

Expulsion and diaspora formation : religious and ethnic identities in flux from antiquity to the seventeenth century

John Tolan

▶ **To cite this version:**

John Tolan. Expulsion and diaspora formation : religious and ethnic identities in flux from antiquity to the seventeenth century. Religious and Ethnic Identities in the Process of Expulsion and Diaspora Formation from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century, Jun 2013, Budapest, Hungary. Brepols, 244 p., 2015, 978-2-503-55525-6. 10.1484/M.RELMIN-EB.5.109256 . halshs-01730360

HAL Id: halshs-01730360
https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01730360

Submitted on 16 Mar 2018

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

EXPULSION AND DIASPORA FORMATION

Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies

5

Series Editor
John Tolan

Editorial Board:
Camilla Adang, Tel Aviv University
Nora Berend, Cambridge University
Nicolas De Lange, Cambridge University
Maribel Fierro, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
Christian Müller, Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
Kenneth Pennington, Catholic University of America

In the middle ages, from Baghdad to Barcelona, significant communities of religious minorities resided in the midst of polities ruled by Christians and Muslims: Jews and Christians throughout the Muslim world (but particularly from Iraq westward), lived as *dhimmis*, protected but subordinate minorities; while Jews (and to a lesser extent Muslims) were found in numerous places in Byzantine and Latin Europe. Legists (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) forged laws meant to regulate interreligious interactions, while judges and scholars interpreted these laws.

Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies presents a series of studies on these phenomena. Our goal is to study the history of the legal status of religious minorities in Medieval societies in all their variety and complexity. Most of the publications in this series are the products of research of the European Research Council project RELMIN: The Legal Status of Religious Minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean World (5th-15th centuries) (www.relmin.eu).

Au moyen âge, de Bagdad à Barcelone, des communautés importantes de minorités religieuses vécurent dans des Etats dirigés par des princes chrétiens ou musulmans: dans le monde musulman (surtout de l'Iraq vers l'ouest), juifs et chrétiens résidèrent comme *dhimmis,* minorités protégées et subordonnées; tandis que de nombreuses communautés juives (et parfois musulmanes) habitèrent dans des pays chrétiens. Des légistes (juifs, chrétiens et musulmans) édictèrent des lois pour réguler les relations interconfessionnelles, tandis que des juges et des hommes de lois s'efforcèrent à les interpréter.

La collection *Religion and Law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies* présente une série d'études sur ces phénomènes. Une partie importante des publications de cette collection est issue des travaux effectués au sein du programme ERC RELMIN : Le Statut Légal des Minorités Religieuses dans l'Espace Euro-méditerranéen (Vᶜ-XVᶜ siècles) (www.relmin.eu).







© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

EXPULSION AND DIASPORA FORMATION:

RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN FLUX FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Edited by
John Tolan

BREPOLS

Relmin is supported by the European Research Council, under the EU 7th Framework Programme.

Relmin est financé par le Conseil Européen de la Recherche, sous le 7ème Programme Cadre de l'Union Européenne.

© 2015, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2015/0095/151
ISBN 978-2-503-55525-6

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Katalin Szende & John Tolan, Foreword 7

John Tolan, Exile and identity 9

Kyra Lyublyanovics, Spies of the enemy, Pagan herders and vassals most welcome: Cuman–Hungarian relations in the thirteenth century 31

Katalin Szende, Scapegoats or competitors? The expulsion of Jews from Hungarian towns on the aftermath of the battle of Mohács (1526) 51

Robin Mundill, Banishment from the edge of the world: the Jewish experience of Expulsion from England in 1290 85

Nadezda Koryakina, 'The first exile is ours': the terms *golah* and *galut* in medieval and early modern Jewish *responsa* 103

Carsten L. Wilke, Losing Spain, securing Zion: allegory and mental adaption to exile among refugees of the Iberian inquisitions 117

Marcell Sebők, The Galley-Slave Trial of 1674: Conviction and Expulsion of Hungarian Protestants 135

Josep Xavier Muntané i Santiveri, Où cessent les mots : juifs de Catalogne ? Une révision du terme « sefardi » appliqué aux juifs de Catalogne 149

Patrick Sänger, Considerations on the administrative organization of the Jewish military colony in Leontopolis: A case of generosity and calculation 171

Georg Christ, Transients? Jews in Alexandria in the late Middle Ages through Venetian eyes 195

Marianna D. Birnbaum, Christopher Marlowe and the Jews of Malta 217

Susan Einbinder, Conclusion 231

Index 239



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

FOREWORD

'Identity,' says Tony Judt, 'is a dangerous word. It has no respectable contemporary uses.'[1] Judt, a historian of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe, is well placed to know the perils for the historian of succumbing to the sirens of identity. A priori, then, it is a potentially perilous enterprise to undertake a volume devoted to *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*. How does the experience of expulsion create, deconstruct, or transform group identities? To what extent do diasporas create cultural identities bridging large spans of time and space? How do the far-flung elements of those diasporas see their link to each other and to the (real or mythicized) land of origin?

The eleven articles in this volume are the fruits of a conference held at the Central European University in Budapest, 5–8 June 2013. The conference grew out of a collaboration between two research endeavors both interested in the questions of identity and legal status raised in the process of expulsion and diaspora. First, John Tolan's RELMIN project (*The Legal Status of Religious Minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean World, Fifth-Fifteenth Centuries*) funded by the European Research Council (ERC) with an Advanced Research Grant (ARG) for the period 2010–2015. Second, a collaborative project carried out by the Transcultural Studies Program and the Institute of Papyrology of the University of Heidelberg and the Department of Medieval Studies at CEU set up to study diasporic groups in comparative and distinctly historical pre-modern, that is, late antique, medieval, and early modern perspectives. This latter project looked into a variety of professional and 'ethnic' groups operating in and/or connecting two geographic regions: Central and Eastern Europe, on the one hand and the Eastern Mediterranean, on the other.[2]

The conference was accompanied by three field trips that presented the heritage of religious and ethnic groups that lived in and around Budapest in different historic contexts. One walking tour followed the traces of the German, Italian, Jewish, and Moslem inhabitants of Buda's Castle Hill; another walking tour took the participants to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish quarter of Pest, which shows traces of both tragic destruction and modern attempts at revival.

---

1 Tony Judt, 'The Edge People,' *The New York Review of Books*, 23 February 2010, http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2010/feb/23/edge-people/ (accessed 11/3/2015).

2 For an overview see Georg Christ – Katalin Szende, Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities, and the Diasporic Experience in East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Era – Project Report. *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 20 (2014), 296–305.

The third excursion, to Vác and the Börzsöny hills, traced the vestiges of medieval German burghers, Slovak settlers after the Ottoman period and a modern Jewish presence. For researchers of the legal aspects of religious cohabitation, the visit to the residence of the Werbőczy family (whose most prominent member was Stephen, the author of the customary law compilation called the *Tripartitum*) at Alsópetény was especially memorable.[3]

We would like to thank the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University for hosting the conference and to our colleagues at CEU, Tijana Krstić and Carsten Wilke for their advice in developing the program. We also thank the Central European University, the University of Heidelberg, the German Academic Exchange Program (DAAD), the Hungarian Scholarship Board (MÖB) and the European Research Council for financing the conference and this publication. Our thanks also to Brepols and in particular to Loes Diercken for help with the publication. And special thanks to Nicolas Stefanni for all his work in the organization of the conference and its publication.

This volume is part of a wider reflection, as the fifth volume of the collection 'Religion and law in Medieval Christian and Muslim Societies' on social and legal status of religious minorities in the Medieval world. The first volume, *The Legal Status of Dhimmī-s in the Islamic West,* published in 2013, examined the laws regarding Christian and Jews living in Islamic societies of Europe and the Maghreb and the extent to which such legal theory translate into concrete measures regulating interreligious relations. The second volume in this series (published in 2014), was devoted to *Jews in Early Christian Law: Byzantium and the Latin West, Sixth–Eleventh centuries*. Volume 3, *Religious cohabitation in European towns (Tenth–Fifteenth centuries)*, was published in 2015, as was volume 4, a monograph by Clara Maillard entitled *Les papes et le Maghreb aux XIIIème et XIVème siècles: Étude des lettres pontificales de 1199 à 1419*. Subsequent volumes, to be published in 2015 and 2016 will deal with *Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe: the historiographical legacy of Bernhard Blumenkranz;* and *Law and Religious minorities in Medieval Societies: between theory and praxis;* and *Medieval Minorities: Law and Multiconfessional Societies in the Middle Ages.* And the RELMIN database continues to make available online key legal sources of the Middle Ages concerning religious minorities.[4]

Katalin Szende & John Tolan

3 The field trips were organized and guided by József Laszlovszky (CEU) and Borbála Lovas (ELTE). The participants gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Budapest History Museum (András Végh), the Museum of County Pest (Tibor Ákos Rácz), the Vác Jewish Community (János Turai) and the management of the Prónay Mansion at Alsópetény (Dr. József Molnár).

4 http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/index/?langue=eng (accessed 11/3/2015).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

John Tolan

EXILE AND IDENTITY

لا ئنظروىَ وراءهم ليودِّعوا منفى،
فإنّ أمامهم منفى

They don't look behind them to bid farewell to exile
Since ahead of them is exile

These are the opening lines of Mahmoud Darwish's poem 'They don't look behind them', which presents a group of exiles living in a time and a space that are not theirs. His exiles wander, seemingly aimlessly, in the yard of the house that is their temporary exile, in the street, bearing 'caskets filled with things of absence', telling passersby 'we are still alive: don't remember us'. They dream to get out of the 'story' (hikaya) and to bathe in the light, reach the stars, but inevitably wake up to the story of their exile.[1]

Exile and longing are constant themes in Darwish's poetry.[2] These poems are of course informed and inspired by Darwish's own experience and by that of the Palestinian people. Yet this poem, like other poems he wrote on these themes, does not explicitly invoke Palestine or the Palestinians: clearly, Darwish is interested in a universal phenomenon of exile. In another poem, 'The Kurd has only the wind', dedicated to his Kurdish friend and fellow writer Salim Barakat, Darwish evokes the figure of the Kurdish exile cut off from his land and people, living in solitude.

In the Near East, multiple narratives of exile intertwine, connect, and often clash. Shlomo Sand, in his 2009 book *The Invention of the Jewish People,* calls into question what he presents as the prevailing national Israeli myth of expulsion and redemption.[3] According to this narrative, which has many variant forms, the Jewish people were expelled from Israel in Antiquity and lived in exile for 1900 years before the creation of the state of Israel restored their homeland to them. The theme of exile is of course rooted, for Jews as for Christians, in the biblical

1 For the Arabic text and an English translation, see Mahmoud Darwish, *The butterfly's burden*, (Tarset: Bloodaxe, 2007), pp. 220–221.

2 See Kate Daniels, "The Song of Everyone without a Homeland': A Palestinian Writer in 'Cosmopolitan' Beirut', in *Diaspora identities: exile, nationalism and cosmopolitanism in past and present,* ed. by Susanne Lachenicht and Kirsten Heinsohn (Frankfurt: Campus, 2009), pp. 148–161.

3 Shlomo Sand, *The invention of the Jewish people*, (London; New York: Verso, 2009).

stories of the two destructions of the temple of Jerusalem. The poetic evocation in Lamentations of the Jews weeping by the rivers of Babylon has inspired poets from antiquity to the reggae group the Melodians (in their 1970 hit 'The Rivers of Babylon'). Yet for Sand, the modern Israeli national myth underplays the historical role of proselytism and conversion to Judaism. In accordance with nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European nationalism, Israeli nationalism sees Jews as a nation rather than a religious group, unified by blood and ethnicity, and the creation of Israel as the restoration of the ancient homeland to a nation in exile. In Israel/Palestine, two nationalist narratives of exile and longing are in confrontation.

Obviously Europe as well, in the twentieth century, produced its share of exiles. And its share of narratives of exile. As Peter Fritzsche has pointed out, exile narratives evoke the loss not only of a homeland, but also of another time, the time before exile, when things were different, were as they should be.[4] One finds a sense both of homesickness (longing for a place) and of nostalgia (longing for a bygone era). Fritzsche shows how the French aristocrats who went into exile during the revolution and returned during the restoration lived on in exile in a land that was both familiar and strange, their homeland yet no longer theirs, since society had been fundamentally altered by revolution. Yet while Fritzsche sees this as an essentially modern phenomenon caused by the rupture of the French Revolution, earlier ruptures had produced other narratives of exile and longing.

In the pages that follow, we explore the relations between expulsion, diaspora, and exile between Late Antiquity and the seventeenth century. Our goal in bringing these essays together is to try to shed light on a certain number of issues.

a. First, to try to understand the dynamics of expulsion: what are the social and political causes of expulsion?
b. Second, to examine how expelled communities integrate (or not) into their new host societies.
c. And finally, to understand how the experiences of expulsion and exile are made into founding myths that establish (or attempt to establish) group identities.

Let me take each of these questions individually. (A long answer to the first question and briefer reflections on the second two).

4 Peter Fritzsche, 'Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity', *The American Historical Review,* 106 (2001), 1587–618.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

I. How, then, to understand the dynamics of expulsion?

Jews of Medieval Europe were peculiarly both members and outsiders of the Christian European societies in which they lived. They lived cheek by jowl with their Christian neighbors, with whom they conducted business, swapped gossip, and exchanged neighborly services. Yet European Jews inculcated into their children, through rite and reading, the notion that they were the people of Israel living in exile, far from their true home. Law and custom bade both Christians and Jews to avoid excessive promiscuity, in particular whatever could lead to sexual contact or apostasy: rabbis, churchmen, and lay legislators sought to define and reinforce the boundaries between Jews and Christians. Moreover, in many of the northern European kingdoms, Jews were fairly recent arrivals: this was in particular the case in England, where they had come in the wake of the Norman conquest of 1066.

A wave of expulsions struck Jewish communities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, amounting to what one could call a first age of expulsion. In 1182, Philippe II expelled the Jews from the French Royal domain. In the following decades, Jews were expelled from Brittany (1240), Gascony (1287), Anjou (1289), England (1290), and France (1306): not to mention many more local expulsions, notably from English and French towns. Some of these expulsions were short-lived, others long-lasting; the causes and consequences of each are different. Yet each would confirm the stereotype of the Jew as essentially rootless, a foreigner who, since he or she is not part of the community, can be expelled from it. While each of these events is different, they occur against a common background of economic and social upheaval and of growing violence against Jews.

Little comparative study of these expulsions has been undertaken, and no systematic attempt has been made to see how they fit into what is commonly portrayed as a rising tide of anti-Judaism. The contours of the latter are widely known, though the relative importance of its components have been and continue to be debated. Much attention has been paid to the anti-Jewish violence that often accompanied the preaching of crusades and the departure of crusading troops: the massacres of hundreds of Jews in the Rhineland by departing crusaders in 1096 and subsequent waves of violence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5]

Another index of increasing anti-Judaism is the emergence of the Blood libel accusation, according to which Jews ritually murder Christians (usually young

5 Among the many publications on this subject, see Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two nations in your womb: perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Eva Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs*, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005).

boys), often crucifying them on Good Friday, and use their blood in rituals (putting it in Matzoh or Hamentasche, etc.). We find the accusations first in England: William of Norwich (1144); similar accusations in Gloucester (1168), Bury St Edmunds (1181) and Bristol (1183); Little Saint Hugh of Lincoln (1255; mentioned by Chaucer in the Prioress' tale, another story of Jews murdering a Christian boy – but not strictly a ritual murder). On the continent: Blois (1171), then, starting in the thirteenth century, widespread accusations (Empire, Spain…). Various popes, Emperors and others denounce such accusations and try to protect Jews from the ensuing violence.[176]

Jews are also accused of host desecration: buying or stealing consecrated Eucharist hosts, usually in order to torture or crucify them. In these stories the hosts usually bleed or occasionally even turn into a child. The Jewish perpetrators are exposed: some of them convert; others are killed by Christians. Indeed these accusations led to violence against Jews and sometimes to local expulsions.[7] The first such accusation is from Paris in 1290; starting in fourteenth century, host desecration accusations become quite common across Europe, particular in Central Europe.

Another indication is increasing missionary activity, starting in the thirteenth century particularly by the new mendicant orders, Franciscans and Dominicans. Yet the extent to which these orders were involved in active missionary preaching in the thirteenth century is not clear, and most of the evidence is from Spain: there is little if any evidence of serious efforts to preach to Jews in England or France. Mendicants did succeed in targeting the Talmud, which was put on trial and burned in Paris in 1240; and Edward I took measures to require English Jews to listen to Dominican missionary sermons (but to what extent this was actually enforced is not clear).[8]

All of this has led to debate over the causes of the increase in anti-Judaism and the perceived turning point: the 1st crusade? (Bernhard Blumenkranz);[9] the emergence of a new clerical elite in the twelfth century that saw the Jews as potential

6 R. Po-chia Hsia, *The myth of ritual murder: Jews and magic in Reformation Germany*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). For an overview of recent historiography on the subject, see Hannah R. Johnson, *Blood libel: the ritual murder accusation at the limit of Jewish history*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012).

7 Miri Rubin, *Gentile tales: the narrative assault on late medieval Jews*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

8 Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish solution: experiment and expulsion, 1262–1290*, (London [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 69.

9 Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096*, (Paris: Mouton, 1960).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

rivals? (R. I. Moore);[10] 13th-century Mendicant missions? (Jeremy Cohen);[11] the emergence of Blood libel and host desecration accusations? Are the causes to be sought in the doctrine or rites of Latin Christianity (increasing emphasis on the humanity and suffering of Jesus around the time of the first crusade; doctrine of transubstantiation and real presence [which became part of the credo at the fourth Lateran Council of 1215]; attempts to affirm the rationality of Christianity and its harmony with classical philosophy)? In the attitudes of Jews (isolation/separation) or in their economic activities (money lending)? In the fact that an increasingly mobile, literate, numerate and mercantile Christian Europe had less and less need for Jews to serve as its merchants and bankers? And is this growing Jew hatred and violence to be ascribed to the 'Church'? To the Kings and other princes of Europe? Or to 'popular' attitudes (whatever that means)?

All of these hypotheses correspond (with varying degrees of nuance) to the general schema that has been dubbed the 'lachrymose' view of Jewish history as a vale of tears, a succession of persecutions, humiliation and violence. Much recent scholarship has called into question this vision: Elisheva Baumgarten, in her work on Jewish families in Ashkenaz, highlights the often close and friendly relationships between Jewish and Christian neighbors. Robert Chazan, in a recent book, argues against the lachrymose view. In 1000, the vast majority of Jews lived in Islamic areas, substantial numbers lived in Byzantium; one found only small and scattered communities in Latin Europe.[12] By 1500, Jewish demography in Europe has exploded, and by far the biggest Jewish communities in the world are in Central and Eastern Europe. Clearly a success story, for Chazan, in spite of the persecutions, expulsions, etc. Jonathan Elukin emphasizes the 'ongoing habits of a pragmatic tolerance' in Christian-Jewish relations in Medieval Europe, in despite of periodic violence.[13] This nuance is important, but the question of the rise and strengthening of anti-Jewish prejudice remains.

David Nirenberg has reminded us that violence does not necessarily mean exclusion, that the periodic (and often ritualized) acts of violence against the *calls* of thirteenth-century Catalan cities are not inexorably leading to the violence of 1391 and the expulsion of 1492.[14] Like those acts of violence, the expulsions are

10 R. I. Moore, *The formation of a persecuting society: power and deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250*, (Oxford, UK; New York, NY, USA: B. Blackwell, 1987).

11 Jeremy Cohen, *Living letters of the law: ideas of the Jew in medieval Christianity*, (Berkeley, Calif. [etc.]: University of California press, 1999); Jeremy Cohen, *The friars and the Jews: the evolution of medieval anti-Judaism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

12 Robert Chazan, *Reassessing jewish life in Medieval Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

13 Jonathan M. Elukin, *Living together, living apart: rethinking Jewish-Christian relations in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2007).

14 David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Pinceton University Press, 1996).

to be studied not as so many dots to be connected in the history of the rise of medieval anti-Judaism, but as individual events with specific and distinct causes.

In order to explain the expulsions from England and France, historians have offered many and divergent (though not mutually exclusive) explanations: rising popular hatred towards Jews (as shown in blood libel charges and massacres), resentment at the practices of Jewish money lending; financial opportunism on the part of kings, nobles or churchmen. It is the latter elements that I want to focus on here: while I certainly won't deny that broadly shared anti-Jewish attitudes and stereotypes contributed to some of the decisions to expel Jews, our sources point more towards immediate economic concerns. But here too, historians have been divided, some claiming that such and such a prince profited handsomely from the expulsion of Jews, others affirming that the same prince lost income, and thus clearly acted on principally religious motivations.

In order to prepare the ground for our reflections on expulsion, I want to take a brief look at four expulsions from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: France 1182; Brittany 1240; Gascony 1287; and Anjou 1288.

1. France 1182

In 1180, Prince Philip (the future king Philip II) had all the Jews of the royal domain arrested and their goods confiscated; in 1182, he expelled them. What are the reasons for this expulsion, which marks a rupture from the traditional policy of royal protection of Jewish communities (in particular, during the reign of Philip's father Louis VII)? For William Jordan, the 1180 attack against French Jews shows Philip's will to affirm his difference, and his independence, from his father; this violence, along with the expulsion that he proclaimed once he became king, was meant to show his vassals and subjects that he could act firmly and decisively. Princely heirs and young kings often needed a show of force to dramatically affirm their authority: acts of aggression against Jews were a common way of doing so, since the risks involved were very low.[15]

No expulsion order or other official document from 1182 explaining the expulsion survives. Our main source of information is the *Gesta Philippi Augusti,* by Rigord, monk of St. Denis and royal biographer.[16] Rigord's original chronicle, which he dedicated to the king, covered the years 1179–1190. It is here that he praises Philip for having expelled the Jews. Rigord portrays the Jews as hostile and

15 William Chester Jordan, 'Princely Identity and the Jews in Medieval France', *Wolfenbüttler Mittelalter-Studien* 11 (1996), 257–273, reprint in Jordan, *Ideology and Royal Power in Medieval France: Kingship, Crusades and the Jews* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

16 Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste,* Elisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon, and Yves Chauvin, eds (Paris, 2006).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

violent to Christianity: they hide in the catacombs during Holy Week and ritually kill a Christian: Rigord here refers to the legend of Richard of Paris, a Christian child allegedly murdered by Jews during the reign of Louis VII.[17] Rigord describes how Jews flocked to France during the reign of Louis VII because of the king's great liberality towards his subjects. They became rich through moneylending, impoverishing their debtors, seizing their possessions, even imprisoning them in Jewish homes in Paris. Worse, they accepted as pawn from churches sacred items: crucifixes and chalices: the latter, meant to receive the blood of Christ, they filled with wine and had their children dip cakes into them: this allows Rigord associate the Parisian Jews with the impious Babylonian king Belshazzar, who drunk out of the Jews' sacred vessels and who was then vanquished by the Persian kings Cyrus and Darius.[18] Rigord accuses one of the Jews of having tossed a jewelled crucifix into a latrine.

Rigord describes how the king consults a holy hermit, and decides to take action. First he releases Christians from their debts to the Jews, yet somehow keeps a fifth for himself. William Jordan hypothesizes that this means that he cancelled interest and kept to himself a fifth of the capital due; for Jordan, this in fact refers to the seizure of the Jews in 1180 by Prince Philip while his father Louis VII lay dying: a quick and easy means for him to enrich himself and assert his power. The fifth given for their ransom amounted to 15,000 marks, according to English chronicler Ralph de Diceto.[19]

Philip decrees the expulsion in April 1182 and gives Jews 2 months (until 24 June) to sell their moveable goods and leave. The king seizes all real estate. About 2000 Jews were expelled from Paris, by far the largest community in Philip's domain. Many of the synagogues were given to ecclesiastical institutions and transformed into churches. Many of the houses, lands, vineyards, etc., were sold or rented out by the king. There is no pursuing of debtors, so it does seem that (after collection of the fifth) debts to Jews were forgiven.

Yet in 1198, Philip readmits Jews, much to the chagrin of Rigord and others. Rigord recounts in the second part of his Chronicle, dedicated to his abbot and clearly not meant for royal eyes, that Philip's decision to readmit Jews was presaged by apocalyptic signs (violent storms, rumors of the birth of the Antichrist in Babylon, poor harvests) and was punished by divine wrath (in the form of English victories over the French). Early thirteenth-century sources (echoed in bulls of

17 Rigord, ch. 5; for a partial translation of Rigord's passages concerning the expulsion of the Jews, see Jacob Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Sourcebook, 315–1791*, (Cincinnati: The Union of American Hebrew congregations, 1938), pp. 24–27. On Richard of Paris, see AASS III March 591–594; Jordan, *The French monarchy and the Jews: from Philip Augustus to the last Capetians*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 18.

18 Daniel 5:1–4.

19 Jordan, *The French monarchy and the Jews*, 30–31.

Innocent III) reiterate Rigord's earlier complaints: Jews build synagogues higher than neighboring churches, impoverish widows and orphans through usury, employ Christian servants and wet-nurses.[20] As Jordan shows, the (smaller) number of Jews readmitted in 1198 are even more dependent on the king and more tied to the practice than money lending than those expelled in 1182 (who had owned lands, vineyards, etc.). This will create new cycles of resentment, restrictions, expulsions.

2. Brittany 1240

On April 10th, 1240, Jean le Roux (John the Red), duke of Brittany, expels the Jews from his duchy. For this expulsion (unlike that of 1182 and many later expulsions), we have the expulsion edict:

> To all who may read these letters, John, duke of Brittany, count of Richmont sends greetings: Know that, at the petition of the bishops, abbots, barons and vassals of Brittany, and having in mind the good of all of Brittany, we expel all the Jews from Brittany. Neither we nor our heirs shall have them in Brittany at any time in the future, nor shall we tolerate that any of our subjects have them in their lands which are in Brittany. Moreover, all debts due the said Jews from any who live in Brittany, in whatsoever manner and form these are due them, we completely remit and nullify. Lands pledged to the said Jews and all other pledges of movable or real properly shall revert to the debtors or their heirs, except for lands and other pledges which have already been sold to Christians by the judgment of our court. Moreover, no one shall in any manner be accused or summoned for the death of a Jew who has been killed before now. Moreover, in good faith and as much as in our power lies, we shall ask and urge the lord king of France by his letters to agree to and confirm this order and decree. Moreover, we promise for ourselves and for our father, that no debts at one time contracted in Brittany shall be paid to Jews who live in the lands of our father. This edict thus decreed we swear to observe in good faith forever. If it ever happens that we act contrary to this decree, the bishops of Brittany may individually and collectively excommunicate us and place under the interdict our lands in their dioceses, notwithstanding any privilege to the contrary obtained or to be obtained. Furthermore, we grant and concede that our heirs, whenever they succeed us, shall, after coming of age, take an oath faithfully to observe this decree as above ordained. The said barons and vassals and whoever else owes fealty to the count of Brittany shall not swear fealty and do homage to the said heirs, just as they are supposed to do and without delay. Moreover, the bishops, barons, and vassals have sworn and granted that at no time will they hold or permit

20 See, for example, John Tolan, 'Innocent III, Etsi Judeos', (2012). http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait30385/

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

> the holding of Jews in their lands in Brittany. Given in Ploermel, the Tuesday before Easter in the year of our Lord MCCXXXIX. [= 10 April 1240][21]

Several elements are striking about this edict. First of all, the duke claims to be acting 'at the petition of the bishops, abbots, barons and vassals of Brittany'. Second, he cancels all debts to Jews and has all pledges (either lands or items placed in pawn) returned to their owners – except for those items or land which have already been sold to other Christians. Third, he proclaims 'no one shall in any manner be accused or summoned for the death of a Jew who has been killed before now'. Finally, in striking contrast to Philip II (who, as we have seen, readmitted Jews into his lands sixteen years after having expelled them), Jean solemnly proclaims that Jews shall never be allowed in Brittany by either himself or his heirs, and takes drastic measures in order to assure this.

The scant documentation from the small Jewish community in Brittany begins in 1209. There are in all about a dozen documents concerning loans made by Jews to Christians in Brittany between 1209 and 1235. All of the debtors seem to be landed nobles, most of them vassals of the duke of Brittany, Pierre de Dreux. Some of them have to alienate large tracts of land in order to pay off their debts. We know from other sources that Pierre himself worked up a considerable debt to Jews.[22] Duke Pierre de Dreux (father and predecessor of Jean le Roux), it seems, had himself built up considerable debt to them. We also have a document from 1222 in which Pierre recognizes that the bishop of Nantes has jurisdiction over the town's Jewish community.[23]

Pierre de Dreux was close to Philip II Augustus: they participated together in the Third Crusade. Brittany had long been a bone of contention between the Plantagenets and the Capetians. When Duke Arthur died without heir in 1202, Philip quickly recognized Arthur's half-sister Alix as duchess and married her to Pierre de Dreux. Pierre fought alongside Philip in his expeditions against the forces of King John in 1216. Alix died while giving birth to Jean le Roux in 1217. Hence from 1217 to 1236, Pierre acted as regent for his son. He was in constant struggle with Breton magnates, particularly with bishops (earning him the nickname 'mauclerc'). Pierre adeptly navigated between Plantagenets and Capetians, first siding clearly with Philip Augustus, later making homage to Henry III (1229).

---

21 For Latin text, English translation, commentary and bibliography, see: John Tolan, 'Jean le Roux, Assise des juifs', (2012). http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait87461/

22 John Tolan, 'Lachrymabilem judeorum questionem: la brève histoire de la communauté juive de Bretagne au XIII[e] siècle', in *Hommes, cultures et paysages de l' Antiquité à la période moderne [mélanges offerts à Jean Peyras],* ed. by Fatima Ouachour, Isabelle Pimouguet-Pédarros & Monique Clavel-Lévêque (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2013), pp. 417–432.

23 John Tolan, 'Pierre de Dreux, Cum inter me et ecclesiam Nannetensem', http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait254723/ (accessed 11/3/2015).

He participated in baronial revolts against the child king Louis IX and ultimately had to make a humiliating submission in 1234. Weakened and disgraced, soon to lose any real power in Brittany, he went to Rome and found an unlikely ally in Pope Gregory IX: he took the cross and became one of the leaders of what historians have dubbed the 'Baron's crusade'. Michael Lower describes how Pierre deftly used the new status of papal protégé to levy taxes on the clergy and to claim immunity from episcopal excommunication. With impunity, he refused to recognize the new Bishop of Nantes in 1236 and usurped the income from the episcopal lands. He finally left for the east in 1240 (and subsequently accompanied Louis IX's Egyptian crusade in 1248).[24]

It is in the period for preparation of the crusade, probably in 1236, that there is extensive violence against Jewish communities in Brittany, Anjou and Poitou. There are brief mentions in Latin and Hebrew chronicles; these massacres are denounced by the bishops at the provincial council of Tours in 1236, and the same year in a papal bull, *Lachrymabilem Judeorum*, Gregory IX laments the fate of Jews brutally massacred, including women and children, and orders bishops and the French king to do whatever they can to put a stop to the violence. Yet sources give little detail; it is impossible to know how many Jews were killed (Gregory says 2500) and who did the killing. Impossible to know also what role Pierre de Dreux and his vassals may have had in the massacres.

With this background, we can return to the expulsion order and try more fully to understand the context and motivation of Duke Jean. Jean himself affirmed, as we have seen, that he was expelling the Jews at the request of 'the bishops, abbots, barons and vassals of Brittany'. Some historians, such as Michael Lower, affirm that he is acting under pressure from the Church.[25] Is the expulsion in some ways the fruit of ecclesiastical anti-Judaism? If so, why did the provincial council of Tours, in which the Breton bishops took part in 1236, staunchly condemn the anti-Jewish violence and proclaim *ecclesia judeos sustineat* 'the Church should preserve the Jews'?[26] Moreover, Jean le Roux was not easily cowed by pressure from churchmen: when he succeeded to the duchy in 1237 and made homage to Louis IX, he refused to swear to defend the liberties of the church, to the great

24 Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: a call to arms and its consequences*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). Eric Borgnis Desbordes, *Pierre Ier de Bretagne (1213–1237): un Capétien sur le trône ducal*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013).

25 'There are indications that John was under ecclesiastical pressure to issue the assize [i.e., the expulsion order]', Lower, p. 126.

26 Notice n°137043, RELMIN project, 'The legal status of religious minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean world (5th-15thcenturies)', Telma Web edition, IRHT, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes – Orléans http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait137043/ (accessed 11/3/2015).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

annoyance of the king and his ecclesiastical counselors.[27] Perhaps the expulsion of the Jews, rather than showing his will to submit to his bishops, was on the contrary a way to destabilize them by showing himself to be a more committed than they to fighting the enemies of the Church. This corresponds to what we know about this duke who, while he defended his prerogatives against Breton bishops as resolutely as his father, never was called 'Mauclerc'.

The true motivations are to be sought elsewhere in the edict. First of all, he seems to be acting in his own interest and in the interest of his vassals: he cancels all their debts as well as those he has inherited from his father Pierre de Dreux. Moreover, he protects his vassals from any legal troubles they might have incurred from participation in anti-Jewish violence (in Anjou, on the contrary, royal inquests prosecuted those involved in killings of Jews). These key concessions to his vassals come at a moment when the 23-year-old duke needed to consolidate his authority over them. There were probably very few Jews left in Brittany after the violence of 1236; any remaining Jews or their heirs now have no legal recourse to prosecute the perpetrators of violence or to reclaim their heritage.

We have seen that a number of Breton nobles had amassed debts towards Jews between 1209 and 1235 and that they were at times forced to alienate large tracts of land in order to repay those debts. The edict of expulsion shows that Duke Pierre also had debts to Jews – debts which in theory accumulated no further interest since his departure on crusade, but for which the capital remained due. It is hence probable, as Michael Lower remarks, that the annulment of debt to Jews was financially more beneficial to the duke and his vassals than was the continued presence of Jewish lenders in the duchy.[28] All the more so, we might add, from Jean's point of view, since Nantes' Jews were subject to the bishop: not only was the duke erasing his own (inherited) debt, he was depriving a rival of income, all while playing the role of defender of the faith.

3. Gascony 1287

Little research has been done on the expulsion of the Jews from Gascony in 1287.[29] Edward I was not only the King of England: he was also duke of Gascony. It has been suggested that the 1287 expulsion was a sort of 'test run' for the expulsion from England. Be that as it may, the situation is different: in England Jews depended directly on the crown, and there was an elaborate royal bureaucracy devoted to their affairs (Exchequer of the Jews, justices of the Jews) and to keeping

27 J-L. Montigny, *Essai sur les institutions du duché de Bretagne à l'époque de Pierre Mauclerc et sur la politique de ce prince (1213–1237)* (Paris: La nef de Paris, 1961),.

28 Lower, *Barons' Crusade,* 125–126.

29 For an introduction to the subject, see Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution,* 64–67 & 276–282.

track of debts to Jews (the *archa* system). For these reasons and others, the two expulsions are different and the consequences are very different.

Edward became Duke of Gascony in 1252, at the age of 13, twenty years before ascending the throne of England. The substantial Jewish community of Gascony was an important source of revenue for the duke, who levied extraordinary tallages in 1275, 1281 and 1282. In a number of charters, the king issues privileges granting exemption from tallages to individual Jews in return for annual payments: no doubt a system that provided more reliable and regular income for the duke – and less arbitrary and more manageable payments for the Jews concerned. This revenue became all the more important as Edward amassed heavy debts to pay for his military and diplomatic adventures on the continent, particularly through his role in the negotiations with the Aragonese in his attempts to secure the freedom of Charles II of Anjou.

On Easter Sunday (April 7th) 1287, Edward was standing in a tower in Bordeaux when the floor collapsed: he and his entourage tumbled down 80 feet. Several knights were killed; Edward suffered a broken collarbone and other injuries and was in convalescence for months. In May, he took a crusading vow; soon thereafter, it seems, he decided to expel the Jews from the duchy. In autumn Jews were arrested and their goods seized; by November they are expelled.

The expulsion order is not extant, but a number of documents in the Gascon Rolls refer to Jews, their debtors, and their finances. The English administrators of Gascony in Bordeaux compiled an annual 'Gascon Roll', recording royal revenues, fines, and various other transactions.[30] While Henry Richardson (and after him Chazan) had affirmed that financial need was the principal motor for the Gascon expulsion, Jean-Paul Trabut-Crussac has shown that Edward profited little financially from the expulsion: usury was forgiven (debtors could plea abusive rates of usury and get off with paying only half of their debt).[31] Revenues went principally to the mendicant orders.[32] In other words Edward, heavily indebted

30 See 'The Gascon Rolls project 1317–1468', http://www.gasconrolls.org/.

31 Richardson, *English Jewry,* 225–227; Chazan, *Medieval Jewry of Northern France,* 184; Trabut-Crussac, 85–86.

32 See, for example, *Records of the Wardrobe and the Household, 1286–9,* no. 2578:
Apud Leyburn' ni Vasconia universis Fratribus Minoribus in ducatu Aquitanie existentibus de pecunia proveniente de Judaissmo Vasconie de elemosina regis, MMD li. Chipotensium.
Et Fratribus Predicatoribus universis eiusdem ducatus de elemosina regis, MMD li. Chipotensium.
Et Fratribus de Monte Carmeli universis in eodem ducatu de elemosina regis, Dcc li. Chipotensium.
Et Fratribus de Sancto Augustino universis in eodem ducatu de elemosina regis, cc li. Chipotensium.
Et Fratribus de Penitencia Jehsu Christi de eodem ducatu de elemosina regis, c li. Chipotensium.
Summa Chipotensium in toto vj milia li. que valent in sterlingis M iiijxx xv li. Xvij s. ix d. ob. Summa patet.
Tercia summa totalis MM cccxlviij li. Iij d. ob. Probatur.
Summa totalis istius rotuli MMMiiijxx ij li. Xix s. Probatur. Summa totalis istius rotuli MDccciiijxx v li. Sj s. viij d.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

though he was, chose not to profit financially from the expulsion, preferring to give the money he seized from the Gascon Jews to religious orders, perhaps not wishing to profit from Jewish usury.

There are various texts in the Gascon rolls in which the King noted that some Jews (some individuals are named) had returned to Gascony after 1290; he ordered them expelled and reminded his deputies that no Jews should be allowed to reside in the Duchy. Yet there is evidence that Jews continued to live there, as the duke issued repeated orders to assure their expulsion. Jews lived there openly after the death of Edward in 1307; in 1318 Edward II ordered his seneschal to expel the Jews, saying that he was very surprised that it has not yet been done, since he had ordered it done many times: if the seneschal was not able to expel them, he should at least let him know why.[33]

4. Anjou 1289

Two years later, on December 8th, 1289, Charles II, count of Anjou, expelled the Jews from his county. We have the full expulsion decree, which is our principal source of information.[34]

Charles presents himself as 'king of Jerusalem and Sicily, prince of the duchy of Apulia and the principality of Capua, count of Achea, Anjou and Forcalquier'. As these titles indicate, he laid claim to far-flung domains, over many of which his rights were contested: hence his policies in Anjou are in part subservient to his broader political and military ambitions. His father, Charles I of Anjou (brother of French King Louis IX) had purchased in 1277 the title of King of Jerusalem from Mary of Antioch; hence Charles' claim to the title. Charles I had been crowned King of Sicily in 1265 by pope Clement IV and subsequently conquered the kingdom from Manfred, son of Frederick II Hohenstaufen. In 1282, Sicilians rose up against Angevin rule in what historians call the Sicilian Vespers:

---

33 'Order to the seneschal of Gascony, or his lieutenant, to expel the Jews from the duchy, and not to permit them to live there subsequently, or to certify the king of the reasons why this has not been done, so that the king will be certified by the following Easter of what has been done. The seneschal is not to omit to do this, since the king has ordered it to be done many times, but nothing has been done about which he is greatly surprised.' *Gascon Roll for the 11th year of the reign of Edward II, son of King Edward I*, no. 304 (24 August 1318); translation online http://www.gasconrolls.org/edition/calendars/C61_32/document.html#it032_11_13f_075.

34 Notice n° 252866, RELMIN project, 'The legal status of religious minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean world (5th-15thcenturies)', Telma Web edition, IRHT, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes – Orléans http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait252866/ (accessed 11/3/2015). For background on the Jews of Anjou and their expulsion, seeWilliam Chester Jordan, 'Anciens maîtres/nouveaux maîtres: les Juifs de la France de l'Ouest et la transition des Angevins aux Capétiens', in *Plantagenêts et Capétiens,* ed. by Aurell Martin and Tonnerre Noël-Yves (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Joseph Shatzmiller, 'Les Angevins et les juifs de leurs états: Anjou, Naples et Provence', in *L'Etat angevin: Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle,* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1998), pp. 289–300.

Charles II was taken prisoner by the Catalans in 1284; in 1285, Charles I died. In 1288, Charles I was set free: as a condition of his release, he had relinquished his claim to Sicily (accepting to be called only king of Naples), yet shortly after gaining freedom, Pope Nicholas IV released him from his vow and crowned him King of Sicily. Charles was to pursue this claim until 1302, when he finally renounced it in the Peace of Caltabellotta. His other titles reflect lands over which he had some real power (Apulia and Capua in Southern Italy, Forcalquier in Provence) as well as ones in which his overlordship was recognized in theory but brought him little practical power or benefit (Achaea, a crusader duchy in the Peloponnese).

In 1289, when Charles arrives in Anjou for the first time as count, he seeks of course to affirm his authority over the county. He is also preoccupied with making good his claim to the throne of Sicily, a preoccupation shared by his French and papal allies. He also is deeply in debt, not least to King Edward I of England, who had played a key role in mediating to obtain Charles' release from prison – and who had advanced considerable sums of money to obtain it. Charles of course knew of Edward's Gascon expulsion. Whether or not he knew that Edward had not profited financially from that expulsion, Charles, in need of money to pursue his claim to Sicily through war with Aragon, would use the expulsion to obtain new taxes from his subjects.

In the expulsion order of 1289, Charles affirms that the Jews of Anjou and Maine are guilty of 'many enormities and crimes'. He cites 'sacred authority', in fact a bull of Innocent III, which had applied to the Jews an adage warning against trusting those who were 'like the mouse in a pocket, like the Snake around one's loin, like the fire in one's bosom.'[35] In particular, he accuses them of 'despoiling' Christians through the practice of usury and of cohabiting with Christian women. Charles presents the expulsion as his own initiative, the result of his 'compassion' for the Christian victims of Jewish perfidy. He says that he consulted with bishops and vassals, implying that the decision to expel was based on a broad consultation.

The edict orders expulsion of all Jews from Anjou and Maine. The expulsion is permanent, engaging both count and his successors. Any of the Count's men who exercise authority in his name are allowed (and indeed required) to arrest, despoil and beat any Jew who does not respect the expulsion order; they are then to expel them. Any other subject may arrest and despoil them and bring them to a judge.

Yet the Jews are not the only objects of the expulsion order, which clearly is aimed at usurers more generally: he orders that 'the aforesaid expulsion be extended to all Lombards, Cahorsins, and other foreigners who engage in public

35 'Mus in pera, serpens in gremio et ignis in sinu' Innocent III, Etsi Iudeos, http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait30352/.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

usury without public contracts and who are properly considered usurers'. This is also a permanent expulsion; their goods are to be seized & handed over to 'the lords of those places' (which had not been specified for the Jews).

Like Jean le Roux of Brittany (and unlike the kings of France or England), Charles emphasizes the permanent nature of this expulsion which places penalties on himself or any of his successors in the event that they allow Jews (or other foreign usurers) to return to the county: the count's domain is to be put under interdict and he is to forfeit the special tax that was authorized in the expulsion order.

It is this tax that is the real innovation in this edict: a one-time imposition of three shillings *(solidi)* per hearth and six pennies per worker is accorded to count to recompense his loss of income (or what is presented as such). In 1182, Philippe II profited from the expulsion primarily through seizure of Jews' land and houses (since they were allowed to take moveable property with them); in 1240, Jean le Roux and his barons profited through the canceling of their debt and the reclaiming of items (and land) in pawn; and (as we have seen), Edward I made little if any financial gain from the expulsion from Gascony. Charles took advantage of the expulsion to obtain this exceptional levy, which suggests that the expulsion was a popular move for which his subjects were prepared to pay.

