבר והבן במראה כי למענה שלחתי ועמה באתי ולתשכילה בינה וצאתי העמק
שאלה או הגבה כי לא אוכל להתמהמה! ואמרה אליו: אחלי לפניך, אדוני, להראותני
העולם שכלו ארוך והתפת אשר מאתמול לרשעים ערוף וילהודיעני מקום מחנותי
30 אחרי מותי ואי זה בית אשר תבנו לי, ואי זה מקום מנוחתי משכוני, ואנכי ארוצה

הנה בו אֲחֻזָּה? וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ הַתּוֹמֵךְ בִּימִינִי: הֲלֹא נִדְעָתָּ מִי הוּא זֶה! וַאֲמַר: לֹא, אֲדֹנָי!
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָי: זֶה הָאִישׁ סוֹרֵר וּמוֹרֵה וְכוֹבֵן וְנִקְרָא בְשֵׁבֶבֶר שְׂמוֹ רֶבֶן לֹא נִרְאָה רָשָׁע
 215 כְּמוֹהוּ מִיּוֹם הַחֲרָבָן עָסַק בַּתּוֹרָה שְׁלֹא לְשִׁמְהָ הוּא אָמוֹן הַרְבֵּה אֲשֶׁמָּה לֹא יָדַע מִן
 הַנְּאוּף שֶׁבָּעָה קָרַב אֵל כָּל בְּהֵמָה לְרִבְעָהּ עַל כֵּן הִדְבִּיקְתָּהּ הַרְבֵּעַ זֶה הָאִישׁ בִּינֵן
 תּוֹעֵה שָׂכָר וְתוֹרֵת מִשָּׁה בְּתוֹעֲבוֹתָיו עָכָר וְלַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינָי אֲדֹנָי הַתְּמַכָּר חָלַל אֶת
 קֹדֶשׁ אֲדֹנָי אֲשֶׁר אָהַב וּבָעַל בַּת אֵל גִּכְרִי שָׁנָה בְּגֵרָה וְחִבֵּק חֵיק גִּכְרִיָּהּ לֹא הֵינִי אִמָּה
 גִּכְרִיָּה וְעַמּוֹנִית וּמוֹאֲבִיָּה יְהוּדִית וְנוֹצְרִית וְשִׁפְחָה מִצְרִית מֵאִס תּוֹכַחַת וְהִפְר בְּרִיתִי
 220 עַל כֵּן אֲחֻזָּתוֹ לְהַכְרִיתִי לוֹ גִּפְשׁ מוֹרָאָה וְנִגְאָלָה, גַּם בְּלֹא דַעַתִּי לֹא הֵינִי זָבָה וְשׁוֹפְעַתִּי
 וּמְנַעַת וּמִצְרַעַת וְאֶתוֹן יוֹצֵאת בְּמַרְדְּעַתִּי וְפִי חֲזִיר וְפִי טַבַּעַתִּי וְשִׁפְחָה חֲרוּפָה וְאִמָּה
 גִּרְצַעַתִּי וּפּוֹתָה וּמְשַׁעַתִּי וְעַתְלֵהוּ הַמְרַשְׁעַתִּי וְזוֹנָה בְּפֶה תּוֹבַעַתִּי וְנִהְלֵאָה וְכוֹלְעַתִּי
 וְהָרָה לְלֵדַת פּוֹרְעַתִּי וְכָל אִשָּׁה לְמַשְׁכַּב זָכָר אִישׁ יוֹדַעַתִּי עַד יִהְיֶה וְקַדְמוֹת וּמִיפְעַתִּי
 אֲשֶׁר לֹא הֵינִי מִמֶּנּוּ גִרְבַּעַתִּי זֹאת בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ מוֹדַעַתִּי וְלָכֵן אֵין לְהַפְלִיא אִם יִשְׁתָּה מְכוֹס
 225 הַתְּרַעְלָה קִבַּעַתִּי הַכִּיר אֶת בּוֹרְאוֹ— וְנִתְפַּנֵּן לְמַרְד בּוֹי חֲטָא וְהַחֲטִיא רַבּוּאִי וְחֲטָא הַרְבֵּים
 תְּלוּי בּוֹי כִּסֵּה פְּנָיו בְּהִלְבוֹי הוּא אֲנִטִּיכֶס בְּמַעֲשָׂיו וְהִמָּן בְּלִבּוֹי הוּא יִרְבַּעֵם בְּעֵגְלֵי זְהָבוֹי
 וּמְנֻשָׁה בַחֲרָבוֹי הוּא חָלַל אֶת הַשֵּׁם זֶה יָמִים וְשָׁנִים וְתוֹעֲבוֹתָיו וְנִגְאָזוֹתָיו בְּסִפְר גִּכְתָּבִים,
 תְּדָשִׁים גַּם יְשָׁנִים לֵךְ וַאֲמַר אֵל הַסֶּכֶל הַמְּפַתֵּהּ כִּי עָרוּף מֵאֵת מוֹל תְּפַתֵּהּ וּמַחַמַת שְׂדֵי
 יִשְׁתָּה לֹא יוֹחֵן וְלֹא יִרְחֵם כְּעָרִים אֲשֶׁר הִפֵּךְ אֲדֹנָי וְלֹא נָחֵם כִּי כַחַשׁ לְאֵל מִמַּעַלִּי
 230 וּמִמֶּנּוּ יֵצֵא חוֹשֵׁב עַל אֲדֹנָי רָעָה, יוֹעֵץ בְּלִיעַלִּי וְלָכֵן יָדַע כִּי בָרַד וְאִשׁ מִתְּלַקַּחַתִּי וּפַח
 וּפְחַד נִפְחַתִּי בְּעֵדוֹ מִנְחַתִּי וְכֹאֲשֶׁר יִלְיִן בְּעֵדוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר: פְּדַעְהוּ מִרְדַּת שַׁחַתִּי! יִכְרַת פְּרִיֹ
 מִמַּעַל וְשָׂרְשָׁיו מִתַּחַתִּי יַעַן אֲשֶׁר שׁוֹבְבָה גִּפְשׁוֹ מִשׁוֹבָה וְצַחַחַתִּי.