Yet several questions remain unanswered about this expulsion. What became of the expelled Jews' possessions? Their land? Their movable property? The order does not say whether they have the right to sell land or other property and what they may take with them into exile. Further research will perhaps throw light onto these questions. And what about outstanding debts? Were they taken over by count? Was interest forgiven? Capital? Charles says that any future contracts made by Jews are null and void: but what about contracts already established? And the broader question remains of why his Angevin vassals and churchmen would have been favorable to this expulsion of usurers, both Jews and non-Jews. The capital that these lenders made available is not seen as an advantage, but as a means to exploit through the exaction of heavy payments of interest. To understand this resentment, we need to turn to a far better-documented community of Jewish moneylenders, those of thirteenth-century England.

I have taken the time to examine in some detail these four early expulsions, because they are key to understanding other, later expulsions, which we examine in detail: **Robin Mundill** analyzes the Jewish experience of Expulsion from England in 1290.[36] **Katalin Szende** examines the expulsion of Jews from Hungarian towns on the aftermath of the battle of Mohács (1526): here as for each expulsion, one

36 For a comparative study of the expulsions of 1290, 1306 and 1492, see Maurice Kriegel, 'Mobilisation politique et modernisation organique. Les expulsions de Juifs au Bas Moyen Age', *Archives de sciences sociales des religions,* 23 (1978), 5–20.

must disentangle and analyze the different strands of explanation – political, social, economic and religious.

While I have focused here on the examples of expulsions of Jews, of course the Middle Ages also witnessed expulsions of other groups: Muslims from Sicily and Spain, in particular, but also smaller-scale expulsions involving groups of expatriates (Flemish merchants in England, Cahorsin lenders in Anjou), ethnic groups, or religious orders. And of course the wars of religion produced movements of Catholic and Protestant refugees throughout Europe.

Another group in Hungary to face alternate phases of marginalization, favor, and expulsion is the Cumans. **Kyra Lyublyanovics** analyzes the 'shifts and drifts' in Cuman-Hungarian relations in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, as Hungarian Kings and their subjects variously see the Cumans as peaceful herdsmen, useful allies and vassals, untrustworthy spies, or dangerous marauders. Cumans were eventually to integrate and assimilate into Hungarian society and (due in part to pressure through Franciscan mission) to convert to Christianity. They illustrate the ambivalence of diaspora or communal identities where on one extreme isolation and separation can culminate in expulsion and on the other assimilation can lead to the disappearance of any distinctive group identity. This leads us to our second issue...

II. How diaspora communities integrate (or not) into their new host societies

The expelled arrive in a new host society, which often welcomes them with some ambivalence, if not with suspicion or hostility. How do the new involuntary immigrants integrate their new homelands? This of course depends on a wide variety of factors: language, diet, religion, etc. And of course small numbers will integrate more readily then large groups, which are more likely to cling to a specific group identity within the larger society. An important element is the attitude of the authorities of the new lands of exile. Not all diasporas are the result of expulsion: emigration may be motivated by a mix of political, military and economic concerns.

If historians have proposed varying definitions of 'diaspora', the term in general refers to dispersed communities originating from a single homeland (real or imagined) and loosely connected through institutional, ethnic, linguistic or cultural ties. The term derives from the Greek verb διασπείρω (to sow or scatter); in Ancient Greece the term διασπορά hence meant 'scattering' and was *inter alia* used to refer to citizens of a polis who emigrated to new lands for the purpose of colonization. Hence historians speak of a Greek diaspora in the Ancient Mediterranean, beginning in the eighth century BC, as Greeks settled in Sicily, in Marseille (about 600 BC), etc. In the Septuagint, the term is used twice to

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

describe the 'scattering' of the Jewish people throughout the earth.[37] In English the term Diaspora (often capitalized) refers traditionally to the dispersion of the Jews: as Shlomo Sand has shown, the myth of the diaspora, which entails the belief that today's Jews are principally descendants from those 'expelled' from ancient Israel rather than of converts to Judaism, is central to Israeli nationalist ideology. In recent decades, historians and other scholars have increasingly applied the term 'diaspora' to other communities than Greeks and Jews: African victims of the slave trade, 20th and 21st-century refugees and emigrants, etc.[38] Indeed, there is a new burgeoning discipline of 'diaspora studies', as is attested by a plethora of books and articles, numerous journals with 'diaspora' in the title, and a number of research centers, Masters or PhD programs in Diaspora studies.[39]

Patrick Sänger examines Hellenistic king Ptolemy VI (180–145 BC) and his politics towards Jewish refugees who had left Judaea in a context of war between Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid Kingdom and division among Judaeans leading up to the revolt of the Maccabees. Ptolemy VI put into place a specific form of organization, called *politeuma,* which was used by the Ptolemies to integrate ethnically-defined groups into the state system. The prospect of living in a semi-autonomous community, which the constitution as *politeuma* could guarantee, perhaps sevred as additional incentive to immigrate to Ptolemaic Egypt.

The other classic ancient diaspora is the Greek diaspora. It was in the eighth century, as we have seen, that Greeks began to settle in Sicily and other areas in the Western Mediterranean. The spread of Greek culture and language was subsequently furthered by the Hellenized conquerors Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander the Great. Greek became the dominant language of culture and administration of Alexander's successors: the Seleucids, the Ptolemys, and then the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. Here we see a diaspora culture become dominant, and in most respects no longer a diaspora. Then came the Islamic conquests: Greek speakers in Syria and Egypt gradually became a minority once again, with the resurgence of Syriac and Coptic and the spread of Arabic.

A Diaspora community, in theory, conserves its distinct identity (linguistic, cultural, religious) within a foreign host society. But in fact, of course, the degrees of assimilation and acculturation vary widely, and over time certain diaspora communities blend into the host societies completely. Others keep a distinctive identity while adopting important elements of their host cultures: within the Medieval Jewish diaspora, Iraqi Jews and English Jews resemble in many ways

37 Deuteronomy 28:25: ' ἔσῃ ἐν διασπορᾷ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις τῆς γῆς,' [thou shalt be a dispersion in all kingdoms of the earth]; Psalms 146(147).2: 'οἰκοδομῶν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ὁ Κύριος καὶ τὰς διασπορὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπισυνάξει,' [The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel].

38 Rogers Brubaker, 'The 'Diaspora' Diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 28 (2005), 1–19.

39 Jana Braziel and Anita Mannur, *Theorizing diaspora: a reader*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003).

their respective host cultures than they do each other. Indeed the Medieval Jewish experience is a prime example of what some scholars have referred to as a diaspora within a diaspora. Let us return to the narrative of expulsions of Jews from various European polities in the Middle Ages, to now ask where the expelled Jews went and how they were received in their new host societies – and particularly in the existing Jewish communities of those societies.

Jews expelled from England in 1290 went principally to France. Danièle Iancu has shown that some of them went to Provence: Provençal Jews sometimes saw them as strange and foreign, with bizarre dietary habits and unorthodox liturgy.[40] Susan Einbinder has shown how those expelled from France in 1306 integrated (sometimes with reluctance and difficulty) into the Jewish societies of Italy, Catalonia, and elsewhere.[41] She has noted that different Jewish communities of the Middle ages had their distinct customs, and even liturgies, that to lump Jews together under large categories (such as Ashkenaz and Sephardic) is to ignore distinct identities of English Jews, French Jews, Provençal Jews, German Jews, Italian Jews, etc. In a similar vein, **Georg Christ** shows how Jewish merchants of many different origins residing in Alexandria were not lumped together as Jews but rather treated as full members of their host nation, i.e. Romaniote Jews from Crete as Venetians, Jews from Lecce as Leccese/Italian, while the different local Mizrahi Jewish groups were part of the Mamluk-Egyptian community. Christ argues that it is anachronistic to identify Jews as a homogeneous group with a strong shared and common diasporic identity. Paradoxically, the repeated expulsions, each creating a new mini-diaspora, both highlighted these divergences (as Jews from different communities became aware of their differences) and over time obliterated them (as, over the generations, the new arrivals and the hosts assimilated to a common culture).

These earlier expulsions were of course dwarfed by the expulsion from Spain in 1492. Jonathan Ray has shown that while 'Sefarad' had long been a geographic term in Hebrew (roughly corresponding to the Latin 'Hispania'), Jews in the Peninsula did not call themselves as 'Sephardic', but rather identified with their town or region: they were Jews of Mallorca, Toledo, Seville, Barcelona, etc. Only in exile, in new Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire, North Africa, Italy and elsewhere, were they identified by others as 'Sephardic' Jews, an identification

40 Danièle Iancu Carol Iancu, *Les juifs du Midi: une histoire millénaire*, (Avignon: Editions A. Barthélemy, 1995), pp. 78–79. Joseph Shatzmiller, "Tumultus and Rumor in Sinagoga: an Aspect of Social Life of Provençal Jews in the Middle Ages," *Association of Jewish Studies Review,* II Boston 1977, pp. 227–255.

41 Susan L. Einbinder, *No place of rest: Jewish literature, expulsion, and the memory of medieval France*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

they gradually made their own.[42] **Josep Muntané** revisits this issue focusing on Jews from Catalonia, seeing how the levels of identification (based on town, language, culture) played out in these Jewish communities both in Catalonia and subsequently in exile. **Nadezda Koryakina** examines these themes as they appear in *responsa* both before and after 1492: the notion of *galut* (exile), which traditionally referred to Jews' exile from Israel, came to refer to their new exile from the Iberian Peninsula, referred to as *galut sefarad*. This would seem to confirm Jonathan Ray's idea that a common sentiment of a diaspora culture in exile grew up through difficult adjustments to new host communities. The extent to which the Sefarad immigrants succeeded in imposing their own distinct culture is testified by the 'Sefardization' of many other Mediterranean Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire and North Africa.

The war of religions produced new waves of religious refugees, as the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio* obliged Catholics and Protestants to emigrate. **Marcell Sebők** looks at sixteenth–seventeenth-century refugees of the wars of religion (Catholic Netherlanders at Central European courts, Huguenots in the Dutch Republic, etc.) and examines their impact on artistic and cultural production in their new-found homes.

III. And finally, to understand how the experiences of expulsion and exile are made into founding myths that establish (or attempt to establish) group identities

'Sephardi' identity, as we have seen, was forged in exile. A number of Castilian and Leonese Jews emigrated in 1492 to Portugal, from which they would be expelled five years later, in 1497, a year which also saw the mass conversion of many Jews who chose to stay on. Susanne Lachenicht has examined the fortunes of the 'Portuguese Jewish nation' in exile, notably in Bordeaux, London and Amsterdam.[43] These communities mixed declared Jews and conversos, and the lines between Jew and Christian were often blurred. The blurring is made all the more acute through gradual acculturation and intermarriage: the members of the 'Portuguese Jewish nation' are sometimes Jews, sometimes Christians, and their communities take on a different look and feel in England, France and the Low countries. And they distinguish themselves from the wider diaspora: a French friend descended from the Bordeaux community was told by his grandparents that 'we Portuguese Jews' were not responsible for the death of Jesus, since we

42 Jonathan Ray, 'New Approaches to the Jewish Diaspora: The Sephardim as a Sub-Ethnic Group', *Jewish Social Studies,* 15 (2008), 10–31.

43 Susanne Lachenicht, 'Sephardi Jews--Cosmopolitans in the Atlantic World?', in *Diaspora identities: exile, nationalism and cosmopolitanism in past and present,* ed. by Susanne; Heinsohn. Kirsten Lachenicht (Frankfurt: Campus, 2009), pp. 31–51.

came to Portugal *before* the crucifixion. **Carsten Wilke** examines how *marranos,* converts to Judaism and their descendants, objects of suspicion in Spain and Portugal and often targets of the Inquisition, emigrated in their turn, over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Caught between conflicting religious, cultural and linguistic identities, they develop topoi from the religious, metaphysical and love poetry of the Renaissance in order to give coded expression to the psychological crises and cultural processes set in motion by their exile.

Jews were of course not the only Iberians to be expelled on religious grounds: Muslims were expelled from various parts of the Peninsula starting in the thirteenth century, and finally the Moriscos (converted descendants of Muslims) were expelled in 1609. Iberian Muslims, like their Jewish counterparts, formed a new diaspora community in areas where their numbers were significant (in parts of North Africa in particular). For Jewish and Muslim descendants of these exiles (or for those who identified themselves as such), the narratives of expulsion and persecution became founding myths of a communal or diasporic identity. They also became stock figures of European literature: the rootless Morisco is already a striking figure in Cervantes; he will be rediscovered by European and American romantics of the nineteenth century, whose travels to Andalusia become the occasion for musings on a lost world of beauty and chivalry – as we see for example in the portrayal of the Alhambra in the work of British artists James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814), John Frederick Lewis (1805–1876) and David Roberts (1796–1864); or in the stories of Washington Irving.[44] Stories of Jewish expulsees became assimilated to the medieval legend of the 'Wandering Jew', portrayed frequently in art and in literature (sometimes sympathetically, sometimes with Antisemitism). **Marianna Birnbaum** explores the literary image of the Jew through an examination of Christopher Marlowe's portrayal of a sinister Jewish figure in his play 'The Jew of Malta'.

In his 'Reflections on Exile', Edward Said asks: 'if true exile is a condition of terminal loss, why has it been transformed so easily into a potent, even enriching, motif of modern culture?' For Said, 'Modern Western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, refugees.' (p. 137).[45] Said prefers the concept of exile to that of diaspora. Diaspora connotes a scattering through space that in the end may lead to dispersal, assimilation, or disappearance (rather than to a new gathering). Exile has a temporal element: the exile always hopes for return. For Said exile is inextricably (and at times paradoxically) linked with nationalism: the exile dreams not only of his own personal return to his homeland, but to a redemption of his homeland, a return in some sense to the pristine, mythic past.

44 Jenna Rose Roelle, '"That Romantic Fortress": British Depictions of the Alhambra, 1815–1837', (University of Oregon, 2009). Washington Irving, *Tales of the alhambra*, (London: Bell, 1832).
45 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Said repeatedly evoked another figure of intellectual in exile, Erich Auerbach, a German Jew who fled to Istanbul during the second world war, taught literature, and wrote (among other things) *Mimesis,* which was to become a classic of literary scholarship. Auerbach, like Said later, brooded on exile. He devoted much of his life-work to one exiled poet, Dante. In his 1952 essay 'Philology and Weltliteratur', which Said and his wife Maire translated into English in 1969, Auerbach affirmed that

> our philological home is the earth: it can no longer be the nation. [...] We must return, in admittedly altered circumstances, to the knowledge that prenational medieval culture already possessed: the knowledge that the spirit *[Geist]* is not national..[46]

To drive home his point, he cites a passage from Hugh of St. Victor's Didascalicon:

> It is, therefore, a great source of virtue for the practiced mind to learn, bit by bit, first to change about in visible and transitory things, so that afterwards it may be able to leave them behind altogether. The man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong, but he is perfect to whom the entire world is exile [exilium].

And Auerbach concludes by saying

> Hugh intended these lines for one whose aim is to free himself from a love of the world. But it is a good way also for one who wishes to earn a proper love of the world.[47]

Exile is both a painful separation from the homeland and a school for the citizen of the world. The exile bears with him, to return to the image of Mahmud Darwish, 'caskets filled with things of absence', reminders of a lost home from which to construct the narrative of his own exile. Expulsion and its memory live on in narratives that often seek to simplify or deny all the hybridity and ambiguity of the diaspora or exile status: caught between isolation and assimilation, between breaking with the past and dreaming of its renewal.

---

46 Erich Auerbach, 'Philology and Weltliteratur', *Centennial Review,* 13 (1969), 1–17.
47 Ibid. See Kathleen Biddick, 'Orientalism Twenty Years on', *The American Historical Review,* 105 (2000), 1204–1249.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Kyra Lyublyanovics

SPIES OF THE ENEMY, PAGAN HERDERS AND VASSALS MOST WELCOME: CUMAN–HUNGARIAN RELATIONS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The Cumans, a people that habited the Eurasian steppes in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries and formed the Cuman-Kipchak Federation on a vast territory north of the Black Sea, came into contact with the Hungarian Kingdom first in the eleventh century. Two centuries later, through waves of forced migration, some Cuman tribal groups entered the country, and formed a minority of considerable size, comprising *c.* 7–8% of the kingdom's population according to modern calculations.[1]

1 Much debate has been focused on the size of the Cuman minority. The main problem is presented by the lack of reliable sources. The only figure concerning the size of the immigrant group is found in Rogerius' account, who wrotes of 40,000 families (*familias circa quadraginta milia dicebantur.* Rogerius, *Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum = The deeds of the Hungarians: Magistri Rogerii Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta = Epistle to the sorrowful lament upon the destruction of the kingdom of Hungary by the Tartars,* ed. by János M. Bak, Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, (Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2010) p. 140.) This is, however, problematic in many ways. First of all, it is not clear if the word *familia* means family without servants or an extended family with all servants included. Moreover, 40,000 is a figure often used by antique authors as a synonym for 'a great multitude'; Rogerius himself admits that this information is based only on rumors and not on a conscription (they were *said to be* this many). Another problem is posed by the fluctuation in the Cuman minority in the mid-13th century. The situation is further complicated by the difficulties of estimating the surviving Hungarian population in the Great Plain after the invasion, which changed from one region to the other. However, the number of the Cuman minority may be estimated by other means. On the basis of the size of lands given to them and the carrying capacity of those areas, András Pálóczi Horváth calculated the number of newcomers to 70–80,000, 50–60,000 of which remained after the 13th-century military conflicts. He calculated with a population density of 5–8 persons/km^2, and 8000–8500 km^2 of land at their disposal. Gábor Hatházi made similar calculations in the area of Mezőföld (a region in Transdanubia where Cumans settled), based on archaeological results, and concluded that the overall number of the Cuman minority must have been around 40–50,000. However, these are only estimations; the identification of Cuman settlements is itself a debated issue with many inherent and yet unsolved methodological questions. (András Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians. Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Hereditas-Corvina, 1989) p. 61.; Nóra Berend, 'Cuman Integration in Hungary', in *Nomads In The Sedentary World,* ed. by Anatoly M. Khazanow and André Wink (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), 103–127, p. 105; Nóra Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000- c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univerity Press, 2001) pp. 71–72.; Gábor Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon*, Opuscula Hungarica 5 (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004) p. 170.; Szabolcs Rosta, 'Új eredmények a kunok Duna-Tisza-közi szállásterületének kutatásában', in

Cumans – at least in the years predating their entry in the kingdom – led a mobile, nomadic lifestyle on the steppe, and their cultural background, language, religion and customs differed significantly from those of the Hungarians. Nevertheless, they had intensive contacts with Christian states after they first appeared on the southern borders of the Russian Principalities in the mid-eleventh century. By the end of the twelfth century they were more or less acquainted with Christianity, and from the early thirteenth century onwards mendicant orders showed a great interest in the Cumans and Tatars.[2] Cumans were not only familiar with the main dogmatic religions, but they were used to form alliances and attach themselves to foreign empires whose culture and language was different from their own. The Cuman-Kipchak Confederation, a vast territory habited by Turkic-speaking tribes north of the Black Sea in the eleventh and twelfth century, was a loose alliance of ethnically diverse groups,[3] which must have resulted in a linguistic and cultural assimilation between populations of different origins. In some cases, these tribes were only brought together by the slow westward movements fuelled by the Mongol expansion. After the battle at the Kalkha River in 1223, the Mongols regarded Cumania as their rightful possession and the Cumans as their subjects, and thus a rapid movement of the steppe population to the West began. In fact, a smaller Cuman community under the leadership of khan Bortz decided to have his people baptized and make an allegiance with the Hungarian king already in 1227, which was probably due to the need to find protection from the growing Mongol threat; Duke Béla (the *rex junior*, later king of Hungary by the name Bela IV) started to use the title *rex Cumaniae*.[4] As a devastating military conflict with the Mongols seemed inevitable, another Cuman khan, Kuthen asked for asylum in Hungary in 1239, and entered the kingdom with a larger body of people. By that time the Cuman-Hungarian connections became closer, mainly

Kun-Kép. A magyarországi kunok régészeti hagyatéka. Tanulmányok Horváth Ferenc 60. születésnapjára, ed. by Szabolcs Rosta (Kiskunfélegyháza: Kiskun Múzeum, 2009), pp. 175–216.)

2 The first missionaries sent to the Cumans were Dominicans; it is uncertain in which year they started their missionary work but it was most probably 1221. Their work was extensively supported by the Hungarian king for obvious political reasons. The friars were very active among the Cumans in the 1220s and by 1228 the first Cuman bishopric was established, probably in Milkov, Moldavia. (The sources predating the Mongol Invasion do not mention the name of this town; it first appears in 1279.) (Ioan Ferenț, *A kunok és püspökségük* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1981) pp. 123–138; László Makkai, *A milkói (kún) püspökség és népei* (Debrecen: Pannonia, 1936), pp. 10–18, 26 footnote 32.) Later, when the Cuman migration was finished, their Christianization was continued by the Franciscan order that was acive also among Hungarian Cumans from the late 13th century onwards, following the order of the pope. (István Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, 4 vols (Kecskemét, 1870–1885), II, p. 432).

3 Victor Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2003) pp. 234–236.

4 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története,* II, p. 257; Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p. 48.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

due to missionary activities and the establishment of the Cuman bishopric in Milkov under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Church.

The manifold relationship between Cumans and Hungarians in the first period after their migration has principally been discussed from the point of view of integration. The clashes – reported mostly by Rogerius – were diverse in nature, and at least four aspects can be named. The political aspect involved the impact Cumans had on the struggle between the royal power and the aristocracy. The religious aspect, the problematic conversion of the newcomers, as well as the 'ethnic' aspect – the language, the attire and pagan customs the Cumans followed – must have played an important role in their perception as uninvited strangers.[5] A fourth, economic aspect, the damage the Cumans' herds made in the crops, and their custom of taking Christians as prisoners and force them to labour on their fields also contributed to the escalation of the conflicts.[6] Although they were never expelled by legal means, the clashes resulted in waves of Cuman emigration during the thirteenth century.

At the time of the first Cuman migration wave in 1239–1240, the Hungarian king Bela IV desperately needed military allies against the approaching Mongol armies, and saw an opportunity in using the Cumans as auxiliary military forces. Their armies had only cavalry troops but these were superior to European armies in terms of agility and the knowledge on steppe warfare.[7] In fact, relying on nomadic military forces was a frequent and accepted form of nomad-sedentary interaction in the period,[8] and thus Bela IV's decision seemed self-evident. However, after their defeat at the Kalkha River in 1223, the Mongols viewed the Cumans as their subjects and Cumania as their own territory, and so receiving them and granting them asylum could be interpreted as an act of war – as khan Batu himself

5 Interestingly, the so-called Cuman laws issued in 1279, that regulated the Cuman-Hungarian coexistence, originally said nothing on attire, hairstyle or other factors usually connected with ethnicity. These are only mentioned in the 'Second Cuman Law', which was for a long time taken as a final version of these laws, until Nóra Berend proved that it is an 18th century forgery. (Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, pp. 89–92; Nóra Berend, 'Az 1279-i "kun törvények" szövege és keletkezés körülményei', in *A Jászkunság kutatása 2000. Tudományos konferencia a Kiskun Múzeumban,* ed. by Erzsébet Bánkiné Molnár, Edit Hortiné Bathó, and Erika Kiss (Jászberény-Kiskunfélegyháza: Kiskun Múzeum, 2002), 147–154, pp. 147–151.) A letter of pope Nicholaus III from 1279 reveals that Cumans were not willing to dismiss their traditional hairstyle, and finally the papal legate (with whose assistance the Cuman laws were issued) dropped the question. (Augustino Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia,* 2 vols (Rome, 1859–1860), I, p. 342.)

6 Acquiring labor force by taking slaves during military campaigns was a widespread custom in the Cuman-Kipchak Federation, also reported by Russian chronicles. (Spinei, *The Great Migrations*, pp. 228–230.)

7 Spinei, *The Great Migrations*, p. 227.

8 Berend, 'Cuman Integration in Hungary', p. 110.

warned Bela IV.[9] However, as already mentioned, the Hungarian king had used the title *rex Cumaniae* for a couple of years, and so his protective acts towards the Cumans could be justified. Moreover, Bela IV needed supporters not only against the Mongols, but also in his struggle against influential Hungarian barons, as he wanted to stabilize his own position as a political leader. He had been crowned only 4 years earlier, and he had serious conflicts with the Hungarian nobility as he tried to consolidate royal power.[10] (It is telling that according to the French chronicler Vincent de Beauvais the Mongols had a long discussion concerning whether they should attack Hungary, and then decided to do so when they heard about the conflicts within the Hungarian élite.[11]) Bela IV was eager to create bonds with the Cuman nobility and turn them into reliable vassals. Thus, Cumans played an ambiguous political role right from the beginning, and the Hungarian aristocracy – whose rights the young king had curtailed– looked at the new vassals with suspicion. After they were mass-baptized and the king acted as their godfather, Cumans had a collective legal status which was highly dependent on the king: as *hospites*, they had no protector but the royal authority whose expectations they had to meet.[12]

Our most important written source on the first conflicts, the *Epistola in miserabile carmen* by Rogerius of Apulia, discusses the relationship between the Cumans and Bela IV extensively, emphasizes the privileges granted to them and the king's ardent desire to win their trust. Rogerius interprets all conflicts between the newcomers and the Hungarians as a direct consequence of the king's attitude that overlooked all assaults committed by Cumans and favoured them in all his decisions. The Cumans, on the other hand, are mostly represented through stereotypes. In fact, it is uncertain how much information Rogerius had on the Cuman

9 The text of the letter is preserved in the report of the Hungarian Dominican monk, Brother Julian. The khan mentions the Cumans specifically: '*Intellexi insuper, quod Cumanos servos nostros sub tua protectione suscepisti; unde mando tibi, quod eos de cetero apud te non teneas, et me adversarium non habeas propter ipsos. Facilius enim est Cumanis evadere, quam tibi, quia illi sine domibus cum tentoriis ambulantes possunt forsitan evadere; tu autem in domibus habitans, habes castra et civitates, quomodo effugies manus meas?*' (Gusztáv Wenzel, *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus* (Pest: 1860–1874) 22 vols, VII, p. 553.)

10 The accumulation of large feudal domains in the hands of the aristocracy as well as the appearance of a production-centered money economy required a change in the official structures of power. After that Endre II's first reform attempts rather weakened than strengthened the king's position, Bela IV targeted a new consolidation of royal power and a return to a pre-1200 status quo. The catastrophic defeat of the Hungarian military was partly due to Bela IV's failure to recognize the military potential of the rising new Hungarian élite. (Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, História Könyvtár Monográfiák 1. (Budapest: História – MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993), pp. 7–11.)

11 Felicitas Schmieder, 'Der Einfall der Mongolen nach Polen und Schlesien – Schreckensmeldungen, Hilferufe und die Reaktionen des Westens', in *Wahlstatt 1241. Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen*. ed. by Ulrich Schmilewski (Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Korn, 1991), 77–86, p. 86.

12 Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 87.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

commoners, but he definitely had strong connections to the court and so the ties to the Cuman aristocracy must have been well known to him. He lists the 'reasons for the enmity between King Béla and the Hungarians', among which he names the attitude towards the Cumans several times (although he argues that receiving them was necessary in order to gain new allies against the country's enemies and to save their souls through the Christian faith). He even reports that Cuman noblemen were allowed to meet the king face to face, while Hungarian nobles were allowed to communicate only through intermediaries[13] – a strong symbolic sign of the bond Bela IV tried to forge with leaders of the new – and, he hoped, useful – minority of his land. Rogerius adds that the king tried to put an end to the conflicts between commoners by calling both the Hungarian and Cuman nobles together and making an agreement to disperse the Cumans throughout the country so that there would be smaller communities which would have been easier to handle than one big Cuman block.[14] It is important to note here, that even though Cumans were used to form alliances with various political and military forces on the steppe, they never formed a state[15] and were now facing a feudal kingdom as a host community much bigger than their own. Thus, conflicts were probably unavoidable.

The Cuman leadership was presumably unaware that they now played a role in a bitter political struggle, and were victimized partly due to their inability to comply with the situation. Shortly after their arrival and baptism, news reached the court that there were Cumans in the Mongol army (in fact, these were Cumans previously captured, made slaves and forced to fight, as it is reported by John of Plano Carpini[16] and Thomas of Split[17]). The spreading news caused a panic that the Cumans were actually Mongol spies in disguise. Although the Cumans had already been called to arms against the Mongols and their troops were getting ready to join Bela's army, Kuthen and his family were suddenly placed under guard in Buda. In a spontaneous assault, probably led by Hungarian nobles, the khan and his retinue were massacred. This set off a catastrophic series of events. Interestingly, according to Rogerius' report, it was not the Cumans themselves who turned against the Hungarian population when they heard about the death

13 Rogerius, *Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum,* p. 147.

14 Rogerius, *Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum,* pp. 148–149.

15 Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 118

16 He also reports that he was provided with two Cumans, who counted as Tatars. (Plano Carpini, *Mission to Asia,* ed. by Christopher Dawson, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 8. (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 1980) p. 58, 69.)

17 *Habent autem ex diversi nationibus, quas bellis edomuerunt, multitudinem maximam pugnatorum et precipue Cumanorum, quos ad pugnandum subigunt violenter. Si quem vero ex his paululum trepidare conspiciunt nec in mortem sese tota mentis insania precipitare ansque ulla cunctatione eius amputant caput. (*Thomas of Split, *History of the bishops of Salona and Split,* ed. by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), p. 285.)

of their khan, but the Hungarian peasants who started to organize a pogrom against the Cuman minority.[18] Thus, although no legal means were used to expel them, most Cumans left the country, and went to Bulgaria, where there was a considerably large Cuman minority. This also meant that the Hungarian king lost his military ally on the eve of the Mongol attack.

In fact, not much is known about this spontaneous clash. Rogerius makes only minor comments, and explains the animosity towards Cumans as general hatred. This, nevertheless, needs some further explanation. The Hungarian aristocracy clearly had a reason to dislike the Cuman nobles as they must have viewed them as dangerous royal allies potentially used as a military force in case of a further deprivation of aristocratic privileges and political power. The peasants, however, who mostly had contact with the Cuman commoners, had no such agenda. Rogerius mentions the damage the Cumans' animals caused to crops, and their custom to take Christians as prisoners and force them to labour in their fields. However, it is uncertain if these were isolated incidents or widely practiced. As mentioned above, the king tried to eliminate the tension between the two populations by dispersing the Cuman minority throughout the country (although nothing is known of the pattern of this dispersal).[19] The lowest stratum of the Cuman community was certainly poor, and many of them became servants at Hungarian households.[20] This first, short period of coexistence was not enough to create a framework for a long-lasting cooperation, but the Hungarian population's experience with Cumans was probably not exclusively negative. In fact, there had been other populations of steppe origin who migrated to the Hungarian Kingdom, served as military allies and were later assimilated, and so a model of integrating steppe peoples was known.[21] Moreover, in this period the general view of nomads in the Latin speaking world changed profoundly, and changed from the perception

18 *Cum autem rumor de morte eiusdem increbuisset, Hungari villani odiodi eis ubique contra eos insurgere coeperunt spoliando, interficiendo eosdem sine aliqua pietate. Qui, cum taliter inspicerent se peremi, insimul congregati non solum se deffendere inceperunt, sed villas comburrere et rusticos viriliter expugnare*. Rogerius, *Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum,* p. 175.

19 Although there is a detailed description of lands donated to the Cumans in the so-called 'Second Cuman Law', it proved to be an 18th-century forgery made necessary by the Cumans' early modern struggle for the ownership of the lands they inhabited. (Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, pp. 89–92; Berend, 'Az 1279-i "kun törvények" szövege, pp. 147–151.) The areas where Cumans lived in the 13th century can mainly be reconstructed by means of linguistic analysis of placenames and the Cumans' appearance in donation charters.

20 György Györffy, 'A kunok feudalizálódása', in *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században,* ed. by György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953), 248–275, p. 251.

21 Pechenegs arrived between the 10th and 12th centuries in waves. Peoples from the Khwarezm as well as Szeklers also served in the royal army. However, these minorities did not enjoy privileges similar to those given to the Cumans, and had no independence in their internal matters. (András Pálóczi Horváth, '"Pogányokkal védelmeztetjük országunkat:" keleti népek a középkori Magyar Királyságban, a kálizoktól a kunokig', *Studia Caroliensia* 2 (2004), 10–30, pp. 13–14.)

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

of supposedly demonic strangers into something more realistic, as these societies (and among them, that of the Cumans and Kipchaks) became better known through the work of missionaries and travelers.[22] The Cuman community was very diverse, and consisted of various tribal fragments of different backgrounds, although they might have been perceived as a homogenous unity; some of the newcomers were Christians already before entering Hungary.[23] Nevertheless, there seems to have existed a general image of 'the Cuman', mainly based on previous conflicts between the Cuman-Kipchak federation and the Hungarian state. The legend of King Ladislaus I (St Ladislaus) reported how the young king saved the life of a maiden who was abducted by a Cuman warrior. This story was a popular theme of manuscript illuminations and church frescos and also made its way into chronicles, including the Chronicon Pictum[24] (even though this story was not included in the official *vita* of the holy king). Gyula László collected 30 murals in churches in the area of medieval Hungary[25] in which this story was represented, showing that the legend must have been widely known. László even observed that fourteenth-century frescos in Transylvania depicting this story are located along the historical invasion routes of nomadic peoples: the Uz, the Pechenegs, the Cumans and the Tatars.[26] Representation of the fight with the Cuman was found even on sixteenth-century stove tiles.[27] Earlier clashes with the Cuman (and in general, steppe nomadic) military must have contributed to this negative image and the Hungarian population's eagerness to drive the Cumans out of the country. The anti-Cuman sentiment of the thirteenth century is clearly seen in the images.

In 1245, only a couple of years after they had been driven out, the king invited the Cumans back.[28] They had been camping somewhere on the lower Danubian Plain in Bulgaria since they left Hungary. The confusion that followed the death of Tsar Coloman Asen I of Bulgaria in 1246 may have put some pressure on

22 Felicitas Schmieder, 'Nomaden in Europa und Europäer unter Nomaden. Lateinisch-mittelalterliche Verarbeitungen einer fremdartigen Lebensform' in *Der imaginierte Nomade. Formel un Realitätsbezug bei antiken, mittelalterlichen und arabischen Autoren,* ed. by Alexander Heiss, Nomaden un Sesshafte 8 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2007), 137–154.

23 William of Rubruk reports on a Christian Cuman he met on his way to the court of Mangu Chan in the mid-13th century. The Cuman said to have been baptized in Hungary by friars. (William of Rubruk, *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, ed. by Peter Jackson and David Morgan, Works Issued by the Haklyut Society. Second Series No. 175 (London: The Haklyut Society, 1990) pp. 135–136.) Plano Carpini also mentions Christian Cumans whom he met on his journey. (Plano Carpini, *Mission to Asia*, p. 70).

24 Gyula László, *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei* (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993), pp. 17–20.

25 László, *A Szent László-legenda*, pp. 54–181.

26 László, *A Szent László-legenda*, p. 55.

27 László, *A Szent László-legenda*, p. 208.

28 György Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, 11 vols (Budapest, 1829–1844) IV/III, p. 486.

them to migrate back to Hungary on Bela's invitation.[29] The population loss in Hungary, caused by the Mongol Invasion and the famine that followed (especially on the Great Hungarian Plain), made it crucial for Bela to invite new settlers.[30] Rumours of a new Mongol attack started to surface, and the king initiated a military reform and a campaign of castle building that continued throughout the century;[31] he also invited the Knights of St John to the country.[32] The king again hoped for a military alliance of the Cumans in case of a new invasion, and so inviting them back seemed a reasonable decision. There is, however, little known about this second wave of migration. Those who came back to Hungary to settle there for good were probably not identical to those who left the country a few years earlier; other Cumans who originally lived in Bulgaria must have joined them as well. Now the church also tried to ease the tension by allowing the Hungarian archbishops to dismiss smaller crimes previously committed by Cumans who migrated back and were baptized.[33]

The military role previously played by Pechenegs was now taken over by the Cuman forces[34] that served as mercenaries in the king's army and supported Bela's campaigns in Austria, Styria and Moravia.[35] Therefore, their nobility had a strong influence in the royal court and continuously reinforced its political status. Aristocratic family ties were quickly formed: Bela IV wedded his son, who later became King Stephan V, to the daughter of the new Cuman khan in 1254,[36] and so the minority's place was secured within the court also by dynastical means. (The king created similar dynastic ties to the Ruthenian and Polish aristocracy through his daughters, in order to secure future allies.[37]) There were some minor modifications in the legal framework of the Cuman-Hungarian coexistence; this is signaled by the young duke Stephan using the title *dominus Cumanorum* after

29 Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p. 52.

30 Although the settlement concentration and village desertion process had started earlier and was accelerated by the Mongol Invasion, the destruction was severe in the Great Plain where the Cumans found their new home. The impact of the invasion varied from one region to the other. In the middle region of the Plain, around present-day Kiskunfélegyháza, 75–90% of the villages were destroyed and abandoned. (Rosta, 'Új eredmények', p. 191)

31 This was, in fact, a phenomenon that started earlier than the Invasion and was accelerated by the Mongol threat. (Erik Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom a 13–14. századi Magyarországon,* Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből 82 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997) pp. 18–32.)

32 Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, pp. 18–19.

33 Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica,* I, p. 217.

34 András Pálóczi Horváth, *Hagyományok, kapcsolatok és hatások a kunok régészeti kultúrájában,* Keleti örökségünk 2 (Karcag: Karcag Város Önkormányzata, 1994) p. 10.

35 Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, pp. 68–77.

36 It is not clear if she was the daughter of the late khan Kuthen or another Cuman leader, Zeyhan. The latter is more probable as he is named as a relative of the king in a charter issued one year later. (Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok,* p. 18; Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 307.)

37 Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok,* pp. 79–80.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

1246 (until his ascension to the throne in 1270). Given the power play between Stephen and Bela IV, the Cumans continued to play a key role in the struggle for power.[38] Facing the demands of his son, Bela IV divided the country in 1262, and the area east of the Danube, including the areas habited by Cumans, came under Stephen's authority.[39] However, the Cumans rather fought on the king's side, probably because their original loyalty oath bound them primarily to Bela. This bound was reinforced by more direct means: Bela spent more money on expensive gifts to the Cumans then on any other nobleman in 1264, when the struggle reached its peak.[40]

The conflict between father and son escalated into a war in 1264, which then ended by returning to the status quo. Sources from this period concerning the Cumans' role rather express the changing interests than report the real situation. This is especially conspicuous in the letters of king Bela and the pope. In 1251 the pope expressed his concerns about Bela IV enjoying the Cumans' company and neglecting his duties towards his son Stephen.[41] On the other hand, Bela IV complains in 1254 that he was unluckily forced to protect his own country by the help of pagans (under which he meant the Cumans)[42] – while only a few years earlier he wrote both to the pope and the bishop of Passau that the Cumans were eager and happy to embrace the true faith.[43] When the war between father and son escalated, the pope warned Bela IV not to send 'pagan forces' against his own son, but encouraged him to settle conflicts by peaceful means.[44] Moreover, he ordered the bishops of Kalocsa and Esztergom to conduct a 'crusade' against those Cumans reluctant to follow the Christian faith, and to have them expelled from Hungary.[45] Interestingly, this papal order seems to have been a reaction to a complaint made by Bela himself about the Cumans being unwilling to convert – probably another move in the power play between father, son, the military allies and the church.[46] This expulsion ordered by the pope, however, never took place.

38 Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 88.
39 Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians,* p. 68.
40 Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians,* p. 69.
41 Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae,* VII/V, p. 308.
42 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 408.
43 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 302, 405, 409.
44 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 412.
45 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 413.
46 *Primum quod in ipso regno Cumani manutenentur, qui non solum alienigenis, sed etiam ipsius regni incolis atrociter sunt infesti, et modo apud alios minus solito preliandi, infantibus et senibus non parcentes, juvenes et juvenculos captivatos in sui ritus maliciae deducunt consvetudinem, ita quod potentiam suam taliter iam multiplicaverunt per eosdem, quod ipsi Ungariae certum ex hoc imminet periculum et iactura, et terris etiam convicinis. Item in eodem regno manifeste heretici et scismatici confoventur, terrarum prougi aliarum. Ecce ipsa Regina Ungariae est Cumana, proximi parentes eius gentiles sunt et fuerunt...* (Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 296.)

After the death of Bela IV, when Stephan ascended to the throne in 1270, the Cumans came again under direct royal protection, the *dominus Cumanorum* being the same person as the king; at the same time, the palatine started to use the title *judex Cumanorum*.[47] Cuman influence reached its peak a few years later, during the reign of Ladislaus IV (also called Ladislaus the Cuman), the son of Stephen V and the Cuman Elizabeth. The archbishop of Olomouc warned the pope in 1272 about the Cumans' growing influence in the country and described them as a danger posed to Christianity in the region, as – he wrote – not only are they fierce but they also force their captives to abandon Jesus Christ and follow their shamanistic faith.[48] It is uncertain to what extent these were exaggerations; however, just like Bela IV, Ladislaus also hoped to put an end to the feudal anarchy and relied on the Cuman military strength against the barons. He also spent most of his time in Cuman company, repudiated his wife Isabella for the sake of a Cuman mistress, and even began to adopt their clothing style and pagan customs.[49]

The king tried to settle the dispute over the Cumans' legal standing and also to ease the tension between his court and the Church by issuing the Cuman Laws, thus arranging Cuman affairs constitutionally, but the problems caused by the privileged and influential status of the Cumans and the pressure on them to integrate, led again to a violent conflict. The Hungarian aristocracy as well as the papal legate wanted to isolate the Cumans from the king and give effect to the Cuman Laws – which, on the one hand, granted them a good measure of internal independence, but on the other hand, compelled them to assimilate into the feudal state.[50] Cumans organized a revolt, and king Ladislaus IV had to march against them with military force. The disturbance did not last long, but after they were defeated, *c.* one third of the Cuman population left Hungary never to return.[51]

47 Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 88.

48 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 426.

49 In 1288 Ladislaus was captured by Hungarian barons and made to take a vow for the archbishop of Esztergom to return to the proper Christian ways. His oath included that he should change back to a proper Christian attire and hairstyle, as a symbolic expression of his sincere change of ways. (Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok,* p. 317; Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians,* p. 81.)

50 The main points of the law compelled the Cumans to be baptized and follow the prescriptions and regulations of the Church and abandon their old shamanistic faith; to leave their tents, settle in villages, and adapt the customs of the sedentary population; to avoid killing or harrassing Christians; and to leave all landed properties, monasteries or churches that they had illegally occupied or used. (Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, pp. 333–335.)

51 György Györffy, 'Magyarország népessége a honfoglalástól a XIV. század közepéig', in *Magyarország történeti demográfiája,* ed. by József Kovacsics (Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1963), 45–62, p. 56. Pálóczi Horváth accepts Györffy's calculation. (András Pálóczi Horváth, 'Steppe traditions and cultural assimilation of a nomadic people: the Cumanians in Hungary in the 13th–14th century' in *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stephen Shennan, One World Archaeology 10 (London: Routledge, 2003), 291–302, p. 292.)

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

The precise location of the battle of Lake Hód, in which the revolting Cumans fought against Ladislaus IV has been widely debated.[52] The location is interesting from the point of view of the emigration wave that postdated the battle: most of those Cumans habiting the southern areas of the Great Plain, that is, the region where the battle probably took place, left the country forever.[53] It is uncertain if some Cumans returned here to settle after their devastating defeat and if so, in what numbers. Those who participated in the revolt and were caught by the royal army were reduced to serfs, and only those who had stayed away from the conflict and did not support the military campaign were allowed to keep their privileges.[54] The latter suggests that at least some Cumans must have decided to stay in the area even if the majority left the country. Simon of Kéza, the chronicler of Ladislaus IV, reports in his *Gesta Hungarorum* that many of the Cumans

52 Although even the date of the battle is uncertain (László Blazovich, 'IV. László harca a kunok ellen', *Századok* 111/5 (1977), pp. 941–945), most historians locate the battle at the so-called *campus Hod*, south of the village of Hód (László Blazovich, 'A honfoglalástól a török hódoltság koráig (895–1552)', in *Hódmezővásárhely története,* ed. by István Nagy and János Szigeti, 2 vols (Hódmezővásárhely: Városi Tanács, 1984) I, p. 292; Blazovich, 'IV. László', pp. 941–945). According to Gyárfás, no lake is mentioned in the original documents, but only the expressions *in Hoot, Houd, Hood, Hod* and *in loco Howd* are used in charters from 1282–1288. Therefore, Hod may have been the name of a village and not a lake. Even though in the Turóczy Chronicle the battle is described as having taken place *circa lacum Hood*, and in Bonfini's report as *ad lacum, quem Hodum vocaut*, Gyárfás argues that the Latin words *locum* and *lacum* were simply mixed up by the later readers of the original sources. He adds that a village under the name *villa Houd* appears in the written record in 1237 but its location is unknown. Finally, he accepts that a place (or village) called Hód must have existed in the vicinity of present-day Hódmezősávárhely, and in all probability, this was the place of the battle. (Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, pp. 354–355.) Szeremlei also locates the battlefield at present-day Hódmezővásárhely, and agrees with Gyárfás on the misinterpretation of the Latin word *locus* as *lacus*. (Samu Szeremlei, *Hódmezővásárhely története,* 5 vols (Hódmezővásárhely: A város közönsége, 1900–1913), II, pp. 81–87). There was another place called Hód in medieval Arad County, and a Lake Hodos in Transylvania; some historians locate the battle to one of these. Czimer adds that it would have been impossible for the Cuman light cavalry to move around freely in an area that was heavily affected by floods in the spring, and around Hódmezővásárhely it was certainly a factor as the battle probably took place in April or May. (Károly Czimer, 'Az 1282-iki Hód-tavi csata helye és lefolyása', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 30/4 (1929), 385–416, pp. 395–397; See also: Frigyes Pesty, *Magyarország helynevei történeti, földrajzi és nyelvészeti tekintetben (*Budapest: Athenaeum, 1888) pp. 133–139 (chapter „Hódostó"). The Cuman armies coming back from Transylvania under the leadership of Aldamur (the son of khan Kuthen (Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 351.), united with the rest of the Cuman troops at this location, and they picked this place because it was surrounded by swampy areas, lakes and the Tisza River (Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 353.) and therefore it was difficult to approach it. This means that this area must have been familiar for at least some parts of the Cuman troops. In Szabó's view the Lake (and the village of) Hód must have been close to the coeval Cuman habitation areas (Károly Szabó, *Kun László 1272–1290,* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1886) p. 102, footnote 6), Blazovich, however, thinks that the area around Hód was not habited by Cumans but they led looting campaigns here from their lands along the Maros, Temes and Körös Rivers (Blazovich, 'A honfoglalástól a török hódoltság koráig', p. 292). Szeremlei argues that this land was not in Cuman ownership at that time but they tried to expand their territories in this region in the 13th century (Szeremlei, *Hódmezővásárhely története*, II, p. 99).

53 Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians,* p. 80.

54 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, p. 354; Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p. 61.

were taken as captives, others left their possessions and families behind and fled, and those who stayed subjugated themselves to the king.[55] The tensions between the crown and the Cumans was not over, however: only a couple of years later, Ladislaus IV was murdered probably by his own Cuman retinue.[56] The next king, Andrew III was supported by Hungarian landowners whose interests dictated to curtail the Cuman privileges. One of the new king's first decrees called off the laws issued by his predecessor on the throne, probably including the Cuman Laws as well.[57]

It seems as if in both emigration waves it had been the high tension in the upper stratum of the Cuman and Hungarian society that resulted in violent actions, while little is revealed about the Cuman commoners. As a result of a long integration process, they adopted most Hungarian customs within a few generations' time, and by the late fifteenth century they were practically undistinguishable from the rest of the population. It is certain, however, that the various aspects of their identity: the language, the attire, the religion, or the inner hierarchy of their community did not change at the same pace. The extent to which these shifts and drifts in the Cuman-Hungarian relations influenced the religious and ethnic identity of the Cumans is a debated issue. As there are no documents written or even dictated by the Cumans, which would testify to their views and interests, all information on their internal matters are second-hand. There are, however, some data that indicate how their religious and ethnic identity may have been formed.

A number of Cuman high status burial sites have been excavated that date back to the thirteenth century. These are solitary graves situated at a distance from settlements. Typically the nobles were buried with a horse, either in a physical sense (with the animal sacrificed and laid into the grave) or symbolically, in the

55 Simon of Kéza, *Kézai Simon mester Magyar Krónikája,* ed. and transl. by Károly Szabó (Pest: Ráth, 1862) p. 83.

56 The way the assassination happened and the motivation behind it is uncertain, as there is no reliable contemporary record. In Gyárfás' view it is not likely that the Cumans in the court, whom the king gave privileges, would have plotted against him (Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, II, pp. 377–382), although traditional narratives report that three Cuman noblemen, Arboc, Törtel and Kemence were the assassinators. This version was included in the Chronica Hungarorum as well as in the Illuminated Chronicle. In the Styrian Rhymed Chronicle of Ottokar, however, he is said to have been killed by a Cuman, whose wife the king had an affair with. Perhaps the king's Hungarian adversaries had a hand in the assassination as well. (Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, p. 321; Gyula Kristó, *Kun László emlékezete,* Szegedi Középkori Könyvtár 5 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1994), pp. 245–247; Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p. 82.)

57 Change in the Cuman legal status at the end of the century is a question yet to be solved. The Cuman Laws had been accepted in the scholarship as continuously in force. However, Cumans in the 14th century definitely did not enjoy the expected privileges. Hatházi raised the possibility that most of these privileges were actually eradicated already in 1290 by king Andrew's decree. (Gábor Hatházi, 'Halas kun székközpont és magyar mezőváros a középkorban', in *Kiskunhalas története 1. Tanulmányok Kiskunhalasról a kezdetektől a török kor végéig,* ed. by József Ö. Kovács and Aurél Szakál (Kiskunhalas: Kiskunhalas Városi Önkormányzat, 2000), 169–302, pp. 216–218.)

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

form of a harness or a hide. These speak for the preservation of the pagan burial rituals among the aristocrats. The middle of the Great Hungarian Plain (that is, the area later called Lesser Cumania) was severely affected by the Mongol Invasion,[58] which made it an ideal place for migration and settlement. Cuman territories in this area were much less interspersed with lands in Hungarian possession than those in other parts of the country, and thus, the Cuman community may have been closer and more organized here. In fact, the late medieval settlement structure of Lesser Cumania was defined rather by the thirteenth-century Cuman newcomers than the former settlements of the Árpád Period,[59] as it is usually observed in other parts of the Plain. After their second wave of migration to Hungary in 1246, Cumans appear early in this region, which is evidenced by the thirteenth-century burials of the Cuman nobility excavated here. In fact, almost half of the Cuman burials known from this period were found here, especially around the medieval oppidum Halas (present-day Kiskunhalas), the late medieval center of the Cuman Seat of Halas. These burials have been excavated at Balotaszállás, Kunfehértó-Inoka, Kunfehértó-Debeák, Csólyospuszta, Kígyóspuszta, Felsőszentkirály and Csengele, and were identified as Cuman on the basis of their position and grave goods, and analogies to finds excavated on the previous Cuman territories.[60] Ferenc Horváth discovered that the locations of the Kunfehértó-Inoka, Kunfehértó-Debeák, Balota, Kígyós, Csólyos and Csengele graves form a regular circle.[61] In his view these burials designate the areas different tribal fragments occupied and thus an early settlement pattern associated with a

58 Systematic field walks and archaeological studies showed that in the region of present-day Kiskunfélegyháza, at least 11 of 16 Árpád Period villages that had stone churches were destroyed and depopulated. (Rosta, 'Új eredmények', p. 191.)

59 Rosta, 'Új eredmények', p. 197.

60 Pálóczi Horváth, *Hagyományok,* pp. 139–169; István Éri, 'Adatok a kígyóspusztai csat értékeléséhez', *Folia Archaeologica* 8 (1956), 137–152, pp. 137–152; András Pálóczi Horváth, 'A csólyosi kun sírlelet', *Folia Archaeologica* 20 (1969), 104–134; András Pálóczi Horváth, 'A csólyosi kun sírlelet hadtörténeti vonatkozásai', *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 1969/I, 115–121; András Pálóczi Horváth, 'A Balota pusztai középkori sírlelet', *Cumania* 11 (1989), 95–145; András Pálóczi Horváth, 'A felsőszentkirályi kun sírlelet', *Cumania* 1 (1972), 177–202; Ferenc Horváth, *A csengelei kunok ura és népe* (Budapest: Archeolingua, 2001), pp. 153–184.

61 Horváth, *A csengelei kunok*, pp. 219–220; Ferenc Horváth, 'Új régészeti szempontok a kunok korai letelepedéséhez a Duna-Tisza közén', in *A Jászkunság kutatása 2000. Tudományos konferencia a Kiskun Múzeumban,* ed. by Erzsébet Bánkiné Molnár, Edit Hortiné Bathó and Erika Kiss (Jászberény-Kiskunfélegyháza: Kiskun Múzeum, 2002), 21–34, pp. 27–28. Interestingly, there is a village called Kötöny in the area embraced by this circle. This name resembles that of the Cuman khan Kuthen. In Hatházi's view the name of the village is not connected to the first leader of the Hungarian Cumans but derives from the name of a 15th century captain; Horváth, however, does not exclude the possibility that the village was in fact named after Kuthen who led the Cumans to Hungary in the mid-13th century. This would possibly make the region one of the earliest Cuman habitation areas. (Horváth, *A csengelei kunok*, p. 220, footnote 159; Hatházi, 'Halas kun székközpont', p. 240.)

strict and rather closed tribal/military organization is revealed by these graves.[62] The most spectacular example has been excavated at Csengele, where a nobleman was buried together with his horse, in a manner identical to the customs widely practiced on the Eurasian steppes, reported also by Plano Carpini.[63] There are small differences, however; for example, no stone statues (the so-called kamennaya baby) were erected at these graves, unlike the examples from the Russian steppe (although it's possible that wooden statues that are not perceptible by archaeological methods were erected).

Written evidence also testifies to the thirteenth-century Cuman nobility's attachment to their pagan rituals. When they swore the oath to protect Hungary and its king, the Cuman nobles slaughtered a dog (so that anyone who breaks the oath should die the same death).[64] A very similar ritual is described by Joinville when the Cumans living on the Balkans entered into alliance with Baldwin II of Constantinople.[65] This oath signals that the Cumans – at least, partly – relied on their own customs and religious tradition in defining their relationship to the king. They probably saw their integration into Hungary as an allegiance to the crown established by oath and marriage, and this by no means meant total submission. In fact, they were used to form military alliances on the steppe and preserve their own internal affairs and identity intact at the same time. The dog/wolf, an important element in the shamanistic Cuman religion and at Qipchak tribes in general,[66] appears even in a royal context. On the seal of Elizabeth, the daughter of the Cuman khan and the wife of Stephen V, she is depicted sitting on a throne decorated with wolf's heads.[67] It is not known, however, to what extent such non-Christian elements were present in the everyday lives of Cuman commoners and if they created any tension between them and the host society. The issue of the Christianization of the Cumans comes up repeatedly in letters between the Hungarian king and the ecclesiatical authorities, also in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries, and Franciscan friars were sent to the Cuman communities

62 Horváth, *A csengelei kunok*, pp. 222–224.

63 Plano Carpini, *Mission to Asia*, pp. 12–13; Horváth, *A csengelei kunok ura és népe.*

64 *In his autem nuptiis Comanorum convenerunt iurantes super canem gladio bipartitum iuxta eorum consuetudinem, quod terram Hungarorum tamquam regis fideles contra Thartharos et barbaras nationes obtinebunt*. This piece text is only preserved in one manuscript of Plano Carpini's Ystoria Mongolarum. (Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p. 53; Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt,* 2 vols (Budapest: Akadémia, 1899), II, p. 205)

65 Frank Marzials, *Memoirs of the Crusades by Villehardouin and Joinville* (London: Dent & Sons, 1908) p. 260; Sándor Eckhardt, 'Kun analógiák a magyar ősvallásban' *Magyar nyelv* 34/7–8 (1938), 242–244, pp. 242–243.

66 Peter Benjamin Golden, 'The dogs of the medieval Qipcaqs' in *Varia Eurasiatica. Festscrift für Professor András Róna-Tas* (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Altajisztikai Tanszék), 45–56; Peter Benjamin Golden, 'Wolves, dogs and the Qipcaq religion', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 50/1–3 (1997), 87–97, pp. 87–89.

67 Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p. 78, fig. 47.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

a number of times to carry out missionary work and strengthen them in their faith.[68] The pope even ordered the Hungarian Church not to scare away newly converted Cumans from the true faith by the means of tithe taxation.[69] However, the Cuman population was probably not homogenous from this point of view either, and there is evidence that some of them were baptized well before they entered the Hungarian Kingdom.[70]

It seems that Cuman commoners integrated into the host society relatively quickly. Elements of ethnic identity, such as the Oriental dress and hairstyle, survived well into the fourteenth century as attested by pictorial representations as well as archaeological finds, although Cumans entered the Hungarian commodity market and adopted elements of the Western attire.[71] On the other hand, Cuman attire and armament was fashionable in the thirteenth century, probably as a result of the Cuman élite's high status. The steppe-type saddle, the reflex bow, the leather armour, the kaftan, the belt and the high felt cap appear again and again on wall paintings and miniatures from this period; elements of the typical attire were found in high status Cuman graves as well as in cemeteries of commoners.[72]

Thirteenth-century anti-Cuman sentiments might be explained by the huge discrepancy between the two peoples' lifestyles; it is, however, a question to what extent the complaints from the Hungarian peasants' side, which Rogerius formulates, were realistic, and if they can be projected to the whole century. The image of the pagans who kill and take Christians as captives, burn churches to the ground and commit all kinds of cruelties against the peaceful peasants is, in fact, highly stereotypical.[73] According to the more traditional scholarly narrative, the first generation of Cumans maintained a nomadic life in the Great Hungarian Plain. Rogerius notes that they 'wandered aimlessly'[74] (which was, in all probability, due to the confusing situation and not a proper form of pastoralism). Although it had been accepted by scholarship that the arriving Cumans led a

68 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, III, pp. 53–54.

69 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, III, p. 470.

70 William of Rubruk, *The mission,* pp. 135–136; Plano Carpini, *Mission to Asia*, p. 70.

71 András Pálóczi Horváth, 'Régészeti adatok a kunok viseletéhez', *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 109 (1982), 89–107, pp. 99–101; Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei,* pp. 112–120, 131–132.

72 Pálóczi Horváth, 'Steppe traditions', p. 294; András Pálóczi Horváth, 'Le costume coman au Moyen Âge', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980), 403–427, pp. 408–409, see also footnote 38; Pálóczi Horváth, 'Régészeti adatok a kunok viseletéhez', pp. 89–107; Jenő Zichy, 'A Képes Krónika miniatűrjei viselettörténeti szempontból' in *Petrovics Elek emlékkönyv. Hommage à Alexius Petrovics* (Budapest: Országos Magyar Művészeti Múzeum, 1934), 59–70.

73 Felicitas Schmieder, 'Menschenfresser und andere Stereotype gewalttätiger Fremder – Normannen, Ungarn und Mongolen (9–13. Jahrhundert)' in *Gewalt im Mittelalter. Realitäten – Imaginationen,* ed. by Manuel Braun and Cornelia Herberichs (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2005), 159–179.

74 Rogerius, *Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum,* p. 3.

completely mobile nomadic life and they maintained it in the first one hundred years after their migration to Hungary,[75] this was questioned already in the 1980s by László Selmeczi.[76] The image of a nomadic people constantly on the move seemed supported by the analysis of place names associated with early Cuman presence. Charters often name Cuman communities with the construction *in circuitu villarum*, *circa ecclesiam*, or *iuxta locum*, suggesting not yet fixed forms of settlements but rather temporary camps. The term *descendus* (dwelling, camp) is also regularly used, often with Turkic personal names of possible Cuman leaders (in the form 'the camp of a certain person'). Nevertheless, these ambiguous place names might well reflect the uncertainties caused by the Cuman naming practice, according to which the settlements' names changed in every generation to correspond the name of the community's leader.[77] Thus, the settlements only gained a permanent name when the leaders of these communities abandoned the traditional naming practices. The fact that many settlement names appear only in the fifteenth century also reflects the sporadic nature of our charter evidence rather than a system of early nomadic movements on the Plain. Hatházi calculated that the area at one Cuman family's disposal could not be larger than 40–50 km^2, which was definitely not enough to support real nomadism.[78] Nomadic movements must have been almost completely impossible due to physical limitations, and moreover, they were unnecessary as there were no significant environmental differences between various regions of the Great Plain. Communities might have moved within smaller areas but this movement had obviously nothing to do with nomadic practices where large distances are covered and different ecological niches exploited. It is more likely that Cumans were forced to become more mobile and put more emphasis on animal husbandry in the early thirteenth century only because of the frequent Mongol attacks and the need to move westwards.[79] In fact, the *Codex Cumanicus*, an early-fourteenth-century wordlist and the most

75 József Szabadfalvi, *Tanulmányok a magyar pásztorkodás köréből,* Studia Folkloristica et Ethnographica 10 (Debrecen: Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Néprajzi Tanszéke, 1984) p. 60; Miklós Kring, 'Kun és jász társadalomelemek a középkorban. I.', *Századok* 66 (1932), 34–63, p. 42; László Marjai Szabó, 'A kunok betelepítése és az állandó szállások kialakulása a Nagykunság területén', *Az Alföldi Tudományos Intézet Évkönyve* 1944–1945/1 (1946), 97–106, pp. 97–98; Györffy, 'A kunok feudalizálódása', pp. 250–253, 260; Spinei, *The Great Migrations*, p. 221

76 László Selmeczi, 'A kunok nomadizmusának kérdése', *Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 25–26 (1988), 177–188.

77 Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 138. This is also supported by archaeological observations of the early Cuman settlements. (Rosta, 'Új eredmények', p. 199)

78 Gábor Hatházi, 'Megjegyzések a kun településhálózat megszilárdulásának kérdéséhez', In *Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposion Mogersdorf 1994*, ed. by Roland Widder (Eisenstadt: Amt des Bürgenlandischen Landesregierung, 1996), 27–40, p. 28.

79 Selmeczi, 'A kunok nomadizmusának kérdése', pp. 178–188; Hatházi, 'Halas kun székközpont', p. 182.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

comprehensive source of the Cuman language, includes an extensive vocabulary for settled agriculture.[80]

As an often cited example, there is a report on Cumans living in tents as late as in the mid-fourteenth century: in 1347, Kuncheg, the chieftain of the Cuman Chertan clan issued a charter in which he allowed a Hungarian aristocrat, Töttös, to have ownership of 12 Cumans (or Cuman families[81]) who had originally belonged under his authority but escaped from his territory to the land of Töttös. These are described as Cumans living in 'felt houses' (*filtreas domus habentes*).[82] In 1349, again 25 Cumans living in tents were given to Töttös by Kuncheg.[83] In this case, living in tents was definitely not equal to being mobile, because these people were refused to move around freely. It is worth to mention here that at fourteenth–sixteenth century Orgondaszentmiklós, excavated by Selmeczi, setting up a yurt in the backyard seems to have been a normal practice both for a wealthier and a modest household, and it had little to do with nomadic mobility. The same type of yurt base was found next to a pit-house and next to a properly built one, which suggests that yurts might have been used as alternative, but fixed summer dwellings regardless of the financial position of a family.[84] The people living in tents, mentioned in this fourteenth-century source were servants who had no right to move from one place to the other; Hatházi even argues that their repeated escape from the authority of a Cuman lord to a Hungarian lord's land suggests that the latter meant a more tolerable fate. The descendants of Cumans who lost their families and properties and were forced to join the Chertan clan in the migration wave a hundred years earlier, must have been in a subjugated position, especially after most Christian slaves used in agricultural production and around the households had to be set free, which obviously meant a decimation of available manpower.[85]

Animal husbandry as a leading economic branch of the Cumans poses a number of questions. Although scholarship has taken for granted that Cumans

80 György Györffy, 'A kipcsaki kun társadalom a Codex Cumaminus alapján', in *A magyarság keleti elemei*. ed. by György Györffy (Budapest: Gondolat, 1990), 242–273, pp. 244–245.

81 It has been questioned if the charter talks about 12 men or 12 families. In fact, in the Codex Cumanicus the term 'yurt' is used not only as 'tent' but also as 'household'. (Györffy, 'A kipcsaki kun társadalom', p. 258; Hatházi, 'Halas kun székközpont', p. 228.)

82 Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története*, III, pp. 72–73.

83 Györffy, 'A kunok feudalizálódása', p. 263.

84 The use of these structures might also reflect a new necessity of mobility in the 16th century due to the conflicts with Turkish-Ottoman forces. These yurts could have easily been dismantled and transported in case of danger. This is also supported by the lack of burning traces on the foundations of one yurt while the contemporary house next to it seems to have burnt down. (László Selmeczi, 'A szállástól a faluig. Adatok a magyarországi kunok településtörténetéhez', in *Régészeti és néprajzi tanulmányok a jászokról és a kunokról.* ed. by László Selmeczi, Folklór és etnográfia 64 (Debrecen: Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Néprajzi Tanszék, 1992), 61–86, pp. 71–72.)

85 Hatházi, 'Halas kun székközpont', pp. 216–217.

arrived with huge animal herds and were mainly involved in pastoralism, in fact there is no hint to their flocks except for the general remarks made by Rogerius. The number of animals they brought with them is even more difficult to tell than the number of the Cumans themselves. According to Plano Carpini, the Cumans were pagans who did not till the soil but lived in tents and ate the produce of their animals.[86] He, however, wrote about Cumans reduced to slavery, living under Mongol rule. According to the account of the Fourth Crusade by Robert of Clari, Cumans did not plough or sow and lived only on meat, cheese and milk.[87] This is certainly an exaggeration, but might signify a highly specialized economy that must have been dependent on outside resources and as such, could not have been self-sufficient. It must be kept in mind, nevertheless, that a group quickly and violently pushed forward by a foreign military force, such as early thirteenth-century Cumans, will not have the opportunity to practice any usual form of nomadism, to which firm and complex ties to settled populations and a regular movement of the herd between ecological zones are indispensable preconditions.[88] In this regard, the Hungarian Cumans must be seen as an atypical case of interaction between sedentaries and a population that was once nomadic, and the starting point of their integration was not a working nomadic system but a rather disintegrated one.

Although they might have been perceived by contemporary Hungarians as one distinct and homogenous group, Cuman groups entering the kingdom consisted of tribal groups mainly brought together only by the necessity to flee from the Mongols. This heterogeneity is evidenced also by DNA samples extracted from Cuman burials, which showed that most of the population had diverse Western Eurasian roots (although Eastern Asian and Siberian origins could also be traced).[89] Most likely these varied groups were not on the same economic

86 Plano Carpini, *Mission to Asia*, p. 58. Stereotypes of nomads eating only meat, or even the meat of dogs, wolves or fellow humans are present in a number of sources, and may be associated with the Christian concept of 'unclean' peoples who will help the Antichrist when the Last Judgement approaches. (Felicitas Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abdenlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert,* Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 16 (Siegmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994) pp. 258–285; Schmieder, 'Nomaden in Europa', pp. 148–149.)

87 Robert de Clari, *Konstantinápoly hódoltatása,* ed. and transl. by Sándor Csernus and Annamária Cs. Tóth, A középkori francia történeti irodalom remekei 1 (Budapest: Balassi, 2013) p. 89.

88 Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World,* Second Edition (Madion, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 33–39; Philip Carl Salzman, 'Pastoral Nomads: Some General Observations Based on Research in Iran', *Journal of Anthropological Research* 58/2 (2002), 245–264, pp. 249–255; Philip Carl Salzman, *Pastoralists. Equality, Hierarchy and the State* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 2004) pp. 18–29.

89 Erika Bogácsi-Szabó, Tibor Kalmár, Bernadett Csányi, Gyöngyvér Tömöry, Ágnes Czibula, Katalin Priskin, Ferenc Horváth, Christopher Stephen Downes, and István Raskó, 'Mitochondrial DNA of Ancient Cumanians: Culturally Asian Steppe Nomadi Immigrants with Substantially More Western Eurasian Mitochondrial DNA Lineages', *Human Biology* 77/5 (2005), 639–662.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

level; some of them may have been more specialized in animal husbandry, while others more involved in trade with agriculturalists; some of them may have been rather self-sufficient, while others relied on trade ties; nomadism has a number of variations among which consumption-oriented and market-oriented systems are both existing options. In fact, anthropological observations reveal that nomadism is likely to be oriented to more than a single productive activity (such as herding), and these communities tend to run multiresource economies.[90] This must have been the case with most Cumans as well. It is also possible that after their arrival to Hungary the mobility of households depended on social status, with commoners more or less settled and involved in both small scale animal husbandry and agriculture, or mainly in land cultivation as peasants, while nobles maintained a more mobile lifestyle. A deeper understanding of how the Cuman community actually worked when they arrived in Hungary would be crucial to explain the conflicts during the early phase of Cuman-Hungarian coexistence; this is, however, extremely difficult, simply because no accounts on the Cumans' internal affairs have been preserved.

The conflicts between Cuman migrants and the Hungarian society, which resulted in two waves of emigration, were not dwelt on at length by contemporary authors. The sources related to the Cumans in Hungary were exclusively written by Christians, and there is virtually nothing composed or even dictated by the Cumans themselves, which would express their own views and interests. Contemporary reports and pictorial representations that mostly depict Cumans as savage pastoralists or fierce warriors must have been influenced by the image of the Other, political propaganda, the focus of economic interests of the sedentary state, or even a constructed idea about what an 'Eastern steppe people' was like.

90 Salzman, 'Pastoral Nomads', pp. 249–250; Salzman, *Pastoralists. Equality, Hierarchy and the State*, pp. 9–11.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Katalin Szende

SCAPEGOATS OR COMPETITORS? THE EXPULSION OF JEWS FROM HUNGARIAN TOWNS ON THE AFTERMATH OF THE BATTLE OF MOHÁCS (1526)

It is common knowledge, to which many other contributions to the present volume also testify, that atrocities (persecution, violence, expulsion and similar actions) against the Jews were an almost ubiquitous phenomenon in late medieval Europe. According to data on the Holy Roman Empire presented by Michael Toch, the first two peaks were in the 1280s–90s and in the late 1340s, in connection to the Black Death. Beginning in the 1380s, manifestations of anti-Jewish sentiment became constant and on a level never experienced before the end of the thirteenth century. The number of anti-Jewish incidents fluctuated between 10 and 35 per year, affecting at least 50 but in some years up to 100 localities.[1] Within this gruesome picture, which of course does not take into account local nuances, the decade between 1520 and 1530 seems to show a temporary relief, with a lower frequency of atrocities than 'usual'. It is in this decade, although outside the borders of the Empire, that the examples of expulsion to be discussed in this study take place, in three of the major towns of medieval Hungary: Buda, Sopron and Pressburg (also known as Bratislava in Slovak, Pozsony in Hungarian). My aim is twofold: in the first place, I wish to juxtapose these examples from Central Europe to the much better known and more frequently discussed West European cases; secondly, by focusing at the political and economic contexts of these events and examining them in a comparative perspective, I hope to be able to contribute to the general analysis of the complex phenomenon which expulsion represents.

Background in Central Europe and in Hungary

A survey of the eastern border zone of the Empire in the late Middle Ages reveals that there were hardly any major Jewish communities left there by the 1520s. The situation would have been completely different in the previous centuries. Apart

1 Michael Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich* (München: Oldenbourg, 1998) (Enzyklopedie Deutscher Geschichte Bd. 44), p. 57 (graph), pp. 60–68 (text); on the wave of pogroms in 1348–1350 and their consequences see František Graus, *Pest, Geissler, Judenmorde. Das 14. Jahrhundert als Krisenzeit* (Göttingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), pp. 155–390.

from a number of serious but rather localized atrocities such as that arising from the host desecration accusation in Pulkau in 1338 and its repercussions in Lower Austria and Moravia,[2] the situation of the Jews in the Austrian provinces in the fourteenth century was more favourable than further West on the continent. The Habsburg dukes of Austria, from Rudolf IV (1339–1365) to Albert IV (1395–1404), used their traditional role as protectors of the Jews to strengthen their sovereign power and authority, and not least its material foundations thanks to a series of significant loans. The monetary resources provided by Jewish creditors were also frequently used by the high aristocracy and the nobility of the period. This financial dependence diminished in the fifteenth century, when the main customers of the Jewish moneylenders became the burghers of the towns, a shift which led to an increasing number of atrocities.[3]

The tragic destruction of the Jewish community in Vienna (the Wiener Gesera) in 1420/21 under Duke Albert V (1404–1439) was the event with the most tragic and longest-lasting consequences. It was preceded by a fire starting from the synagogue in 1406. The Jews were accused of deliberately trying to burn down the whole city, and this was followed by accusations of collaborating with the Hussites in the late 1410s. The outbreak of the persecution in 1420 was connected in the first instance to an alleged theft of sacred hosts in Enns, but this provided a pretext for the duke to seize and execute the Jews throughout his territory or to subject them to forced baptism. Their properties were confiscated, the synagogue was destroyed, and its stones were reused for adding a new wing to the university building. All this brought the most important and influential Jewish community in the region to an abrupt end.[4] In addition to these measures, the Jews were forbidden 'forever' to enter and settle in Upper and Lower Austria. The Jewish account of the events, the *Wiener Gesera* (the title of which came to denote the whole event in Jewish historiography), lists a further seventeen communities which fell victim to Duke Albert's ordinance.[5] In the following years Jews were expelled from the Moravian towns under Albert's rule, including Jihlava (Iglau). Under his son, Ladislaus Postumus (1440–1457) further expulsions took place in the most significant towns in Moravia and Silesia: Olomouc, Brno, Znojmo, and Wrocław.[6]

2 Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1999), pp. 65–70.

3 Schlomo Spitzer, *Bne Chet. Die österreischischen Juden im Mittelalter* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 1997), pp. 62–77.

4 Spitzer, *Bne Chet,* pp. 83–86, with a detailed list of the pertinent narrative sources; Klaus Lohrmann, *Die Wiener Juden im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Wien: Philo, 2000), pp. 155–171.

5 Samuel Krauss, *Die Wiener Geserah vom Jahre 1421* (Wien: Braumüller, 1920).

6 *Die Juden in den böhmischen Ländern,* ed. by Ferdinand Seibt (München: Oldenbourg, 1983); see also the conference report Monika Helbinger, '"Avigdor, Benesch, Gitl" – Juden in Böhmen und Mähren im

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Under Duke Frederick V (subsequently Emperor Frederick III, 1440–1493) there was a return to a more accommodating attitude towards the Jews on his territories than under his predecessors, and he succeeded in annulling the banishment imposed on them by Albert V. He also insisted on the equal treatment of Jews and Christians in court cases. However, for these actions he was heavily criticized by his contemporaries; one detractor, Matthias Düring, said that 'he seemed more to be the king of the Jews than that of the Romans, on account of his familiarity with the Jews'.[7] Frederick's policy was strongly underpinned by utilitarian considerations, that is, the collection of ordinary and extraordinary taxes, but he also used his measures towards the Jews to demonstrate his power as ruler and to emphasize his right and protection over all his subjects, even against the will of the estates.

His son, Maximilian I (1493–1517) took a more ambivalent stance, both in the pragmatic steps taken regarding the Jews and on the theoretical and theological debates that took place during his reign. The pragmatic steps manifested themselves in his negotiations with the estates in Styria and Carinthia, where nevertheless the nobility clearly had the upper hand and were soon able to assert their will and obtain a *privilegium de non tolerandis Judeis*. This amounted, in practice, to consent to the expulsion of the Jews, which in fact took place as a consequence between 1496 and 1499. This also brought the rich and intellectually famous community of Wiener Neustadt, at that time administered with Styria, to an end. The emperor sought to derive at least short-term financial benefits by demanding compensation from the estates for his loss of revenues from the Jews, but he soon came to realize how much he had lost in the long run.[8]

The theological debates reached their peak with the so-called Jewish book controversy in the 1510s, incited by the Emperor's mandate authorizing the confiscation and destruction of Jewish books in his realm in 1509 on the basis of their 'heretical and blasphemous' contents. The anti-Jewish stance was promoted by pamphlets published by Maximilian's court theologian Johannes Pfefferkorn, himself a converted Jew, and supported by the Dominicans of

---

Mittelalter. Brno, November 2012', *Judaica Bohemiae* 48 (2013)/1, 119–126, the publication of the conference papers is in preparation.

7 '*Rex Judeorum pocius quam Romanorum propter familiaritatem quam ad Judeos habere videbatur*', Matthias Düring (d. 1469), quoted by Spitzer, *Bne Chet,* p. 90.

8 Inge Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, 'Die Austreibung der Juden aus der Steiermark unter Maximilian I.', in *Juden im Grenzraum. Geschichte, Kultur und Lebenswelt*, ed. by Rudolf Kropf (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 1993) (Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland 92), pp. 47–64; Stephan Laux, 'Dem König eine "ergetzlikhait". Die Vertreibung der Juden aus der Steiermark (1496/1497)' in *Jüdisches Leben in der Steiermark. Marginalisierung – Auslöschung – Annäherung,* ed. by Gerald Lamprecht (Innsbruck, Wien, München: Philo, 2004) (Schriften des Centrums für Jüdische Studien 5), pp. 33–57.; Spitzer, *Bne Chet,* pp. 92–97.

Cologne. The Jewish side and the Jewish books, however, found powerful advocates in a number of influential Renaissance scholars, first and foremost Johannes Reuchlin and Erasmus of Rotterdam, proponents of the newly developing Christian Hebrew studies, which would later be embraced by the Protestant reform movements. 'Miraculously', as some contemporaries of Erasmus expressed, the Humanists' defence succeeded and Maximilian's mandate was revoked. In 1513/14 the emperor offered protection to Jews in his realm, in return for which the Imperial Jewish Assembly in 1515 accepted to pay him a 2 per cent tax on all Jewish property. It seems that in this case the old principle of 'tolerance in return for financial compensation' was effective again.[9]

The events of Maximilian's time have relevance for the remaining part of this study, due to their closeness in time and space to the expulsions from Hungary. This in itself invites comparison. Furthermore, one of the protagonists of our story, Mary of Hungary, spent her formative years at Maximilian's court in Innsbruck.[10] Besides these direct connections, of course, one cannot disregard the general atmosphere of intolerance and religious tensions over the entire continent, hallmarked by the expulsion of unbaptized Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497, events that spilled over to or had repercussions in a great part of Europe, including Provence, Sicily, Naples, and many towns and cities of the Holy Roman Empire.[11]

As far as the background in Hungary is concerned, until the beginning of the sixteenth century the country rather accommodated than expelled Jews. The immigration of a significant Jewish population in the late thirteenth century (after the sporadic presence of merchants and high-status financiers in the preceding centuries) shows how attractive the Carpathian Basin was at that time for settlers from other parts of Europe. Some of these may have arrived as a result of expulsions further west, but no sources directly testify to this.[12] In later centuries

9 David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also the exhibition on the same subject: 'Miracle within a Miracle. Johannes Reuchlin and the Jewish book controversy': http://www.library.illinois.edu/rbx/exhibitions/Reuchlin/index.html [accessed 11 March 2015].

10 Orsolya Réthelyi, 'Főhercegnői udvarból királynéi udvar: Habsburg Mária királynéi udvartartásának kezdetei' [From the archducal court to the queen's court. The beginnings of the reginal court of Mary of Hungary]. *Századok* 5 (2007), 1193–1216.; Orsolya Réthelyi, 'Mary of Hungary in Court Context (1521–1531)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2010), pp. 77–87.

11 John Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe*. London, New York: Routledge, 1991, 11–40.

12 The number of the Jewish immigrants to Hungary at this time cannot be determined with any certainty, but it surely did not exceed the scale of a few thousand persons. See Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c 1300*. (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), and Katalin Szende, 'Traders, "Court Jews", Town Jews. Changing roles of Hungary's Jewish population in the light of royal policy between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries', in *Intricate Interfaith Networks*, ed. by Ephraim Shoham-Steiner and Gerhard Jaritz (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming)

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

one can hear from time to time about victims of expulsions reaching Hungary. From far-away places they typically came to Buda, the capital, like the French-speaking Jews encountered there by Bertrandon de la Broquiére in 1433, who were probably forced to leave their homeland in 1394, or the Cotta and Seneor families of Spain, who arrived there in the 1490s and had a distinguished career in medicine, art, and politics during the following decades.[13] Refugees from the Austrian provinces more usually fled to one of the Western Hungarian towns: from Hainburg to Pressburg or from Wiener Neustadt to Sopron.[14] Royal policy was generally permissive towards Jews, who enjoyed some protection from their privileges granted them by King Béla IV (1235–1270) back in 1251. The fact that the document had to be renewed and reconfirmed more and more frequently in the fifteenth century (doubtless in exchange for a tidy sum each time) indicates that the authorities had to be often reminded of the special status of the Jewish inhabitants.[15]

The number of places where Jews are known to have lived in fifteenth-century Hungary is fewer than in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The settlement structure became more concentrated, and towns with attested Jewish communities and synagogues were all to be found in the western half of the country.[16] The three most important communities, the forced dissolution of which will be discussed below, were the ones mentioned above as possible places of refuge for Western exiles: Buda, Pressburg, and Sopron. Before turning to the events of the 1520s, let us briefly summarize the conditions under which Jews lived in these towns in the preceding decades.

The Jewish community of Buda (Fig. 1), the most varied in its origins, as we saw above, witnessed an increase in its importance in the second half of the

13 Balázs Nagy, 'The Towns of Medieval Hungary in the Reports of Contemporary Travellers' in *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe* ed. by Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 169–178, here: p. 177.; András Kubinyi, 'Les Cotta de Tolède et la colonie espagnole à Bude aux 15^{e} et 16^{e} siècles' in *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay* ed. by Ghellinck Vaernewyck, Xavier d'Adhémar de Panat and Pierre Louis d'Brière (Braga: Livraria Cruz, 1971), pp. 381–390; Yom Tov Assis, 'Shlomo Seneor from Segovia to Buda', in *Jewish Studies at the CEU* VII (2009–2011), ed. by András Kovács and Michael L. Miller (Budapest: Central European University, Jewish Studies Project, 2013), pp. 7–18.

14 Lower Austria / Pressburg: *Magyar–Zsidó Oklevéltár / Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* vol. IV. ed. by Ferenc Kováts (Budapest: IMIT, 1938) (=*MHJ* vol. IV), 1–82, passim; Wiener Neustadt / Sopron: Martha Keil, 'Juden in Grenzgemeinden: Wiener Neustadt und Ödenburg im Spätmittelalter' in *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich, Band 2.* ed. by Martha Keil and Eleonore Lappin (Berlin and Bodenheim/Mainz: Philo, 1998), pp. 9–33.

15 Katalin Szende, 'Laws, Loans, Literates. Trust in writing in the context of Jewish–Christian contacts in medieval Hungary', in *Religious Cohabitation in Medieval Towns,* ed. by Stéphane Boisselier & John Tolan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 243–271, here: 249-250, notes 28 and 29, with detailed references to the confirmations.

16 András Kubinyi, 'A magyarországi zsidóság története a középkorban' [The history of Jews in Hungary in the Middle Ages], *Soproni Szemle* 48 (1995), pp. 2–27, here pp. 18–21 and map on p. 27.

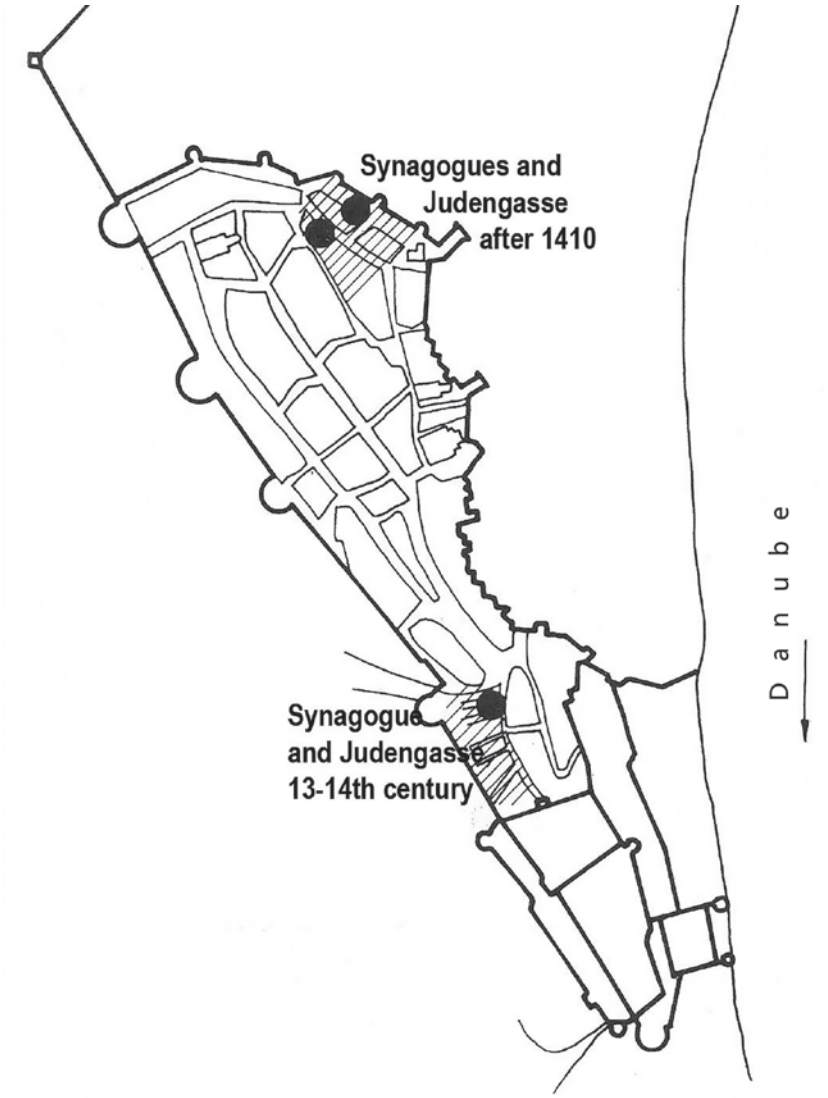


Fig. 1 Buda, the old and the later Jewish settlement (after Zolnay 1987)

fifteenth century. By this time they had their two Gothic synagogues built in the north-eastern tip of the Castle Hill, where their residence was moved as the result of the extension of the royal palace under King Sigismund (1387–1437), most

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

likely in the 1410s.[17] From the 1470s onwards the Jewish community of Buda was officially entrusted by the king with the leadership of all Jews in the country, with the head of the wealthiest of them, the Mendel family, being appointed as *prefectus Judeorum*, with the responsibility to manage the tax collection among the local communities and its delivery to the royal treasury.[18] In exchange, from the time of Wladislas II (1490–1516) the *prefectus* had the right to appoint the chief rabbi of the country and to safeguard the interest of the Jews throughout his kingdom, which was an important gesture towards protecting them.

For indeed, from the end of the fifteenth century there was a growing need for protection: in 1496 during the session of the diet there was a riot started seemingly by mischievous children, but then turned into looting and the theft of objects pawned with the Jews. At the same time the Italian merchants of Buda were also attacked by the mob. It took the king three days to calm down the unrest.[19] A similar riot took place in Buda in 1525, again parallel with the diet, this time caused by certain unpopular measures taken by Imre Szerencsés (Fortunatus), a converted Jew originally named Shlomo Seneor, who became the vice-treasurer of the realm.[20] The mob attacking the Jews' Street had to be stopped by one of the aristocrats, George Szapolyai, the brother of the future king John Szapolyai.[21] Fortunatus kept close ties to his former co-religionists – his sons remained true to the Jewish faith – and defended them against a number of accusations including a blood libel.[22] In spite of these incidents, the Buda Jewry remained a rich and influential community under royal protection right until the fall of the medieval Hungarian state.

The Jewish community of Pressburg, a merchant town by the Danube at the western border of the kingdom, had a somewhat different history (Fig. 2). Their

17 András Végh, 'The remains of the first Jewish quarter of Buda in the light of recent excavations', in *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 2005/Archaeological Investigations in Hungary 2005* ed. by Júlia Kisfaludi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2006), pp. 125–148.; András Végh, 'Les synagogues de Buda (XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles): fouilles récentes' in *L'archéologie de judaïsme en France et en Europe*, ed. by Paul Salmona, Laurence Sigal (Paris: La découverte, 2011), pp. 215–224.

18 E.g. on the Mendels' managing the tax collection in Sopron: *Sopron szabad királyi város története* [The history of the free royal town of Sopron. A chartulary] ed. by Jenő Házi, vols I/1–7; II/1–6. (Sopron: Székely és társa, 1921–1943) Vol. I/6, pp. 348 and 372.