מִשֵּׁם נִסְעָנוּ וְהִנֵּה שְׁנֵי אַנְשִׁים בְּפַחֵי הַתְּפִת יוֹקְשִׁים וְכֹאֲשֶׁר הִתְּבוֹנְנֵתִי בְּצוּרוֹתֵם
 הַכְּרִתִּים וְנִפְלַאתִי הַפְּלֵא וּפְלֵא עַל אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵגְנֵן רַע רְאִיתִים כִּי הָיוּ מִן הַיּוֹשְׁבִים רְאוּשׁוֹנָה
 235 בְּמַלְכוּת הַדְּרִצַּת וְהַתְּבוֹנָה יָד כָּל הָעָם בְּאַתְרוּנָה וְאֲשֶׁלָּה אֶת הָאִישׁ הַתּוֹמֵךְ בִּימִינִי:
 מִדּוּעַ קָרָאוּם כֹּאֲלֵה, אֲדֹנָי? וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ: אֵלּוּ הֵם שְׁנֵי אַחִים מִמְּרֻשָׁה הֵינִי הָיִתָּה לָהֶם
 הַכִּילוֹת לְמוֹרְשָׁה חֲשָׁבוּ הַזְּלוּת— קִדְשָׁה וְהַנְּדִיבוֹת— צַחְנָה וּבִאֲשָׁה הֵינִי הָיִתָּה קִדְשׁ צְנוּעָה
 בְּתוֹלָה וְאִישׁ לֹא יִדְעָה קָרָאוּ בְּשֵׁם הַנְּדָבָה: בְּרִיעָה וְשֵׁם אַחִיוֹתִיהָ: מַחְלָה וְנוֹעָה לָהֶם
 הַיָּדִים הָאוֹמְרוֹת: הֵב, הֵב! וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם אֱלֹהֵי כֶסֶף וְאֱלֹהֵי זָהָב אֶהְבּוּם בְּכָל לֵבָם וּבְכָל
 240 גִּפְשָׁם וּבְכָל מַאֲדָם אָמְרוּ כִּי זֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאֲדָם לֹא תְלוּ עֲשָׂרָם וּכְבוֹדָם וּכְלֵי מַחְמָדָם
 בְּחֶסֶד יוֹצְרָם וּמַעוֹדָם אֲשֶׁר חֶסֶדוֹ עַל כָּל חַי קָדָם לֹא שָׁעָרוּ הָיוֹתוּ פְקֻדוֹן בְּיָדָם לֹא
 שָׁרְתוּ אִישׁ מַעוֹדָם וְלֹא רָצוּ אִישׁ יִשְׁרָתָם וַיַּעֲמֵד בְּסוֹדָם לְמַן הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים
 אֲדָם וְדָבָר אֵין לָהֶם עִם אֲדָם אָמְרוּ כִּי מִצָּאוּ כְּתוּב בְּחֻקָּהּ וַיְנִיתִי 'שְׁלִי שְׁלִי וְשְׁלִי'

שְׁלֵף - זו
 245 שְׂמוֹ תְּכַלִּי
 נִדְיָנוּ עֲשִׂינוּ
 גִּעְלָמוֹ וְיָס
 אֶת הַחֲזִיר
 הָאֲמָלִים
 250 כְּמִלּוֹא עֵי
 אֶכְלֵתִי לֹא
 וְתָרוּעָה
 גְּרָמוּ לוֹ
 עֵינֵיהֶם מִן
 255 וְאִם יִרְאוּ
 'שִׁלַּח לְחַק
 מִתְּקוּהוּ
 שֶׁבְּפִרוּשֵׁי
 כֹּאֲשֶׁר יַעַן
 260 וְלִהְיוֹתֵם
 וּבְחֵי בְּגוֹ
 אֶת יְדֵי לֹ
 קַח מִן הָעָן
 רַק הַמְּדוּן
 265 וְלֹא פָנוּ
 הַחֻקָּה
 וּכְדִי בְּיָוִן
 הַשְׁכָּל צָו
 חֻקָּה יִרְא
 270 מִצָּב אֲרָצָה
 עֲלוֹתוֹ, אֵן
 כָּל אִישׁ
 טַעֲנָה לְפָנֵי
 הַקּוֹפָאִים

ואבל כבנות יענה' בערב אלון בכי ולבקר קינה' ותמורת קרנות שן והבנים' ונהב נרב
 פנינים' והשקות בכלי זהב וכלים מגלים שונים' והשבועות והגומים ונגוי ברומים' ושדות
 וכרמים' ארצה משטח חרמים' ובקרים ורעמים' ופנים ונעמים' ותמורת גג היציעי שק
 185 ואפר אציעי ותמורת איליו ואילמיו' נכרת שמי מקרב עמיו' ותמורת האולם' אשב בוש
 ונכלם' ולי חרפת עולם' ותמורת הקביות' ומגדל בנוי לתלפיות' ועופות וחיות' יש לי
 בור תחיתות' ושמות ושאיית' ותמורת הסלת והחטים' ועורות תחשים נעצי שטים' הנני
 אסור ברהטים' ונפשי בתוך לבאים אשכבה לוחטים' ולא ארצה כי אם נובחים
 ונשחטים' ולקוחים למנת ולהרג מטים' ותמורת היות בביתי כת לצים ואנשי עולה
 190 וכל פה הובר נבלה' הנה האש והעצים ואני הנשה לעולה' הנה טל ילדותי מרחם משחרי
 ועמה עורי משחור שחרי' ושני קצותי אכלה האש ותוכי נחרי' והנה כנה יום מחרי' מי יפן
 בתני קורות' מי תפקדה' או לא הנעמי לזאת תפקדה' לה ואמר לאשר בתים תתם
 קורות בני תמותה ואודותם' למען יבינו לאתריהם.