19 Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Hungaricarum decades*, ed. by Iosephus Fógel, Béla Iványi and Ladislaus Juhász (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1936, 4 vols), Dec. V. Lib. V. 102–108. Tomus IV. p. 274.

20 Sándor Büchler, 'Szerencsés Imre származása' [The descent of Imre Szerencsés/Fortunatus], in *Emlékkönyv Mahler Ede ... nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [Jubilee volume in honour of Edward Mahler] (Budapest: n.p, 1937), pp. 406–414; Yom Tov Assis, 'Shlomo Seneor', p. 17. asserts that Szerencsés was the grandson of the Shlomo Seneor posited by Büchler.

21 Kubinyi, 'A magyarországi zsidóság', p. 24.

22 Sándor Scheiber, 'A Szerencsés Imre-irodalomhoz' [The scholarship concerning Imre Szerencsés], in: *Évkönyv. Kiadja a Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1975–1976* (Budapest: MIOK, 1976), pp. 225–305 (here: p. 296).

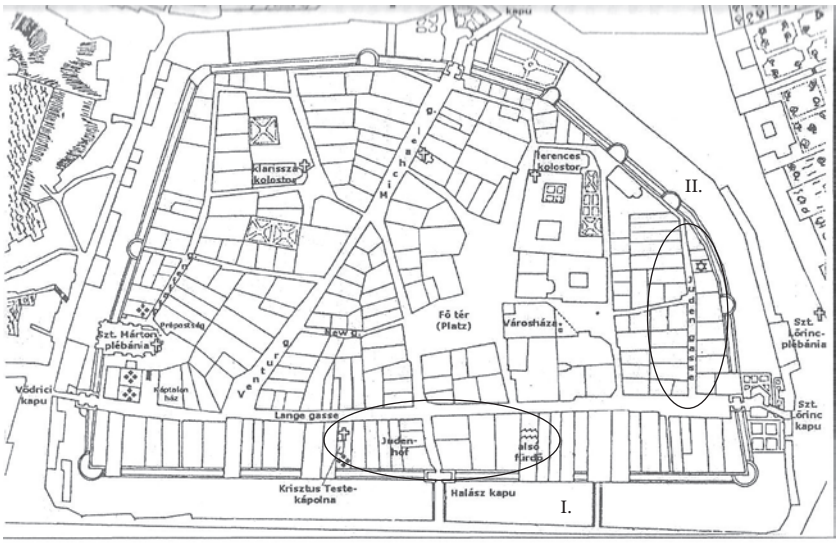


Fig. 2 Pressburg (Bratislava, Pozsony), locations connected to the settlement of the Jews (research and drawing: Judit Majorossy, Majorossy 2005, p. 263)

heyday was in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, when they provided substantial credits both to the town authorities and to private persons, burghers and nobles alike. According to Ferenc Kováts, 189 Jews lived in the town in 1434 and 231 in 1452. Their money-lending activity significantly decreased from the 1440s onwards, a time which witnessed an anti-Jewish riot in 1446, when the servants in the public bath-house incited the mob, which plundered the synagogue and the houses of the Jews.[23] The town's economy was badly hit by the 1459 financial crisis, which dealt a heavy blow to the economy of the whole region, first and foremost to Vienna.[24]

The topography of the Pressburg Jewish community mirrors their changing fortunes: in times of prosperity the synagogue, as well as the *Judenhof* and other houses in Jewish ownership were situated along the urban section of the main east-west commercial road, the Lange Gasse (presently Panská), that crossed the town and led to the ferry across the Danube. As financial and political conditions changed, they were forced to give up this favourable location and were

23 Ferenc Kováts, 'Bevezetés' [Introduction], in *MHJ* vol. IV, pp. xciii–iv.

24 Ferenc Kováts, 'Korakapitalisztikus gazdasági válság Magyarországon I. Mátyás király uralkodása alatt' [Early capitalistic economic crisis in Hungary during the reign of Matthias Corvinus], in *Emlékkönyv Mahler Ede ... nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [Jubilee volume in honour of Edward Mahler] (Budapest: n.p., 1937), pp. 178–196.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

moved to a side street on the eastern side, thereafter called Judengasse (currently Nedbalová) – still *intra muros*, but closer to the town walls, further away from the commercial centre. King Sigismund's wish to create a new residence in Pressburg, closer to his imperial territories, may have played a role in assigning a more peripheral quarter of the town to the Jews. The presence of their synagogue is attested in this street from 1434.[25] By the end of the fifteenth century the Pressburg community had decreased markedly in numbers, having been decimated by conversion and emigration, yet it remained a constant presence, and Jewish house ownership was continuously recorded in the property registers of the town.[26] From a royal decree of 1525 that banned the Pressburg Jews from trading in cloth, horses, and other specific commodities,[27] one can deduce that until that time they had indeed been involved in commerce, nevertheless their main activity was money-lending.

The third Jewish community to be presented here is that of Sopron, a settlement that began as a fortress guarding the western borders of the kingdom of Hungary, and later a developed into a merchant town and a centre of wine production (Fig. 3).[28] Throughout the medieval period the synagogue and the houses owned and occupied by Jews were situated in the same location, in the middle of the walled town in a street named Judengasse (modern Új utca, a name which as Neugasse appears already in medieval sources).[29] In this respect Sopron differed from Buda and Pressburg: no relocation was deemed necessary in the Middle Ages, and the main synagogue of the community likewise stood in the same place from the late thirteenth century until the time of the expulsion.[30] (There was another, presumably private synagogue in the same street,

25 *MHJ* vol. IV, Introduction, pp. xlviii–l.; Judit Majorossy, 'A Krisztus Teste konfraternitás helye a középkori pozsonyi polgárok életében' [The place of the Corpus Christi confraternity in the lives of the medieval burghers of Bratislava], in *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13–17. században* [From Bártfa/Bardejov to Pozsony/Bratislava. Towns in the 13–17. centuries], ed. by Enikő Csukovits, Tünde Lengyelová, Társadalom- és Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok 35 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), pp. 253–292, here pp. 265–266.

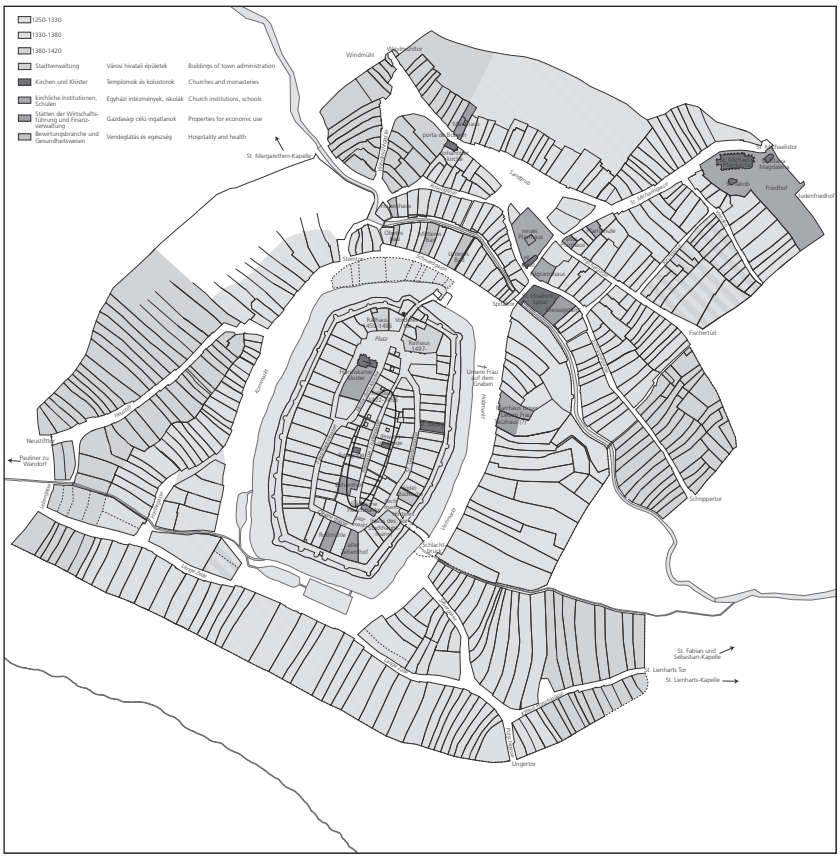
26 *MHJ* vol. IV, Introduction, p. lv; property registers concerning the Judengasse: ibid. pp. 325–342.; A new reconstruction of Pressburg's topography and house-owners (including the houses of Jewish inhabitants) is forthcoming by Judit Majorossy.

27 *Magyar Zsidó Oklevéltár / Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* (= *MHJ*). vol. I, ed. by Ármin Friss (Budapest: Wodianer és fia, 1903), p. 331.

28 On the general history and topography see Ferenc Jankó – József Kücsán – Katalin Szende, *Sopron. Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns, Vol. 1.* (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár – Soproni Múzeum, 2010).

29 Katalin Szende, 'Geschichte und Denkmale der jüdischen Gemeinde in Sopron / Ödenburg', in *Jüdisches Eisenstadt. Jüdisches Sopron. Ein Excursionsführer*, ed. by Ferdinand Opll (Excursionen des Österreichischen Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, Heft 14) (Linz, 1997), pp. 45–78.; Szende, 'Traders, "Court Jews", Town Jews', Notes 34–35.

30 There was one occasion, in 1440, when King Sigismund's daughter, Queen Elisabeth, ordered to move the inhabitants of a row of houses demolished outside the city gate to the Judengasse (this was the time when the street was given the name Neugasse), but even at that time the Jews were not evicted, but only


1250-1330
1330-1380
1380-1420
Stadtverwaltung
Városi hivatali épületek
Buildings of town administration
Kirchen und Klöster
Templomok és kolostorok
Churches and monasteries
kirchliche Institutionen, Schulen
Egyházi intézmények, iskolák
Church institutions, schools
Gasthäten der Wirtschafts-führung und Finanz-verwaltung
Gazdasági célú ingatlanok
Properties for economic use
Bewirtungsbranche und Gesundheitswesen
Vendéglátás és egészség
Hospitality and health
Windmühl
St. Margarethen-Kapelle
Judengasse
Fischerturm
Neutorturm
Pauliner zu Wandorf
Schloßberg
Schloßgasse
Schloßgraben
Schloßstiege
Schloßturm
Schloßwiese
Schloßwirtschaft
Schloßwirtschaftsgebäude
Schloßwirtschaftsgebäude
Schloßwirtschaftsgebäude

dukes and the high nobility.[31] From the 1440s, however, business entered a steep decline.

As in the case of Buda, reports of atrocities against the Jews of Sopron appear with increasing frequency after the 1490s. This was one of the two recorded places (the other being Nagyszombat/Trnava), where King Matthias Corvinus' death incited a wave of actions, even if Matthias' widow as well as the royal council reaffirmed its protection over the Jews as 'properties of the Crown' *(ad cameram et fiscum nostrum de iure spectare et pertinere dinoscuntur)*. The town council of Sopron arrested a Jewish couple who only managed to avoid the death penalty (for a crime unspecified in the document) by 'offering as a gift' *(geben und geschenckht haben)* 800 golden florins to the town 'to cover their great needs after King Matthias' death'. Besides the huge sum – more than the ordinary yearly tax paid to the royal treasury by the whole town – the seriousness of the case is testified by the Hebrew signatures on the testimony of five other Jewish witnesses from the same town, which was not at all a standard practice otherwise.[32] Three days later the whole community, with nine Jewish signatories listed, offered to relieve the interest on all loans given by them to the burghers of Sopron or the inhabitants of its dependent villages on condition that the capital was repaid within half a year, and they also contributed one hundred guilders to the cost of hiring mercenaries to defend the town in the insecure situation following the king's death. The document states that all these special allowances were made 'by [their] free will, without any force, stress, or pressure' *(willigklichenn, ungenött, ungeschäczt unnd unbetwüngen)*, but this was obviously not true, since two days later the widowed queen and the dignitaries of the realm ordered the council of Sopron to release unconditionally all the imprisoned Jews.[33] The repercussions of these events poisoned the atmosphere between the town of Sopron and its Jewish community for another year and a half.[34] Later, in March 1492, the king again had to deal with a complaint of blackmailing presented to him by a Sopron Jew and in 1493 with another case of incarceration

31 Fülöp Grünvald, 'Izrael iudeus Soproniensis – Izzerl, der Jud von Oedenburch', *Soproni Szemle* 15 (1961), 84–88.

32 *MHJ* vol. I, pp. 218–221; II. 530–534. The declaration of the queen and the royal council: MZsO I, pp. 217–218.

33 The offers of the Sopron Jews, 19.04.1490: Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/6. pp. 59–63, the order of release: 21.04.1490: Sámuel Kohn, *A zsidók története Magyarországon. A legrégibb időktől a mohácsi vészig. 68 kiadatlan okirattal* [The history of Jews in Hungary from the oldest times to the battle of Mohács, with 68 unpublished documents], (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1884), pp. 432–433.

34 Wladislas II's order to release Simon's wife and children from captivity, 23.09.1490: Miksa Pollák, *A zsidók története Sopronban a legrégibb időktől a mai napig* [The history of Jews in Sopron from the oldest times to the present] (Budapest: IMIT, 1896), Appendix of 75 documents, pp. 251–386. (pp. 268–269); transcribed again on Simon's request, 07.12.1491: ibid. pp. 269–270, Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/6. pp. 73–74, 89. See also Szende, 'Geschichte', p. 55.

involving the Sopron Jews.[35] After the above-mentioned expulsion of the Jews from Wiener Neustadt, a rich and prestigious community up to that point, Sopron was officially requested by the Palatine of Hungary to provide temporary shelter for the refugees for at least three months and to protect them against any injury. The document does not explicitly mention the expulsion, but uses the euphemistic term those who 'wish to move to another domicile' *(ad alia loca sese transferre volunt moraturos)*. In fact, from the later records it transpires that some of the newcomers, notably Sleml Behem and Ascher (Kaschariel) stayed in Sopron until 1526.[36]

After this event, in a generally insecure atmosphere, and a time of political crisis, in this case the peasant uprising of 1514, the king again had to order that the town protect the Jews against any rebel attacks.[37] A year later he obliged the Jews to contribute to the rebuilding of the town walls and to keep their own houses in good repair. These issues, whether the Jews indeed participated in carrying the burdens of the town, were used as arguments by both sides 11–12 years later when the issue of expulsion was at stake.[38] By 1521 the situation became even more threatening, when the Ottoman siege and eventual occupation of Belgrade imposed strong financial demands and a general feeling of insecurity throughout the kingdom. This was the time when the representatives of the Sopron council first expressly demanded the physical removal of the Jews from their town (*eosdem Judeos procul ab urbe depellere*), a request that they repeated several times.[39] However, the young royal couple, Louis II (1516–1526) and his wife Mary of the House of Habsburg, Maximilian's granddaughter, showed no inclination to accede or to take any measures; on the contrary, the king ordered the release of any imprisoned Jews and the investigation of their cases.[40]

As tensions increased, in June 1526 it was the Jews who decided to draw the obvious conclusions, and three of them, Jacob Fischl, Koppel and Gerstl, moved to the neighbouring settlement of Eisenstadt (Kismarton). This market town, about 20 km west of Sopron, was under Hungarian sovereignty, being in the ownership of the Kanizsai family at the time of the events described here. A Jewish

35 Pollák, *A zsidók története,* p. 270; Házi, S*opron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/6, p. 93, 108; Kohn, *A zsidók története,* p. 448.

36 Pollák, *A zsidók története,* p. 270. Providing protection was indeed necessary, as a case of the Jewess Hindel, widow of Muschkat from Wiener Neustadt shows, whose assets were confiscated by the local customs officers. Házi, S*opron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/6. pp. 157–161; Szende, 'Geschichte', pp. 54–55.

37 Keil, 'Juden in Grenzgemeinden' describes the atmosphere as: 'ein unbehagliches Gefühl von Unsicherheit, Willkür, Bedrohung und gegenseitige starke Abneigung'; for the documents see Kohn, *A zsidók története,* p. 458; Házi, S*opron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/6, p. 304.

38 Pollák, *A zsidók története,* pp. 275–276, Házi, S*opron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/6, p. 322.

39 Pollák, *A zsidók története,* p. 277, republished in: *MHJ* vol. I. pp. 313–317.

40 Házi, S*opron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7. pp. 74, 79.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

presence is attested there now and then already in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the influx of refugees from Wiener Neustadt, Neunkirchen and other localities in Styria after 1496 brought a marked increase. It was this community that the three refugees from Sopron decided to join. The Sopron magistrate demanded their return at a short notice, with reference to a royal mandate. The note was addressed to 'our Jews at the moment in Eisenstadt' and shows the ambivalent attitude of the local authorities to the Jewish presence, a stance that became totally negative in the course of the tragic events to come.

The Expulsions from Hungary in Local and Broader Context

With the benefit of hindsight it is easy to claim, that after the capturing of Belgrade in 1521, it was only a question of time before the Ottoman army defeated the military forces of Hungary and overwhelmed the kingdom. For the contemporaries, however, there was no other alternative to resisting and opposing the Ottoman advance. It would far exceed the limits of this study to give a detailed account of the efforts of the royal couple and the political elite to redirect all available financial resources and manpower for the purposes of the defence of the country; nor is it our task to describe the course of the military events, the chances and the expectations of the armies involved in the fatal battle of Mohács on 29 August 1526 and the way the young king's death affected the outcome of the battle.[41]

It is important to point out, however, is that the tension that was already palpable during the summer months, both in the towns and the countryside, escalated enormously once news of the defeat reached Buda and the rest of the country. The issue of succession was far from settled and many of the leading dignitaries of the realm remained dead on the battlefield. Central power collapsed and the responsibility of maintaining law and order fell on those who were either not prepared or not authorized to act. In this general turmoil, Mary, the twenty-one-year-old widowed queen, had to decide everything by herself. Her goal was, while coping with the fact that her husband would never return from the battlefield, to secure the throne of the kingdom, during the inevitable dynastic struggle, for her brother Ferdinand against the other pretender, John Szapolyai, a Hungarian aristocrat.[42] All her actions and decisions, especially in the period

41 Ferenc Szakály, *A mohácsi csata* [The battle of Mohács], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983); Géza Perjés, *The Fall of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: Mohacs 1526 – Buda 1541* (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 1989); Gábor Ágoston, 'Mohács', in: *The Seventy Great Battles of All Time*, ed. by Jeremy Black (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005); János B. Szabó, *A mohácsi csata* [The battle of Mohács] (Budapest: Corvina, 2011).

42 Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century* (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp. 37–48.

of her governorship from the end of August until the election of Ferdinand as King of Hungary on 17 December 1526 (although by that time his rival, John, was already crowned), were subordinated to this end. Her policy concerning the Jews was no exception.[43]

Sopron

Let us briefly summarize how the events following the catastrophe of Mohács on a local level affected the Jews. From the three towns under discussion, the case of Sopron is the most extensively documented and best researched, thanks especially to the efforts of the local Jewish community's own historian, the rabbi and martyr Max (Miksa) Pollák (1868–1944).[44] Sopron was the furthest of the three from the battlefield and thus it did not have to face any immediate military threat from the Ottomans; however, it was a strategic point of the border defences and a gateway to the country from the West. Queen Mary, who set up her temporary residence in Pressburg (the details of which will be discussed below), dispatched two letters to the burghers of Sopron on 7 September, four or five days after her arrival at her new 'headquarters'. In the first one she urged the burghers to maintain their loyalty to the royal house and hold on until military support arrived from her brother Ferdinand; the second ordered them so stop the flight of the people to Austria and give them shelter in the town or its suburbs, so that their leaving would not drain the resources of the country.[45] These letters made it clear how crucial it was for the queen to secure the loyalty of this important town, a fact that surely encouraged the magistrates to seize the chance to fulfil their wish to get rid of the Jews.

Given the distance between Pressburg and Sopron of about 65 kilometres, Mary's letters probably reached their addressees the following day. The envoys – the mayor and some other burghers – set out immediately to the queen, and on arrival, it seems they managed to gain her approval in some form or other to the expulsion, although no charter has been preserved on the matter. The only evidence on the date itself is a remark on the margin of a volume kept nowadays in Pressburg: *Item expulsio Judeorum de Soppronio feria 2a infra octavam Nativitatis*

43 Katalin Szende, 'Maria von Ungarn und die Städte Westungarns', in *Maria von Ungarn (1505–1558). Eine Renaissancefürstin,* ed. by Martina Fuchs, Orsolya Réthelyi (Geschichte in der Epoche Karls V, Band 8) (Münster: Aschendorff, 2007), pp. 113–132; István H. Németh, 'Städte zwischen zwei Königen: die politische Aktivität des oberungarischen Städtebundes zwischen 1526 und 1536, ibid. pp. 133–152.

44 Pollák, *A zsidók története,* pp. 108–182; on Pollák's life see Miksa Pollák, in: *Österriechisches Biographisches Lexikon 1885–1950*, Bd. 8. Lieferung 37 (Wien: ÖAW, 1980), p. 172.

45 Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7, pp. 204–205. Mary most probably arrived in Pressburg on 3 September 1526, see Szende, 'Maria von Ungarn', pp. 120–122.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Marie anno Domini 1526, in other words 10 September.[46] The later complaints of the Jews tell how they were compelled to leave the town within an hour of the promulgation of the mandate, with nothing but the clothes that they had on *(nos omnes nudos, ut bestias, expulerunt)*. They were forced to leave behind the keys to their properties, which the burghers then seized and plundered.[47]

The queen, however, seems to have understood her permission in a different way, namely that she only agreed to letting those Jews leave the town who themselves wished to do so, and by no means approved of the seizure or plunder of their properties. In her correspondence with the Sopron magistrates in the following weeks she reprimanded them on several occasions, and strove to convince them to let the Jews return to their former homes and go about their business. When this proved to be impossible to achieve, she insisted that the burghers at least repay the capital of their debts (without the interest) and give compensation to the Jews for their confiscated properties.[48]

As it transpires from the list of complaints compiled by the town's notary on 29 September 1526, the issues the burghers of Sopron had with the Jews were almost exclusively financial. A number of them, including members of the council, were in debt and the rest of the town leadership was courting the favour of the populace by supporting the expulsion. One of the most important issues was the ownership of and authority over the so-called *Judenbücher*, the debt registers that recorded legally binding financial transactions. The issue of contention was often not the amount of the loan, but the interest rate that in a couple of years could multiply the debt to as much as three times the original capital. Some of the debts were repaid in kind, for example with agricultural produce such as grain and wine, or with commercial wares like cloth and spices of contested value, the resale of which was also held against the Jews as offering unjust competition against the local merchants.[49] No wonder that the burghers used all means they could come up with, including the bribing of Nicholas Oláh, the queen's secretary (and later archbishop of Esztergom), whom the queen requested to serve as one of the judges in the case. The 'shrewd Soproners' had hopes of gaining his favour by sending him his favourite wild boar meat in return for the release of the *Judenbücher*.[50]

---

46 Bratislava, Univezitná knižnica, Inc. 90. (Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, Argentinae: Adolphus Rusch, c.1475). On 12 September the queen already reprimanded the burghers of Sopron for the seizure of Jewish property, see Pollák, *A zsidók története,* p. 284.

47 The most detailed description of these events can be found in a letter compiled by the Jews a year and a half after the expulsion, on 24 March 1528. Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7. pp. 282–285.

48 Pollák, *A zsidók története,* pp. 285–287.

49 Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7, pp. 208–213.

50 This is revealed by the thank you letter of the archbishop on 25 September 1527, see *MHJ* vol. I, pp. 368–369.

The main other means to prevent the return of the Jews, besides appropriating the main proof by which they could have recovered the debts, was the selling of their houses (see the Appendix). The queen, after a couple of months' hesitation, agreed even to this. Consequently, the town commissioned five stonemasons and carpenters to make an estimate of the values of houses that belonged to the expelled Jews, which numbered twelve altogether plus the synagogue and the almshouse *(spitl)*.[51] The aggregate sum of 985 pounds *(phunt phennig)* points to a heavy discount of the prices that offered a nice bargain for the burghers who bought them. As the town's property register *(Grundbuch)* testifies, by 1532 practically all Jewish houses had been sold.[52]

As a sideline, it is interesting to note, that the German texts of the sales contracts of the former Jewish houses were in many cases complemented with a clause and signatures in Hebrew script, stating that by the sale the former owners of the houses voluntarily renounced all their rights and claims to the property in question.[53] Hebrew literacy had been almost completely absent from Sopron's administrative practice in times of peace; but now it gained a new significance under circumstances of pressure and dissent, as being considered more binding on the Jewish party than the usual German text.[54] Another impact on Hebrew literacy resulting from the expulsion was through the seizure of Hebrew manuscripts. This is also mentioned among the Jews' complaints: *item sinagogam nostram devastavere, libros hebraicos exportavere* [they have plundered our synagogue and taken away the Hebrew books].[55] The books were later chopped up and their parchment sheets reused as binding materials for court protocols, account books or other registers in the town archives. In the current archival collection 28 Hebrew codex leaves have been identified as bindings of administrative books used by the town chancery between 1528 and 1548. Ironically, these fragments of destroyed books are the only tangible remains of the intellectual culture of the Jews of medieval Sopron.[56]

---

51 Házi, S*opron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7, pp. 219–220.

52 The sequence of house owners after the expulsion in the *Judengasse* can be followed in: Ferenc Dávid, Károly Goda and Gusztáv Thirring, *Sopron belvárosának házai és háztulajdonosai 1488–1939* [Houses and house-owners in the central part of Sopron, 1488–1939] (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár, 2008), pp. 247–289; the transformation of the synagogue into a conventional burgher's house was revealed during the architectural investigation of the building between 1968 and 1974, see Dávid, *A soproni ó-zsinagóga*, pp. 35–81.

53 Pollák, *A zsidók története,* pp. 293–294; 341–345; *MHJ* vol. I, 353–354, 417–418, 423–424.

54 On the uses of Hebrew script in everyday contacts see Szende, 'Laws, Loans, Literates', pp. 251–264.

55 Házi, S*opron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7, p. 284.

56 Ernő Róth, 'A Soproni Állami Levéltár héber kéziratairól' [The Hebrew manuscripts of the Sopron Municipal Archives], *Soproni Szemle* 10 (1956), 319–334; Sándor Scheiber, *Héber kódexmaradványok magyarországi kötéstáblákban. A középkori magyar zsidóság könyvkultúrája* [Hebrew codex fragments in book bindings from Hungary. The book culture of medieval Hungarian Jewry], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969). On the reusing of codex leaves as bookbinding material see Katalin Szende, '"In geschribn pergament einbunden" A könyvkötéshez felhasznált kódextöredékek társadalom- és kultúrtörténeti

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

The Jews, of course, did not give up their livelihood voluntarily. Their strategy of resistance was to preserve the community structure and negotiate as a body. They elected representatives (*öberkait, verwallter und gwallttrager gemainer vertriben Judischait von Odenburg*, that is, the leaders and plenipotentiary representatives of the community of expelled Jews of Sopron) who were authorized to proceed on their behalf.[57] Since their adversaries pretended to follow the legal way and bargained for royal permissions, first from Mary and then from her brother, King Ferdinand I, the expelled Jews tried to use the same means. They, too, visited the queen and formulated petitions to the royal court, composed in the most sophisticated Humanist Latin of the period, to prove their rights and loyalty. They even appealed to *Deum optimum maximum et sanctam eius iustitiam* when imploring the king's favour and seeking the annulment of the expulsion. The court case brought by the Jews against the town,[58] with the aim of returning and regaining their properties, ran on for eight years, before finally, in 1534 King Ferdinand I issued a charter granting, as a reward for Sopron's loyalty, that the burghers could not be compelled in the future to readmit the Jews to the town.[59]

During the court case, the Sopron Jews had already established themselves in the neighbourhood of the town, on various noble estates. From the fourteenth century onwards members of the Hungarian nobility and the high clergy had received royal privileges 'to keep Jews' *(de tenendis Judeis)*, so there already existed small communities where the Jews expelled from Sopron could be reunited with their co-religionists. The above-mentioned Jacob Vischl, Gerstl and Manusch, who fled to Eisenstadt in the summer of 1526, can still be traced there until 1569.[60] Others found their way to Nagymarton (Mattersburg), Fraknó (Forchtenstein) or Kabold (Kobersdorf), where communities of Jews had been established since the mid-fourteenth century. The famous seventeenth-century Sieben Gemeinden on the properties of the Esterházy family (Deutschkreutz, Eisenstadt, Frauenkirchen, Kittsee, Kobersdorf, Lackenbach, Mattersdorf) were the descendants of communities augmented by the refugees

---

összefüggései Sopronban' ['"In geschribn pergament einbunden" Fragments of codices used for bookbinding in Sopron in their social and cultural context'], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 123 (2007), 278–310; on recent research on the codex fragments: András Kövér, 'Házi Jenő és a zsidóság kapcsolata' [Jenő Házi's contacts with Jewish life], *Soproni Szemle* 66 (2012), 330–336.

57 Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7. pp. 220–221. A charter issued by these representatives on 9 November 1526 was written in the Town Hall of Sopron, so they must have been received there as official delegates.

58 The documents pertaining to the case are published in Pollák, *A zsidók története,* pp. 284–351, and Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7, 204–438, passim.

59 *MHJ* vol. I. pp. 430–431. The king still insisted on the burghers repaying their debts.

60 Johannes Reiss, 'Jüdisches Eisenstadt', in *Jüdisches Eisenstadt. Jüdisches Sopron*, pp. 7–43 (p. 8).

from Sopron. This period can rightly be called that of *Landjudentum*, Jewry in the countryside.[61]

Pressburg

In Pressburg events took a similar course, although the details are not so well documented. As mentioned above, the town became the refuge and residence of the widowed queen during the most critical months after the battle of Mohács. There was a large and strong royal castle overlooking the town on a hilltop, but the castellan of this fortress refused to receive the queen as long as the issue of succession remained unsettled. Mary therefore was obliged to take up residence in the town itself. According to the neatly kept series of account books, the town provided a house for the queen on the main square, and on occasion even supplied food, mainly fish and bread, for her retinue – a kind of crisis-government for the country.[62] All this placed the young widow in a position of strong dependence on the town and its resources, and left her with little leeway to resist its demands concerning the expulsion of the Jews.

As in the case of Sopron, there is evidence suggesting that some of the Jews in Pressburg left by their own decision, although it is hard to tell exactly when. According to a charter issued by the queen on 9 October 1526 (one short month after her meeting with the envoys of Sopron on the same matter), the Pressburg Jews upon the news of the catastrophic defeat at Mohács chose not to remain in the town but after having sent their goods ahead, fled, leaving their vacant houses behind. Since it could be claimed that by this act the Jews had betrayed the town and its burghers, the queen authorized the magistrate to sell their houses as they had wished and use the revenues for the refurbishing of the town walls. She also allowed them to expel (or, euphemistically, not to keep – *non teneant*) those Jews who did not flee, although the Jews were entitled to receive compensation for their houses, so that they should not suffer from both evils at the same time *(ne damnum et exclusionis et domorum suarum simul paciantur)*.[63]

The source of most conflicts, here as well as in Sopron, was the practice of usury. It is cited in the queen's charter, most likely on the instigation of the debtors themselves, as the reason for the impoverishment of the town and its burghers; whereas the accusation of high interest rates is heftily refuted in a document

61 See the studies by Michael Toch, Peter Rauscher and Wolfgang Treue in *Hofjuden und Landjuden. Jüdisches Leben in der Frühneuzeit*, ed. by Sabine Hödl, Peter Rauscher, and Barbara Staudinger (Berlin, Vienna: Philo, 2004).

62 Szende, 'Königin Maria', pp. 121–122.

63 Archív Mesta Bratislavy Nr. 4958, *MHJ* vol. I, pp. 337–339.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

compiled some time in 1526 by the Jews in their own defence.[64] As far as one can judge from sources unconnected with the expulsion, such as wills, other court cases, or the few surviving fragments of the *Judenbücher* from the turn of the fifteenth century, loans continued to be provided by the Jews, but the amounts were much lower than the sums specified in credit contracts a hundred years earlier.[65] We will return to this question in the concluding part of this essay.

The other main issue to settle after the expulsion, just like in Sopron, was that of the real estate formerly owned by the Jews (see the Appendix). The best source for this is a list entitled *'Vermerckt die verkaufften judenheuser anno 26'*, compiled probably when King Ferdinand I in 1539 ordered the town to compensate the royal treasury for the loss of the Jews' tax.[66] The list refers to seventeen houses including the synagogue in the late medieval Judengasse, by the eastern town wall of Pressburg. It contains the names of the former Jewish owners (except for four cases when the names were already forgotten) as well as the Christians who gained possession of the buildings by donation or purchase. In regard to the new owners, at least two points deserve our attention. Firstly, the (temporary) presence of the court at the time when the houses were vacated is signalled by two donations to the queen's loyal retainers, a *kellner* and a *jagermeister*, both of whom, however, resold these properties. Secondly, and most importantly, the majority of the owners at the time when the list was compiled, thirteen persons out of eighteen, were craftsmen who pursued common but not especially prestigious crafts: hatters, bricklayers, a locksmith, a cobbler, a cloth-cutter, and the like. It was these lower middle-class people who found the neighbourhood suitable as a residence, and thus this social layer can be counted as among the beneficiaries of the expulsion of the Jews.

A comparison to Styria

In order to see in which way these cases of expulsion were determined by the situation shortly after the battle of Mohács or how much they followed a general pattern, it seems to be reasonable to compare them with the previously mentioned expulsions in Styria (1496–1497) and Karinthia (1515).[67] What kind of demands and expectations did the local populace express in these cases, and how did the rulers, Mary of Hungary and her grandfather, Maximilian, respectively, react to these demands?

64 *MHJ* vol. I, pp. 344–345.
65 *MHJ* vol. IV, pp. 117–310, 350–370, 412–428.
66 The list: *MHJ* vol. IV, pp. 343–344; Ferdinand's order, 11 April 1539: *MHJ* vol. I. pp. 437–438.
67 See n. 8, above.

An apparent similarity was the increase of anti-Jewish sentiment preceding the expulsion, as manifested through a higher number of complaints. Moreover, unlike in the periods preceding (the early fifteenth century) and following (from the late 1530s), when many of the charges were of a ritual nature such as blood libels and host desecration accusations, in the period in question – from the 1490s to the late 1520s – the main complaints everywhere concerned straightforward financial issues. These were first and foremost usury and other irregularities connected to loans (e.g. failure to record repayment); competition with the local merchants occasioned by trading in products forbidden to the Jews; and the Jews' reluctance to contribute to the tax burdens of the local community. The latter charges were certainly misplaced, since the Jews were subject to the royal chamber and thus were obliged to pay tax directly to the treasury and not to the towns.[68]

The call to expel the Jews both in Styria and in Hungary emerged typically in situations of political and financial crisis, when a new ruler or a member of a new dynasty ascended to the throne. As successor of his father, Frederick III, Maximilian had to cope with increasingly frequent Ottoman incursions along the Styrian border, as well as the demands of mercenaries who had not been paid since the struggles over the Hungarian succession that broke out after Matthias Corvinus's death. To cover all these and further military expenses, Maximilian needed the extraordinary financial support of the estates, and the easiest way for him to secure this was to acquiesce to the long-standing demand of the estates to expel the Jews. Queen Mary's situation, as we have seen, was even direr: after the loss of her husband and her royal seat it was vital for her to build up a new power-base and a strong hinterland in the western border region of Hungary in order to secure the succession of the Hungarian throne for the Habsburg dynasty. The loyalty of the main royal towns of this region, Pressburg and Sopron, was absolutely crucial for her in order to achieve this goal.

A further parallel was that the rulers, when pressured by circumstances to agree to the expulsion, treated the matter purely from a financial point of view. The prime condition of their approval was that those authorities which initiated the Jews' removal should compensate the treasury for the loss of income that resulted from this move, especially the regular annual tax levied on the Jews. In Styria this meant that all the inhabitants of the province, including the Church, had to pay according to the value of their properties. Maximilian demanded altogether the huge sum of 38,000 Rheinisch guilders from the estates; in Hungary it was the towns that had to make up for the shortfall, a demand that was repeatedly

68 Kováts, 'Bevezetés', *MHJ* vol. IV, pp. cvi–vii. The most detailed list of complaints complied by the burghers of Sopron lists exclusively economic offences, see. Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7. pp. 208–213.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

made on them for several decades after the last Jew left the towns.[69] The case of Styria, which itself followed a pattern already established in other parts of Europe, may have been the model for the demand for financial compensation. In the Hungarian towns the sums were much smaller, only a few hundred guilders per year, but the principle was the same.

Both Maximilian and Mary insisted on a reasonable financial treatment of the Jews, relatively speaking. In the Austrian provinces Maximilian's ordinance contained a detailed set of measures regarding compensations due to the Jews, including the repayment of the capital sum, and sometimes even the interest on their loans. Contrary to the expectations of the towns, the Jewish house-owners were entitled to receive the entire price of their houses (unless they fled voluntarily). Although Queen Mary was hesitant and changed her mind about the possibility of an eventual return as well as about the payment of the interest, she held firm on the principle of financial compensation.

In spite of the similarities in these cases of expulsions, the differences are equally telling. The main one was that in the Austrian provinces the issue of expulsion was not negotiated separately town by town, but was discussed at the regular meetings of the diets. It took several years (from 1494 to 1496) to agree on the conditions, to formulate the wording and, finally, to issue a solemn royal charter. In Hungary things proceeded quite differently. Even though the two towns were geographically close and were accustomed to cooperate on other issues, their envoys presented their complaints separately to the queen. In the third free royal town of the region, Tyrnau (Trnava, Nagyszombat), which will not be discussed in detail here, the Jews stayed on after 1526, in spite of complaints against them. Their expulsion took place only 13 years later, in 1539, and then under completely different circumstances, against the background of a never-proven ritual murder.[70]

Due to the political crisis, there was neither the time nor the opportunity to discuss the conditions and plan the steps of the expulsion of the Jews from Sopron and Pressburg. The documents issued by Queen Mary in this matter were anything but solemn charters. The events in Hungary thus took place in a 'grey zone',[71] a circumstance that gave the aggrieved party, the Jews, some hope that they might sooner or later return to their former homes. For their part, the fact

69 This consideration was first raised concerning Sopron on 12 October 1526, see. Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7. p. 216, Pollák, *A zsidók története,* pp. 287–288. For Pressburg: *MHJ* vol. I. pp. 437–438.

70 *MHJ* vol. I. pp. 434–437.

71 Mary's hesitation is apparent in the formulation in one of her letters to Ferdinand: *Dum anno superiore venissemus Posonium, non sine racionalibus ex causis annueramus* [...] *ut iudei* [...] *ad eos non immitterentur, quibus autem racionibus ducte fuerimus, ut ex consilii nostri deliberatione id faceremus, maiestas vestra et ex litteris nostris et ex dominis consiliariis* [...] *intelligere poterit.* She may simply refer to charges

that the towns were dependent on Mary's *ad hoc* decisions meant a very strong tie, and indeed, a moral indebtedness to the queen and her influential councillors,[72] even more so than the towns expected when they initiated the procedure just after the battle of Mohács. The uncertain circumstances at the time of the expulsion made it necessary for the towns to send envoys to the queen even in later years when she was residing in Linz and then in Brussels.[73] This dependence very much strengthened the loyalty of the towns towards the Habsburg cause, just as the presence of the crisis-government in Pressburg and the arrival of Ferdinand's troops in Sopron did.

Mary made the presence of her costly retinue and the occupant military forces, respectively, acceptable by offering other favours to the burghers, including the option of buying the Jews' houses at figures far below their real values. The connection between the two events was also strengthened by their closeness in time: the valuation of the houses in Sopron's Judengasse was promulgated a mere two days after the ordinance about sending military troops to the town was announced.[74] The joint treatment of the military issue and the expulsion of the Jews is clearly signalled by the fact that the three judges appointed by Queen Mary as governor in February 1527 to deliver a verdict in the court case between the town of Sopron and the expelled Jews were Ernst Fürst, captain of Eisenstadt, Matheus Teufel, captain of Forchtenstein (Fraknó), and Caspar Ritschaner, the commander of the infantry.[75] In this way Mary's measures played a crucial role in making the military occupation of the towns acceptable to the local populace and securing the loyalty of the main strategic points of the western border to the Habsburg cause. This achievement was also acknowledged by her brother, Ferdinand.[76]

---

brought forward by the town and to the fact that the Jews moved out of the town voluntarily, but it may equally well hint at the queen's longer-term political agenda. The letter is published in: *MHJ* vol. I. p. 372.

72 E.g. in February 1527 *(die wochen lichtmes)* Pressburg paid 20 lb. den. to Nikolaus Oláh 'von wegen des briefs uff die Juden', account books of Pressburg for 1526/27, National Archives of Hungary, photo collection (MNL OL DF) 277 133, p. 185. See also n. 49. on a favour to N. Oláh from Sopron.

73 Archív Mesta Bratislavy No. 5188; Archív Mesta Bratislavy No. 5339 = *MHJ* vol. I. pp. 426–427.

74 Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7. pp. 219–220. On the Habsburg military presence in Sopron later in 1526, see István Kenyeres, 'Pacsa János plébános osztrák fogsága. Adalékok Habsburg Mária királyné helytartóságához' [The Austrian captivity of the parish priest János Pacsa. An aspect of Queen Mary's governorship], *Soproni Szemle* 60 (2006), 146–165.

75 The documents are published in: István R. Kiss, A magyar helytartótanács I. Ferdinánd korában [The Hungarian Governor's Council in the age of Ferdinand I] (Budapest: MTA, 1908), pp. 335–336.

76 Archív Mesta Bratislavy Nr. 4969 (letter from Ferdinand that the towns are to pay their oath of homage to Mary as governor).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Buda

In Buda events took a quite different course, first and foremost because the city was directly affected by the military events of 1526. A couple of weeks after the battle of Mohács, on 11 September, the Ottoman troops marching north along the Danube reached the Hungarian capital. By that time the widowed queen and her court had departed, and most of the burghers had also fled the threatened town. The Jews of Buda were virtually the only persons who remained on the spot and it was they who eventually handed over the keys of the town to the Ottomans. In turn, when the Ottomans left Buda some days later to return to the Balkans – for they did not yet have plans for a full-scale occupation of the country – they took the Jews of Buda with them. The handful of contemporary or somewhat later narrative accounts give contradictory versions of this event. According to Ferdi, Süleyman the Great's official chronicler, the Jews themselves approached the victorious army, begged for mercy from the Sultan and for permission to emigrate. He tells of more than 2000 families seeking refuge with the Turks, an obvious over-estimation.[77] Johannes Cuspinianus, by contrast, claims in a speech published in 1527 that the Jews first bravely resisted the Ottomans, but finally had to surrender to the Sultan who 'convinced them to accompany him to Turkey'. The author's main motive must have been, in the face of an impending siege of his home-town, Vienna, to encourage his readers to resist any future attack, and therefore his account exaggerated any signs of resistance.[78] Relevant to this issue might be the question whether news of the expulsion from Sopron reached Buda before the Jews left (or were removed from) the town – in other words, if they already knew what (not) to expect from the queen. As the events of 1521 and 1525 presented above showed, the main protector of the Jews was their immediate overlord, the king, and after Mohács the Jews could no longer hold any secure hope for royal protection. Hans Dernschwam, writing in the 1550s, also mentions the transportation of the Jews to the Ottoman Empire, emphasizing how important it was to the whole Jewry of the Empire that the Jews were not sold there as slaves but were only obliged to pay tax.[79]

---

77 Ferdi efendi, Tarih-i-sahib kamun Sultan Suleyman (Süleymanname) (The History of Sultan Suleiman the Lawgiver), Hungarian transl. József Thúry, *Török történetírók* vol. II. (Budapest: MTA, 1896), p. 71; English transl. Kinga Frojimovics, Géza Komoróczy, Viktória Pusztai and Andrea Strbik, *Jewish Budapest. Monuments, Rites, History* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), p. 22.

78 Johannes Cuspinianus, *Oratio protreptica ad Sacri Romani Imperii principes et proceres*... (Vienna: Joannes Singrenius, 1527), fol. B IIIv (National Széchényi Library, R60, http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03699/ [accessed 11 March 2015]; English transl. *Jewish Budapest*, p. 22.

79 *Hans Dernschwams Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553–1555)*, ed. Franz Babinger (München–Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923), p. 110. On the Jews as taxpayers see Aryeh Schmuelewitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), pp. 81–127.