משם נסענו והנה עדת אנשים עורים' והפרתי מהם כמו מאה נעשרים' והאנשים ההם
 195 היו חכמים ונבונים וידועים לשבטיהם' ראשי אלפי ישראל הם' ויאמר אלי האיש התומך
 בימיני: תיך, מחמד עיני' האנשים האלה הענה ולאוי' כי היו עינים להם לראות -
 ולא ראוי דעו מעלות החכמה ויקרה' ולא ראו אור באורה' שמשו חכמתם במקרסמות'
 וקראו בשמותם עלי אדמות' ובוו לידיעת המשכלות הנעימות' ולכן בצחקרים בנשף
 'מששוי' וכאין עינים יגששו' והמפרסמות אשר בם דבקו ואותם אהבו' מחוץ למתנה
 200 עזבו' ויהיו תמודותיהם מים נכזבו' ולאשר שוכבים על משות שן עם נשותיהם עזבוהם
 ולאשר מטרה לחצי קללתם יציבוהם' והנם היום מפל חמדה ריקים' כי בקקום בוקקים
 ובעוונותם הנה נמקים.

משם נסענו והנה איש זקן גדול למראה, הציבוהו למטרה' ועל ראשו מתרלים
 וקמסונים עטרה' ומגללי צאת האדם ישימו באפו קטורה' יסרוהו בשוטים ובצקרים
 205 ויסבו עליו רבים' ושפכו לארץ מדרתו' ופתחו אכור ישמט ערותו' ועל ראש מגדל גבה
 יעלוהו' ומשם על ראש הסלע ישמטהו' פעם באש נרה ישרפוהו' ופעם זאבי ערב
 יטרפוהו' ופעם קשת נחושה תחלפהו' ופעם גחלי זפת ונפרית יגרפוהו' ופעם גחלי
 בלעל ישטפוהו' פעם קרני ראמים יגפוהו' כפסטר חמור יערפוהו' ומאור אל חשף
 יהדפוהו' ופעם וקלעוהו בתוך כף הקלע' ויאמרו לו: אהבת כל דברי בלע' אשרי
 210 שיאחו ונפיץ אותך אל הסלע' יכו עליו במחי קבלו' ולא יתנו דמי לוי' כל היום וכל
 הלילה תמיד לא יחשו' ולחדש צרותיו תמיד יום יום ידרשו' ובראותי אלה המכות
 הגוראותי געית משמע, נבהלתי מראותי' ויאמרה: מי האיש הלזה' אשר הצער הגדול

ישנתי בו אפלו שנת עראי התחלתי לבנותו - ואחר השלימוי ולא ידעתי כי יכרת שמי
 מעם אחי ומשער מקומו ומה בצע בבנותי בית מדות ועליות מרנחיים ובצפותי כסף
 וזהב הבריתים ובמלאתי בתי ויגני פרחים וממגד תבואות שמש וממגד גרש ירחים ולי
 לא אב ולא אחים ולא בנים ולא בנות ואיך לא נשאתי משאות מאת פני ומגדנותי אל
 היתומים ואל האלמנות ואל הנפשות הענוות והמנוות והלחוצות העטופים ברעב
 153 בראש כל חוצותי ומן הדברים הרעים אשר אחרי המות קראוני והחלוני הוא: שהרי
 בשמי שנים שני אנשים הבהילוני ומתוך קברי העלוני ועל פני נשרים נשאוני ואל
 עיר אנקונא בתוך היכלי הביאוני ואז בראותי אמרתי: אולי קץ הימין הגיעי והאל
 יתברך חסא רבים נשא ולפושעים יפגיעי ואולי כי מהיום הזה והלאה ארגיעי ובהיותי
 160 כזאת נכזאת חושבי והנה אומרים לי: רשע, הקשבי! לא כבאשר תחשב, כי אל עקרבים
 אמה יושב ומרעה אל רעה תצא! ומר ממנות תהיה מוצאי! ובשמי - האור בערי
 חשך ונתתי יד אליהם והייתי אתריהם נמשך! עד אשר אל בית הסבילה הביאוני
 ואשתי ובעלה החדש שמה יראוני וראיתי אותה פושטת בגדי רקמתיה ובעלה החדש
 נצב לעמתי ובמקוה המים אשר הכינותי אל הנשים הצובאות טבלה בו ועיני רואות
 165 אז החלו עיני לדמעו וסבלתי מן המכאוב והצער מה שאין הפה יכול לדבר ואין האוזן
 יכולה לשמע! אז יאמרו לי: מה לך, איש חמסים! כי את רגלים רצף ובלאוה - ואיך
 תתחרה את הסוסים? האם בראות אשתך טובלת עמדת משתאה עוד תהיה משגע
 ממראה עיניה אשר תראה! נביאוני בחדר המטות ובהיות עיני הנה והנה מביטות
 ראיתי שם ערש רעונה ואשתי עם בעלה החדש שמה ושנה! שמה ודשנה! ושאלו תחת
 170 לראשה ימינו תתבקנה וקול קורא: אשה תארש ואיש אחר ישכבנה! ואז ממרום שלח
 אש בעצמותי וירדנה אתרי כן הביאוני הנה היום ומשתאה! כבאשר אדוני רואה ועתה
 עלי נכשי תשפתך! כי לא אוכל מצד אל צד להתהפך! כי עונוי ואשמי רשת הכינו
 לפעמי ובא רקב בעצמי ובצוקרי קדרו שמי וכל אשר אצרו אבותי ואבות אבותי
 עזבתי בתצי ימי ערם מבטן אמי יצאתי וערם שבתי לקלת כשבאיתי ומאומה לא
 175 נשאתי בעמלי לבד מבלוני הסחבות אשר עלו בגורלי ונחלתי גהפכה לזרים ובמי
 לנכרים מה בצע פי בניתי בית הקנין ובית התרף וכלם פנו לי ערףי ותחת המרחץ
 והתנור אראה נהר די נהר ותחת מעשה שפת כוס פרח שושן אראה לפידי אש ותנור
 עשן ומלוא חפנים עמל ופיח הכבשן ותמורת צפרים נעשו אליי אראה אימה חשכה
 גדולה נופלת עלי ותמורת שתות ממתקים ואכל משמנים וקפני יאתיו חשמנים בשלתי
 180 בצוקרי כנשף וכמתים באשמנים ותמורת הברבורים האבוסיים ירעו עלי כדברים
 כבשים וכסו עלי צרות במים לים מכסים ותמורת ערש רעונה אעשה מספר פתנים

ואכל
 פנינים
 וכרמים
 185 ואפר
 ונקלים
 בור
 אסור
 ונשחטי
 190 וכל
 ועמה
 בתי
 קורות
 משם
 195 היו
 בימיני
 ולא
 וקראו
 ימשו
 200 עזבו
 ולא
 ובצונו
 משם
 וקמנו
 205 ויסבו
 וצלוח
 יטרפון
 בליצל
 יהדפון
 210 שיאתו
 הלילה
 הנוראו

120 נִשְׁבַע בְּנִאוֹתַי כִּי זֶה הָאִישׁ - אֲצַרְצֶנּוּ כְּאִישׁוֹךְ עֵינָי וְאֶלִיכֶם לֹא יִתְמַשְׁלִי וְכִי יִרְדֶּךָ - לֹא יִכְשַׁלִּי אִזּוֹ שְׂאֵלְתִי הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּאֵשׁ הִתְפַּת בּוֹעֵרִי וְאָמְרָה אֵלָיו: אָמַר נָא, הֲנִכְאָב וְהִסּוּעַר! מַה הִדְבַּר אֲשֶׁר הִבִּיאָךָ הַלּוֹם וְאֵתָה הֵייתָ עַל רֹאשׁ בְּנֵי דוֹרְךָ עֲסָרְתָּ יְהוֹלֹם וְעַתָּה - אַתָּה רְחוֹק מִיִּשׁוּעָה וְשְׁלוֹם? וַיַּעַן הָאִישׁ מִן הַסְּעָרָה וּמִתוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ הַבּוֹעֵרָה וּבְקוֹל מְרִי וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת קוֹלוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר: אוֹיְהָ לִי, הֵמֶר וְהַמָּחָר וְהַנִּכְאָב! אֲשֶׁר נִפְשִׁי עָלַי תִּאָּבֵל וּבִשְׂרֵי עָלַי יִכְאָב! מַה מָּאֵד הֵייתִי סָכְלִי כִּפְאֲשֶׁר בְּנִיתִי הַבַּיִת וְהַחֵיקָל בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁכֹּן שָׁם לֹא אוֹכְלִי מִי יָמַן וּבִשְׂמַיִם בְּנִיתִיו וּבְמַרֹּם הַרְרִי עַד יִסְדְּתִיו אוֹיְהָ לִי, אֵלְלִי לִי כִּי הֵייתִי רוּעָה אוֹיְלִי וְעוֹבְתִי לְאַחֲרַיִם חֵילִי הִגְדַּלְתִּי מִעֲשֵׂי וְלֹא אָמַרְתִּי: אֵיךְ אֲדֹנָי אֵלֹהֵי עוֹשֵׂי? עָשִׂיתִי לִי גִזּוֹת וּפְרִדָּסִים וּכְנֻסֹתַי לִי גַם כֶּסֶף תְּהַב וְעֶשֶׂר וְנִכְסִים וּבְרַבּוּרִים אָבוּסִים וְאֵת תְּפָאֶרֶת הַעֲכָסִים וְשִׁכְחֹתִי מִן לַחֲוֹסִים מֵאַנְתִּי לְתֵת לָחֶם לְעַנְי וּלְבִמָּה רִיקִים וּפְחֻזִים עָשִׂיתִי חֶסֶד וְהָיוּ בְּאוֹכְלֵי שְׁלֹחֲנֵי וְתַחַת לְמַדְי הַעֲדוֹת וְהַחֲקִים אֶכְלֹתִי מִשְׂמַנִּים וְשִׁתִּיתִי מִמִּתְקִים וְהַמְּוֹרֶת הַמַּעֲשִׂים הַטּוֹבִים הָיוּ לִי הַפְּרוֹת הַעֲרִבִים וְחֵן חֶלְבוֹן וְצָמֵר צַחֲרִי וְלִתּוֹרָה וְלִתְעוּבָה אָמַרְתִּי כַּדְבָר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֵין לוֹ שְׁחָרִי אָמַרְתִּי בְּלִבִּי: הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲעֲלֶה - וּפְלָאִים יַדְדֹתַי יָקַשׁ לִי הַזָּמֵן וּגְלַפְדֹּתַי וְכֹאֲרַג חֲנִי קַפְדֹּתַי וּבַחֲשֶׁף יְצוּעֵי רַפְדֹּתַי וְהַמַּעֲלוֹת אֲשֶׁר יַרְדֹּתִי סַפְדֹּתַי תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר לֹא עִבְדֹּתַי וְכֹאֲשֶׁר אֶבְדֹּתַי אֶבְדֹּתַי עוֹבְתִי לְאַחֲרַיִם חֵילִי וּמֵאֲוִמָּה לֹא יִשָּׂאֵר בְּכָל עֲמָלִי וְמֵה יִתְרוֹן לִי לְרוּחַ עֲמָלְתִּי וְכֹאֲשֶׁר שְׁכַלְתִּי שְׁכַלְתִּי מִי הִבִּיאֵנִי לְקִנּוֹת אֲחֻזוֹת מִבַּיִת וּמְחוּצָי וְלֶאֱסֹף הַחֵן הֵייתִי נְחוּצָי וְלֹא הָיָה לִי בֶן וּבַת, יוֹרֵשׁ אוֹ נוֹחַלִי וְלֹא קְרוֹב אֲשֶׁר לְרֵאוֹת טוֹב בְּטוֹבוֹ אֵיחֹלִי וְהַנְחִיתִי הַכֹּל לְאֲשֶׁר עִם אִשְׁתִּי יִשְׁכַּב וְעַל בְּמוֹתַי יִדְרֹךְ וְיִרְכַּבִּי אֵיךְ לֹא הִשְׁאֵתִי מֵהוֹנֵי אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה וְעַגּוּמָה וְלֹא רוּחִי דָשָׁן נִפְשׁ יְתוֹם אוֹ יְתוּמָה אֵיךְ הֵייתִי חוֹשֵׁב בְּעוֹלָם הַתְּמוֹתָה לְהַתְּבַצְרִי וְלֹא בְנִיתִי בְּשָׂמַיִם בַּיִת אוֹ הַצְרִי וְלִמְדֹתַי כִּי הַמְּלֹאכָה מְרַבָּה וְהַיּוֹם קֶצֶר וְלִכְנֵן אֲשֶׁר וְרַעֲתִי הִנֵּי קוֹצֵרִי וְהִנֵּי בְּיַד מַעֲצֵי כַחֲמֵר בְּיַד הַיּוֹצֵרִי בְּמָקוֹם צָר, אֲשֶׁר אֵין דְּרֹךְ לְנִטּוֹת יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאלִי וְכֹאֲשֶׁר לֹא חִמְלֹתִי עַל הָאֲבוֹיוֹנִים אֶתְמוֹלִי כֵּן אֵין הַיּוֹם אִישׁ עָלַי יְחַמְלִי לֹא הָיָה נֶכֶד בְּעַמִּי וְלֹא נֵיִן וּמִדּוּעַ לֵב אֶלְמָנָה לֹא אֲרַנֵּן? וּבִמָּה שְׁהוּצֵאתִי עַל הַחֲלוּצוֹתִי הֵייתִי מֵשִׂיא כְּמָה אֶלְמָנוֹתִי אוֹיְהָ לִי! כִּי לֵב הוֹמַל הַסְּנִי כֹּאֲשֶׁר מַעֲיֵל הַנְּצֹנָה יַעֲטֵנִי וְחֻשְׁבֹּתִי לְבָנוֹת מִקֶּדֶשׁ כְּמוֹ רַמִּים וְחֲלוּצֵי שְׁקוּפִים אֲטוּמִים וְלִמְלֵאתוּ גִּזְיוֹ בְּרוּמִים לְהִרְאוֹת יָפִיו הַשָּׁרִים וְהַעֲמִים וְהִגְדַּלְתִּי מִעֲשֵׂי מִכָּל בְּנֵי עַמִּי כִּי אָמַרְתִּי: אֵין לִי בֶן בְּעָבוֹר הַזֶּכֶר אֶת שְׁמִי וּמִקְוָה הַיּוֹם, אֲשֶׁר חֻשְׁבֹּתִי שְׁתִּטְבֵּל בּוֹ אֵלֵי אִשְׁתִּי טְבִלָּה בּוֹ בְּפָנָי לְאַחַר, לְקַלְמֹתִי וּבִשְׂתִּיתִי נִטְעַמִי כָרֶם - וְאוֹתוֹ לֹא חֲלַלְתִּי וְרֵאִיתִי אֵת אֲשֶׁר רָאָה לֹא פָלַלְתִּי בְּנִיתִי הַחֵיקָל - וְאוֹתוֹ לֹא הִנְכַחְתִּי וַיִּתִּים הָיוּ לִי בְּכָל גְּבוּלֵי - וְסוּף לֹא סָכַחְתִּי אָמְרוּ רוּאִי בְּבוֹתֵי הַחֵיקָל: אֲשֶׁרִי! לֹא יָדַעוּ שְׂאֲצִיחָנוּ לְאֶדָם שֶׁהָיָה אַחֲרָיו וְלֹא