Whatever the true facts of their surrender and removal, all sources agree that the Jews of medieval Buda were put on ships and transported south along the Danube. Some of them probably settled in Thessalonica. This city was indeed the 'Jewish capital' of the Ottoman Empire of the time; by 1519 more than half of its inhabitants (15,175 persons or 54 per cent) were Jews, mainly Sephardim.[80] As mentioned above, after the expulsions from Spain, some Sephardic Jewish families found their way to Buda; and it is not unlikely that these had connections also to Thessalonica, a link that may have played a role in their choice of a new residence. Others ended up in Istanbul, Vidin, Sofia and Kavala, and even in the Holy Land. Some of the refugees tried to retain or re-establish contacts with their former hometown, or to return and recover some of their properties and their seats in the synagogue. These endeavors, as discussions of the Halakhic authorities testify, caused serious conflicts with the members of the local community consisting of new groups of Jewish settlers who arrived to Buda after the city came under Ottoman rule in 1541. The late medieval synagogues were used as places of worship until the city was recaptured by the Christian armies in 1686.[81]

Even if the fate of the Buda Jews was so different from that of their co-religionists on the western border of Hungary – experiencing exile to the land of the invaders instead of expulsion by their compatriots –, one thing was common: the fate of the houses that they left behind. Just as Queen Mary donated a couple of former Jewish houses in Pressburg to remunerate the services of people in her retinue, the properties in Buda were all similarly designated for handing over or selling to new Christian owners. After the temporary withdrawal of the Ottomans, Queen Mary issued a couple of donation charters (obviously upon the request of the beneficiaries) which were later confirmed by Ferdinand; King John Szapolyai, the other legally elected king, however, considered Ferdinand's allies as traitors and donated the same houses to his own confidants (see the Appendix).[82]

For the present study, three issues concerning the properties in Buda are relevant. Firstly, as András Végh has pointed out, the donation charters, by mentioning the previous Jewish owners, shed light on property relations before 1526, showing that houses on both sides of the Jews' street (the modern Táncsics utca) were owned by members of this community, and some houses even had entrances

80 Anthony Bryer, 'Byzantium: the Roman Orthodox World, 1393–1492', in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History* vol. VII. ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), pp. 771–795, here: p. 779.

81 *Jewish Budapest*, pp. 24–25, with a quote from a *responsum* of Hayyim ben Shabbatai (*c.* 1555–1647), rabbi of Thessalonica, on the efforts for recovering previous properties. On the synagogues: Végh, 'Les synagogues', p. 219; László Zolnay, *Buda középkori zsidósága és zsinagógáik* [The medieval Jewry of Buda and their synagogues] (Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1987).

82 The list of owners was compiled by András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* [The medieval topography of the town of Buda, vol. I. (Budapest: BTM, 2006), pp. 304–307. The source references are listed and extracts are published in Vol. II. of the same work (Budapest: BTM, 2008), pp. 186–198.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

to the neighbouring street to the west.[83] Secondly, some of the donation charters mention that the Jews committed high treason because they left Buda with the 'heathen Turks', and therefore their properties devolved to the Crown and the king(s) had the right to designate new owners. The fugitive Jews mentioned by name are: Kys Mendel (Mendel the Small), magnus Mendel (Mendel the Great), Bona Olaz (Bona the Italian), and Salomon, son-in-law of Mendel Fekethe (Mendel the Black).[84] Thirdly, the social composition of the new owners is again telling: most of the houses were given (by one or the other king) to noblemen in their service, but not to any of the highest rank: the beneficiaries were typically royal secretaries or officials in service of the high dignitaries of the realm (the palatine, the master of the treasury, the judge royal). A few leading burghers were also given former Jewish properties.[85] The loyal aristocrats themselves were not in competition for the Jewish houses because they were rewarded with better houses of rich Christian owners which had been deserted during the turbulent political struggles.[86] The social standing of the new beneficiaries shows that the houses of the Buda Jews, the most influential such community in the country, were much more prestigious in size and location than the properties of their coreligionists in Pressburg or Sopron, but would nevertheless not rank among the most valuable items of real estates in the capital.

Economic considerations

As almost all discussion of the late medieval expulsions of the Jews from Central Europe point out, the removal of the Jewish population was to a great extent motivated by the fact that their services, in particular their activity as money-lenders, had become dispensable for the urban communities that they had previously lived in.[87] One can find generalized references to the substitution of Jewish creditors by Christians in the contemporary evidence from Sopron and Pressburg as well as from other parts of Europe. Examining them in some detail helps us detect some

83 Végh, *Buda város*, vol. I. pp. 304–307 reconstructed ownership data for altogether 11 houses as well as the synagogue.

84 Mentioned in the following documents listed by Végh, *Buda város*, vol. II, pp. 187–198: No. 694. (1526 Pressburg); No. 704 (1527. november 3, Székesfehérvár); No. 755. (1538. december 13, Kolozsvár).

85 The case of János Sárhajú, councillor of Buda is interesting, since he managed to receive grants for the same house from both kings: Végh, *Buda város*, vol. II. No. 695. and 709, vol. I. p. 305. Sárhajú is attested as burgher of Kassa (Košice) in 1547.

86 Végh, *Buda város*, vol. I. p. 307.

87 Markus Wenninger, *Man bedarf keiner Juden mehr. Ursachen und Hintergründe ihrer Vertreibung aus den deutschen Reichsstädten im 15. Jahrhundert.* (Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1981); Idem, 'Juden und Christen als Geldgeber im hohen und späten Mittelalter', in: *Die Juden in ihrer mittelalterlichen Umwelt,* ed. by Alfred Ebenbauer, Klaus Zatloukal. (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 1991), pp. 280–299; Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich*, pp. 99–101.

nuances behind the general picture. The reference from Sopron connects the issue of Jewish money-lending with another heated controversy of the time, religious reform. Sopron was one of the towns where Luther's teachings took root at an early stage and where, upon royal mandate, an inquisition was held in October 1524. It was in the course of this inquisition that a Franciscan friar, Christopher, was accused of having said that 'it is not necessary to have Jews in Sopron, since the priests themselves deal openly in usury'. The friar did not deny the essence of the statement during the trial, only the wording of it, putting a stronger emphasis in his reply on the sinful behavior of the clergy as opposed to the Jews, who cannot be blamed for following their own rules, whereas the Christians are forbidden to exploit their coreligionists through usury.[88] The situation makes it clear that the target of the friar's criticism was not the Jews but the clergy; however, the way his words were rephrased by the inquisitors shows the tendency of linking these two sources of credit in common parlance. Indeed, ecclesiastic institutions, especially altar benefices and the priests holding them, provided loans to the burghers of the town on a regular basis with an interest rate of 10 per cent, but usually demanded real estate as a security. Such transactions were administered with the consent of the civic authorities, with the town notary registering the contracts.[89]

In Pressburg a remark on Christian usury was formulated by the Jews themselves in their letter to Graf Salm, the captain of the town, written presumably in the last months of 1526 (without precise dating but after King Louis' death), to refute the accusations of usury pronounced against them by the burghers of the town: 'We will show that the burghers are greater usurers than we, the Jews: but, as the proverb goes, the potter hates the potter, likewise the usurer hates the usurer, since they want to take over all the usury for themselves and their folk.'[90] The same letter points out, however, that no usury can be imposed against the debtors' will, and that the Jews were indeed responding to an existing demand. Clearly, the rhetoric of self-defence determined the tone of this letter; nevertheless, the two documents invite us to review the stages of Jewish money-lending before drawing conclusions from the expulsions presented here.

---

88 *Ad octavum articulum, videlicet quod Iudei Sopronii non sunt necessarii, quia ipsi sacerdotes publice exercent usuram, respondit: negat se protulisse eandem formam verborum sed aliam: dixi misericordiam impendendam proximo in mutuo concedendo, nilque inde sperandum, sicut habetur Luce 6, sed nostrates Christiani conqueruntur se opprimi usuris Iudeorum, quibus id parum imputari potest, cum ex lege sua habent licenciam fenerandi aliis et non fratribus, cum nostri Christiani, ipsis meliores se existimantes, dent et accipiant passim ad usuram*..., see Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7. p. 117.

89 There are dozens of documents issued as testimonials to taking up loans from altar benefices in Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története* vols I/2–7 passim. Loans with real estate as security were entered into the property register: *Első telekkönyv / Erstes Grundbuch*, ed. by Karl Mollay (Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ödenburg, Reihe A, Bd. 1.) (Sopron: Soproni Levéltár, 1993), pp. 189–195.

90 *probabimus cives ipsos maiores usurarios esse iudeis nobis: at quia figulus figulum, ut dicitur, sic usurarius usurarium odit, inde colligitur, quia malint omnem usuram in se et suos transferri posse*, *MHJ* vol. I. p. 345.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Several recent studies remind us that what we see in terms of Jewish-Christian financial relations at the time of the expulsions all over Europe is the end of a long and winding path, and the main question to be asked regarding this path is not simply whether there was a demand for loans provided by the Jews, but who were the parties who needed them. The transformation in the make-up of the clientele of medieval Jewish moneylenders is a process to which increasing attention has been given in the last few decades. There is agreement concerning the process in continental Europe north of the Alps, namely that there was a shift from princes and the higher clergy to town governments and wealthy merchants in the first instance, and another later shift from the latter to the lower strata of urban society. The main dispute concerns the time when each of these shifts took place, but that seems difficult to determine precisely due to the strong regional variability.[91]

More or less the same trends can be observed in Hungary as well, with the difference that there is no evidence for the higher clergy taking up loans from Jews at the outset, but rather that there was a strong involvement of Jewish financiers in state administration until the end of the thirteenth century.[92] In the next phase, during the course of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the urban milieu comes to the fore: the Jews tend to settle in towns in increasing numbers, and a good part of their clientele consists of burghers, especially the urban elite. The towns as communities also took up significant loans. An important feature of this period is the contribution of Jewish loans to the process of *Territorienbildung*, the extension of one's estates or the forming of an agricultural belt around the towns, a process that can be observed in many different parts of Europe in respect of both princely and urban territories.[93]

As I have indicated above when outlining the development of the three Jewish communities under discussion, this 'great age' of Jewish credit was gradually coming to an end in all Hungarian towns by the 1420s. The decreasing importance of the Jewish presence is also testified by the fact that in spite of the general economic prosperity of the country, which manifests itself, among other things, by the growing number of mendicant friaries, one cannot find new settlements of Jews established in the fifteenth century, and some former communities disappear from the records altogether. The remaining ones seem to be in the grip of inertia and unresponsive to new incentives. The decrease in the volume of money-lending

91 Toch, *Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich*, p. 99, David Niremberg, 'Warum der König die Juden beschützen musste, und warum er sie verfolgen musste', in: *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. by Bernhard Jussen (München: Beck, 2005), pp. 225–240, 390–392.; Hans-Jörg Gilomen, 'Die Substitution jüdischer Kredite im Spätmittelalter. Das Beispiel Zürichs', in *Christliches und jüdisches Europa im Mittelalter. Kolloquium zu Ehren von Alfred Haverkamp*, ed. by Lukas Clemens, Sigrid Hirbodian (Trier: Kliomedia, 2011), pp. 207–233.

92 Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 126–127; Szende, 'Traders, Court Jews, Town Jews', forthcoming.

93 Toch, *Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich*, p. 100, with further references.

business is clearly shown by Ferenc Kováts' research concerning the loans taken up by the town magistrate of Pressburg.[94] An exception to this image of decline might have been provided by the community of Buda, but the destruction of the archives and with it the evidence on the Jews' business and clientele makes it impossible to decide this issue.

What Jewish creditors were left with by the second half of the fifteenth century were small consumer credits given at high rates of interest or on pawn – the kind of money-lending that has been considered socially harmful in medieval and modern times alike.[95] Since the loans taken up in this way were mainly used to cover the borrower's immediate needs, frequently in crisis situations, and not for purposes generating profit, repayment often proved to be extremely difficult and led to the complete impoverishment of the debtors. This in turn led to the erosion of the tax base, and eventually also to social unrest, a development that contributed to the growing prejudice against this kind of credit, and a stigma on both the people involved in offering it and those taking it up. The vicious circle of borrowing initially relatively small but unproductive sums of money, and running into great debt as the end result is clearly reflected in the detailed complaints of the Sopron burghers against their Jewish creditors.[96] Hans-Jörg Gilomen even connects the stigma attached to such credits with the eventual relocation of the Jews' streets to more peripheral areas of towns, where it was less conspicuous for the debtors to appear. It is hard to tell whether this decreased visibility was a cause or a consequence of the declining prestige the Jewish moneylenders, but this pattern can be observed in several places, including Pressburg.[97]

Gilomen also pointed out another important fact in connection with Zürich, namely that the expulsion of the Jews from the city did not mean them entirely losing their local clientele: among other evidence he quotes the example of a Jew from Winterthur whose inventory of pawn objects in 1475, about 40 years after the expulsion of Jews from Zürich, contained some 20 items belonging to customers from Zürich and Winterthur.[98] A similar development can be seen in Sopron after 1526: some of the Jews kept in contact with Sopron burghers in the following years, when the Christians eventually settled their old debts or even took up new loans.[99] This shows, in the same way as the letter of the Pressburg Jews from 1526,

94 Kováts, 'Bevezetés' in *MHJ* Vol. IV, pp. xxix–cviii, esp. lvi–cvi. See also: Szende, 'Laws, loans, literates', Table 1.

95 Raymond de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges. Italian Merchant Bankers, Lombards and Money Changers. A Study in the Origins of Banking*. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1948), quoted by Gilomen, 'Die Substitution', p. 209.

96 Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, vol. I/7, pp. 208–213.

97 Gilomen, 'Die Substitution', p. 210.

98 Gilomen, 'Die Substitution', p. 230.

99 Pollák, *A zsidók története*, pp. 341–345, *Erstes Grundbuch* No. 528, 566, 567, 569, 570.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

that there was still a certain demand for their activity which alternative sources of credit did not satisfy.[100]

Conclusions

The chronological proximity of the expulsion of the Jews from their three most important home towns in medieval Hungary to the fateful battle at Mohács was by no means a pure coincidence; the connection of the two events, nevertheless, needs to be considered in its full complexity. On the surface, one might think that the Jews were simply easy targets to blame for the national tragedy. Examining the course of events in the towns presented above, however, suggests that the expulsion was to a great extent the final outcome of a long drawn-out shift in economic interests, a tendency that fitted closely into the general European context. The structural changes in Jewish as well as Christian money-lending, the lower amount of overall credit provided by Jews and a shift in their clientele to the less powerful strata of society made the Jews in a way dispensable. With this came a change in the attitudes of rulers and civic authorities towards the Jews and Jewish money-lending: having previously looked on the Jews as valuable business partners worthy of assistance and protection, once their services were dispensable, they found it convenient to favor the interests of the more numerous and potentially more seditious group of debtors.

Political conditions, nevertheless, also played a role in the process. When King Louis II died on the battlefield, the Habsburgs as immediate claimants to the throne (represented in the first place by the widowed queen, Mary of Hungary) consented to the expulsion of the Jews from Sopron and Pressburg in order to secure the loyalty of these important strongholds in a critical period. Unlike in case of many other expulsions, here some legal norms were observed, which provided at least partial financial compensation to the Crown as well as to the Jews themselves; furthermore, accusations of a ritual character seem to have played a negligible role. In those parts of the countryside remaining under Hungarian rule, Jews continued to live under the protection of noble landowners, and even kept up some business contacts with their former compatriots, which points to the importance of certain niche roles that they were still able to fulfill.

The sources allow us to identify most of the buyers or recipients of the houses left behind by or confiscated from the Jews and thus to determine the circle of burghers (apart from the debtors) who most directly profited from the expulsions. Assuming that the new owners hoped to acquire a property generally

100 *quia manifeste non audent usuram exercere, sed per nos miseros ut instrumenta exercent*, *MHJ* vol. I. p. 345.

befitting their social status, we have a rough way to assess the position of the Jews in the social hierarchy of the towns where they lived on the eve of their expulsion. In Sopron and Pressburg this position was close to the level of the lower middle class to which the average craftsmen belonged, whereas in Buda, the wealthiest Jewish community of the realm, it reached the level of the upper middle classes, or even above that.

The example of Buda was instructive also for presenting an alternative scenario of expulsion to Sopron and Pressburg, the Jews of the capital being in this case transported by the invaders to the Ottoman Empire. The sources contradict each other as to whether or not this happened in accordance with the wishes of the Jews or at least with their acquiescence; but their previous contacts and family relations with Sephardi Jews may have played a role in their move and their integration into communities living under a completely different political constellation. The examples testify to the character of East Central Europe as 'a region in-between', and this has left an imprint on the varied fates that Jews living here were forced to endure.

Finally, to return to the question in the title of this essay, the brief answer is that the Jews of Hungary in 1526 were neither scapegoats nor competitors to be reckoned with for any serious financial enterprise. Through their expulsion, however, they were used, as so many times in history, as instruments for easing tension between parties with conflicting interests, or as František Graus so aptly put it, as 'social lightning rods'.[101]



101 Graus, *Pest – Geissler – Judenmorde*, p. 371.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Appendix: Changing ownership of Jewish properties after the expulsion

Buda

Previous owner (prior to September 1526)	**New owner 1 (pro-Habsburg), donations by Mary and Ferdinand I**	**New owner 2 (anti-Habsburg), donations by John I Szapolyai**
Judeus Isaac Kys Mendel dictus [Mendel the Small] and his heirs	Gregorius Zybryk de Zarvaskend, Hofmeister of Alexius Thurzo, Master of the Treasury	Johannes Horvat, doorkeeper -> Johannes Fekete of Pelbarthyda and Franciscus More of Kenderesgyalu
Nagh (Magnus) Mendel Hebreus		Johannes de Dombo > Emericus de Werbewcz
Israel Mendel, prefectus Judeorum	Albert of Pereg, secretary of Palatine Stephen Bathori	
Judeus Orozlan Jacob, Isac, Martinus, sons of Abraham the Red	Johannes Saarhajw	Johannes Sarhajo
Israel son of Sandor	Johannes et Petrus Myhalevyth de Ssyn	Johannes Kalay
Bona Olaz, Salomon, son-in-law of Mendel Fekethe [the Black]	Antonius de Naghwath, secretary of the Palatine	
Jacobus Waczy judeus	desolate house beside the previous one	
Jacob the Rich, Israel Nagh [the Great] (court)	Johannes, Matthias et Blasius Angyal de Pand	Michael de Chaak
David Italus, Abraham, son of Imre Szerencsés	Johannes Fychor, noble retainer of Alexius Thurzó, Judge Royal	

Previous owner (prior to September 1526)	New owner 1 (pro-Habsburg), donations by Mary and Ferdinand I	New owner 2 (anti-Habsburg), donations by John I Szapolyai
[N. judeus?]	Bartolomeus Gönczi Jeronimus Horváth, Hofmeister and Chamberlain of Thomas, Bishop of Eger, royal chancellor	
[N. judeus?]		Georgius Jakosith, Paulus Zenth Iwany

(source: Végh 2006, pp. 304–307, Végh 2008, pp. 187–198.)

Pressburg

Previus owner (prior to October 1526)	New owner 1 (*c.* 1526)	New owner 2 (*c.* 1539)
Zacharias	Jorig Nerwein	[same]
Nastel jud	Jorg Pholtz hueter	Georig Vischer hueter
N judt	Mert Eisenpeckh	[same]
Moises judin	Albrecht der konigin kellner	Hans Lausser
Markel jud	Hanns Fallich schlosser	[same]
Jacob Maindl jud	Mert Flötzer scherer	[same]
N judt	Andre Piber huetter	Ambrosi Rott
'domus judensinagog'		
Leser jud	Hanns Schweller huetter	[same]
Haindl jud	Leopold Pintther	[same]
N judt	Peter Gurtler	[same]
Abraham Schuller jud	Wolfel Graisel maurer	[same]
Lebl jud	Hans Koch	[same]
Musch Haindl	Andre Rubickh	[same]

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Previus owner (prior to October 1526)	New owner 1 (*c.* 1526)	New owner 2 (*c.* 1539)
N judt	Mert Haug schuester	[same]
alt Maindl jud	irer Maiestät Jagermeister	Peter Volkel schuester

(Source: MHJ IV, pp. 343–344)

Sopron

Previous owner	New owner	Estimated value (1526)
Manusch jud	Mathias Teufl, haubtmann zum Forthtenstein → Wolfgang Wagner	120 tal.den.
Alt Behaimin	Andre Kholbmhofer (?)	90 tal.den.
Schmollerl u. Gerstl jud	Andre Kholbmhofer	80 tal.den.
Eleazar jud	Stephan goldschmied (1540)	not in the list in 1526
Maull jud	Peter Ledrer	70 tal.den.
Mandel (Maundl) jud	Veit Kramer	150 tal.den.
Malka jüdin (sun Isac)	Leonhard Peter	45 tal.den.
Jacob Fischl / Jacob jüdin	Caspar Neslinger	50 tal.den.
Ysaac jud	Leyn Petter (1532)	60 tal.den.
Hädschl jud	Pertlme Wagner (1530)	130 tal.den.
Märhel und Coppel	Stefan Gätringer Schuster /Hans Schneiderin	40 tal.den.
Joseph jud[synagoga]	Georg Lang sunst wasserpauch genannnt	150 tal.den.
synagog und spitl	Georg Spitzer	together with previous item

(sources: Házi I/7, p. 220, Dávid – Goda – Thirring 2008, No. 92–103, pp. 261–286, 372–380.)



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Robin Mundill

BANISHMENT FROM THE EDGE OF THE WORLD: THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE OF EXPULSION FROM ENGLAND IN 1290

'You have achieved in one day', commented one chronicler, 'what the Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt failed to do'.[1] Other chroniclers, the chattering clerical paparazzi of the day, made their own different comments on the Expulsion of the Jews from England. They also provided many other explanations for the event. They saw the final act of banishment as a concession to papal pressure; as the result of the efforts of Queen Eleanor; as punishment against the blasphemy of the Jews taken to satisfy the English clergy; as an answer to the complaints about usury and indebtedness made by indebted magnates; as an act of conformity to public opinion; as a reform suggested by the King's independent enquiry into the administration of the kingdom during his absence in Gascony; and as Edward I 's discovery, through the complaints of the Council, of the continued deceits of the Jews. Whatever their views the majority of these commentators were clearly happy with the result of the royal policy and took the opportunity to say so at the time.[2]

The official statement for the Expulsion directly blames the Jewish community and specifically casts the 'royal villeins' as the ultimate villains of the piece. It suggests (with medieval spin doctoring) that the Jews brought banishment on themselves. It refers back to the Statute of the Jewry of 1275 and claims that the Jews had been ordered not to lend anything at usury and to earn their living by trade and labour. It then accuses them of 'maliciously deliberating amongst themselves and of depressing the King's people with a worse type of usury called

---

1 I felt it apt and right, after thirty-four years of involvement in the History of the Medieval Anglo-Jew, to dedicate this paper to **Miklos Klein**, who left Budapest for Margate in Kent sometime between 1943 and 1956. Miklos (Mikki) and other members of the Margate Jewish community were partially responsible for inspiring my own long travel back in time. Some of their stories remain and some will remain unknown. I would also like to thank John Tolan, Relmin and CEU for giving me the opportunity to revisit and update my views on the *Banishment from the edge of the World* in June 2013.
Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, Commendatio Lamentabilis, ed. William Stubbs, (London: Rolls Series, 1883), 2, p. 14.

2 Barnett L. Abrahams, 'The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, (1894) 7, pp. 75–100, 236–258, 428–458, particularly pp. 449–450. Gerd Mentgen, 'Die Vertreibungen der Juden aus England und. Frankreich im Mittelalter', *Aschkenas*, 7, (1987), pp. 11–54.

curialitas'.[3] This clearly was the definitive official exposition of the act of mass Expulsion from England which justified the imposition of banishment, which was normally an act of punishment for criminals and outlaws. Indeed after the Expulsion, as Paul Brand points out in what he suggests is a 'favourable official gloss', the Jews were deemed by the Exchequer scribes who listed their possessions to have 'abjured the realm'. Whether, this may have, as Brand further surmises, been a pun: 'abjuration' does imply a promise made by criminals who have confessed their guilt of a major criminal offence to leave the country and never to return. It also suggests a 'show trial'.[4]

Since this banishment historians have tried hard to find the touchstone which would ultimately explain the mass Expulsion of Jews from England. In the nineteenth century, as we have seen, B L Abrahams seemed to point towards a multi-causal explanation.[5] In the twentieth century, Peter Elman suggested a straightforward economic explanation for the Expulsion, which for a long time became the accepted norm. He claimed that the Jews had simply lost their economic importance and thus were expelled.[6] More recently in his seminal analysis of the English Expulsion, Robert Stacey patiently and thoughtfully, produced what might be called a timeline of the events which led to banishment in 1290 – a road map to Expulsion. He concluded that somewhere between 18 June and 8 July 1290, Edward I suddenly changed his mind and decided to go for the wholesale expulsion of his Jewish subjects. Stacey also argued that the decision to expel the Jews was a short-term political expedient which Edward I did not take entirely on his own initiative: 'they were expelled because their expulsion was useful to Edward in negotiating with the much wider political nation which had emerged during the thirteenth century'.[7] He claimed that the impoverished king could get

3 Calendar of Close Rolls 1288–1296, (London: 1904), p. 99 (hereafter CCR). I have always found it hard to get a full definition of curialitas. 'Courtesy' to my mind implies a hidden charge or a handling charge made within a loan. Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution – Experiment and Expulsion, 1262–1290*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 108–120, (hereafter *Solution*). Robin R. Mundill, 'Clandestine Crypto-Camouflaged Usurer or Legal Merchant? Edwardian Jewry, 1275–90', in *The Jews in Medieval England*, Jewish Culture and History, ed. by Colin Richmond, (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 3, No. 2, pp. 73–97.Robin R. Mundill, 'Changing Fortunes: Edwardian Anglo-Jewry and Their Credit Operations in Late Thirteenth-Century England', *Haskins Society Journal*, 14, (2003), pp. 83–90.

4 Paul Brand, 'Jews and the Law in England, 1275 – 90', *English Historical Review*, 115, (2000) p. 1157.

5 See note 1 above.

6 Peter Elman, 'The economic causes of the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290', *Economic History Review*, 7, (1938) pp. 145–154. Peter Elman, 'Jewish finance in thirteenth century England with special reference to royal taxation', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 15, (1938), pp. 112–113. John M. Veitch, 'Repudiation and Confiscations by the Medieval State, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46, (1986), pp. 31–36.

7 Robert C. Stacey, 'Parliamentary Negotiation and the Expulsion of the Jews from England' in *Thirteenth Century England: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 1995–6*, ed. by Michael Prestwich; Richard H. Britnell; Robin Frame, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 77–78, 82–93. (hereafter *Stacey*). Robert C. Stacey 'Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Jewry and the Problem of the Expulsion', in

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

more from wooing and taxing his Christian subjects than by once again taxing his Jewish subjects.[8] Thus, to Stacey the trigger for expulsion was almost a knee jerk. The Jews had finally become political pawns to be used by Edward I as a bargaining chip in return for a massive one off tax. Whether Stacey's estimate of Edward I's capriciousness is correct: it is true that the Jewish community was finally sacrificed in November 1290 and Edward did receive, 'the largest single grant of taxation conceded by parliament to any medieval English King'.[9] It is just possible – given the descriptions we have of Edward who was prone to both vacillation and temper and described by a contemporary as the 'pard' or leopard that changed his spots, that a royal whim might be a possible explanation.[10] Yet I believe the English Expulsion was more due to growing conjunctural and structural causes and that the final decision had already been taken earlier than 1290.[11]

The most recent explanations for the Expulsion have tended to return to long term causes and show that the roots of the final decision lie somewhere between the evolution of the destruction of feudalism and the growth of negotiated state-building accompanied by the development of an embryonic nationalism. Whilst stating that the Expulsion was not inevitable, Ira Katznelson has pointed towards the awakening of political democracy, nationalism and fiscal austerity as being factors which need consideration. He concludes that pressure had been building towards the possibility of expulsion:

> its likelihood had vastly increased with the shift in institutional arrangements and in state-society relationships since de Montfort's rebellion. The growth of a new political society, the rise of parliament, the augmentation of Englishness, and the pressing need for revenue together altered the way in which the King came to frame the Jewish

Expulsion and Resettlement (in Hebrew), ed. Yosef Kaplan and David Katz (Jerusalem: 1993), pp. 9–25. *Solution*, pp. 249–256.

8 Robert C. Stacey 'Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Jewry and the Problem of the Expulsion', in *Expulsion and Resettlement* (in Hebrew), ed. Yosef Kaplan and David Katz (Jerusalem: 1993), pp. 9–25. Certainly Stacey did not rule out the long term causes for mass expulsion which he stated could be 'divided into four main categories: a possible consequence of the Jew's legal status, a consequence of their financial debility, a solution to the 'Jewish problem' or an expression of Anti-Semitic bigotry'. *Solution,* p. 260.

9 *Stacey,* p. 77.

10 Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, (London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 24. Marc Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain*, (London: Hutchinson, 2008), p. 75. (Hereafter Morris, *A Great and Terrible King).* Caroline Burt, *Edward I and the Governance of England, 1272–1307,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 76.

11 *Solution*, pp. 249–285. Robin R Mundill, *The King's Jews: Money, Massacre and Exodus in Medieval England*, (London: Continuum, 2010) pp. 154–155. (Hereafter *King's Jews*). Henry G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings*, (London: JHSE, 1961), p. 228.

> question. This shift radically altered the period's matrix of possibilities, opening the way for expulsion to become a real option.[12]

In an intriguing revamp of an economic explanation, which again argues the case for the decline of the Jews' fiscal capacity, Mark Koyama has also delineated the expulsion as part of a wider change in feudal government:

> The rise of parliament meant the end of the Exchequer of the Jewry because the king could only make credible promises to parliament if he gave up his ability to raise non-parliamentary tax revenue. The Exchequer of the Jewry was consistent with the political incentives facing the king so long as England remained a domain state. When this political environment changed, kings like Edward I came to realize that they could obtain far larger revenues from regular taxation through parliament than they ever could raise solely from exercising their feudal rights.[13]

More recently Koyama and others have also tried to juxtapose Jewish Expulsion with climatic conditions and what they term negative income shocks in Europe.[14] In seeking different models and panels they suggested several paradigms for European Jewish Expulsion such as 'fiscally weak cities and states which expelled Jews in order to satisfy revenue needs' or situations where expulsions occurred because 'the King was too weak to protect the minority community' and finally a 'top-down expulsion' by the King as a means to seize the assets of the Jewish community.[15] Yet, neither Stacey's explanation nor these recent contributions seem to have fully explained the real context of the English Expulsion.

There can be no doubt that the Expulsion of the Jews from England was a massive and total U turn; after all the Jews had first come to England soon after 1066 with royal backing and approval.[16] To many of the population Jews were perceived as being protected and outside the common law. They were, as elsewhere

12 Ira, Katznelson, '"To Give Counsel and to Consent"': Why the King (Edward I) Expelled His Jews (in 1290)', *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection Between Historical and and Rational Choice Institutionalism,* ed. by Ira Katznelson and Barry Weingast, (Russell Sage Foundation, 2005), p. 119.

13 Mark Koyama, 'The Political Economy of Expulsion: The Regulation of Jewish Moneylending in Medieval England', *Constitutional Political Economy*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (New York: Springer, 2010), pp. 374–406. Available at SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1829078, p. 23.

14 Mark Koyama, et alia, 'From the Persecuting to the Protective State? Jewish Expulsions and Weather Shocks from 1100 to 1800' at http://allucgroup.iga.ucdavis.edu/conferences/historical-perspectives-on-political-elites-conf/papers/from-the-persecuting-to-the-protective-state-jewish-expulsions-and-weather-shocks-from-1100-to-1800 or http://noeldjohnson.net/noeldjohnson.net/Home_files/Jewish%20Persecutions%209–213.pdf

15 Ibid. p 8.

16 *King's Jews*, pp. 4–5

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

in Europe, seen as '**servi camerae regis**': they were the King's Jews.[17] To many they seemed to be protected and this became more emphasised in the early 1190s when Hubert Walter formalised how the Jews were to lend money and subsequently devised the ***archae*** system (a series of chests in which all Jewish financial transactions were registered), which was then implemented by an especially dedicated Jewish Exchequer.[18] The special position was also emphasised by King John in 1203 when he railed at the citizens of London who had attacked the Jews, 'If we have given our peace even to a dog it shall be inviolably preserved'.[19] After local riots in the early thirteenth century citizens were appointed to protect the Jews in their towns.[20] This special position of the Jews in England was also referred to in the 1280s by the Welsh, who complained to Archbishop Peckham about their own status, 'truly the Jews have their laws amongst the English, truly for them in their own land and their antecedents had immutable laws and custom'.[21] The distinction was also made by Edward's Chancellor, Robert Burnell, who knew the Jewish communities well and was the real power behind the government. In 1283 and 1285, taking the ***archae*** system, which applied to Jewish lending, as his model in the Statutes of Acton Burnell and the subsequent Statute of Merchants, Burnell, now set up repositories for Christian financial transactions to be registered in. His legislation ended with exemption concerning the Jews which is telling 'to whom this statute extendeth not'.[22] Burnell knew only too well that the Jews had their own regulated mechanism for registering transactions.[23] He also knew that the Jewish community was a special case and that they were seen as agents of the Crown. Having established that the Jewish community was a very separate entity throughout its comparatively short history in medieval England

17 Anna S. Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations 1000–1300 – Jews in the service of Medieval Christendom*, (London: Pearson, 2011), p. 91. Anna S. Abulafia, 'Notions of Jewish Service in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England' in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England,* ed. by Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 204–221 (hereafter *Christians and Jews in Angevin England)*. *Solution* pp. 54–55.

18 Robert C. Stacey, 'The massacres of 1189–1190 and the Origins of the Jewish Exchequer, 1186–1226 in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England*, pp. 106–124. Robin R. Mundill, 'The "Archa" System and its legacy after 1194' in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England,* pp. 148–162. See diagram in *King's Jews*, p. 45.

19 Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory To Written Record – England 1066–1307*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 69.

20 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1216–1225*, p. 157. (Hereafter CPR).

21 *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johnannis Peckham Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. Charles T. Martin, (London: Rolls Series, 1882–5), 2, p. 454.

22 *Solution,* p. 122

23 Robin R. Mundill, 'Christian and Jewish lending patterns and financial dealings' in *Credit and Debt in Medieval England c1180-c1350*, eds Nicholas J. Mayhew and Paul R. Schofield (Oxford: Oxbow 2002) pp. 52–53. Robin R. Mundill, 'The "Archa" System and its legacy after 1194' in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England,* pp. 148–162.

it is now necessary to discuss the mechanics of how Edward I finally rid himself of his royal servants.

On 18 June 1290, whether by whim, or simply by applying a pre-mediated protocol, instructions were issued to the sheriffs of England, which ordered them to seal the ***archae*** by the 28 June. On the same day, writs were also issued to the sheriffs informing them that it had been decreed that all Jews were to leave England by 1 November. Following on from this on 18 July 1290 Edward I issued a firm order that the Jews were to be allowed to leave the country peaceably and entrusted his sheriffs to carry this out.[24] It seems likely that by late July the edict of Expulsion had been communicated to the Jewish community by the normal channel of being read out in the synagogues. Expulsion was now common knowledge. In late July 1290 a royal safe conduct was issued to the bailiffs, barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports not to molest the Jews.[25] In late August 1290 at least one influential Jew, Bonamy of York, managed to secure a personal safe conduct for him and his son Josce and other York Jews for a 'safe and speedy passage at moderate charges'.[26] Indeed, the York Jewish community were also given the protection of Archbishop John le Romeyn, who wrote to his diocese threatening with excommunication any that molested the Jews.[27] Other, more wealthy and influential Jewish financiers, who had Christian patrons, managed to procure special licences to sell their property before they too left.[28]

It is particularly striking that despite the rumours of impending exodus some Jews still continued to lend money and go about their business.[29] There seemed to be little resistance from the Jewish community and few records of any major outbreaks of violence have survived. However one early fourteenth-century chronicle from Rochester in Kent does preserve an illustration which depicts a violent act committed on at least three Jews.[30] It seems that the Jewish communities, which had already been subjected to mass internal deportations, were now resigned to mass banishment. Only eleven years before in 1278–1279, many Jews were incarcerated in the Tower of London and many were hanged on spurious accusations of clipping the coin.[31] Only three years before in the summer of 1287 many leading provincial Jews had been transported and imprisoned in the Tower of

24 See note 7 above. *Solution*, pp. 252–254.

25 *CPR 1281–1301*, p. 378.

26 Ibid p. 382

27 *The Register of John Le Romeyn 1286–1296*, ed. W. Brown, (Surtees Society, 1913), 123, p. 109.

28 *CPR 1281–1301*, pp. 379, 381.

29 At Devizes Solomon of Devizes registered a debt in the ***archa*** as late as 27 October. There is also evidence from Lincoln that Jews were still registering debts in August and September 1290. The National Archives (TNA), E/101/250/11 and E/101/250/12. *Solution*, p. 254.

30 *King's Jews*, p. 157. British Library Ms Cotton Nero D.II, f. 183^{v} Chronica Roffense.

31 Zefira E. Rokéah, 'Money and the hangman in late 13th-century England: Jews, Christians and coinage offences alleged and real (part I)', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 31 (1990), pp. 83–109. Zefira E. Rokéah,

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

London.[32] It might even be that some Jewish families in 1290 now welcomed the chance to cross the Channel to France. Indeed as early as 1254, one of the Jewish community's most senior Rabbis had approached Henry III's brother, Richard of Cornwall and had begged him to allow the community to leave England. The reply then had been simple the King would not allow a mass departure of Jews and besides – where would they go?[33]

The protection of the Crown for its Jewish subjects in 1290 seems to have held fairly good while they travelled to the ports of embarkation. Whilst some like the richer Jews of York made their own arrangements for themselves and their households; the vast majority gathered in London. Ralph of Sandwich, the Constable of the Tower of London, has left his accounts for July 1289-September 1301 which reveal the presence of one large group of Jews who must have been assembled and marshalled into the Tower of London in the late summer of 1290. Some 1461 Jews, spent time within the confines of the Tower under his charge and finally 1335 paid 4d a head and 126 paid 2d a total of £23 6s 0d for transportation across the Channel in approximately 18–20 ships.[34]

Certainly one shipment of Jewish exiles was the subject of a callous and horrific drowning at the very mouth of the Thames estuary when at Queenborough, one captain, Henry Adrian, landed his ship on a sandbank and told the Jewish refugees to disembark and then abandoned them to the perils of the tide telling them to call on Moses to help them. He was later sentenced to two years in Sandwich prison for his crime.[35] This however was probably not the only example of foul play. A party of Jews departing from the Norfolk coast also seem to have suffered drowning at sea. The Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk's brother, Oliver of Redham, was accused of selling three cartloads of goods and chattels found on a shipwreck of a boat at Burnham which had been transporting Jews; the rigging

---

'Money and the hangman in late-13th-century England: Jews, Christians and coinage offences alleged and real (part II)', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 32, (1993) pp. 159–218.

32 *King's Jews*, p. 155. Zefira E. Rokéah, 'An Anglo-Jewish assembly or "mini-parliament" in 1287' in *Thirteenth Century England*, ed. Michael Prestwich et al. (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), p. 79.

33 Robin R. Mundill, 'Medieval Anglo Jewry: Expulsion and Exodus', in *Judenvertreibungen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit, Forschungen Zur Geschichte Der Juden, Abteilung A: Abhandlungen*, Hrsg. Friedhelm Burgard, Alfred Haverkamp, Gerd Mentgen, (Hannover: 1999) Band 9, pp. 75–98, p. 75.

34 *Solution*, pp. 26–27. Jeremy Ashbee, (2004), 'The Tower of London and the Jewish expulsion of 1290', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 55 (2004) pp. 35–37. William Chester Jordan, 'Administering Expulsion in 1290', *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 15 (2008), pp. 241–250. Inferences from estimates of Jewish population might suggest that this exodus might have been roughly as high as 73% of the Jewish population in England in 1290. I am grateful to Susan Raich, Trinity College, Cambridge for her estimates of passengers per ship.

35 *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (Camden Society: 1957), pp. 226–227; Bartolomaei de Cotton, Historia Anglicana (AD 449–1298), ed. Henry. R. Luard, (London: Rolls Series,1859) p. 78 (hereasfter *Guisborough*). CCR 1288–1296, p. 295.

of the ship was found washed up at Weybourne.[36] A further party, according to local legend, were drowned off the coast near New Winchelsea.[37] Some shipments of Jewish exiles from London seem to have made it to the French port of Wissant in the Pas-de-Calais.[38] Certainly by 1292 many English Jews were in Paris. Various estimates show that by the end of the thirteenth century they made up between 7%–20% of the Parisian Jewish population.[39] Other English Jews even made it as far as Manosque.[40] Others may have fled over the borders into Scotland, and Wales and some may have crossed the sea to Ireland. It is possible that some families may even have got as far as Spain, Savoy, Germany and even Gozo.[41] One contemporary Anglo-Jewish document appears to have found its way into the Cairo Genizah.[42]

The English Expulsion was accomplished in less than five months; the subsequent dissolution of the Jewries and the disposal of Jewish property was completed within the following five years. On 1 November 1290 all the Jews had owned passed into the hands of the Crown. In September 1290, William de Marchia, the treasurer, and a team of royal administrators had been appointed to prepare what amounted to an audit of the Jews' assets. By 1291 they recorded details of debts to Jews which were perhaps worth a face value of £20,000. Edward proved more able to realise a small profit from the physical properties that he confiscated from the Jews.[43] The disposal of the houses and tenements belonging to exiled Jews was

36 *Medieval English Jews and Royal Officials Entries of Jewish Interest in the English Memoranda Rolls, 1266–1293*, ed., translated and annotated by Zefira E. Rokéah, (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2000), pp. 393–400. Zefira E. Rokéah, 1984, 'Crime and Jews in late thirteenth century England: some cases and comments', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 55, (1984), pp. 131–132 n. 120. This is not Burnham on Crouch in Essex as sometimes stated. This was probably quite a small party of Jews compared to those who exited via the Tower.

37 This information was kindly conveyed by Bernard Leeman, Professor of Ethiopian and Arabian Old Testament History, Queen of Sheba University, who spent his early life at Camber Sands and Rye, East Sussex. Also with local references: http://www.winchelsea.net/visiting/winchelsea_history_pt3.htm

38 William Chester Jordan, 'Administering Expulsion in 1290', *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 15 (2008), p. 243.

39 William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 183. Isidore Loeb, 'Le role des Juifs de Paris en 1296 et 1297' *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 1, (1880), pp. 61–71.

40 Joseph Shatzmiller, *Recherches sur la Communaute Juive de Manosque ou Moyen Age 1241–1329*, (Etudes Juives, 15, 1973). Professor Shatzmiller has noted how, in 1311, a Moses Anglicus was accused of fraudulently keeping a deed belonging to a woman named Alasacia Rogerie of Manosque. He has also told the story of Simon de Criclada (Cricklade) who was involved in a violent argument with a customer who had asked if he could satisfy his debt of 15s with a payment of 10s. Joseph Shatzmiller, *Shylock reconsidered: Jews Moneylending and Medieval Society*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 16, 47–48.

41 Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, third edition), pp. 87–88.

42 Elkan N. Adler, *Catalogue of Hebrew Mss in the collection of E. N. Adler*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. v–vi.

43 Many records of these properties have survived: the original extents which the local officials had sent back to Westminster in reply to the Chancellor's writ of 12 September 1290, the working copies of the

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

entrusted to Hugh of Kendal, a royal official who had had experience in Jewish affairs. By 27 December 1290, he had drawn up a full list of the values of former Jewish properties and had found buyers for many of them. His valuation and sale of former Jewish properties in sixteen different towns amounted to £1835 13s 4d, and he was also to receive a further £15 from the merchants of Lucca, possibly for some property or, more likely, for Jewish chattels.[44]

There can be little doubt that Edward I was to blame for the final Expulsion from England. Yet his decision was possibly first conceived some fifteen years before and was finally decided upon between the years 1287 and 1290.[45] Edward returned to England from crusade in 1275 as King. That year saw some local expulsions of Jews and Edward's Statute of the Jewry which hinted that there might be more legislation to come and allowed Jews to hold land for fifteen years. This was against the background of a continuing rise in Jew hatred which was traceable in what Sophia Menache referred to as 'vox populi'.[46]

However this new revival of Jew hatred also now had the blessing of the Church. The Church had at various times taken its own independent action against the Jewish communities and was not afraid to use the weapon of excommunication.[47] However a new internal clerical crusade against the Jews was now spearheaded by the new Archbishop of Canterbury, John Peckham, who was appointed in 1279. He carried on what has been described as a relentless campaign against the Jews.[48] His aim was simple – total segregation and the ultimate

---

local officials who drew up the lists, the Exchequer scribes' lists of the Jewish properties in the various parts of England, an account of the sale of some of the property, and several copies of grants from the king to new owners. *Solution*, pp. 256–260.

44 *Solution*, p. 256. Hugh of Kendal's account TNA E/101/250/1; British Library Additional MSS 24, 511 folios 48–49 cannot be taken as the total value of all Jewish held properties, which the crown confiscated. As further payments came in, Hugh paid off some royal debts. Just over £100 was immediately spent on King Henry III's tomb at Westminster, for glass windows in the royal palace and for general repairs.

45 *Solution*, p. 270. See notes 6–8 above.

46 Sophia Menache, 'Faith, myth, and politics: The stereotype of the Jews and their expulsion from England and France', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 75, (1985), pp. 351–374.

Sophia Menache, 'The King, the Church and the Jews: Some considerations on the expulsions from England and France', *Journal of Medieval History*, 13, (1987) pp. 223–236. Sophia Menache, 'Mathew Paris's attitudes toward Anglo-Jewry', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), pp. 139–162.

47 Hannah Meyer, 'Making Sense of Christian Excommunication of Jews in Thirteenth-Century England', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 100, (2010), pp. 598–630. Indeed in June 1278 Richard of Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln, had excommunicated fourteen Christians formerly employed by Jews in Lincoln, Notice n°252635, RELMIN project, 'The legal status of religious minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean world (5th-15thcenturies)' http://www.cn-telma.fr/relmin/extrait252635/. He ended, '.Therefore, we devoutly request that, in order to reprimand their stubbornness, according to the custom of your kingdom, you should wish to extend the right hand of your majesty. May your Serene Majesty always be venerated in your kingdom. Given at Banbury on the second day of the nones of June [June 4th], in the year of our Lord 1278'.

48 F. Donald Logan,'Thirteen London Jews and Conversion to Christianity: problems of apostasy in the 1280s', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 45, (1972), pp. 214–229.

conversion of the Jewish communities. In July 1281, he had secret discussions with the Bishop of London and was intent on stopping the building of a new London synagogue.[49] In November the same year, he railed against some apostate Jews who in his words had 'returned like dogs to their vomit' and in August 1282, he ordered the Bishop of London to destroy all the synagogues in London except one.[50] Not only were Peckham's sights firmly on the Jews but he was also starting to criticise the royal involvement with the Jews and usury. He wrote to one of Eleanor, the Queen Consort's officials, in 1283

> A rumour is waxing strong throughout the kingdom of England, and much scandal is thereby generated, because it is said that the illustrious lady queen of England, whom you serve, is occupying many manors, lands and other possessions of nobles, and has made them her own property, lands which the Jews extorted with usury from Christians under the protection of the royal court.

He was not afraid to address royalty itself and to remind them of the sin of usury:

> For God's sake, my lady, when you receive land or manor acquired by usury of Jews, take heed that usury is a mortal sin to those who take the usury and those who support it, and those who have a share in it, if they do not return it.[51]

In the summer of 1285, Peckham even wrote to the King asking him to put a stop to what he called 'the Jewish malice' and to sanction an Inquisition against Jewish converts. The Kings reply was simply that 'as far as Jewish malice is concerned, he simply has lost all hope of coping with it'.[52]

Whilst the royal response to the cry for action against the 'Jewish malice' may have disappointed Peckham it must have been news of another event in August 1286 that took place in Hereford which finally incensed him to call for the help of the Papacy. In that summer a Jewish wedding took place to which Christians were invited. This caused the bishop of Hereford, Richard Swinfield to order the chancellor of Hereford Cathedral to make proclamations in all the churches

---

49 *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. Charles T. Martin, (London: Rolls Series, 1882–5), 1, pp. 212–213. (Hereafter Peckham *Epistolae*).

50 Ibid., p. 239.

51 John C. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and society in thirteenth century England*, (London: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 120–121. *Guisborough*, p. 216. *Annales Prioratus De Dunstaplia, AD 1–1377,* in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Henry R Luard, (London: Rolls Series, 1864–9), 3, p. 363. Peckham, *Epistolae,* 2, pp. 619–620, pp. 767–768; 3, pp. 937–938.

52 Jack A. Watt, 'The English Episcopate, the State and the Jews: The evidence of the thirteenth century conciliar decrees', in *Thirteenth Century England: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference*, ed. by Paul R. Lloyd Simon D. Lloyd, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), 2, pp. 144–145. Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: the Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 285–288, 294.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

in Hereford to forbid Christians from attending the celebration. This warning was clearly ignored and certainly some numbers of Christians had attended the 'displays of silk and cloth of gold, horsemanship equestrian processions, stage-playing, and sports and minstrelsy' that had featured in the wedding celebrations. Worse still, as Swinfield himself was to point out, members of the faithful had eaten, drunk, played and jested with the Jewish community. Afterwards, Swinfield took action and warned that all members of the Christian faith, who had attended the celebrations should receive absolution within eight days or be excommunicated.[53]

Peckham now turned to Rome and as a result Pope Honorius IV sent the Bull Nimis in Partibus, dated 30 November 1286 to England. In it he clearly acknowledged that he knew the situation in England – 'Too freely has the damnable Jewish distortion of faith loosed its reigns in English lands – ***as we have heard*** – by outrageous actions and horrible works insulting to our Creator and detrimental to the Catholic faith'. Honorius went on to condemn the continuing study of the Talmud claiming it contained 'abominations, falsifications and faithless and abusive matters of all sorts'. He also accused the Jews of seducing converts with gifts, inviting Christians into their synagogues, keeping Christians in their households, using Christian wet nurses and banqueting and feasting together, as well as publically abusing and cursing Christians. The Pope formally called on the English clergy to make a report on the progress being made in 'fighting these excesses'. Copies were also sent to the Archbishop of York on 18 November and to Bishop Swinfield of Hereford on 19 November.[54] It seems that Peckham might well have appealed for help and papal backing in his campaign.

In mid April 1287 at the Council of Exeter, Peckham, now with papal support, urged his clergy to act against the Jews. They re-enforced the wearing of the tabula or badge, forbade Christians to work with, eat or accept medicines from Jews. They restricted the Jews to their houses on Good Fridays and even made them keep their windows shut; they also banned the building of new synagogues.[55] Worse was to follow that year when a Jew of Winchester carved the following piece of graffiti into the wall of a dungeon in Winchester castle, 'On Friday Eve of the Sabbath in which the pericope Emor is read, all the Jews of the Land of the

---

53 *Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield Bishop of Hereford 1289–90*, ed. John Webb (London: Camden Society, 1853), 59, pp. 100–101. *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield Episcopi Herefordensis A.D.MCCLXXXIII-MCCCXVII,* ed. William W. Capes (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1909), 6, pp. 120–121.

54 Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century (1254–1314)*, ed. Stow Kenneth R. 1989 (New York: Wayne State University Press, 1989), pp. 157–162.

55 David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verolamiensi, AD 446 ad Londiniensem AD 1717. Accedunt Constitutiones et alia ad Historiam Ecclesiae Anglicanae Spectantia,* (London: 1737), 1, p. 55, 2, pp. 430–433.

Isle were imprisoned. I Asher, wrote this. 2 May 1287.' Whilst Edward was away in France, mass arrests of Jews in England had taken place.[56]

Before he embarked on his visit to Gascony in May 1286 there were clearly growing pressures acting on Edward I to change his attitude towards the Jews. There were also more growing international pressures on him as both a monarch and a crusader.[57] In June 1286, Edward I met with Philip IV and subsequently went to Paris where he was mainly preoccupied with making negotiations for both a new Crusade and negotiating the release of Prince Charles of Salerno. Whilst there he had a lucky escape from a lightning strike which killed two of their attendants.[58] Christmas 1286 was spent at St Macaire near Bordeaux. By this time or soon after Edward must have been made aware of the promise of a new six-year crusading tax made by Honorius IV if the English king took up the cross by May 1287.[59] On Easter Sunday 4th April Edward suffered a near fatal accident in Bordeaux. With others Edward had climbed up into a high tower when a floor collapsed in and the company gathered plunged 80 feet. At least one chronicler suggested that the accident was caused by lightning. Three knights were killed outright, some walked away but the King himself suffered a broken collar bone. Within days three of this he gave some of his servants money for passage to go to the Holy Land. Soon after, letters arrived from the Pope offering crusade funds. Finally Edward went to Blanquefort on 12 May 1287 and made his second crusading vow in a large ceremony officiated over by the papal legate and was duly recognised as the 'captain of a Christian army'.[60] This public demonstration of crusading commitment was soon followed by the expulsion of the Jews from Gascony in 1287, which as Henry Richardson observed was 'callous and premeditated'.[61] On the diplomatic and international stage Charles of Salerno was released in October 1288 and the subsequent more local expulsion from Anjou and Maine ordered in 1289 which was as Robert Chazan noted was probably sparked by the result of 'popular clamour for expulsion and profit'.[62] Edward I's

56 Robin R. Mundill, 'Edward I and the Final Phase of Anglo-Jewry' in *Jews in Medieval Britain Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), p. 61, Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, third edition, Oxford, 1978), p. 275. Moïse Schwab, *Rapport sur les inscriptions hébraïques de la France*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904), p. 162.

57 *Solution*, pp. 277–278.

58 Louis F. Salzman, *Edward I*, (London: Constable, 1968), p. 83.

59 Ibid. p. 83. Morris, *A Great and Terrible King*, p. 207.

60 Ibid. pp. 208–209. Louis F. Salzman, *Edward I*, (London: Constable, 1968), pp. 84–85. *Solution*, p. 280.

61 *Solution*, p. 279. Henry G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings*, (London: JHSE/ Methuen, 1961), pp. 225–226.

62 Caroline Burt, *Edward I and the Governance of England, 1272–1307,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 149–153. Robert Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: a political and*

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

crusading vows in Blanquefort in 1287 saw a new almost pan European approach to the Jewish problem which Kenneth Stow has noted was the result of common threads coming together – 'Religiosity, social perceptions and political aims had all become intertwined'.[63] Thus, in the chronology of the Jewish Expulsion from England 1287, not 1290, is the crucial date. In 1287 the Jews of Gascony were expelled and the English Jews imprisoned. The writing was on the wall for the Jewish communities of England. In July 1289 Edward started his return home and included visits to 'the tear of Christ' at Vendome, 'the Crown of thorns and Nail' at St Denis and the 'Head of St John the Baptist at Amiens. Even though the death of Honorius IV had cast some doubt on the legality of the appointment of the recently appointed head of the crusade Edward was now on a mission which also meant the banishment of the Jews from his realm.[64]

With his international diplomacy completed, spurred by his new crusading vows and now personally recovered Edward was now focussed on raising money and support to achieve his own campaign on the ultimate goal of the securing of Acre and eventually the Kingdom of Heaven. The Jews in England were by now an obvious, almost embarrassing insignificant problem, and thus a prime target. After all as Stacey, Katznelson and Koyama have shown they represented an archaic anomaly in their very royal identity as the King's Jews.[65] The Jewish ***communitas*** was in effect outside the feudal system, and stood in the way of a shift to a new style of Parliamentary Kingship. The desire for a new crusade which needed both financial and popular support meant that their position was almost redundant. In Europe other factors were also starting to raise what Robert Bartlett has called ideas of a new medieval biological racism.[66]

On the surface, Edward I's attitude to the English Jews had always been almost penitential. When it came, Expulsion was also finally billed as an act of piety; rather than an act of personal gain, Edward had always taken this contrite type of approach towards the Jews. In 1275, the Statute of the Jewry, which had tried to

---

social history, (Baltimore: John Hopkins,1973), p. 185. Robert Chazan, *Church State and Jew in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Behrman House, 1980), pp. 314–317.

63 Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienated Minority: the Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*, (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 290.

64 Louis F. Salzman, *Edward I*, (Constable, London, 1968), p. 87. Morris, *A Great and Terrible King*, p. 209.

65 *Stacey*, pp. 77–101. Katznelson I "To Give Counsel and to Consent': Why the King (Edward I) Expelled His Jews (in 1290)' in Ira Katznelson and Barry Weingast, eds, *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection Between Historical and and Rational Choice Institutionalism*, (Russell Sage Foundation, 2005) p. 115. Koyama, Mark, 'The Political Economy of Expulsion: The Regulation of Jewish Moneylending in Medieval England' (January 1, 2010). Constitutional Political Economy, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 374–406.

66 Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350*, (London: Penguin,1993), pp. 236–237. Len Scales, 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide: Imagining the Destruction of Peoples in Medieval Western Europe', *History*, 92, (2007), pp. 284–300.

steer the Jews away from usury, carried a hint of religious duty as well as a reference to the royal relationship with the Jewish community:

> albeit he and his Ancestors have received much benefit from the Jewish People in all Time past; nevertheless for the Honour of God and the common benefit of the People, the King hath ordained and established, that from henceforth no Jew shall lend any thing at usury, either upon land, or upon rent, or upon other thing.[67]

In 1280, when Edward gave money to the House of Converted Jews there was again a religious overture

> Whereas the king believes that the conversion of Jewish depravity to the Catholic faith would specially be to the increase of faith and worship of the name of Christ, he therefore, in order that those who have already turned from their blindness to the light of the Church may be strengthened in the firmness of their faith, and those who still persist in their error may more willingly and readily turn to the grace of the faith, has taken measures, under divine guidance, to provide healthfully for their maintenance.[68]

In a much debated document, which probably was not actually issued and would seem to date from between 1276–1285, there are comments on how the Jews had not ceased to lend money and other complaints. Yet, once again the religious element becomes clear,

> We, led by the love of God and more devoutly mindful of the way of Holy Church, did ordain that all Jews whosoever of our realm that had viciously lived by such loans should from that hour no more mischievously have recourse to usury or usurious loans of any kind whatever, but should by other business and licensed trading seek their living and have their sustenance.[69]

Finally the rationale for the Expulsion issued in late 1290 declared that Edward took this last step 'for the honour of Christ'.[70]

---

67 *Statutes of the Realm, printed by command of His majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain from original records and authoritative manuscripts*, (London: 1810), 1, pp. 220–221. Reprinted in *Solution*, Appendix II, pp. 291–293.

68 *CPR 1280*, p. 371.

69 *Solution*, Appendix III, p. 295, p. 123. *Select Pleas, Starrs and other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews 1220–1284*, ed. J. M. Rigg, (Selden Society, London, 1902), 15, pp. liv–lxi. Paul Brand, 'Jews and the Law in England, 1275–90', *English Historical Review*, 115, (2000) p. 1144 note 4, pp. 1144–146. Brand provides a terminus ad quem based on a cross reference to Christians living with Jews CCR, 1279, pp. 565–566. He thus places this draft legislation before the 1280s.

70 CCR 1290, pp. 95–96.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

For Edward I, the direct financial returns of Expulsion were it seems negligible. He had made little financial gain from the Expulsion of the Jews in Gascony in 1287 when he liquidated the Gascon Jewish communities' assets and donated just over £1000 to the Franciscans at Condom.[71] Again in England on 5 November 1290 he officially cancelled all usuries contained in Jewish debts, 'willing that nothing shall be exacted from the Christians except the principal debts that they received from the Jews.'[72] By late December 1290 the sale of former Jewish properties had realised £677 19s 4d. Some of this money was used to pay off some royal debts. Just over £100 was immediately spent on King Henry III's tomb made by Master William de Torel 'maker of the statue of Kind Henry'; William de Ideshalle for sculpting the tomb and for making glass windows at the royal palace of Westminster as well as payments for general repairs to former Jewish houses.[73]

The consequences of the total expulsion of 2000 or more English Jews, who in some cases had lived in England for four to five generations, were obviously immense. This was the first total expulsion of Jews from a major European kingdom and it set a model, a template on history, an agenda, which has still not been put to rest. It pulverised the medieval paradox of Augustinian teaching on how the Jews should be treated. It jilted the presumption that medieval society had tentatively formed an ambivalent, confused, equivocal attitude towards the Jews and their religion. Although the prevailing stance towards Judaism had been a dichotomy, stuck somewhere between, in some cases, philanthropy and conversion and in others outright condemnation. Now total expulsion had been finally achieved.

This was a transfiguration of significance and magnitude in Western Europe. Almost sixty years before the final English Expulsion, in 1233, Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, had claimed that the Jews were the Lord's reminder of the Passion and 'to this end they are witnesses of the Christian faith against the unfaithful Pagans'. He asserted that they should be protected as:

> Truly, at the end of time, when the large number of races will have entered in, just as it is written in the scriptures, then all Israel, that is the Jewish people, will be saved because of their faith, because of the same faith of Christ, and will return from captivity to true freedom.

71 Jean-Paul Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration Anglaise En Gascogne, Sous Henry III et Edouard I de 1254 a 1307, (Geneva: Societe de l' Ecole des Chartes, Memoires et Documents 20, 1972), p. 86.
72 CCR 1290, pp. 95–96.
73 British Library Additional MS 24,511 Fos 48–49

He also described them as:

> They are a wandering people because of the Diaspora and exiled from their proper home, namely Jerusalem; they wander because of the uncertainty of how long they can stay in one place and are fugitives through their fear of death.[74]

However by the late 1280s in England the Church and the State had changed their views and were now agreed and of one accord that total expulsion was the solution. This was subsequently interpreted in the words of one nineteenth century commentator on the English Expulsion that 'these rejected outcasts were doomed to disperse themselves, different ways, to quit England for ever and to perish by eternal misery in other lands till they should be entirely cut off'.[75]

As in many other lands the English expulsion of the Jews in 1290 was afterwards accompanied by an exaggerated demonization of Judaism. The prejudice, memory and mythology of the wicked Jew have all been preserved in English literature down the centuries.

The Tring Tiles, scribal portraits and monastic illustrations have preserved the image of the Jew as seen by contemporary society. The ritual murder allegations and lavatorial references have also prolonged and elongated the spectre of the Jews.[76] Authors such as Chaucer, Hocleve, Shakespeare, Sir Walter Scott, Dickens and Kipling have kept the allegory of the early English Jewish colonists alive in their writings.[77] We have all been conditioned to Scott's Aaron in Ivanhoe, Shakespeare's Shylock and Dickens' Fagin.

More recently we have been exposed to a revival of our own awareness and the history of the Anglo-Jew has been brought into the history of the host nation. In this historical rehabilitation much reflection has been brought forward. Apart from the sites they had inhabited it has been established that the largest legacy of the medieval Anglo-Jew can perhaps seen in their business practices, their use of

---

74 *Roberti Grosseteste quondam episcopi Lincolniensis Epistolae*, ed. H. Luard, (London: Rolls Series, 1861), 25, pp. 33–37.

75 Ross John, *Annales Lincolniae*, 3, pp. 248–249, Manuscript in Ross Collection, Lincoln Public Library.

76 Robin R. Mundill, 'Out of the Shadow and into the Light – the Impact and Implications of Recent Scholarship on the Jews of Medieval England 1066–1290', *History Compass*, 9/8, (Oxford: Blackwell Online, 2011), pp. 572–601, *King's Jews*, pp. 67–96.

77 Miriamne A. Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Anthony P. Bale, 'Richard of Devizes and Fictions of Judaism', in *The Jews in Medieval England*, Jewish Culture and History, ed. by Colin Richmond, (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 3, No. 2, pp. 55–72. Anthony P. Bale, 'House Devil, Town Saint: Anti-Semitism and Hagiography in Medieval Suffolk', in, *Chaucer and the Jews: Sources, Contexts, Meanings*, ed. Sheila Delaney, (The Multicultural Middle Ages, New York: 2002), 1, pp. 185–210. Anthony P. Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Anthony P. Bale, *Feeling Persecuted Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: Reaktion, 2010).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

the bond or recognisance and other business methods which were subsequently adopted by Christians.[78] Yet it is still their blackened legend which has prevailed.

Anthony Bale has recently reviewed some more tangible remains of the Jews of medieval England. Memorial plaques in Bristol, Canterbury, London, Lincoln, Norwich, Oxford and York, provide what he calls 'grim souvenirs of the Jews' vanished presence'. He suggests that, 'I do not think it is going too far to suggest that these plaques represent our own historical trauma, our desire, need and failure to make sense of the medieval past, as they do the traumatic experience of the Jews in medieval England'.[79] Might it be that these post medieval modern signs and recognitions of our past should be a constant reminder to us all to read and re-interpret history and to be vigilant?

78 Robin R. Mundill, 'The "Archa" System and its legacy after 1194' in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England,* pp. 148–162. Robin R. Mundill, 'Out of the Shadow and into the Light – the Impact and Implications of Recent Scholarship on the Jews of Medieval England 1066–1290', *History Compass*, 9/8, (Oxford: Blackwell Online, 2011), pp. 572–601. Joe and Caroline Hillaby, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Medieval Anglo-Jewish History*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

79 Anthony P. Bale, 'Violence, Memory and the Traumatic Middle Ages' in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England,* pp. 294–304



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Nadezda Koryakina

'THE FIRST EXILE IS OURS': THE TERMS *GOLAH* AND *GALUT* IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN JEWISH *RESPONSA*

This paper considers the notion of exile in *responsa* literature. The words *golah* and *galut* meaning exile or expulsion were used widely in Hebrew texts either for a punishment prescribed by Jewish law (excommunication)[1] or for life in the Diaspora.[2] Prominent rabbis including Gershom ben Judah (d. 1040) of Mainz and Asher ben Jehiel were called 'the Light of the Exile'. In Rashi's letters Gershom is mentioned as 'rabbenu Gershom, the Light of the Exile that by his words we all live as well as all the children of the Ashkenaz exile and non-Jews'.[3] The book written by Isaac ben Joseph of Corbeil (the second half of the thirteenth century) was entitled 'Pillars of the Exile'. A few ways of using these words will be examined, among them the notion of 'our exile', meaning life in the Jewish diaspora. Next will be presented the manner in which references to exile became a stylistic element aimed at complementing the legal experts to whom the letters were addressed. Finally, it will be shown how various issues caused by the expulsion of the Jews were addressed in rabbinical letters.

The question of how the story of the Jewish exile was interpreted in antiquity was raised, among others, by Israel Yuval. According to his paper, Jewish identity is based on the imagination of a collective memory rather than on a common territory.[4] Professor Yuval examines the myth of Jews driven from their historical homeland. Why does he think it is a myth? Because according to him 'the exile from the land' after the destruction of the Second Temple is not a clear and evident historical fact.[5] In his article I. Yuval explains the origin of this myth, showing that the strong connection between the destruction of the Temple and the exile established in the Babylonian Talmud was erroneous. He notices that

---

1 See for example: Isaac Al Fasi, Commentary on Makkot 1:1: אין אומרין יעשה זה בן גרושה או בן חלוצה תחתיו אלא לוקה ארבעים מעידין אנו את איש פלוני שהוא חייב גלות; *Responsa of Bar Sheshet* 331 (Vilna, 1879), p. 182.

2 See for example, The Book of Kuzari 2: 20: ושכל האומות חוגגים אליו ומתאווים לו זולתנו, מפני גלותנו ולחצנו; Rosh, *Orkhot Chaim* for Shabbat, 21: שיתודה בכל לילה קודם שישן מלבד הלילות שהן אסורות בהספד ובתענית ויתאבל על עונות ועל אורך גלותנו ועל חורבן בית מקדשנו ותפארתנו שיבנה במהרה בימינו.

3 *Responsa of Rashi* 70 (New York, 1943), p. 83: רבינו גרשם מאור הגולה שמפיו אנו חיין כולנו.

4 Y. Yuval, 'The Myth of the Jewish Exile from the Land of Israel' in *Common Knowledge*, vol. 12 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 16.

5 Y. Yuval, *op. cit*., p. 19.

the *midrashim* from the Land of Israel as well as some Babylonian texts describing both the destruction and the exile refer to the First Temple. It is only in Babylonia that these events were applied to the Second Temple.[6] I. Yuval showed the difference between the two episodes of destruction of the Temple. Though their meaning was essentially the same, their consequences were different, and the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by the emperor Titus did not lead to the immediate exile of all Jewish people from the land of Israel. Another interesting point made by professor I. Yuval is that it was Christian clerics and philosophers who encouraged the development of the legend about the Jewish exile. In Yuval's opinion, there was no connection between the destruction of the Temple and the exile. In recent years, this issue was raised in a number of publications.[7]

The purpose of my paper is to show how the authors of Jewish *responsa* and some other Hebrew texts in the Middle Ages in Southern France and Catalonia perceived the issue of exile and its consequences. In order to achieve this, a number of questions will be treated. First, some attention will be paid to a number of texts that consider Jewish diaspora to be a result of exile. Than it will be seen how exile is used in honorific titles in rabbinical correspondence. Finally, the use of exile in referring to those exiled from the various countries that expelled their Jews will be brought in.

'Today in our exile'

In the Middle Ages, Hebrew texts show a variety of attitudes towards the commandment on living in the Land of Israel. A passionate appeal to create the community in Palestine is found in the text of an anonymous Karaite author published by Jacob Mann.[8] This source maintains that at least five men must be sent from each town as delegates in order to form the nucleus of a new congregation of Karaites in the Holy City.[9] The listing of commandments recapitulated by

6 ibid, p. 21.

7 *Exilerfahrung und Konstruktionen von Identität, 1933 bis 1945* / herausgegeben von Hans Otto Horch, Hanni Mittelmann, und Karin Neuburger (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2013); Literatur und Exil: neue Perspektiven / herausgegeben von Doerte Bischoff und Susanne Komfort-Hein (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2013); *Interpreting exile: displacement and deportation in biblical and modern contexts*, ed. by B. Kelle, F. Ames, and J. Wright (Leiden: Brill, 2012); M. Goodman, *Abraham, the nations, and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian, and Islamic perspectives on kinship with Abraham*, ed. by M. Goodman, G. van Kooten and J. van Ruiten (Leiden: Brill, 2010) pp. 139–476; *The concept of exile in ancient Israel and its historical contexts,* ed. by Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2010), p. 257 – 295. T. Lemos, *Marriage gifts and social change in ancient Palestine, 1200 BCE to 200 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

8 J. Mann, 'A Tract by an Early Karaite Settler in Jerisalem', *The Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series*, vol. 12 (Jan., 1922), pp. 257–298.

9 ibid., p. 257.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Maimonides does not contain the mitzvah on going to the Land of Israel. He himself spent a few years in Palestine but then settled in Egypt.[10]

This expression is frequently mentioned in commentaries on the Bible. The one written by Abraham ibn Ezra considers the exile to be an event which influenced the life of his fellow-Jews who are referred to as 'the sons of our exile to the kingdom of Ishmael (that is Spain under Muslim rule) and Edom (meaning the countries of Christian Europe)'.[11] The same meaning is found in much later commentary by Isaac Abarbanel.[12]

Basing on Ibn Ezra's commentary, Moses ben Nahman Girondi analyses a fragment from *Devarim* 31:21 saying that 'our expulsion' is supposed to come to an end under condition that the Jewish people follow the commandments of God.[13] His concept was built on the theory of redemption, of which his own lifetime was only an early stage.

The pupil of Solomon ben Abraham Aderet Bahye ben Asher (1255 – 1340) in his commentary also associated the exile with the 'enemies' from the sons of Edom ('moving their fingers here and there') and Ishmael ('whose custom is to clean their hands and feet but not their heart').[14] He distinguished between reflected messianic expectations related to the Land of Israel. He wrote, commenting on the fifth day of creation:

> the fifth day hints towards the fifth millenary, when we were sent to exile among the idolaters that deal allegorically with a beastly soul. All this millenary from its beginning till its end was our exile. That is why it was not said concerning the fifth day 'And it was so', since our exile is not forever, but after that there will be redemption.[15]

It seems that Bahye's writings on exile are based on the commentary of Nahmanides, who also mentioned 'the beast' in whose domain the Jews were exiled.[16]

---

10 M. Halbertal, *Maimonides: Life and Thought* (Princeton, 2014), pp. 40–41.

11 Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on Exodus*, *Itro*, ch. 20. (Vienna: Menorah, 1925), p. 143: בני גלותנו במלכות ישמעאל ואדום.

12 Abarbanel, *Commentary on the Torah*, Genesis, Vaihi 49 (Jerusalem: Bnei Arbal, 1964), p. 435: כי היה רוב גלותנו אשר במלכיו' ההם; *Deuteronomy, Ki Tavo* 28: גלותנו זה הארוך.

13 Moses ben Nahman, Sefer Hageulah, in Kitvey Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman ed. Ch. Chavel (Jerusalem: Mosad Ha-Rav Kook, 1963-64), vol. 1, p. 264.

14 *Midrash of Rabenu Bahye on the Torah,* pt 2, *Devarim, Nitzavim* 30 (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 82.

15 ibid., pt 1, *Bereshit* 2, p. 21.

16 Ramban, *Commentary on Devarim, Ki Tavo* 28: וכי הוא על זמן גלותנו היום ביד החיה הרביעית.

Bahye suggested that the era of redemption was approaching. According to his accounts, the period of exile in which he lived was three times longer than the exile to Egypt, and it was coming to its end in 1360.[17]

David Kimkhi of Narbonne (1160 – 1235) compared 'our exile' to an act of sale telling that Jews were sold to the 'gentiles' by God.[18] He also said, commenting on Psalms 126:4, that the exile was like the desert of Negev, and the redemption will be like streams.[19]

The crusades and the Reconquista reinforced Christian influence over Jewish conceptions concerning the Holy Land. Emigration to Jerusalem was declared an essential stage in a messianic scenario.[20] Beginning in 1211, a number of Talmudic scholars from France and England went to Palestine in order to settle there. Their movement is known as 'the emigration of the Three Hundred Rabbis'. The principal source dealing with these events is the chronicle '*Malkhei Edom*' appended to Solomon ibn Vergas' sixteenth-century book '*Shevet Yehudah*'.[21] R. Chazan provided evidence of 'some contemporary corroboration for this late account.' Abraham, the son of Maimonides, in his report referred to Joseph ben Baruch of Clisson and his brother who visited Egypt on their way to Jerusalem.[22] Spanish poet Judah Alharizi mentioned his meeting with the same French rabbis in the Holy City.[23] This migration was criticized by the *hasidei Ashkenaz*.[24] It seems that the impact of this migration is overestimated. The texts that have been preserved show the negative attitude of the Tosafists towards migration to Palestine. In their commentary on the case of a married couple, one of whom wants to leave for the land of Israel and the other decides to stay at home, it is said that this law does not apply at this time due to the danger of travelling on the roads. Referring to Chaim Cohen of Paris, they added that there was no longer any commandment to live in the land of Israel.[25]

---

17 ibid., pt 1 *Lekh Lekha* 12, p. 54: יש על המשכיל להתעורר על קץ גלותנו זה שראוי להיות ג' חלקים יותר על גלות מצרים, כי מתוך שעמדו במצרים ת"ל שנה על חטא הדבור, ק"ו בבית ראשון שעבדנו ע"ז וחטאנו בג' חלקי החטא: במחשבה, בדבור ובמעשה, נגזר עלינו ת"ל שנה כנגד הדבור, ת"ל כנגד המחשבה, ת"ל כנגד המעשה.

18 Rabbi David Kimhi, *Full Commentary on Psalms*, A. Darom ed., Psalms 44 (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1971) p. 105: כן אורך גלותנו כאילו מכרתנו לגוים.

19 ibid., Psalms 126, p. 285.

20 Y. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perception of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (University of California Press, 2006), p. 70.

21 Y. Yuval, ibid.

22 R. Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France. A Political and Social History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 86.

23 R. Chazan, ibid., p. 87.

24 A. Grossman, 'Ties of Maharam of Rotenburg to the Land of Israel' (Hebrew), *Cathedra* 84 (1997), p. 63.

25 *Tossafot* BT Kethubot 110:72: אינו נוהג בזמן הזה דאיכא סכנת דרכים, והיה אומר רבינו חיים דעכשו אינו מצווה לדור באר"י.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

In his text addressed to the Jews of Lerida, rabbi Solomon ben Abraham Aderet (Rashba) wrote a commentary on the treatise of *Yevamot* 82b referring to the God-given inheritance of the Jewish people.[26] He described two expulsions of Jews from the Land of Israel (the Babylonian captivity and that following the destruction of the Second Temple). Rashba added that there was a significant difference between the two expulsions. He said: 'The first exile is ours and not that of Babylon'.[27] The expulsion after the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans is called by Rashba 'the first expulsion', because, in his opinion, all the Jews were dispersed to all the countries of the world. The exile to Babylon had a lesser impact on the integrity of the Jewish people, since only two tribes of twelve were expelled and only to one country. Not all of the exiles returned to the Land of Israel, but only a part of them did. Therefore, Rashba anticipates the future return to Palestine of the entire Jewish people. It is interesting that Rashba's pupil Bahye ben Asher in his commentary also attributed the words 'the first exile' to the Jewish Diaspora of his times suggesting, however, that the era of redemption was coming soon.[28] In any case, the legal status of the Land of Israel changed greatly after the destruction of the Second Temple and the expulsion of Jews, because it lost its sanctity.

It is likely that Rashba's letter on the matter of expulsion is based upon Sefer Hageulah, written by Aderet's teacher Nahmanides. The latter refers, among others, to Yosippon. This confirms Yuval's statement concerning Christian influence on the conception of the expulsion following the destruction of the Second Temple, since the author of the book of Yosippon used Pseudo-Hegesippus, Latin apocryphal texts the works of Jason of Cyrene and Nicholas of Damascus, and other sources.[29] Rashba knew several families leaving for the Land of Israel. He also knew that his own teacher Moses ben Nahman fled to Palestine in order to escape the persecutions of Christian authorities.

Following Ibn Ezra's commentary, Nahmanides in his *Sefer Hageulah* compiles two different ideas of expulsion – that of the book of Ovadia 20[30] who most likely addressed the Babylonian exile, and that of expulsion of Jews after the destruction of the Second Temple under Vespasianus and Titus.[31] Therefore, in

---

26 BT, *Yevamot* 82b: Which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it, they had a first, and a second possession, but they had no third one.

27 *Responsa of Rashba*, pt 4, 187 (Jerusalem, 1960), p. 53 – 54:
שלא נאמרה על גלות ראשון גלות בבל, אלא על גלותנו זה.

28 *Midrash of Rabenu Bahye on the Torah, Shemot* 5 (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 18

29 B. Gustafsson, "Hegesippus' Sources and His Reliability", *Studia Patristica* 3:1 (1961), pp. 227–232; Y. Baer, 'Sefer Yosippon ha-ibri', *Sefer Dinaburg* (Jerusalem, 1949), p. 128 – 205; D. Flusser, 'Mehaber Sefer Yosippon: demuto u-tequfato', *Zion* 18 (1953), p. 109 – 126.

30 Obadiah introduces the names of Zarephath and Sepharad that in the Middle Ages were attributed to France and Spain respectively.

31 Moses ben Nahman, *op.cit*., p. 274.

his interpretation of the story, the Jewish community which had been expelled from Jerusalem settled in Spain.[32]

An older contemporary of Nahmanides, David Kimhi from Narbonne (d. 1235) was probably the first author who identified Sepharad as Spain.[33]

Rashba's opinion was not the only one widely known. A different point of view on the exile was expressed by the Jewish scholars of Provence. Abraham ben David of Posquières (Rabad, 1125 – 1198), in his letter concerning destroyed synagogues, explained why demolished Jewish cult places lose their sanctity. He draws an analogy with the exile from the Land of Israel, when all the abandoned synagogues lost their sanctity together with the whole land. It is remarkable that Rabad describes the synagogues in the Land of Israel as if all of them were gone. He wrote:

> There were several synagogues and houses of learning in Jerusalem and in the rest of the cities, and when the country lost its sanctity, all of them did, and their owners from the exile did not hurry to do with them all they needed.

Rabad did not mention a single synagogue or a single community left in Palestine after the destruction of the Second Temple. It is unclear if he knew anything about Jewish travelers or emigrants going to the Land of Israel in his times. At least, he believed that the entire Jewish people had been expelled from their land by Romans.

Did the notion of the exile have any particular legal meaning and practical implications in the *responsa* literature? It obviously influenced greatly the religious life of Jewish communities, starting with Talmudic regulations. In the Middle Ages, Jewish legal experts had to face, among others, certain practical issues concerning the consequences of the exile and local expulsions being a part of it.

In most of the cases the notion 'our exile' appears in medieval Hebrew texts in order to distinguish between the laws and customs of the period when the Jerusalem Temple still existed and the contemporary times when many ancient regulations were out of use. A German rabbi Yaakov Moelin in his codification of the customs dealing, among other things, with the rules of prayer, explained some changes of the ritual by the fact that the Temple does not exist 'in our exile'.[34]

The same attitude could be found in the texts on litigations. Asher ben Jehiel (d. 1328) in his response examined a question dealing with two Jews sharing a

32 Nahmanides proposed the following interpretation of Obadiah's prophecy which says: «And the captivity of Jerusalem, that is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the South ». Since the word «Sepharad» was used for Spain, then the prophecy was considered to refer to Spain as well.

33 See David Kimhi's commentary on Obadiah 20: א"ספני" ספרד שקורי' וארצות.

34 *Sefer Maharil (minhagim), Hilkhot Tefilah,* I. Spitzer ed. (Jerusalem: Machon Yerushalayim, 1989) 10: והא אינן באים רק לכפר על טומאת מקדש וקדשיו ואינו נמצא בגלותינו.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

household and related taxes. One of them took residence in another place and stopped paying the taxes in the city where he had lived before. His former fellow and the entire community had to pay his share. When he returned for some reason, he was arrested by the Jewish community and reduced into slavery on account of his debts. Then his fellow tried to sue him in order to make him compensate for the additional costs incurred due to his absence. Asher declared such a solution to be wrong. In his opinion, the community should in this case should hold the debtor in prison until the debt is repaid without applying to a Jewish tribunal. Asher relied on a usage which was spread 'in all the diaspora of the exile of Israel' and therefore it could apply in a particular case of recovering unpaid debts.[35] Here the author point out two important issues: first, exile is equaled to the entire Jewish people. Second, it is underlined that local taxation is regulated according to local usages, and not following halakhah (Jewish laws in a proper sense). Since nearly all taxes were imposed by non-Jewish rulers, the issues related to them were out of the domain of Jewish law.

Isaac ben Judah Haccohen of Manosque (the first half of the sixteenth century) in his responsum mentioned both the exile and the return to the Land of Israel. The text deals with a man who decided to leave for Palestine together with his widowed mother-in-law (she agreed to pay for the trip). His wife did not want to join them, and the couple decided to divorce. Then his mother-in-law changed her mind. She refused to take with her a person who had repudiated 'the wife of his youth', and the man stayed at home. He thereby tried to annul his divorce.[36] The law was on his side. Isaac ben Judah characterized his country as 'the boundaries of our exile'.[37] This text shows how a passage from exile to the Holy Land could determine the future of family members. From a legal point of view, this was considered to be justifiable cause for the dissolution of a marriage.

Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet (1326 – 1408) referred ironically to the Jews who explained their desire to avoid fulfilling the strict regulations on post-mortem examinations of meat, saying 'See how greatly we were oppressed in this our exile that we could not even raise our head due to numerous barriers binding and keeping us down to the land'.[38] Here the exile is treated is an issue leading to indulgence in defining a law concerning the ritual slaughter.[39]

In another letter concerning the Jews of France Isaac ben Sheshet wrote: 'When God broadened the scope of the exile and gave them a share in the

---

35 *Shut ha-Rosh* 7:11 (Zhovkva, 1803), p. 20: כי מנהג פשוט בכל תפוצת גלות ישראל, מי שחייב מס לקהל, חובשים אותו בבית הסוהר, ואין מביאין אותו בפני ב"ד.

36 *Teshuvot chachmei Provence* 69 (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 240.

37 ibid.: בגלילות גלותינו

38 *Responsa of Bar Sheshet* 163 (Vilna, 1874) p. 70:
ואומרים: ראו כמה לחצונו בגלותנו זה, עד שלא יכולנו להרים ראש מרוב הגדרים אשר גדרונו וצררו אותנו על האדמה.

39 ibid.

kingdom of France'.[40] In this text exile is just another word for 'territory' where the Jews lived, their right to dwell in that country being justified by God's will.

'The chandelier of our exile'

Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi (d. *c.* 1340) wrote a famous letter to Solomon ben Aderet dealing with the ban against sciences. The text is known as *Ketav Hitnaẓẓelut* (Apologetic Letter).[41] Jedaiah called Rashba 'a golden ornament ball on the chandelier of our Exile'. This expression was repeated in later periods by Levi ben Haviv (d. 1541) who was from a generation of Spanish exiles.[42]

Jedaiah wrote, explaining why the study of sciences became so popular:

> Of the most popular issues, anthropomorphism (*hagshamah*) was spread in the past generations almost in all the diaspora (*galut Israel*). Since the expulsion from the Land (of Israel – N. K.) *geonim* and sages stood up in Spain (Sefarad), Babylon and the cities of Andalusia.[43]

Here Jedaiah, living in Béziers in Languedoc, paid another compliment to Solomon Aderet, who lived in Barcelona. At the same time, Bedersi did not say a word about the Jews of Palestine, as if they did not exist. He supported Rashba's idea concerning the absence of sanctity in the Land of Israel after the Roman expulsion, saying that 'to any place where Israel were exiled the sanctity was exiled with them'.[44] He associated the entire Jewish people with the Diaspora. It is possible that he did not really consider the small community established in the Middle Ages in the Land of Israel to be a significant part of the Jewish people. It is not known if Jedaiah ever traveled far from his native city; we can suppose that he did not. Therefore, in his opinion, exile was the only correct category to describe the living conditions of the Jews in his times.

In another text from France rabbi Eliezer called Solomon Aderet 'the head of our exile'.[45] This title was usually attributed to the *exilarch* of Babylon, but in this particular case it was used to underline the superior status of Rashba as a legal

40 *Responsa of Bar Sheshet*, 271, p. 148.
בהרחיב ה' את גבול פזורי הגולה, ונתן להם במלכות צרפת פלטה

41 *Responsa of Rashba,* pt 1, 418 (Bnei Brak, 1958), p. 154: עטרת תפארת הדרתנו ותורתנו גולת זהב על מנורת גולתינו.

42 *Responsa of Maharalbach* (Lemberg, 1865, repr. Brooklyn, 1962), 127.

43 *Responsa of Rashba*, ibid., p. 154.

44 ibid.

45 *Responsa of Rashba* pt 3, 7 (Bnei Brak, 1971), p. 9: שם וראש גלותנו אשר השאיר לנו השם להשיב נפשנו.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

expert. An anonymous letter concerning the status of rebellious wives, probably from the Jews of Provence, also refers to Aderet using the same expression.[46]

The idea that the exile could be considered to a certain point to be a privilege appeared for the first time in Maimonides' *responsa*. One of his letters begins in the following way: 'Moshe, son of Maimon from the people exiled from Jerusalem who are in Spain said'[47] Though most likely added by a later editor, this phrase marks an important point in the identity of Spanish Jews who saw themselves as the direct descendants of the Jerusalem community, i.e. those who preserved the tradition related to the Temple service, the elite of the Jewish people.

The use of exile in honorific titles in Spain and Catalonia has to do with a role attributed to Spain in the story of the exile. Isaac Arabanel in his commentary on the book of Genesis used the following expression: 'the exile from Jerusalem which is in Sefarad' meaning Spain and Portugal. Then he added: 'No doubt that all the leaders and rulers of the Jews appointed by kings and communities were descendants of the house of David'.[48]

Spanish Jews were not alone to claim the superiority over other Jewish communities in the diaspora. David Kimhi of Narbonne (d. 1235) in his commentary to Jeremiah wrote: 'The enemies cruelly expelled us from Jerusalem to our exile'.[49] It is obvious that he associated the destiny of the entire Jewish people, including himself, with that exile.