ברתים ודכו במדוכה ובשלו בפרורי שם צרי יהודה ובנימין הנרננים אשר הכעיסו נגד
 90 הבונים שם אריסטוטלוס, בוש ונאלם על אשר האמין קדמות העולם שם גלינוס,
 ראש הרופאים על אשר שלח יד לשונו לדבר במשה אדון הנביאים שם אבונצור, יומו
 רדי יצן אמר כי התאחדות השכל האנושי עם השכל הנפרדי הוא מהגלי הנקנות ועל
 אשר האמין גלגל הנפשות האנוניות הנקרות מקרב עצמים ואמר כי יחליפום אנשים
 עומדים במקומם שם אפלטון, ראש למבינים יצן אשר אמר כי ליחשים ולמינים יש
 95 חוץ לשכל מציאותי וחשב דבריו דברי נביאות שם אפוקרט, יצן אשר היה כילי
 מתקמתו והעלים ספרי רפואתו שם אבן סינא, היה ללעג ושחוקי יצן אשר אמר כי
 הנולד אדם לא מאדם אפטר לזמן רחוקי ואמר כי לדת הקרים היה דרך טבעי, מי ימן
 ונאלם נמשך אחר אמונת קדמות העולם ושם אנשים אין מספר, מתו מזמן רחוק וקרוב
 חרשים גם ישנים, אשר לא יספרו מרב.

100 וכאשר משם נסענו ראינו והנה סיר נפית מקצה בחוברת ובתוכה נחשת ובדול ובדיל
 ועופרת וקול אומר: שפת הסיר, שפתי ותעמידנה על הנחלים השורפות והכינו החיות
 השורפות כי הנה חיל מן הנשים הנזופות אשר עונתם יצונם למדחפות לא רצו להיות
 לחיי עולם - ותהיינה לתרפות! עודנו מדבר, והנה בסופות בנגב חולפות עוטיות
 ונקלמות ושוממות וכינוי הנאות כלם הומות ודמעוטיהן על לחיהן ומנהגות בקול
 105 יונים, מתופפות על לבביהן והנה משלחת מלאכי רעים ישליכום אל תוף הסיר
 הרותחתי ופרשו פאשר בסיר וכבשד בתוף קלחתי וקול אדיר עליהם צונחתי: לא
 רציתם ממגד שמים מעל - הא לכם באר שחתי פח ופחד ופחתי אכלנה ושבענה ממגד
 תהום רובצת תחת!

משם נסענו והנה שוחה צמקה בוקה ומבוקה ומבלקה לא ישמע בה רק קול בכי
 110 וקול צעקה ובתוכה אריות ונמרים ועקרבאים חכרבורים ויאמר אלי האיש: זאת
 נקראת: ארץ נשיה ובשם אחר: שאול מתתיהי והיא מקום האנשים המשחוקים בקבאי
 אשר אמרו: לא יראה יהי ודמן טעון הניה ולכן יד אדני הניה בהם בנפש ובגיהה יצן
 אשר פנו למעלה בשחקים וברכו אלהים בפיהם ובלבבם, פאשר שבו כליהם ריקים
 ולכן ימדו פעלתם אל חיקים ולא יחמלו ביום נקם.