'Spanish exile in Jerusalem'

The most evident case described in Aderet's consultations is the loss of important documents, including marriage contracts. In one of his *responsa* to the community of Perpignan, Solomon ben Abraham Aderet addressed this particular problem.[50] The letter was written shortly after the expulsion of Jews from France in 1306. The question which was asked is the following: are Jews, after being expelled from places where they lost all their documents, including marriage contracts, allowed to stay with their wives? The technical issue was that according to the law, a Jewish man and a Jewish woman are forbidden from staying together as a family without a marriage contract. Rabbi Solomon answered that the husbands must write down new marriage contracts for their wives and then their unions will be legal.

---

46 *New responsa of Rashba* (Jerusalem: Machon Yerushalayim, 2004) 175.

47 *Responsa of Rambam* (Jerusalem, 1958), 293:
אמר משה ב"ר מימון מבני גלות ירושלם אשר בספרד.

48 Isaac Abrabanel, *Commentary on Genesis,* ch 49 (Jerusalem: Bnei Arbal, 1964), p. 435: וגלות ירושלים אשר בספרד אין ספק שהנשיאים והנגידים אשר היו המלכים והקהלות ממנים על בני ישראל היו כלם מזרע בית דוד.

49 Radak, Commentary on Jeremiah (Jerusalem, 1959) ch 51, 51: שהיו האויבים מחרפים אותנו בגלותינו מירושלם.

50 *New responsa of Rashba* (Jerusalem: Machon Yerushalayim, 2004) 173: שאלת בעניין הגולין מן המקומות אשר ישולל כל אשר להם שטרי אונות וכתובות, אם מותרין לשהות עם נשותיהן.

In the same letter, discussing the fate of Jewish refugees arriving most likely from France,[51] Aderet recalled his own experience when he witnessed how the issue of lost documents had been resolved for the Jews in Girona in 1285. The events in question happened during the war campaign known as the Aragonese Crusade. Philip the Bold, king of France from the Capetian dynasty, on 21 June attempted to besiege Girona.[52] The city surrendered at the end of August. The Jews were ordered to abandon their houses and go away, leaving behind all their belongings, including marriage contracts. Therefore, the Jewish men of Girona were ordered by rabbinical tribunal to renew all their marital obligations in order to be allowed to stay with their wives.

Rabbi Judah, the son of Asher ben Jehiel (d. 1349), in his consultations also paid attention to the exiles who fled during the war and persecutions. He was asked to answer a question from the Jewish tribunal of Worms concerning a Jew called Simeon ben Jacob who was murdered by Christian mob.[53] His death was attested by a letter with a few words missing. The decision of the Jewish judges, who hesitated to attest Simeon's death, was important for his widow, who needed permission to remarry. Giving his legal opinion on this case, Judah referred to a case of forced converts who had been forced to move to another city 'after the exile because of war' and then had been killed there. Their wives were allowed to remarry even without serious evidence confirming their husbands' death.

The same author gave a very negative image of the exile. In 1391 the preaching of Fernandes Martinez provoked persecutions of Jews in Spain. Isaac ben Sheshet, who lived in Valencia in those years, mentioned the danger that he escaped as follows: 'Being expelled from my place, wandering with a staff, fearing troops that were in our country' The aforementioned Jedaiah Bedersi described the exile as damaging the life of the Jewish people. Blaming non-Jewish influence upon the traditional system of knowledge, he compared it to 'our exile' and 'the loss of kingship.'[54] Rashba in his comments on the Talmudic story of the destruction of both temples brings forward an argument from the Talmud,[55] saying that the Second Temple was destroyed due to the baseless hatred which resulted in the exile.[56]

Susan Einbinder has considered an interesting expression '*golat Ariel*' (the exile of Ariel) with respect to the Hebrew verse of Isaac Gorni, a late-thirteenth-century

51 The expulsion of the Jews from France is very rarely mentioned in Hebrew texts composed before the beginning of the modern era. The aforementioned *responsum* of Sholomon Aderet provides one of the first references of this kind.

52 H. Chaytor, *A History of Aragon and Catalonia* (Methuen Publishing Ltd., 1933), ch 7, p. 107.

53 *Zikhron Yehudah* 92 (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 46.

54 *Responsa of Rashba*, pt 1, 418 (Bnei Brak, 1958) p. 155.

55 *BT Yoma* 9b.

56 *New responsa of Rashba* (Jerusalem: Machon Yerushalayim, 2004), 468.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

lyric poet from Gascony. Her writings make necessary to restate the importance of this notion in Medieval Hebrew literature concerning exile. One of Gorni's poems is dedicated to the community of Arles: 'In sorrow its inhabitants came to Gorni. It's a time of fasting, because today the city of Ariel was captured'.[57] Susan Einbinder wrote that Gorni was 'a product of expulsion'.[58] In her opinion, his two poems referring to *golat Ariel* intentionally echoed the name of the medieval town where the poet had been born, i.e. Aire in Gascony. Therefore, the exile of Ariel means exile from Aire.[59]

In the second poem one cited above Isaac HaGorni mentions fasting on the 9th of Av – the day when, according to the Jewish tradition, Jerusalem (the city of Ariel) and Temple were destroyed.[60] As for the native town of Isaac HaGorni, its name Aire was translated in Hebrew as *goren*, a threshing ground. It is unlikely that he referred specifically to his place of birth in such an unusual way in his poem addressed to the community of Arles. Rather, he specified the annual fast day which commemorates the destruction of the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem and the subsequent exile of the Jews from the Land of Israel.

The word Ariel comes from the Bible, where it is used for the city of Jerusalem. The prophet says in *Isaiah* 29:1–2: 'Woe to you, Ariel, Ariel, the city where David settled! Yet I will besiege Ariel; she will mourn and lament, she will be to me like an altar hearth.'[61] In the Middle Ages the word 'Ariel' often appears in the literature of Aggadic Midrash[62] and in Hebrew commentaries on the Bible. In all those cases this word relates either to the city of Jerusalem[63] or to the Temple.[64] Abraham Ibn Ezra wrote that the name 'Ariel' was attributed to Jerusalem in

57 *Shirei Avraham ha-Bedersi ve-Yitzhaq ha-Gorni ve-hugam* (A. Haberman edn, Jerusalem: Ben-Uri 1969), p. 29.

58 S. Einbinder, *No Place of Rest: Jewish Literature, Expulsion and the Memory of Medieval France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 20.

59 S. Einbinder, *op.cit*., p. 21.

60 The Hebrew text of the poem is found in A. Habermann, *Shir'e Avraham Ha-Bedersi Ve-Yitshak Ha-Gorni Ve-Hugam (Herev Ha-Mit'hapekhet, Shir'e Yitshak Ha-Gorni, Ve-Shirim Nosfim)* (Yerushalayim: Ben-Ori, 1968).Unfortunately, I did not have access to one of the this poem.

61 Sometimes it is also used as a personal name (Ezra 8:16).

62 *Midrash Zuta, Shir Ha-shirim* (Buber edition) 1: שבעים שמות קרא לירושלים ff; *Eichah Rabbah*, *Petikhta* 26 (Buber edition), *Pesikta de-rav Kahana* ed. by S. Buber (Lyck, 1868) 13; *Pesikta Rabbati* ed. by M. Friedman (Vienna, 1880) 26; *Midrash Aggadah* ed. by S. Buber (Vienna, 1894) *Bamidbar* 30; *Yalkut Shimoni 2 Samuel* 23 et al.

63 *Maḥzor Vitry, ed. by S. Hurwitz (Nuremberg 1923, repr. Jerusalem, 1988), 159, p. 147:* אוהבי י"י המחכים לבמיין אריאל.

64 *Shemot Rabbah (Vilna edition), Itro 29; Beit ha-Bekhirah le-Meiri,* commenting on *Masekhet Midot*, ch. 4; *Rashi's commentary on 2 Samuel 23*, on *Joshua 29*, on *1 Chronicles 11*; *Tosafot on Berachot 3*; *David Kimhi's commentary on 2 Samuel, 23*, on *1 Kings*, *2*; on *Joshua 29, 33*, on *Ezekiel 41, 43*; Bahye's commentary on Bamidbar (Numeri), Behealotekha ch 8; *Gersonides' commentary on 2 Samuel,* 23: 20 et al.

the name of the Temple.[65] In Medieval *responsa* the term '*golat Ariel*' appeared, meaning the Jewish diaspora.

In order to understand better the meaning of the words 'Ariel's exile' in the Middle Ages, several examples found in *responsa* literature should be considered. In Jewish funeral inscriptions[66] Ariel's exile was used in honorific titles. An interesting example of another genre was found in the synagogue of Toledo built by Don Samuel Halevi in 1357. An engraved inscription in his honor says: 'Since the day of Ariel's exile, none like unto him has arisen in Israel'.[67]

A student of Solomon ben Aderet, Abraham ben Moses ben Ismael, wrote in his letter to the Jews of Burgos: 'Noble men of the Children of Israel, chiefs of the Exile of Ariel, the highest of the highest'.[68] In 1320 Judah ben Waqar of Coca wrote a letter to rabbi Asher ben Jehiel who lived at that time in Toledo. He said to him: 'Crown of Israel, head of the exile of Ariel, the spirit of God is near him, a mountain to which everybody turns'.[69] Another example is found in a *responsum* of Judah, the son of Asher ben Yehiel (1270 – 1349) who addressed the following ironical words to the elders of the Jewish community of Toledo in order to express his disagreement with them: 'You should not learn from the others; on the contrary, others should learn from you, because the city of Toledo is the mother of Israel, and your great sages are the chiefs of the Exile of Ariel'.[70] Once this epithet was applied to Judah himself by an unknown editor of his letters who called him 'The beauty of Israel, the candle of the Exile of Ariel'.[71]

Meir of Rotenburg is called 'the chief of the Exile of Ariel' in the introduction to the Cremona edition of his *responsa*.[72] This expression was extensively used in rabbinic correspondence in later periods, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. In the fifteenth century it was utilized by Moshe Mintz (d. 1480) – a German rabbi who, by the end of his life, moved to Poland and was planning to go to the Land of Israel. He wrote in the conclusion to one of his letters: 'God forbid from cruelty and injustice and console us by the coming of the Messiah and by the rebuilding of Ariel'.[73]

---

65 Abraham Ibn Ezra, Commentary on Isaiah 29:1: הוי אריאל, יש אומר כי נקראת ירושלם כן על שם המזבח.

66 *Sigilli di eternità. Il cimitero ebraico di Finale Emilia* (Firenze: Giuntina, 2011), p. 113.

67 Y. Baer, *A history of the Jews in Christian Spain*, v. 1 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966), p. 363.

68 *Zichron Yehudah* 84 (Jerusalem, 1972) p. 38b:
אצילי בני ישראל ראשי גולת אריאל גדולי המעלה.

69 *Responsa of Rosh* 18:13 (Venice, 1607) p. 102b.

70 *Zikhron Yehudah* 54, p. 9: אין לכם ללמוד מאחרים ואדרבה אחרים יש להם ללמוד מכם כי טולטולה היא עיר ואם בישראל וגדולי' הם גדולי גולת אריאל.

71 *Zikhron Yehudah*, 87, p. 42b: תפארת ישראל נר גולת אריאל.

72 *Responsa of Maharam ben Baruch of Rotenburg*, Cremona ed., (Jerusalem: Machon Yerushalaim, 2010), pt 3 Introduction: הוא ראש גולת אריאל.

73 *Responsa of Maharm Minz* 45 (Lemberg, 1851) p. 38b.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

This literature still awaits attentive research. On the Sefardic side, an interesting example could be found in the letters of Moshe of Trani (1505–1585). He wrote in his letter to Jacov Berab (1474–1546), who fled from Spain after the expulsion of 1492 and spent his life in Israel, Egypt and Northern Africa: 'Our honored Jacob Berab who diligently studies the Torah among the Jews and teaches wisdom to the people of Ariel.'[74] Rabbi Jacob spent a part of his life in Palestine. Rabbi Moshe was his student and spent a major part of his life in Safed before he moved to Jerusalem. Therefore, this correspondence was held between two settlers in the Land of Israel.

Yom Tov ben Moses Tzahalon (d. 1638) became involved in the conflict between Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities of Jerusalem over legal regulations.[75] In his responsum the latter are mentioned as 'the holy community of the Spanish exile which is in Jerusalem'.[76] This expression illustrates the complexity of the issue of exile after the expulsion of Jews from Spain. The Sephardi Jews described by Yom Tov ben Moses were identified as Spanish in the first place with respect to another ethnic group (Ashkenazi). Although they lived in Jerusalem, the heart of the Holy Land, their identity was strongly influenced by the experience of exile.

Conclusion

Responsa literature of the Middle Ages and early modern times contain a considerable number of examples mentioning exile. Some of them refer to diaspora in general pointing out the common past of the Jewish people. Others concern its specific parts, like German lands or Spain and Catalonia underlining the importance of particular centers of Jewish culture and learning. A few texts raise various issues concerning the Jews exiled in the medieval period from various countries.

The myth of exile made a strong impact on the *responsa* literature of the Middle Ages. Moreover, it created the history of medieval Jewish communities, at least in Europe. Nearly all the aforementioned authors considered themselves to be living in exile. It was a leitmotiv for official greetings, lamentations, visionary thinking, even for ironic metaphors. The authors of *responsa* created their own spiritual hierarchy of the exile, where leadership was related to the legacy received from the Jewish community of Jerusalem. Even though there were highly respected Jewish scholars in Palestine, the center of Jewish culture and of lawmaking moved to the diaspora. Therefore, it was no longer the land of Israel where

74 *Responsa of Mabit*, pt 1, 49 (Lvov, 1961) p. 14a: כמה"ר יעקב בירב אשר רבץ תורה בישראל ולימד דעת את עם אריאל.

75 *Responsa of Maharitatz* 160 (Venice, 1694) p. 132b: שמעתי את תלונות קהל קדוש וטענות אשכנזים אשר הם מלינים על קהל קדוש גלות ספרד אשר בירושלם.

76 ibid.

the real bearers of values and traditions lived. Although there was no consensus on the matter of the sanctity of the land of Israel, the very debate on this issue proved that the status of the land was not the same as in the Talmud. Very serious causes were needed for moving Jews towards the Promised Land from the burden of exile laid upon their shoulders. Although it caused various difficulties, at the same time the exile provided plausible conditions for the Jewish communities to live in, while the land of Israel was far away. This is how the myth became reality.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Carsten L. Wilke

LOSING SPAIN, SECURING ZION: ALLEGORY AND MENTAL ADAPTION TO EXILE AMONG REFUGEES OF THE IBERIAN INQUISITIONS

The network of Jewish communities that would become the Sephardi diaspora of the Early Modern Period was formed by successive migration movements. A series of expulsions at the end of the fifteenth century projected Jews from Spain, Portugal, Navarra, Provence, and Southern Italy into exile, mainly towards North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. The expulsion from Portugal, decreed in 1496, had been transformed by King Manuel in the following year into a forced mass conversion to Christianity; and the threat against the large number of recent Judeo-converts that were trapped in the Atlantic kingdom materialized in the Lisbon massacre of 1506 and the first Inquisitorial persecutions in 1536. Nominally Catholic individuals, families, and small groups left Portugal in a steady trickle during the sixteenth through the eighteenth century and sought refuge in destinations all around the globe. The second and subsequent generations of these 'New Christians' had been almost entirely deprived of Jewish education and socialization. They were integrated by force into gentile society, a phenomenon which hardly any Jewish group in premodern history had hitherto experienced.[1] Still several thousands, if not tens of thousands, among the New Christian emigrants were successfully reintegrated into the Jewish collectivity following the loss of their homeland, often forming their own synagogues. In the Ottoman Empire and in Italy, the 'Portuguese' lived alongside Jews of other origins, distinguished by their Westernized culture. Along the Atlantic coastline, they tended to settle in places where the presence of Jews had been interrupted since the Middle Ages and where, viewed from the angle of modern Jewish history, they would make a pioneering impact.[2]

The New Christians' experience of exile, the literary construction of which comprises the subject of the present study, was different from that of other confessional minorities of the Early Modern Period insofar as the suspicion they aroused at home, as well as the acceptance they found among Jews abroad, had a primarily

1 Todd M. Endelman, 'Jewish Self-Identification and West European Categories of Belonging from the Enlightenment to World War II', in *Religion or Ethnicity? Jewish Identities in Evolution*, ed. by Zvi Gitelman (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009), pp. 104–130 (p. 105).
2 Carsten L. Wilke, *Histoire des juifs portugais* (Paris: Chandeigne, 2007), pp. 119–120, 139–142.

ethnic motivation and could at times be at odds with their individual religious persuasions. In this respect, the case of the early-modern New Christians fleeing from persecution and discrimination differed profoundly from that of the Jews expelled in 1492. If for the latter, religious difference had been the reason for their expulsion, the former, inversely, only became Jews after having been expelled. In their migrations, New Christians also moved between religious and cultural identities. For those who, educated as Christians, now found themselves in exile among Jews, community distinctions became ambivalent and porous; and though a change of religion often restored the Jewish-Christian dichotomy, emigrants tended to imagine and elaborate their new Jewish identity according to the patterns of group identification inherited from their Christian past. These different translations of the exilic condition into a pattern of identity accounted for some of the important contrasts between the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire and those of the Atlantic world.

It may seem that the most unproblematic facet of the identity change brought about by persecution and emigration was a switch in political loyalties. Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel, one of the best known Jewish spokespersons in the Early Modern Period, received the Prince of Orange in 1642 in the synagogue of Amsterdam with a clear-cut declaration of allegiance: 'Our fatherland is no more Spain or Portugal, and as our lords, we no more recognize the Castilian or Lusitanian kings, but those kings of the martyrs' blood, who defend the religion of their ancestors'.[3] One year earlier, speaking again to a Dutch Christian audience, Menasseh ben Israel had defined his national identity in a more complex way, calling himself 'a Portuguese with a Batavian soul' (*Lusitano con ánimo batavo*),[4] which depicts a split of loyalties almost on an anthropological level: the body is still Portuguese, but the spirit is already Dutch.

While Rabbi Menasseh's opportunistic change of sides scandalized one Spanish historian, who sarcastically commented that with such flagrant cases of Jewish betrayal there was no more need for antisemitic slander, a less impassioned perspective[5] would rather find Menasseh's declaration to be inevitable among a persecuted group that still had to struggle for acceptance in its new environment,

3 Henry Méchoulan, 'À propos de la visite de Frédéric-Henri, prince d'Orange, à la synagogue d'Amsterdam: une lettre inédite de Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657) à David de Wilhelm, suivie de la traduction francaise du discours de bienvenue', *Lias*, 5 (1978), 81–86.

4 Herman P. Salomon, 'A oração para a autoridade na esnoga de Amesterdão como factor de conservação da identidade portuguesa', *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, 7 (2007), 255–272 (pp. 260–261).

5 See, for instance, Henry Méchoulan, 'Menasseh and the World of the Non-Jew,' in: Yosef Kaplan et al., eds, *Menasseh ben Israel and his World* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), pp. 83–97 (p. 86); Harm den Boer, 'Exile in Sephardic Literature of Amsterdam,' *Studia Rosenthaliana* 35.2 (2001), 187–199 (p. 195); Miriam Bodian, 'The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam and the Status of Christians,' in: Elisheva Carlebach et al. (eds), *New Perspectives on Jewish-Christian Relations. In Honor of David Berger* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 329–357 (p. 338).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

one that only had a qualified form of tolerance to offer. Italy accepted Jews, but persecuted apostates of Christianity. France accepted only the latter, as long as they did not publicly announce their new religion, and the Netherlands accepted them only on the condition that they maintained a normative set of Jewish religious ideas.

In some of these countries, anti-Iberian feelings were stronger than those against Jews. What would be called the 'Black Legend' was formed in the second half of the sixteenth century as a reaction to Spain's European and colonial expansionism in the service of counter-reformation. Iberian emigrants had to confirm and interiorize these hostile stereotypes against their very countries of origin, which they could encounter in England, France, Italy, and in the Protestant countries as the 'price of Spanish hegemony'. García Cárcel, a historian of the Black Legend, insists upon 'the significant influence that Jews expelled from Spain had in the formation of the negative image of Spain'.[6] In other words, a certain degree of self-hatred was expected and duly received from them by their new protectors.

However, the political discourse of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was fundamentally inconsequential in its national and political ideologies. Social ostracism against Judeo-converts in Iberian societies could go hand in hand with a violent pressure on their integration. Abroad, hostility against Spanish religious politics could coexist with admiration for Spanish literature and fashion, and attentiveness for the drugs and innovations that came from Iberia and its colonies. Among the Jews, enduring family and business relations with the Iberian countries of origin and the proud ostentation of a hispanophone culture in exile were not at all in contradiction with the ideological demonization of Spain as an apocalyptic Fourth Kingdom. Historians of Judaism found it amazing that Sephardim felt less enmity towards the Iberian kingdoms and their cultures than an observer accustomed to modern nationalisms and counter-nationalisms might feel obliged to expect.[7] Jewish refugees, even rabbis, expressed themselves with pride in the Iberian languages, and adhered to customs and tastes imported from the Iberian Peninsula.

In an often quoted extreme case discovered by Jonas Andries van Praag, the entrepreneur and religious author Abraham Pereyra plagiarized in his Jewish treatises of 1666 and 1671 entire pages from pious Spanish authors representing the militant Catholicism that had exiled him. This ambivalence between

6 Ricardo García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra: historia y opinión* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992), pp. 81–91, quotes from pp. 29, 82.

7 Henry Méchoulan, 'Présence de l'Espagne dans la pensée juive à Amsterdam au temps de Spinoza', *Les Nouveaux Cahiers*, 62 (1980), 26–31; Yosef Kaplan, 'Una diáspora en exilio: actitudes hacia España entre los Sefardíes de la Edad Moderna', in *Marginados y minorías sociales en la España moderna y otros estudios sobre Extremadura*, ed. by Felipe Lorenzana de la Puente and Francisco J. Mateos Ascacíbar (Llerena: Sociedad Extremeña de Historia, 2005), pp. 9–25.

hostility to Christian Iberia and embeddedness in its culture has been given by Van Praag the diagnosis of an almost pathological 'split consciousness'.[8] Daniel Swetschinski fustigated the Iberian cultural borrowings of the Amsterdam Jews as an expression of their blindness, laxity, and laziness in matters of Jewish identity,[9] Miriam Bodian linked the same atavic attachment to a positive fascination with 'Iberian aristocratic social values' expressed in the discourses of racial and doctrinal purity.[10] Henry Méchoulan interpreted the refugees' enduring hispanity as a culturally creative search for common roots behind apparently hostile cultural positions, as Christian and Judaic theology have common scriptural sources and shared concerns, such as atonement and salvation.[11] Many of these Iberian references are indeed, Harm den Boer noted, 'of a surprisingly plain and unworried type'.[12] Yosef Kaplan suggested that the cultural mixing can also translate as an exceptional openness of mind;[13] and Yirmiyahu Yovel even found among Judeo-Portuguese emigrants a blueprint of the modern subject with its multiple coexisting identities.[14]

Alhough the 'bricolage' between the old and the new culture should not be pathologized, it should not be banalized either. For these Iberian emigrants, the sixteenth-century invention of national mythologies forestalled any easy distinction between political partisanship and cultural identity during the migration between countries at war with each other. Long before the rise of modern nationalist ideologies, Renaissance humanism had made political loyalty to signify

8 Jonas Andries van Praag, 'Almas en litigio', *Clavileño*, 1 (janvier-février 1950), 14–26. One of Pereyra's treatises was edited with source references by Henry Méchoulan, *Hispanidad y judaísmo en tiempos de Espinoza. Edición de 'La Certeza del Camino' de Abraham Pereyra (Amsterdam, 1666)* (Salamanca: Universidad, 1987).

9 Daniel Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth Century Amsterdam*, (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000), p. 311.

10 Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 85, 92–95. Parallel notions of ethnic purity are also observed by Yosef Kaplan, though his conclusions are different; see his *Les Nouveaux-Juifs d'Amsterdams: Essais sur l'histoire sociale et intellectuelle du judaïsme séfarade au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Chandeigne, 1999), pp. 72–81; and the interpretation of these parallels by Natalia Muchnik, *De paroles et de gestes: constructions marranes en terre d'Inquisition* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 2014), pp. 36–45.

11 Méchoulan, *Hispanidad y judaísmo*, p. 62.

12 Harm den Boer, *La literatura sefardí de Amsterdam*, Alcalá: Universidad, 1995, p. 25. See also Harm den Boer, 'Más allá de hispanidad y judaísmo: Hacia una caracterización de la literatura hispano-portuguesa de los sefardíes de Amsterdam', en *Los judaizantes en Europa y la literatura castellana del Siglo de Oro*, ed. by Fernando Díaz Esteban (Madrid: Letrúmero, 1994), pp. 65–75.

13 Yosef Kaplan, 'El perfil cultural de tres rabinos sefardíes a través del análisis de sus bibliotecas', in *Familia, Religión y Negocio. El sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna*, ed. by Jaime Contreras et al. (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2003), pp. 269–286 (p. 284).

14 Yirmiyahu Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos. Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 344–347.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

more than just a fidelity to the ruling dynasty.[15] A symbolic feeling of belonging was attached to one's country's empiric features such as climate, landscape, language, food, clothing, entertainment, and literary practices. The canonization of national poets and of the ancient founding myths sung by them added to this new symbolism. During the same time period, thus, as Western Europeans developed a new emotional attachment to their national myths and sanctuaries, the Jewish minorities expelled from these real-and-imagined spaces produced similar, although transnational patterns of belonging through the mixing of emigrant groups inside the new Ashkenazi and Sephardi macrocommunities of Eastern and South Eastern Europe. The sixteenth-century Portuguese emigrant lived at the fault line between the West European and the Jewish forms of early-modern collective integration. The Lisbon praised by Camões confronted the Zion venerated in the Bible.[16]

In sum, the prevailing regime of *cujus regio, ejus religio* did not allow the question of belonging to be settled by means of peaceful cultural hybridity, and certainly not by any exclusive identification. Poetic invention, at this moment, became an outlet for exilic feelings, not only because the Renaissance taste of melancholy invited tears to flow freely, but also because literary imagery often allowed the contradictory emotional values of home and exile to be represented side by side. An allegorical road map for realignment with Judaism could thus be drawn. In their figurative expressions, Jewish authors searched the harmonization of two opposing literary conventions: the biblical topos of *galut*, which theologically implies a divine punishment of a solidary community, was expressed in the terms of the classical exile's dirge stemming from Ovid, which emphasized individual uprootedness and isolation. While in the Bible, the deported community suffers from a foreign invader such as Babylon, inversely the Greek or Roman exile stands as an ostracized individual in conflict with his own community. Both literary traditions penetrated Iberian literatures in a Christianized form, mediated by the medieval ascetic topos of the pilgrimage of life through a hostile world in pursuit of salvation.

These biblical, classical, and ascetic strands were knitted together by a Portuguese Jewish Latinist of the second half of the mid-sixteenth century, who became one of the most distinguished Renaissance poets of exile. Diogo Pires (1517–1599) was born in Evora in Southern Portugal only twenty years after the forced conversion of his father, who fled the country with him in 1535 for

15 While Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson insisted upon the modern roots of nationalism, this view has been challenged by Anthony D. Smith in *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) and *The Antiquity of Nations* (2004), where premodern ethnosymbolic discourse is shown to anticipate nationalistic positions.

16 Wilke, *Histoire des juifs portugais*, p. 131.

fear of the newly-established Inquisition. As a neo-Latin humanist, trained in Salamanca, Paris, and Louvain, he called himself Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus; and as a Jew, which he became in Ragusa (now Dubrovnik), he took the name Isaiah Cohen. Pires, who fought in the fleet of Andrea Doria against the Barbarossa brothers, reacted intensely to contemporary political and military events.[17]

A Jew among Catholics, Pires recruits classical legacy as the means of creating a cultural common ground. He invokes pagan gods and nymphs in every possible context, even when he expresses his Jewish piety; in particular, he compares his destiny to that of Ulysses, a wanderer without a direction home, terrorized by the prospect of having to be buried in foreign soil, and persecuted by the blind and tyrannical goddess Fortune.[18] To Dinko Zlatarić, the Croatian-born rector of the University of Padua from 1579, Pires dedicated his late elegy *De exsilio suo*, which is transmitted in a manuscript of the Historical Institute of Dubrovnik.[19] Writing in a small fortress on the shores of Montenegro, the poet contrasts the gloomy sight of the 'icy' Dalmatian coast (*in gelidae rupibus Illyriae*), devastated from the recent Ottoman victories, with Evora, the mythic city of his childhood, for which he longs all the more as he knows he will never see it again. In a perfect balance between Ovidian loneliness and Jewish solidarity, the exile imagines himself persecuted individually, but for a faith shared with his community: *An quia solemnes ritus, et auita meorum / Sacra colo, patriis finibus exul agor?* (Is it because I celebrate the solemn rituals and sacred ceremonies of my ancestors that I have to wander about as an exile far from the fatherland?).

Trying to name and blame the origin of his troubles, Pires depicts a reincarnation of the infamous allegorical queen of Babel that is responsible for Israel's exile in the Bible.[20] He pours out his wrath against the two treacherous female powers responsible for his banishment, namely the goddess Fortuna and Queen Isabella of Castile: 'may her vile shadow dwell in the infernal swamps,' who had expelled the Jews of Castile in spite of her oath to protect them. In his vengeance-laced fantasies, Pires conjures up the Moorish armies to take Granada again, to break into the perjurous queen's tomb, and to strew her remains in the ocean.[21] It is remarkable that he follows the genealogy of his suffering beyond the Portuguese

17 Carlos Ascenso André, *Um judeu no desterro: Diogo Pires e a memória de Portugal* (Lisbon: Inst. Nac. de Inv. Científica, 1992), see pp. 13–17 on his youth and emigration; George Hugo Tucker, *Homo Viator: Itineraries of Exile, Displacement and Writing in Renaissance Europe* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 195–238.

18 André, *Um judeu no desterro*, p. 105.

19 First published by Urbani Appendini *Carmina, accedunt selecta illustrium Ragusinorum poemata* (Ragusa: Typis Martecchinianis, 1811), pp. 256–242; more recently in Diogo Pires, *Antologia poética*, ed. and trl. Carlos Ascenso André (Coimbra: Centro de estudos classicos e humanisticos da Univ. de Coimbra, 1983), pp. 84–89, and André, *Um poeta no desterro*, pp. 50–57.

20 Isaiah 47; Jeremiah 50; Psalm 137:8.

21 André, *Um judeu no desterro*, p. 51: 'Nec melior sors sit periurae coniugis, opto. / Degener infernos incolat umbra lacus. / At male compositos cineres, atque ossa reuulsa / Victor in Oceani deleat Afer aqua.'

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Inquisition back to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, as if his hatred for Isabella allowed him to join in communion with of all his Sephardi coreligionists of the Mediterranean diaspora.

The paradox of exilic isolation and reincorporation into a diaspora group is most outspoken when Pires imagines his physical death, daring a close-up on the quintessential horror of a burial in foreign earth. When imagining the scene in detail, he is consoled by the idea that he will have saved his body from the rage of the inquisitors and will surrender it undesecrated to the soil of the little Jewish cemetery on the Dalmatian coast where fellow Jews will pay their last respect to him. *Hic mea nec ferro, nigra neque tacta fauilla | Ossa uelim placide condat amica manus* (Here, untouched by the iron blade and by the black ashes, | my bones will be peacefully put to rest by a friendly hand). Defended by Jewish burial customs, the Portuguese exile's tomb will become part of the Mediterranean ritual landscape: *At tu, siue legis portum seu litore funem | diripis, aeternum, nauta, praecare uale* (And when you sail into the port or light fire on the beach | give him, o boatsman, an eternal farewell).

Pires mythologizes and feminizes persecution, as he represents it by the evil personalities of Fortune and Queen Isabella, calling the latter an Erinye and a Megaera, but he does not eroticize them. In contrast, he compares the lost home to a beloved, inaccessible mistress,[22] to whom he aspires with passionate love. His Horatian-style epistle that he addressed in 1567 to the Croatian philosopher Nikola Gučetić makes this point clear from the beginning: *Vera mones, Nicon: grata est sua cuique puella, | at sua, crede mihi, patria grata magis* (Take counsel with truth, Nikola: each man loves his girl, | but even more than her, believe me, he loves his fatherland).[23] The 'sweet image' of Portugal is always before his eyes; *insequitur custos haeret et illa comes* (She follows me like a guardian and is attached to me like a companion). Similar to a distressed lover asking of news from his absent beloved, his deepest joy is to inquire among travelers from Portugal about the features of the country of his youth, imploring the stranger to recall to him the scent of the grapes and the colour of the olive-trees.[24]

Allegory, which Pires uses only in this allusive manner, becomes the privileged link between individual experience and collective destiny in the Jewish history that his contemporary Samuel Usque published in Ferrara in 1553. In the literary imagination of an allegorical pastoral novel, the protagonist appears as the

22 Américo da Costa Ramalho, 'Didacus Pyrrhus Lusitanus, Poeta e Humanista,' *Humanitas*, 35–36 (1983–1984), 1–18 (p. 7); Salomon, *Deux études*, p. 26: 'Avant Du Bellay, Pires transforma le thème de la nostalgie pour la Maîtresse adorée et inaccessible en celui de la nostalgie pour la Patrie adorée et inaccessible, aussi bien "la petite patrie" (Evora) que la grande (le Portugal)'.

23 André, *Um judeu no desterro*, p. 43.

24 André, *Um judeu no desterro*, p. 45.

solitary exiled, lamenting shepherd Icabo, and at the same time as the allegory of a collectivity, Jacob, the people of Israel, who invokes in the first person the sufferings of Jews throughout history, asking two friends for consolation. Icabo/Jacob then learns that suffering is divine punishment, and divine punishment is an educational device, as the long and arduous pages of Jewish history have shown.

Usque wrote for New Christian refugees of the Portuguese Inquisition. He knew that many of the exiles had observed hardly any precept of the Jewish tradition when they had become victims of persecution. Their cases do not warrant any narrative of heroism, but one of providential sanction. Speaking about his own generation, Usque highlights 'the great benefit which has come of your misfortunes in Spain and Portugal.' He offers a medical comparison to illustrate his point:

> [W]hen a person's limbs are being devoured by herpes, it is best to cut them off with a knife or fire, so as to prevent the spread of the disease and save the rest of the body. At such a time the cruel surgeon is the instrument of recovery. Therefore, since you had forgotten your ancient Law, and feigned Christianity with all your might solely to save your life and property, without realizing that you were jeopardizing your soul, it was proper that in such a perilous and mortal illness the Lord should not be apprehensive about applying the cautery to cure you. Truly, if you consider matters carefully, His mercy was great in being cruel to you, for the noxious wound penetrated your body so rapidly that in a few years it would have killed the memory of Judaism in your children.[25]

The sociocultural process of migration accompanied by conversion can not only be illustrated by its comparison to a savage and painful, yet ultimately salutary medical intervention, but can further be conceived as the difficult separation process of a man from his loved yet unworthy mistress or mother. Samuel Usque's pastoral novel is framed by feminized allegories of national collectivities and their repressive tools. At the start of the book, Icabo, the allegory of Jewry, presents the three continents and especially the one that is most inhospitable to him, 'Europe, Europe, my hell on earth'. Among Europe's five allegorical persecutresses, first comes 'vicious and warring Italy' on her way to kill Jews with her host of hungry lions. France follows, poisoning her victims. 'Arrogant, rough and mountainous Germany' precipitates Jews to death in her ravines; England drowns them in water floods; and 'hypocrite, cruel, and wolfish Spain' tears them into pieces.[26]

25 Samuel Usque, *Consolação às tribulações de Israel*, facsimile edition (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989), II, fol. 238^{r-v}; translation taken from Salomon Usque, *Consolation for the Tributations of Israel*, trl. Martin A. Cohen (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964), p. 229.
26 Usque, *Consolação*, vol. II, fol. 2^{r-v}; trl. Cohen, p. 44.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

In the latter part of the Third (and last) Dialogue, a famously terrifying description shows the Iberian Inquisition in its allegorical personality as the pernicious apocalyptic monster of the Bible (Daniel 7:7), sent from Rome to devastate Europe.[27] But at the end of the Third Dialogue, the redemptive allegory, Zion, wins the race. She appears as a bride offered in an allegorical marriage to God, as it seems, or perhaps to the people of Israel: 'And your land shall be accompanied by its Husband. And as a young man weds a virgin, so shall your sons espouse you, and as the bridegroom rejoices with his bride, so shall your God rejoice over you'.[28] The double metaphor culled from Isaiah 62:5, in which the messianic Jerusalem is likewise the mother and the bride of the Jews, highlights the acute internal contradiction of an image of history that wants to unite the origin and the messianic end of history. By addressing his Jewish diaspora as a deterritorialized Portuguese nation and by replacing the actual exile from Lisbon with the allegorical exile from Zion, Usque circumvents the power of the former homeland. A succession of arcane figures – mothers, monsters, marriage partners – guides the reader through the conceptual and emotional labyrinth of the migration-cum-conversion narrative.

A direct juxtaposition of the two allegorical ladies will be played out two generations later by one of Usque's successors. The unknown author of a polemical anti-Christian text (unconvincingly attributed in an eighteenth-century copy to Rabbi Saul Levi Mortera of Amsterdam) imagines a dialogue between two Portuguese emigrants, a Jew and a New Christian, who meet in 1617 at an inn in Orléans, France. Right at the beginning of the conversation, the Jew unleashes a political imagery similar to Usque's, as he combines the apocalyptic beast, identified with the Inquisition, with two mother allegories, the evil natural and the good adoptive mother, representing different European countries. 'In Spain and Portugal, there is a monster which is so cruel and injust, tyrannical and pitiless that it converts the land we call fatherland into a stepmother, so that the other countries become a compassionate mother; and this [monster] is what we call the Inquisition.'[29] In the Jew's messianic vision that closes the dialogue, the persecuting monster reappears in biblical garb as Daniel's allegorical Fourth Empire,

27 Usque, *Consolação*, vol. II, fol. 197^{r}; trl. Cohen, p. 198. Usque's use of the image expresses an empathy with Protestant plight during the wars of religion; see Bodian, "Status of Christians," p. 338, and my note in Samuel Usque, *Consolation aux tribulations d'Israël*, trl. Lúcia Liba Mucznik (Paris: Chandeigne, 2014), pp. 577-578.

28 Usque, *Consolação*, vol. II, fol. 255^{r}; trl. Cohen, p. 241.

29 *Obstaculos y Opoçiçiones contra la religion xptiana*; in: Amsterdam, Ets Haim Library, ms. 48 D 38, fols 1–85 (Jerusalem, National Library, microfilm 14898), see fols 2^{r}, 14^{v}; also translated in Wilke, *Histoire des juifs portugais*, pp. 160–161.

identified this time with Christianity as such; Spain, at the time dynastically united with Portugal, is marked as its head and purveyor.[30]

A conventional literary form of expressing ambivalent and dynamic feelings of belonging, the allegorical feminization of the lost native country and its repressive religion becomes a recurrent element in the Portuguese Jewish discourse on exile. Another generation later, the allegorical dialogue written by the merchant João Pinto Delgado, *alias* Moseh Pinto (c.1586–1653) transforms the author's autobiographical story into the allegorical journey of a 'Pilgrim called Moses who, leaving pagan impurity, came to enjoy the pleasure of the congregation of his desired companions.'[31] Pinto Delgado also portrays his homeland as the cruel 'Mother of Babylon', but in staunchly anti-feminist terms, he pits her against the Eternal Father and cries out, 'though the mother might forget her son, the love of your father will never forget you.'[32]

The wrathful lady with her monstrous pet, the main allegorical protagonist of expulsion, reappears insistently in the work of the best-known among the so-called 'Marrano poets', namely Antonio Enríquez Gómez (*c.* 1600–1663), a Castilian merchant of converso origin who fled in 1636 from the Inquisition to France and lived for thirteen years among the semi-clandestine Portuguese-Jewish communities of Bordeaux and Rouen, before ceding to his longing and returning to Spain under a false identity. The poetic, epic, and dramatic works he published in France between 1642 and 1656 circulated in Spain with the approval and recommendation of the censors, the most popular among them being the poetic miscellany *Academias morales de las Musas* (The Muses' Moral Poetry Contests) which, published by the Bordeaux printer Pierre de la Court in 1642, contains some of the most enchanting exilic poetry in Spanish literature.[33] Since the nineteenth century, Hispanists have highlighted the anti-Inquisitorial allusions of which this work abounds.[34]

In the style of the Renaissance exiles, the *Academias* evoke the author's place of childhood, namely the mountain city of Cuenca and its rural environment, as a landscape of longing. A web of autobiographical allusions to his life in the provincial pastoral, the Spanish capital, and the foreign seaport, develops an

30 *Obstaculos y Opoçiçiones*, fol. 79^{v}.

31 I. S. Révah, 'Autobiographie d'un marrane. Édition partielle d'un manuscrit de João (Moseh) Pinto Delgado', *Revue des études juives*, 119 (1961), 41–130 (p. 92).

32 Amsterdam, Ets Haim Library, ms. 48-A-39, fol. 47^{r}.

33 Reimpressions Valencia 1647; Madrid 1660, 1668, 1690 and 1734.

34 Meyer Kayserling, *Sephardim: Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1859), pp. 97–100; Juan Guillermo García Valdecasas, *Las* Academias Morales *de Antonio Enríquez Gómez. Críticas sociales y jurídicas en los versos herméticos de un 'judío' español en el exilio* (Sevilla: Universidad, 1971); Constance H. Rose, 'Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the Literature of Exile', *Romanische Forschungen*, 85 (1973), 63–77; I. S. Révah, *Antonio Enríquez Gómez, un écrivain marrane*, ed. by Carsten L. Wilke (París: Chandeigne, 2003), pp. 280–300.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

allegorical geography of human life, moving from the innocent pastoral to the perverted metropolis and finally to the oceanic dispersion of exile.[35] Enríquez Gómez dwells on the contrasting topoi of Eden and Babel in his allegorical satires as well. In one of the repeated scenes, the protagonist wakes up stark naked in a crowd peopled by social caricatures, showing not only his vulnerable situation, but also the metaphysical exile of natural man in the perverse world of civilized humanity. Quoting Isaiah 50:12, the satirical Adam exclaims: 'Would it have been God's will that the earth swallowed me before I had to enter Babylon! I would have been better received by the mother that gave me life than by the stepmother Babylon (*la madrasta Babilonia*) that has deceived me!'[36]

In line with biblical and Christian tradition, Babylon is evoked as the reign of decadence, tyranny, idolatry, greed, and sexual perversion. But at times the converso poet also mirrors a Jewish literary understanding, where personified Babylon is the paradigmatic persecutress, led by her king Nebukadnezzar or Antiochus. More exactly, his personal poetic imagery occasionally interprets the mythic narratives of the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11) and the apocalyptic 'Whore of Babylon' (Revelation 17) as allegories of the Spanish Inquisition, which one of his clandestine pamphlets apostrophes in these words: 'From where does sanctity come to this courtesan, who in every hour commits adultery against Truth and Justice by robbing the poor in order to sustain the whorish Inquisitors? Did you believe that the Great Babylon, its tower and its Nimrod have passed away? How wrong you are: the Tower of Babel is this house, the head of tyrannies".[37]

If Enríquez Gómez's personal imagery thus invests the Inquisition with all the seductive erotic appeal of the *meretrix magna*, this surprising metaphor might have a biographical explanation: the author was tempted during all of his exile years by the idea of presenting himself spontaneously at one of the provincial tribunals of the Spanish Holy Office in order to obtain a rehabilitation. Readers who shared the author's exilic condition could recognize an allegorical portrait of the Inquisition in two sonnets he devoted to 'Justice', and to 'Antiochus' Tyranny'.[38] The Tyranny he warns of is a 'lioness', a 'hydra', a 'brigand', and finally a 'vile courtesan' (*ramera vil*) who robs and murders the men she seduces. Catholic readers

35 Enríquez Gómez, *Academias morales*, pp. 243–245; modern reedition in Id. 'Poesías', in: *Poetas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII, tomo segundo*, ed. Adolfo de Castro y Rossi, Biblioteca de autores españoles, 42 (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1857), pp. 363–386 (373).

36 Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *La Torre de Babilonia* (Rouen: Laurent Maurry, 1649), p. 18; see also the similar scene in the novella *El Marqués de la Redoma*, ibid., p. 178.

37 Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *Inquisición de Lúcifer y visita de todos los diablos*, ed. Constance Rose y Maxim Kerkhof (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1992), pp. 68–69. The sense of *enamorados inquisidores* obviously echoes the preceding *ramera* (whore). Though *enamorado* may simply mean 'in love', an *enamorada* in the feminine was the technical term for a courtesan.