115 וכאשר משם נסענוי ואל מקום אחר מהתפת הנענוי ראיתי איש היה מאילי הארץ
 פדצו עליו התלאות פרוץ צפד עורו על עצמו והוא לא פנים קלקלי בוער באש אוכלה
 אש ואינו אפלי הפירני והפרתייו ובשכבר הימים אהבני ואהבתיוי ובראותו אותי הולך
 הלוך וצפה התאנח אנתה מגופי ויאמר אלי: מה לך פה ומי לך פה! האם כנפל בני
 עולה נפלת! גם אמה חלית כמוני, אלינו נמשלת? ויאמר האיש התומך בימיני: הנני

120 ושבע בנא
 יכשלי או
 והסוער!
 ועמה - א
 בקול מרו
 125 ובשרי עק
 לשפן שם
 ליו כי ה
 אדני אל
 ובכרבורים
 לעני ול
 130 והחקים
 הערבים
 שחרי אמ
 חיי קפדת
 135 וכאשר א
 לי לרית
 הח התי
 איחלי ות
 מהוני אש
 140 התמותה
 קצרי ול
 אין דרך
 עלי יחמ
 על החלו
 145 הנארה י
 ברומים
 לי בן פ
 בו בפני
 ראה לא
 150 סכתי א

בה ואודותם' התבונן בשמותם התקוקים במצחותם.

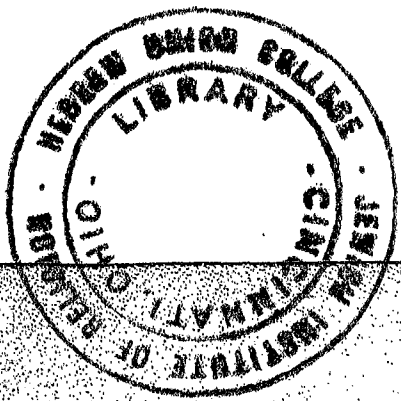
כְּאֲשֶׁר הִתְבֹּנְנֵתִי בְּתוֹךְ הַמְדוּרָה: רְאִיתִי וְהִנֵּה שֵׁם אֲנָשִׁי סְדוּם וְעַמְרָה: וְעָשׂוֹ אֲשֶׁר בֶּן
 60 לְבַכּוּרָה: וְשֵׁם שְׁמַעִי בֶן גְּרָאִי שֵׁם עֲמֶלְקִי, אֲשֶׁר אֶבְדָּה אֶת כָּל זֶרַע הַמִּמְלָכָה: שֵׁם
 אֲבִשְׁלוּם בֶּן מַעֲכָה: שֵׁם הָאִישׁ הַלְוִי, אֲשֶׁר עָמַד בְּבֵית מִיכָה: שֵׁם אַחֲזֵינָה, אֲשֶׁר נָפַל בְּעַד
 הַשִּׁבְכָה: שֵׁם סִיסְרָא מִתְּכַסָּה בְּשִׁמְיָהָ: שֵׁם הַמֶּזֶן בֶּן הַמְדֻמָּא צוֹרֵר הַיְהוּדִים: וְשֵׁם עֲמֶלְק,
 אֲשֶׁר נָלַחַם עִם יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרַפְיָדִים: שֵׁם הַצֹּנִיָּה בֶן שִׁפּוֹן וְיוֹאָבִי וְיִזְבֵּיָהוּ וְאֲנָשִׁי כֹתֵבֵא וְיוֹאָשׁ
 וְשָׁרָף, אֲשֶׁר בָּעָלוּ לְמוֹאָבִי: שֵׁם יוֹתָנָן בֶּן קָרַח וְהַצֹּנִיָּה בֶּן הַשִּׁעִיָּה: וְשֵׁם יִשְׁמַעְאֵל בֶּן נַתָּנָה:
 65 שֵׁם פְּרַעְזָה נָכַח וּפְרַעְזָה חֲפָרְעִי: וְשֵׁם גַּחְזִי הַמַּצְרַעִי: שֵׁם בַּלְעָם בֶּן בְּעוּרִי: עַל דְּבַר כּוֹבֵי
 וְעַל דְּבַר פְּעוּרִי: שֵׁם אֲבִימֶלֶךְ בֶּן יִרְבַּעֵלִי: וְשֵׁם כָּל הַנְּבִיאִים אֲשֶׁר נִבְּאוּ בְּבַעֲלִי: שֵׁם
 אַחִיתָפֶל הַגִּילֹנִי: שֵׁם שִׁבְעָה בֶּן בְּכָרִי אִישׁ הַיְמִינִי: שֵׁם זְמָרִי בֶּן סְלוּא, נָשִׂיא בֵּית אָב
 לְשִׁמְעוֹנִי: שֵׁם סַנְבַלְט הַחֲרוּטִי וְטוֹבִיָּה הַעֲבָד הַעֲמֹנִי: שֵׁם גִּלְשָׁם הַעֲרָבִי וְנָבָל הַכַּרְמֶלִי:
 שֵׁם חֲפְנִי וְפִינְחָס בְּנֵי עֲלִי: נְתוּנִים לְמַחְרָאוֹתֵי יַעֲזָן אֲשֶׁר שָׁכְבוּ עִם הַנְּשִׁים הַצּוֹבְאוֹת: שֵׁם
 70 אַחָאָב בֶּן קוֹלְתָיָה: וְצִדְקָיָהוּ בֶּן מַעֲשִׂיָה: אֲשֶׁר לָקַח מֵהֶם קָלְלָה: וְהָיָה בְּקָרֵב עִמָּם לְאֵלֶּהָ:
 שֵׁם דּוֹאָג הַגְּדוֹמִי, זְכָרוֹ מִנֵּי אֶרֶץ אֲבָדִי: אֲשֶׁר פָּנַע בְּשִׁמּוֹנִים כְּהֵנִים גּוֹלְאֵי אֶפְרַיִם: שֵׁם
 קִזּוֹ, אֲשֶׁר הָרַג הַבְּלִי: שֵׁם אַחָאָב וְשֵׁם אִיזְבָּבִלִי: שֵׁם צִדְקָיָה בֶּן כְּנַעֲנָה: שֵׁם רֵכָב וּבַעֲנָה: יַעֲזָן
 אֲשֶׁר הָרַג אֶת אִישׁ־בִּשְׁתִּי: שֵׁם צִיבָא עֲבַד שְׂאוּל, אֲשֶׁר רָגַל בְּמַפְיֵבֶשֶׁתִי: שֵׁם חָם, אֲשֶׁר
 רָאָה עֲרֹנַת אֲבִיו וְהִלַּךְ נְחוּץ: וַיַּגֵּד לְשִׁנֵּי אֶחָיו בְּחוּץ: שֵׁם בְּנוֹת לוֹט, אֲשֶׁר הָרָו מֵאֲבֵיהֶן:
 75 שֵׁם פִּשְׁחֹר בֶּן אִמֶר הַכְּהֵנִי: שֵׁם סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי: שֵׁם בְּנֵי שַׁעִיר הַחֲרִי: שֵׁם עוֹג מֶלֶךְ
 הַבְּשָׁן: יַעֲלָה עֲשָׂנוּ כְּעֶשֶׂן הַכְּבִשָׁן: שֵׁם נְבוֹרָאָדָן רַב טַבָּחִים וְשֵׁם סַנְתְרִיבִי: וְשֵׁם נְבוֹיכַדְנֶצַּר,
 אֲשֶׁר בֵּית אֲדֻנֵי הַחֲרִיבִי: שֵׁם גִּרְעֵ מֶלֶךְ סְדוּם וּבְרַשְׁעִי: שֵׁם כּוֹשֵׁן רִשְׁעָתִים וְשֵׁם מִישְׁעִי: וְשֵׁם
 טִיטוּס הַרְשָׁעִי: שֵׁם אֲחִימֵן שִׁשִׁי וְתַלְמִי יְלִידֵי הַעֲנֹקִי: וְשֵׁם אֲנָטִיּוֹכָס, רֹאשׁ פְּתָנִים: יִזְכִּי: שֵׁם
 רְחוּם בָּעַל טַעַם וְשִׁמְשִׁי סַפְרָאִי: וְשֵׁם שְׁלוֹמִית בַּת דְּבָרִי הָאֲרוּרָה: שֵׁם עֲנִיָּה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה
 80 וְהַצְרַעַת בְּמִצְחוֹ: וְשֵׁם חִיָּאל בֵּית־הָאֱלִי, אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה אֶת יְרִיחוֹ: שֵׁם יִרְבָּעָם בֶּן נָבָט, עַל
 עֲגִלֵי וְהָבִי: וְהַחֲדָשׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּדָא מִלְּבוֹי: וְשֵׁם מַכְהֵנִי הַבְּמוֹת רַבּוֹאִי: שֵׁם אֲשׁוֹת הַזְּמָה אֵין
 מִסְפָּרִי: וּבְרָאשָׁן אֲשֶׁת פּוֹטִיפְרִי: שֵׁם אֲמוֹן, אֲשֶׁר בָּאֵל כַּפְרִי: כִּי דְבַר אֲדֹנָי בְּזָה וְאֵת מִצְנֵתוֹ
 הִפְרִי: שֵׁם יְהוֹנָדָּם, בְּעֻזּוֹן בְּצֻעוֹ: וְשֵׁם אֲמִנֹן וְיִזְבֵּד בֶּן שְׁמַעְיָא רַעוּי: שֵׁם פְּנֵנָה, אֲשֶׁר הִכְרִיעָהּ
 חֲנָה: וְשֵׁם שִׁלְכָם בֶּן חֲמוּר, אֲשֶׁר עָנָה אֶת דִּינָה: שֵׁם יְהוֹאָשׁ בְּדָם זְכָרְיָה: וְשֵׁם אֲחָז בֶּן יוֹתָם
 85 בֶּן עֲזַיָּה: שֵׁם בַּעֲשָׂא בֶּן אַחֲזֵיָה: וְשֵׁם עֲזַרְיָה בֶּן אֲמִצְיָה: וְשֵׁם יְהוֹנָדָּם, עַל הַעֲשָׂק וְעַל
 הַמְרוּצָה: וְשֵׁם זְמָרִי: אֲשֶׁר מֶלֶךְ בְּתַרְצָה: שֵׁם אֲוִיל מְרֹדֶךְ הַפּוֹתָה: שֵׁם בְּלִשְׁאֲצָר, גְּזָלִים
 עַל רֹאשׁוֹ חוֹתְהָ: אֲשֶׁר הוֹצִיא כְּלֵי בֵּית אֲדֹנָי: וְהוּא שְׂכוּר שׁוֹתָה: וְאֲשֶׁמִּיר בְּהוֹן מִלְּכָא
 וְרַבְרָבְנוּהִי, שְׁלֵתָה וְלִחְנָתָה: שֵׁם כְּנַעַן הָאֲרוּרִי: צְפוּנָה חֲסֵאתוֹ וְעוֹנוֹ צָרוּרִי: יִטְחֹנוּהוּ

אתריה! ויאמר: אֲנִי אֶעֱשֶׂה כְּדַבְרֶךָ! וישאלני האיש ויאמר: אָנָּה נִקְנָה כְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה?
ואצן ואמר: הֲתִפֹּת יִהְיֶה רֵאשׁוֹן וְהַעֲדוֹן יִהְיֶה בְּאַתְרוּנָה.

ה ת פ ת

וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ אֵלַי: הַחֲזֹק בְּכַנֶּף מַעֲלֵי וְאַחֲזוּ בּוֹי וְרוּחַ בִּינֵי וּבִינֵךְ לֹא יָבוֹא בִּי הַמָּקוֹם
אֲשֶׁר שָׁם נִפְתָּה הִיא אֶרֶץ תְּרָדִים צִלְמֹת וְלֹא סְדָרִים נִקְרָא בְשֵׁמוֹ 'עֵמֶק הַפְּגָרִים'
וְאַחֲזִיק בְּכַנֶּף מַעֲלֵי וְרַעֲיוֹנֵי תְרָדִים וּמְדֵי לְכַתְּנוּ תִינְיֹו יוֹרְדִים וְהַתְּרָךְ דָּרָךְ לֹא סְלוּלָה
מִעוֹף צוּקָה וְאַפְלָה וְאַרְחוֹת עַקְלָקְלוֹת לֹא רָאִינוּ שָׁם רַק בְּרָקִים וְקוֹלוֹת וְלֹא שָׁמַעְנוּ
רַק קוֹל כְּחֹלוֹת וְצִרוֹת כְּמִבְּכִירוֹת וְנִקְרָאֵי שָׁם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַבְרוֹת וּבְאַתְרֵית
הַנֶּעֱנֹו אֵל גֹּשֶׁר רַעֲיוֹעַ וְנַחֲתָיו נַחַל שׁוֹטֶף וּבְאֵלוֹ לֵב רוֹאֵי גוֹל וְחוֹטֶף וְאֵן הַחֲלָה נִפְשֵׁי
לְהַתְּעַשֶׂף וּבְרֵאשׁ הַגֹּשֶׁר שֶׁעַר, וְשָׁם לֵהֵט הַתְּרָב הַמִּתְּהַפֵּכֵת וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ אֵלַי: זֶה נִקְרָא
שֶׁעַר שְׁלֹכֵת וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִפְרְדוּ מִן הָעוֹלָם וּבַתְּפֹת יִהְיֶה מִתְּנִיחֵם דָּרָךְ הִנֵּה פְּנֵיהֶם לֹא
נִמּוֹשׁ מִהֵנָּה שָׁעָה אֶחָת אוֹ שְׁתַּיִם וְנִרְאָה מִן הַחֹלְפִים מִן הָעוֹלָם רְבוּתִים עַל פְּנֵי הָאֶרֶץ
כְּאַמְתִּים וְאֵיךְ יִנְהַגִּים מִלְּאֲכֵי מוֹת אֵל אֶרֶץ צִיָּה וְצִלְמֹת אֶתְרֵי כֵן נִרְשָׁה אוֹתָם
בְּשִׁחִיתוֹתָם וְתִרְאָה מַה אֶתְרֵיהֶם וְאֵין לְתַמָּה עַל עַצְבָּם וְעַל עַצְם רַעֲתָם וּמִכְאוּבָם כִּי
דוֹר תִּהְיוּכּוֹת הַמָּה, בְּנִים לֹא אִמּוֹן בָּם וְלִכֵּן תִּרְבֵּם תְּבוֹא בְּלִבָּם וּבְהִיֹּתְנוּ שָׁם יוֹשְׁבִים
וְקוֹל תְּרָדוֹת מְקִשְׁבִים וְהִנֵּה קוֹל כְּחֹלָה שֶׁמַּעֲנוּ וְהִבְהִילְנוּ קוֹל אוֹמְרִים: אֲבָהָה תִּקְנֵנוּ,
וְנִרְעוּ לָנוּ וְכֹאֲשֶׁר קָרְבוּ אֵלֵינוּ רָאִינוּ מִשְׁלַחַת מִלְּאֲכֵי רַעִים חוֹלְפִים יִסְתַּבּוּ מִן הַפְּגָרִים
לְמֵאוֹת וְלְאַלְפִים וּבְעַבְרָם דָּרָךְ הַשֶּׁעַר יֹאמְרוּ לְכָל אֶתֶד מִמֶּה: בֵּן אָדָם, אֲשֶׁר מִזְמַרְת
הָעוֹלָם שְׁבַעֲתֵי וְאַלֵּהִים וְאַנְשִׁים קְבַעֲתֵי וְזֹחַ הַמוֹסֵר פְּרַעֲתֵי הִנֵּה תִקְיָא אֶת אֲשֶׁר בְּלַעֲתֵי
וְתִקְצֵר פְּרֵי מַעֲשֵׂיךְ אֲשֶׁר וְרַעֲתֵי הִנֵּה שֹׁכֵר פְּעֻלָּתְךָ תִּהְיֶה מוֹצֵא הַנֹּכְחִים וְהַיּוֹצֵא אֵל
יֵצֵאוּ וְהַנִּגְרָרִים וְהַנֹּסֶטְחִים בְּקוֹל מְרֵה יִצְעֻקוּ וְנִאֲקוּת חָלָל יִנְאֻקוּ בִּידְעָם כִּי רֵאשׁוֹתְנִים
יִיָּקוּ.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הָאִישׁ: הֲרֵאִיתָ הַצֵּאן הָאוֹבְדוֹת אֲשֶׁר מִשְׁרָה לְחֻצֵי הַתְּפֹת עֲתִידוֹתֵי עוֹד
תָּשׁוּב וְתִרְאָה בְּקָרוֹב מִן הָאוֹבְדִים כְּכּוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לְרֹב.
וְכֹאֲשֶׁר הַגֹּשֶׁר עֲבָרְנוּ - בָּאנוּ בְּתַחֲתִיּוֹת אֶרֶץ וְכָל רוֹאֵי יֹאמְרוּ לִי: מַה פְּרַעֲתָ עֲלֵיךְ
פְּרָצִי וְשָׁם רָאִינוּ מְדוּרָה גְדוֹלָה בְּאֶרֶץ מֵאַפְלָה רְשָׁפֵיתָ וְשָׁפִיתָ אֵשׁ שֶׁלְהִבֵּת יְהִי מְדוּרָתָה
אֵשׁ וְעִצִּים תִּרְבֶּה לִיָּקָה וְיוֹמָם לֹא תִכְבְּהֵי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הָאִישׁ: זֹאת הַמְדוּרָה אֲשֶׁר כְּנַחַל
נְפְרִית בּוֹעֲרָה הִיא לְנַפְשׁוֹת אֲשֶׁר הִעֲמִיקוּ סִרְתֵי וְאִם תִּחְפֹּץ לְדַעַת שָׁם הַרְשָׁעִים אֲשֶׁר



בה ואו
כאש
60 לבכור
אבשלוח
השכבה
אשר נל
ושרף
שם פך
65 ועל ד
אחיתפ
לשמעו
שם חפ
70 אחאב
שם דוא
קח אש
אשר ה
ראה ע
שם פשו
75 הכשוי
אשר ב
טיטוס
רחום ב
80 והצרע
עגלי ו
מספרי
הפרי ש
תבה ו
65 בן ציה
המרצה
על ראש
ורברבנו