38 Enríquez Gómez, *Academias morales*, pp. 265–266; modern reedition in Id., *Sonetos, romances y otros poemas*, ed. by Antonio Lázaro (Cuenca: Alcaná Libros, 1992), pp. 81, 103.

may have understood these sonnets as a moralizing depiction of luxury, vice, or bad government; whereas the Jewish audience may have been more prepared for the religious sense behind the woman-monster combination and the standard formula of martyrdom: 'by killing many, she gave them life'.

Like the other New Christian poets of exile, Enríquez Gómez searches for correspondences between biblical and classical imagery. His Babylonian courtesan, who waylays and robs 'every wanderer' (*cada peregrino*) with her readiness 'to incite sins of the senses' (*despertar delitos sensuâles*), textually echoes a Spanish mythographer's description of the Sicilian enchantress Circe, who similarly robs travelers (*passageros*) after seducing them through her beauty (*prouocaua al pecado sensual*).[39] One of Circe's mythological cousins, 'Medea', becomes the negative heroine of an entire erotic plot in the poetic dialogue of the *Academias*, between 'Albano', who represents the exiled author, and a friend who stayed behind, 'Danteo'.[40] The two friends discuss the evil deeds of hostile yet enchanting 'Medea' who lurked for Albano, not in his wanderings, but paradoxically in his home country. *La enemiga cruel que te dio pena, / Medea de tus años, se a trocado / Siendo del Tajo superior Sirena* [The cruel enemy who harmed you / as a Medea in your time, has now transmuted / into the major Siren of the Tagus].[41] The motive of the 'beloved enemy' stems from Luis de Góngora, whose *peregrino* is expelled from court by the instigation of a mysterious woman who repays his ardent love with a no more ardent hatred.[42] 'Medea', Albano's former lover, has turned out to be a courtesan eager to rob and spoil him with the help of a host of spies; but still attracts him back to his country, where the pagan goddess Venus reigns. Her charm can only be broken through the disillusioning discovery of her merely financial interests. For a reader unfamiliar with Enríquez Gómez's biographical predicament, the effect of the Medea story is a fascinating obscurity. The covert language imposed by censorship (and by baroque taste) flatters a conventional understanding of the cruel Spanish lady as a real woman or a banal moral allegory of Luxury; but 'Medea', the 'hydra', is also capable of evoking the mother-monster figure by which Portuguese-Jewish emigrants pitted their new religious convictions against native collectivities such as Spain, the Church, or Christianity as such.

This Castilian author, however, is visibly reluctant to formulate the opposition between his native and his exilic identity in a similarly dichotomic way.

39 Juan Perez de Moya, *Philosofia secreta, donde debaxo de historias fabulosas se contiene mucha doctrina prouechosa a todos estudios* (Madrid: Alonso Martín, 1628), fol. 353^{v}.

40 Enríquez Gómez, *Academias morales*, pp. 59–60, 417–418, 421–422, 424; Id. 'Poesías', pp. 366, 371–373.

41 Enríquez Gómez, *Academias morales*, p. 417; 'Poesías', p. 371.

42 Góngora, *Soledad segunda*, verses 151–154: 'Muera, enemiga amada, / Muera mi culpa, y tu desdén le guarde, / Arrepentido tarde, / Suspiro que mi muerte haga leda'.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Allegorically speaking, the homeland remains a 'faithful wife' and the foreign country, a 'fickle mistress'.[43] The ambivalent psychological chain reaction set in motion by his emigration is the object of one of the strangest poems of Enríquez Gómez's miscellany, titled *Décimas al sentimiento de un error*, 'Ten-line stanzas on regretting an error'.[44] These twelve stanzas are so allusive and obscure that even their subject matter is difficult to grasp at first sight. 'Danteo', who has now wound up in exile as well, laments the 'error' that has led to his 'long-dreaded travels', describes his life as unbearable, and calls his unnamed and ungendered nemesis to 'finish him off already'. As in pastoral poetry, his companion 'Anfriso' has the task of consoling him. Himself an exile, he will show that the recognition of an 'error' committed in the past can unfold an initiatic turn towards *desengaño*, 'disillusion'. The emigrant's self-accusation for his fault is thus turned into a stoic acceptance and even an emphatic embrace of his fate: 'My madness has led me from the night of illusion out into the daylight of understanding, so that I may not condemn errors that transmute into "good hits of fortune"'. The latter word-play echoes the title of a contemporary comedy: the twelve stanzas are indeed partly composed of titles of theater plays. In a dialectical inversion typical of the baroque *comedia*, two errors neutralize each other, two evils create one blessing. Who is led astray from a mistaken path has a chance of coming back to the right way.

'Error', the poem's code word, means the misguided decision of leaving Spain in Danteo's understanding, while Anfriso gives the term a religious sense. 'Error of understanding' was the scholastic technical term that the vocabulary of Catholic orthodoxy used for heresy and that entered clandestine crypto-Jewish speech with the inverse meaning.[45] The religious semantics of the exiles' playful poetic dialogue is furthermore hinted at through a hidden quote from Saint Augustine's conversion narrative, which sees previous life as a sin and its loss as a spiritual gain. Anfriso mirrors the Tagastan's *o tardum gaudium meum* (*Confessions* 2,2) when he explains his inner transformation, now in the interest of *salud*, 'salvation', another religious term: "I regret that I have arrived late" | at my blissful center. | I do not complain of my ills, | but of my hesitation, | for I did not want to take | "the certain instead of the doubtful" [another comedy title]. But I lament in vain, | if this very same ingratitude | is the wall of my salvation'. The poem brings to mind the homiletic reasoning underlying the shepherds' consolation in Samuel

43 Enríquez Gómez, *Academias morales*, 423: 'El extranjero clima, tarde llama: / Quien dexa de su esposa el amor firme / Por la fe mal guardada de la dama.'

44 Enríquez Gómez, *Academias morales*, pp. 43–44; no modern reedition available.

45 For its double sense among Portuguese New Christians in the early seventeenth century, see the footnote by Herman P. Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian: Fernão Alvares Melo* (Paris, Gulbenkian, 1982), p. 109.

Usque's work: by the loss of home, salvation is secured. While insisting on the spiritual gain that the exile has obtained through this migration-cum-conversion, Enríquez Gómez shows by his very language that he is unwilling to shed the spell of Spain, its theater, and piety.

I would surmise that Enríquez Gómez hints in these cryptic twelve stanzas at the same religious conversion experience that he would confess during the Inquisitorial trial he suffered twenty-five years later: 'He confessed that, when he was in the city of Bordeaux in the year 36, he turned to observing the Law of Moses and to practicing its rites and ceremonies, in which he stayed with belief and pertinacity for eight or nine months. Then he returned to the belief in Our Holy Catholic Faith, because he recognized the error that he had committed'. In a vain attempt to minimize his 'error', the accused thus tried to limit the duration of his Judaic persuasions, but was later forced to admit that he had been a follower of Judaism during his entire stay in Bordeaux, 'from the year 35 to that of 43'.[46] While his chronology might be untrustworthy, the poem printed in 1642 and the confession of 1661 both describe a process of conversion (and, in the latter case, reconversion) triggered by expatriation and expressed with standard Augustinian ingredients: an illumination by understanding, the confession of a past 'error', and the hope for salvation in the new religion. Conceived on the basis of this model, conversion to Judaism is presented in the *Décimas* as an intimate individual experience that functions as a therapy for the traumatic loss of home in Catholic Spain.

Historians of the Portuguese New Christian diaspora have recognized for some decades that the revival of Jewish religious consciousness was the effect rather than the cause of persecution and exile. 'Religion served a purpose: the justification of expatriation'.[47] The poets of the early-modern Iberian-Jewish exile bear a precious testimony to the way in which religious concepts and literary images, similar in their function to the 'therapeutic allegories' of psychoanalysis, were expected to rework the trauma of exile. It now becomes clear why the expression of the new exilic Judaism had to convert (or subvert) the very linguistic, figurative and emotional code of the lost Iberian home countries.

Diogo Pires, Samuel Usque, and Antonio Enríquez Gómez, the three authors presented here, came from different origins, belonged to different generations, wrote in different ports of refuge (Dubrovnik, Ferrara, and Bordeaux) in different generic and even linguistic registers (Latin, Portuguese, and Castilian). However, my analysis points towards the same conclusion throughout. In the poetic remedies the three concocted to relieve the emigrants' inner troubles, they manifest

46 Declarations to the Seville Inquisition on September 27, 1661, and January 9, 1662; see Révah, *Antonio Enríquez Gómez*, pp. 573–574.

47 Daniel Swetschinski, 'Kinship and Commerce: The Foundations of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth-Century Holland', *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981), 52–74 (p. 54).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

the irresistible pervasiveness of the personalized, individualized, and existential formulation that Renaissance literature had given to the homeland-exile dichotomy. The humanistic topos of the almost physically perceptible privation of man's native environment, the Christian myth of original sin and metaphysic exile, the rationalistic opposition between the exiled natural man in a world of perverted social conventions, all these non-Jewish symbolic devices that are constructing the I in opposition to the 'world' and in correspondence with an absent personal home became the means by which the refugee poets endeavored to rekindle the age-old biblical theology of exile and guide their readers from the solitary to the solidary pursuit of their religious hopes.

Appendix

Antonio Enríquez Gómez, 'Decimas al sentimiento de vn herror,' in: Enríquez Gómez, *Academias morales de las musas* (Bordeaux: P. de la Court, 1642), pp. 43–44.

Danteo

Mudanças Siempre temidas,
pero nunca rremediadas,
memorias acreditadas,
esperanças desualidas,
si quereis ser aplaudidas
hazed gala del dolor
mas si lagrimas de honor
son buenas para vn pesar,
bien podeis ojos llorar,
no lo dexeis de temor,
No se yo que pueda ser
segura prosperidad,
engañar con la Verdad,
y sin ella mereçer,
la ygnorançia, el no saber,
es mi thesoro perfecto,
auassallad con efecto,
que en vuestro comun despreçio
quiero mas biuir de neçio,
que no morir de discreto,
Boluer a ser lo que e sido
no es pusible, que vn herror
es abismo del valor
y sepulchro de vn perdido,
auer para el bien oluido,
y no para mi pesar,
es difiçil de lleuar,
aya vn medio en padeçer,
y si esto no puede ser
acabadme de matar,
Tan dexado estoy del ser,
que si sueño lo que fui,
no recuerdo lo que vi
por no morir de saber,
si al sueño quiero boluer,
me diçe el alma; perdido,
ygnora lo que as biuido;
y entre sentir y penar,
quisiera no recordar,
por no morir de sentido;
Si vna esperança fingida,
y vn aparente consuelo,
me otorgara mi desuelo,
aun pudiera tener vida,

mas es tan fuerte mi herida,
que aun sobre falso curada,
no puede ser açertada,
porque tiene si se çierra,
mucho humor, para ser guerra;
poca paz, para ser nada,
Si los hados rrigurosos,
no permiten aliuiarme,
acabad ya de matarme
trabajos escandalosos,
baxen diluuios copiosos
de penas, y pues que fuistes
quien tantos males me distes
rrindase Vuestro desuelo,
pues me sirue de consuelo,
que ay muerte para los tristes.

Anfriso

Memorias del bien perdido
lisonjead el dolor,
que vn destierro cON rrigor,
no mereçe eterno oluido,
en birtud de lo biuido,
nunca acabo de morir,
si me aueys de reçiuir
por vuestro obgeto immortal,
dadme para bien el mal
condenandome a biuir.
Si a la luz de vn desengaño
tantos desengaños leo,
como ygnoro lo que veo,
ydolatrando mi daño,
de la noche del engaño,
al Dia de la cordura
me a sacado mi locura,
y no deuo condenar
yerros que vienen a dar,
en açiertos de Ventura.
No me admiro del estado
que me a dado mi fortuna,
pues no ay priuança sin luna,
ni bien que no aya faltado,
pesame de auer llegado
tarde, a mi çentro dichoso,
no estoy de mi mal quexoso,
de mi sentimiento si
pues no quise para mi,
lo cierto por lo dudoso:
Pero en vano me lamento,
si esta misma yngratitud,
es muro de mi salud,
y espexo del escarmiento:
donde no ay mereçimiento,
no se dilata vna vida;
pero vida tan perdida
nunca lo a podido ser,
que biuir para perder
es afrenta conoçida:
Mas si puede vna pasion
çegar al hombre mas justo,
que acçion puede dar mas gusto
que çegar con la rraçon,
y si vna buena opinion
es gloria del sentimiento,
la que a fuerça de tormento
quiere el alma sustentar,
tiene Ymperio de saluar
yerros del entendimiento.
Bien que la duda mayor,
consiste (si se repara)
en tener hecha la cara
al desayre del herror:
aqui se pierde el Valor,
aqui se acaua la çiençia
aqui çesa la prudençia
aqui se çierra el oydo
que es rruina del entendido
la uista sin residençia

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Antonio Enríquez Gómez*, Ten-Line Stanzas on Regretting an Error*

Danteo. – Oh travels that I always dreaded, | yet never could avoid! | Oh incontrovertible memories, | invalid hopes! | If you want to be praised, | you may boast of your pain. | But if honest tears | are a remedy to sorrow, | 'you, my eyes, may well cry',[48] | don't withhold it out of fear. || Never have I experienced | a secure and prosperous state. | 'Cheating with the truth,'[49] | obtaining without the latter | ignorance, the lack of knowledge, | this is my best possession. | Oh *You*, I let you dominate as you please, | for in your common disdain, | I prefer to live like the fools | than to die like the wise. || To revert to what I have once been | is impossible, because an *error* | engulfs my courage, | damns and buries me. | That I am able to forget my past goods, | but none of the troubles, | is hard to bear. | There may be a way of supporting it, | and if this cannot be, | 'finish me off already!'[50] || I am so abandoned by myself | that when I dream what I was, | I do not remember what I saw, | lest I die of knowledge. | When I want to return to the dream, | my soul tells me: 'It's lost, | forget what you have lived!' | And between regrets and pains, | I do not want to remember, | lest I die of regret. || If a feigned hope | and an apparent consolation | could be the result of my labors, | this would still keep me alive. | But my wound, so deep, | so falsely treated, | does not let this happen; | it won't close, because it has | too many humors to go for war, | and not enough peace to to die away. || If cruel fate | does not give me any relief, | 'finish me off already', | oh scandalous troubles! | Let huge floods of pain pelt | on me! Then *You*, who were the one | who gave me so much hardship, | will stop harassing me, | because I have the consolation | that there is a death for those in despair.

Anfriso. – Recollections of lost happiness | may flatter the pain, | for the rigors of *exile* | do not deserve eternal oblivion. | Because of what I have lived, | my agony never ends. | If *You* will accept me as yours immortally, | give me the bad for good, | and condemn me to life. || If in the light of one disillusion, | I read so many disillusions, | I ignore what I see, | make a idolatrous cult of my loss. | My madness has led me | from the night of illusion | out into the daylight of understanding, | so that I may not condemn | errors that transmute into | 'good hits of fortune'.[51] || I am not scared of the state | that my fortune has given to me, | as there is no favor without a moon[52] | or any good without a flaw. | 'I regret that I have arrived late' | at my blissful center.[53] | I do not complain of my ills, | but of

48 *Bien podéis, ojos, llorar*, Spanish popular song.
49 *Engañar con la verdad*, comedy by Gerónimo de la Fuente.
50 *Ojos, herido me habéis,/ acabad ya de matarme*, beginning of a poem by Luís de Camões.
51 *Yerros de naturaleza y aciertos de fortuna* (1634), play by Pedro Calderón and Antonio Coello de Ocho.
52 *La privanza de Don Álvaro de Luna*, drama by Juan Ruiz de Alarcón.
53 Cf. *o tardum gaudium meum* in Augustin, *Confessions* 2,2; cf. *sero te amavi*, ibid., 10, 27.

my regret, | for I did not want to take | 'the certain instead of the doubtful'.[54] || But I lament in vain, | if this very same ingratitude | is the wall of my *salvation* | and reflects a punishment. | Where there is no merit, | a life is not pursued; | but no life can be entirely lost, | for to live in order to lose | is a well-known offense. || However, if a passion | can blind the most righteous man, | which action can be more pleasant | that to blind with reason? | And if a good opinion | is the glory of consciousness, | *that* opinion which by the force of torture | believes to nourish the soul | has an authority to deliver | 'errors of the understanding'.[55] || For sure, the major doubt | consists, if one looks at it closely, | in having confronted | the offense of error. | Here courage vanishes, | here science ends, | here prudence stops, | here hearing fails, | because what destroys an intelligent man is | *la vista sin residencia*, (a) a regard without rest, (b) a tribunal acting without supervision.[56]

54 *Lo cierto por lo dudoso*, comedy by Lope de Vega.

55 *Yerro del entendimiento*, scholastic term meaning 'heresy'.

56 Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, VI (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1739), p. 503: 'Vista. En lo forense es el reconocimiento primero, que se hace ante el Juez con relacion de los autos, y defensas de las partes para la sentencia. Lat. *Cognitio causae*.'; ibid., V (1737), p. 593: 'Residencia. Se toma asimismo por la cuenta que toma un Juez à otro, o à otra persona de cargo publico, de la administracion de su justicia, de aquel tiempo que estuvo a su cuidado. Por extension se dice de otros cargos que se hacen, o cuenta que se pide. Lat. *Ratio, Inquisitio*'.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Marcell Sebők*

THE GALLEY-SLAVE TRIAL OF 1674: CONVICTION AND EXPULSION OF HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS

On 5 March 1674, all the Protestant preachers, school-directors and tutors (Lutherans and Calvinists a like) from Royal Hungary had been summoned to a so-called *judicium delegatum* – a special tribunal – to Pozsony (present-day Bratislava), as a consequence of the call of the archbishop of Esztergom, György Szelepcsényi. This summons was backed by the Habsburg ruler, Leopold I who issued a royal decree to the whole territory of Hungary and beyond, to major places under Turkish rule, where Protestants operated, who supposedly participated in a conspiracy and uprising. The tribunal was about to detect and convict all the guilty partakers.[1]

There were certain estimations regarding the actual number of Protestants who were summoned to the tribunal: on the one hand, the eyewitness participants calculated a number of around 250 persons;[2] on the other hand, however, any kind of guessing is unnecessary since those who had to show up in Pozsony were 500, as the list of names in the record attests.[3] As for the proportions of

---

* This paper was first read at the *Religious and Ethnic Identities in the Process of Expulsion and Diaspora Formation from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* conference, in June 2013 at CEU Budapest. I am grateful to Katalin Szende and John Tolan for their suggestions in the process of extending and completing the text.

1 The main source for reconstructing the tribunal is the recently published critical edition by Katalin S. Varga who discovered the (most probably only original) copy of the record in the Archive of the Esztergom Archbishopric in 1999, see *Vitetnek ítélőszékre ... Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve* (Taking to the Tribunal. The Records of the Galley-slaves Trial in 1674). Translated, edited, with preface, notes and lists by Katalin S. Varga, Pozsony: Kalligram, 2002. (henceforth S. Varga 2002)

2 'Akik megjelentenek többen voltanak 250-nél, kik közülük reformátusok voltanak 57-en, a többi mind augustanusok.' Those who showed up were more than 250, and out of them were 57 Calvinists, and the rest was Lutheran – stated Bálint Kocsi Csergő, a survivor of the case, whose memorial is considered as the other main source for the reconstruction. His work was completed first in Latin in 1676 as *Narratio brevis de oppressione libertatis ecclesiae Hungariae*, then was translated into Hungarian and published in 1738, Utrecht. *Kősziklán épült ház ostroma* (Siege of the House Built on a Cliff). Later it was republished by the historian Péter Bod with some abridges, and this version was included to the volume prepared for the 300th anniversary of its first release in Latin, see *Galeria omnium Sanctorum. A magyarországi gályarab prédikátorok emlékezete* (The Memory of the Hungarian Galley-Slave Preachers). Ed. and foreword by László Makkai. Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1976. The Hungarian version of Kocsi Csergő's work is on pp. 29–110, henceforth, Kocsi, Narratio.

3 See S. Varga 2002, 219–237. Throughout the text, I use 'record' designating the minutes of the tribunal.

the 500 Protestants: there is a consensus in the literature that the majority of the persons present was Lutheran, almost 80 per cent of them, and the rest was Calvinist. The size and the intensity of the trial are astonishing. Moreover, if we look at the composition, the language and the argumentation of the text, it seems to have been carefully fabricated in order to justify, even present as inevitable, the expulsion of Protestants; this, as we will see, raises further questions.

This article attempts to present the contexts and main motifs of this showcase trial by using both the record (prepared by the Catholic bishopric) and the memorials of the accused eyewitnesses that were published after the whole case. Parallel to this, it aims at tracing the historiographical depictions and reflections after the case. What becomes visible from these documents is an extremely complex web of political and ecclesiastical interests that was embedded in the context of religious agendas, of practicing (or lacking) toleration, and the dynamic of power relations.[4] Questions of free practice of religions within Royal Hungary (which was a dependent entity and a state between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg controlled lands) have very much been connected to loyalty and questions of political freedom. Protestantism – which gained significant adhesion among Hungarians – as a well-separated and institutionalized belonging and practice within the urban society, nobility, education, and even in the Turkish occupied territories could easily been accused of being rebellious for not having partnership and cooperation with Catholic authorities and the representatives of the Habsburg Court.[5]

The tribunal became infamous in Hungarian scholarship and beyond, as it was called the 'galley-slaves lawsuit' against Hungarian Protestants – since the most stubborn preachers had been penalized and sold to galleys as a consequence of the case –, aiming at their full expulsion, not only from their offices, but from the territory of Hungary. One of the underlying concepts of the tribunal was, according to the archbishop, that preachers cannot be condemned publicly because of their religion, but rather on account of their rebellion. Besides this formulation, the preachers' infidelity was considered as treason felony which was a more serious

4 For the antedecents and the complexity of certain aspects see for example Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner, eds *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

5 In the years of 1673 and 74 several cities had been forced to elect Catholic judges or councillors as the royal mandate ruled, but they often refused to do so. Thus they had been punished by taking away their churches, for instance, as it happened to Lőcse, Kassa, Bártfa, Késmárk, Kisszeben and Eperjes or in Sopron. See S. Varga 2002, 20–21. For the earlier years, on the spread of the Reformation and ways of institutionalization see Katalin Péter, 'Hungary' in *The Reformation in National Context*. Eds. Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, Mikulas Teich. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 155–167. As for the political aspects of the regional history of Protestantism see R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas, eds, *Crown, Church and Estates. Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 1991.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

accusation than a high treason (*crimen perduellonis*), and that should be investigated by a court delegated by the king – the *iudicium delegatum*. The composition of the court was decided by the ruler in an ad hoc manner, and he delegated into this entity the Hungarian councilors of the so-called *gubernium* which operated from the suspension of the estates' constitution.[6] A secular court adjudicated which naturally comprised church dignitaries, too, and the procedure itself was an extraordinary court of judicature (*processus extraordinarius*).[7]

Besides this legal context, the preceding events and affairs could shed light on such a carefully-organized attack against the Protestants. There had been plots and conspiracies against the Habsburg rule from the 1660s onwards, led by the prominent representatives of the Hungarian aristocratic families, such as the Wesselényi, Nádasdy and Frangepán families.[8] The armed insurrection (*rebellió* in Hungarian in the documentation) of April 1670 by Péter Zrínyi, Croat bán, and Ferenc Rákóczi I, elected prince of Transylvania, had the similar ending. The organizers of this uprising had been cited to a court which played a double role: it was a court and an investigative authority at the same time. The accused and prosecuted persons had been summoned to the *iudicium delegatum* in a manner that the indictment was not revealed. Moreover, the prosecutor referred to a clause that was included to the peace treaty of Vienna, 1606, which says that the Hungarian estates renounce the right of resistance and remain faithful to their legal ruler.[9] Following the sequence of lawsuits in 1670–1671, the Habsburg court governed the kingdom without the involvement of the Diet, but with imperial

6 King Leopold I settled a regency (*gubernium*) in February 1673 to administer and act with full powers of the affairs of Hungary. This entity, reporting and responsible exclusively to the ruler, consisted of three Hungarian and three German councillors, and its members played a crucial role in the tribunal. The Hungarian delegates, as part of the highest dignitaries of the country, were as follows: György Szelepcsényi, royal governor and archbishop of Esztergom at the same time, Ádám Forgách, seneschalsy, and János Majthényi. See Árpád Károlyi, *A magyar alkotmány felfüggesztése 1673-ban* (The Suspension of the Hungarian Constitution in 1673), Budapest: MTA, 1873.

7 See Katalin Péter, 'A magyarországi protestáns prédikátorok és tanítók ellen indított per 1674-ben' (The Lawsuit Against Hungarian Protestant Preachers and Teachers in 1674), in *A Ráday Gyűjtemény Évkönyvei*. Budapest, 1983, 34–35.

8 The Wesselényi rebellion and its handling by the Habsburg authority led to the execution of its leaders, but also had an inspiration to the later uprisings, see the still useful account of it: Gyula Pauler, *Wesselényi Ferenc nádor és társainak összeesküvése 1664–1671* (The Consipracy of Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi and His Fellows in 1664–1671). 2 vols Budapest: MTA, 1876. The so-called peace treaty of Vasvár on August 10, 1664 that concluded the war against the Turks (1663–1664) also generated dissatisfaction since the victorious Habsburg forces gave up the occupied territories, and instead of rolling back the Ottoman Empire, they engaged in Western diplomatic transactions.

9 In the Central European political culture there was a distinct feature which continued a late medieval tradition by sharing the authority between the monarchy and the estates. The estates had established themselves, competing with the monarchy for control, and by the same token, creating the duality of power. The estates sat as diets, operated as administrative, financial and judicial institutions, and used their votes regarding taxes to enhance their polotical influence. For the most recent overview of the political culture within church history, see Maria Craciun and Elaine Fulton, *Communities of Devotion: Religious*

ordinances. This kind of absolutist governance also resulted in the occupation of the frontier castles and the release of their soldiers, the introduction of new types of taxes and the establishment of the above mentioned *gubernium*. There was another 'test case' before the tribunal of March 1674: on 25 September 1673 all the Lutheran priests (*superintendentes*) and 32 ministers were summoned from Lower-Hungary (the north-western part of the country). The judgment had already been fabricated since all of them were sentenced to torture or death. However, before the final pronouncement of this sentence, it was modified and extended: the judge offered a possibility of having mercy, if the Lutherans would sign a declaration (*reversalis*) on their conversion into Catholic faith. This type of intimidation was quite successful: two pastors converted, fourteen went on voluntary exile, and the rest abandoned their offices.[10]

The operation of courts was regulated by the 41st article of the 1659 Diet, and according to this, the so-called octa-court of judicature and the *iudicium extraordinarium* are the orderly form of operation of the Royal Judicial Board. The accusation against all the preachers and their fellow travelers (such as the chaplains and tutors) was treason felony which was supported by those cases that happened in such 'rebellious' times.[11] These stereotyped charges could easily fit into the passages of the prosecutors, and they could readily transfer the stigma of infidelity (*nota infidelitas*) into a proved legal notion (*delictum*).

Historical studies had already revealed that there were conceptual maneuvers and theoretical works for launching such tribunals. Besides Leopold Kollonich, who became the chair of the Chamber of Pozsony in 1672, certain Hungarian dignitaries should be considered as initiators of tribunals against preachers. The theoretical framework and the point of view of the Viennese Court was presented by György Bársony, honorary bishop of Várad, who published a work titled *The Truth Declared to the Whole World*.[12] His proposition was that the violent conversion of rebellious Protestants can be justified from the historical and legal perspective, and even more, this action pleases God. This pamphlet propagated the politics of violence by affirming the invalidity of the laws of 1606 and 1647 – which guaranteed the free exercise of religions –, that were achieved by the Hungarian Protestants and Transylvania. Bársony argued that these laws

Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800. Surrey-Burlington: Ashgate, 2011, Introduction, 1–28.

10 Cited by S. Varga 2002, 19. There was another trial on May 13, 1673 in Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava), presided by György Szelepcsényi, against the so-called 'acatholics.'

11 Within this legal frame there were almost 250 trials between January 1670 and the summer of 1674, see Péter 1983, 31–39.

12 *Veritas toti mundo declarata*, Cassovia, 1671.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

had never been accepted by either the Catholic clergy or the Protestant church which always deviated from these points.[13]

Before the *iudicium delegatum* in Pozsony started its operation in March 1674, there were a series of hearings and testimonies in seven counties of Hungary, a task delegated the local chapters.[14] If we look at the process itself before the actual procedural acts of the lawsuit, we find particular features: the testimony had been organized outside of the court in this trial, and the preparation of the record was continuous. The procedure – the preceding discussions between the prosecutor and the preachers – had been written down and all the documents were extracted in order to help the decision-making of the tribunal. The task of the plaintiff (the royal prosecutor) was to justify the accusation, and he could freely interpret all the charges against the accused. Moreover, he could even deviate from them and propose other, new ones. As opposed to this, the defendant's witnesses were not questioned at all, their statements were transmitted to the court, though, it was not obliged to consider them (and rarely did so).[15]

The procedure of the tribunal of Pozsony, presided by György Szelepcsényi, started in early March and lasted almost two months, until the end of April. At the beginning, a reference had been made between the continuity of the 'unfinished trial against the accomplice rebel preachers,' held on September 1673, and the present one. Then the circle of accused persons was exposed by mentioning those who were obliged to be present, and also, and with more emphasis, those people who remained absent. Szelepcsényi stressed here, at the beginning, and throughout the procedure that the court's judgment involved both the persons present and those absent.

Then the indictment was pronounced which could be summarized and enlisted in six main points:

1. the accused had extended their offices beyond the approved limits (they deviated from the main lines of their profession, they did not acknowledge and respect the laws and the authority of their superiors);
2. the accused, above all, made profanities (*blasphemia*) against Catholics, therefore, against their King, the Catholic order, the saints, and mostly, against the Holy Virgin Mary (they singled out preacher Pál Régius of Kisszeben, who was guilty of all of these accusations);

13 Counter-texts were also published by Mihály Szatmárnémeti, who changed the word *veritas* in the title into *falsitas*, or by György Komáromi Csipkés and János Pósaházi.

14 Vas, Szepes, Győr, Esztergom, Pozsony, Hont and Nógrád counties were involved.

15 The record of the tribunal, therefore, is an extensive extract including the shortened versions of all possible memorials, and based on this edited extract the tribunal could make its final decision.

3. the accused rebelled against the Catholic state, against the public peace, and against the Roman Catholic faith, and launched an uprising against the state and His Excellency the King;
4. the accused organized assemblies, corresponded with rebels, and agitated; behind all these efforts stands their 'Turkishness' and their desire to see the country's demise;
5. the accused resisted the summonses and the deliverers were put into Turkish jails;
6. the accused desecrated and robbed Catholic churches, and they distributed disparaging books from their own pulpits, printed squibs (*pasquillus*), and falsely informed foreign rulers.[16]

Besides the exceptional mentioning of Régius, all the accusations are general, and, without personal proofs, valid for all the accused persons. The strategy of the lawsuit was to spread out these various forms of guilt to all the cited Protestants. The logic of the defendant's argumentation is just the opposite: they emphasized that the accusations should be proved person by person and not in a general manner, and the events and places should be referred to *in concreto*. The accused were ready to prove their innocence individually by means of a personal oath. However, as the record shows, there was no room for a real dialogue – partly and primarily because of the constructedness of the lawsuit –, and partly as a consequence of the mode of presenting the arguments: both judges and the representatives of the defense were delegated persons who aimed at showing either a type of evidence (the fabricated indictments), or the impossibility and lack of realistic proofs. Therefore, their individual markers and characteristics remained blurred in this dichotomy, since they acted as representatives of the rule and authority versus a community of accused people.

After reading these accusations aloud, the royal prosecutor proposed a complex death sentence as punishment: because of the profanities their hands should be cut off, on account of violating and outraging saints and their images they should be burned alive, and for the treason felony they should have a capital punishment and loose all their property. The tribunal, however, had left a loophole for the release of the accused Protestant: it was a declaration that should be signed after a deliberation of three possible options. These were as follows:

1. The Protestant preachers, school-directors, ministers, clerks, tutors, students and even sextons would voluntarily surrender of all their ecclesiastical and school positions, and would never again teach either at churches or schools,

16 S. Varga 2002, 47–53.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

and would never exercise their professions either in public or in secret. They would live their lives in peace as faithful subordinates to their Royal Majesty.
2. They would beexiled from the Kingdom of Hungary, validated by a declaration which expresses that they had chosen exile voluntarily without any pressure. This option should be completed within 15 days, and they bound themselves not to find asylum either in the Empire, the hereditary lands, or withthe enemies of the King.
3. They would convert to the Catholic faith.

The representative of the accused Protestants was István Séllyei of Pápa, Transdanubian priest who denied their participation in any of the uprisings (or in the preparations of any rebellion).[17] In his plea he argued for their innocence and emphasized that the rebellion was rather a coalition of Roman Catholic prelates and noblemen than that of a Protestant one. Séllyei rejected the accusations, and asked the judges to prove the case by testimonies of witnesses. The tribunal allowed *ex officio* pleaders to the courtroom for the defense of the accused, who refuted all points of the prosecution. They considered the accusations as too general, and proposed to present proofs person by person. Moreover, they also claimed that they had authentic witnesses to be asked in the courtroom. In this way the prosecutors were driven into corners, but they repeatedly responded that the tribunal was not against individuals, but rather the rebellious community of Protestant clergy, thus, it is not necessary to have an investigation focusing on persons.

Within the points of indictment and in the memorial one could find the recurring accusation of having been on good terms with the Turks, and the 'Turkishness' of the preachers. The Turks, in the occupied territories of the kingdom, opposed, in fact, the appearance of Protestants in Pozsony, as the Vizier of Buda, Bey Ali communicated in his letters: 'not even a preacher or tutor would risk going to Pozsony, otherwise I will impale all the judges themselves!' And he offered asylum for the preachers within his estate of Óbuda. The record of the tribunal reveals other cases too, where the Turks played the opposed Protestants. Inhabitants of certain Hungarian counties captured those who delivered the summons on Protestant officers, and presented them, for instance in Hont County, to the Bey of Nógrád, who penalized and tortured them by fifty lashes.[18] The Bey was curious about the summons of Lutheran and Calvinist preachers, and used

17 See S. Varga 2002, 54–55, and Kocsi, Narratio, 38–39.

18 S. Varga 2002, 50–51. The message of the bey was inserted into the record, S. Varga 2002, 172–173. Those who 'escaped' of the summon were not searching asylum from the Turks, since they had already been inhabitants in the territory of the Turkish occupied area – therefore their call to Pozsony was illegitimate.

the emissaries to send his own message to the court: he swore on his faith that if only one single Lutheran or Calvinist preacher would be hurt, he would flay and roast alive four times more Catholic preachers in exchange.[19]

The language of exaggeration had been used frequently in the text in order to depict the Protestants and Turks as collaborators. The preachers 'had continuous recourse to the Turks "had sent delegates to the Turks' as well as to the rebels and Transylvanians.[20] This type of behavior and action is equal to blasphemy or capital treason, according to the record. Besides these formulations, there is another, more accusatory layer in the composition in which Protestants not only sought support from the Turks, but wanted to persuade them to conquer Hungary. These betrayers promised taxes to the Turks, and even more, offered their conversion to the Muslim faith.[21] This kind of assembly of sins and traitorous actions, often emphasizing violent behavior too, and its repetition throughout the record played a crucial role in proving their infidelity and rebellious character – similar (to a certain extent) to the operations of previous and contemporary inquisitions.[22]

Having seen some exemplary details, one can evaluate this tribunal as an unbalanced process between unequal participants. In a more straightforward manner, it obviously is trumped-up show trial with a scripted dramaturgy, based on carefully fabricated accusations. The principal charges had been repeated during the two months of the trial, but they all remained unproven according to the defendants. What followed in the internal chronology of the tribunal was even more a culmination of an absurd play. Every day during the trial the defendants could return to their places of residence, and they were not guarded and not even policed. They could freely walk along the streets of Pozsony, and were not controlled at the city-gates. Thus they could have walked away, as one of the pleaders suggested, but everybody stayed in place. Also, they had to face with several temptations in forms of persuading and threatening Jesuits or Catholic aristocrats. But the Protestant community resisted: They believed in their innocence, therefore they did not want to escape nor did they intend to sign any declarations.

The *extractus* of the record was completed on April 30, and the sentence was pronounced consequently: it was decapitation and confiscation of all the properties. A possible royal pardon was offered exclusively for those who would sign a

19 There is no evidence of any Turkish threat during the tribunal, and it was out of the Turkish interest to engage in a conflict with the Habsburgs that time.

20 S. Varga 2002, 174–175, 192–193.

21 S. Varga 2002, 50–51.

22 The Protestants were called 'infidels' or 'rebels' or 'conspirators' or 'shameful betrayers,' but the word 'heretic' was not used. As the history of inquisitions suggests, there could be possible similarities and parallels between this case and that of other European trials. See Edward Peters, *Inquisition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

declaration.[23] None of the convicted persons applied for such a signature, though some of them were encouraged to 'subscribe' the declaration.[24] István Séllyei reflected on it in a calm manner: 'We were and are innocent any decision you made, thus if we were to die we would suffer it for our justice.'

Then came a period of strange intermission: after the verdict was pronounced, nobody was arrested nor put into chains in the jail. The convicted Protestants consequently could walk freely in the streets. Their judges thought for a while that the decapitation would be dreadful for them so they would plead for mercy. At the same time, the prosecutors and Catholic officers still 'visited' them at their accommodations, mostly in the evening hours, and attempted to persuade them to sign a declaration, as it was prescribed in three points. As they could not reach this goal, the situation dramatically changed: all of the convicted Protestants were imprisoned and were tortured. Now they were in chains, in prisons full of insects, rats and snakes, and were forced to do the most debasing tasks. Neither their patrons nor their family members were allowed to see them, and between the regular tortures, they were threatened to be sold as galley-slaves. After weeks of suffering, they composed a petition to Leopold I, and explained the whole story of accusations, emphasizing their innocence again. The submitted application was signed by 71 Protestants; it received no reply.

Then Cardinal Leopold Kollonich called them all again, and enjoined Protestants to sign the declaration.[25] None of them did, so he immediately had a number of them beaten bloody and imprisoned, Istvén Séllyei and István Bátorkeszi, among others. This method of persuasion under repression was finally successful: by the end of May 1674, 236 Protestants resigned their offices or went to a 'voluntary' exile, and some of them converted. The remaining people were imprisoned in six different castles of the country.

Reports on these tortures and the massive imprisonment spread all over Europe, and several European states urged a solution through diplomatic channels. The Dutch envoy, Bruyninx and the Swedish envoy, Oxenstierna – both based in Vienna – petitioned Leopold to restore the free practice of religions in Hungary; these propositions and others remained unsuccessful. The following year, in the spring of 1675, most of the imprisoned preachers were sent to Naples, Italy, on foot to serve as galley-slaves. It was a long trek of suffering and deprivation: when they reached Trieste (April 6), the number of survivors was just 41, when they arrived to Naples (May 7), they were 32.[26] In Naples they were sold

23 Kocsi, Narratio, 47.
24 Kocsi, Narratio, 50–51.
25 Kocsi, Narratio, 53.
26 The suffering of the imprisoned Protestants are described by Kocsi Csergő in great detail in his Narratio, pp. 59–95. The numbers here, the 41 survivors for instance, are based on Kocsi Csergő's *Narratio*,

as galley-slaves, and started immediately their servant life on warships. During the following months they had an almost unbearable way of living, with regular bodily punishments and pressure. Only 30 persons stayed alive.[27] But after all these sufferings, thanks to the diplomatic efforts and pressures of mostly Dutch, English and Swiss representatives of their states, Leopold I was forced to exempt them from the death penalty. On 11 February 1676, the Dutch Admiral de Ruyter (who fought against the French together with Spanish allies that time) liberated all of them, and secured place on Dutch ships for a month.

As the royal ruling by Leopold stated 'they can settle down abroad, but not in Hungary and in the hereditary lands,' the remaining group of Protestants had to seek for a safe place to resume their lives. After some pondering and deliberations, they decided to go to Venice which they thought secure. But this did not last too long, and they had to move on. For the successful action of their liberation several Swiss cantons, and especially Zurich played a leading role: Zurich coordinated the money-collecting efforts, and then took care of the former galley-slaves as hosting them all in the city. Most of the refugees could stay and live in Zurich for almost one and a half year, and Bálint Kocsi Csergő composed here his memorial with the help of his survived fellow, Móric István Harsányi. The so-called *alba amicorum* of some Swiss scholars – such as Johann Heinrich Fries, professor of theology, the main promoter of Hungarians – and István Séllyei's also attest their extended stay in Zurich.[28] Some of them travelled for a while to the Netherlands and Protestant German principalities. Since almost all the Hungarian refugees had a previous university education abroad, it was not necessary to enter to any of the Swiss universities. There was one exception: Bálint Kocsi Csergő who enrolled to the Universities of Zurich and Basel for a short period of time and visited the College of Geneva as well.[29]

Their final return to Hungary necessitated a permission which they received in 1677, and some years later, the Diet of 1681 in Sopron issued the full amnesty of all the formerly convicted Protestants. It should also be added that all the 30 Protestants could return to their original place of occupation. Séllyei and Kocsi Csergő, for instance, could continue their teaching activities at the Reformed College of Pápa. None of were challenged again by falsified accusations – mostly because of the changed ecclesiastical politics of the Habsburg court.

---

who enlisted all of them by the name: there were 22 Calvinists, and 19 Lutherans among them.

27 Kocsi, Narratio, 95–99.

28 Ádám Hegyi, 'A gályarab lelkészek bejegyzései Johann Heinrich Fries (1639–1718) albumában: magyarországi diákok Bázelben és Zürichben 1677 és 1720 között,' (Entries of Galley-Slaves Preachers in the Album of J. H. Fries: Hungarian Students in Basel and Zurich Between 1677 and 1720), *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 11 (2010): 9–27.

29 In Zurich he stayed between May 1676 and Spetember 1677, in Basel he matriculated on October 24, 1677.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

This aspect, nevertheless, is one of the most stunning components of the whole story: the primary sources I used for this brief reconstruction – the *Narratio* by Kocsi Csergő and the records of the tribunal are not overshadowed by words of complaint by the accused Protestants during these processes. There were, naturally, expressions of not comprehending the accusations, the operations of the tribunal, and their surprise at such injustice. Their sufferings during their march to Naples and on the galleys are depicted in detail with vivid images, and there are extended descriptions about their wounds and misery, the violence of their captors, or the unbearable conditions in their cells. It seems that Kocsi Csergő's account is rather concentrated on the narration and visualization of what happened to them, including references to their ill-fortunes or calamities. All along the tribunal in Pozsony they – which means mostly their spokespersons, such as Séllyei – defended their position with eloquence and a certain degree of rationality. They stood up for their right of free expression of religious views and repeatedly rejected the imposed falsification of facts and the accusations. We might also say that it was a heroic struggle against an already arranged decision, if we would choose a dramatic narrative for recapitulating the story. They suffered of the dramatic or tragic events in terms of deprivation and torture, but all these cruelties had been communicated in a descriptive tone and in a factual enumeration, echoing the voices of puritanism.

The dramatic tone is, however, present in the storytelling of the contemporary and consequent secondary literature of the case. The account of Kocsi Csergő served as a sample to be copied by contemporaries, and gave rise to short accounts such a Dutch, a German and an English pamphlet that communicated the 'most grievous sufferings' of the Protestant ministers to Europe.[30] Another survivor, Ferenc Otrokócsi Fóris, had also published his memorial, titled *Furor bestiae contra testes Jesu Christi in Hungaria* which helped the Amsterdam based physician, Abraham van Poot to publish his version on the persecutions in Hungary (*Hungarise Vervolginge*, in 1684). There was another group of memorials composed by three different Lutheran ministers who had also been sentenced to the galleys, but could escape on their way to the sea, and found refuge in Germany.[31]

---

30 The Dutch pamphlet is titled *Korte en waaragtig verhaal van de laetste vervolginge der evangelische leeraaren in Hungarien.* Amsterdam, 1676 and 1677. The German one is *Kurtzer und warhafftiger Bericht von der letzten Verfolgung der evangelischen Prediger in Ungaren*, 1676 and 1683 (without placename). The English publication is *A Short Memorial of the Most Grievous Sufferings of the Ministers of the Protestant Churches in Hungary. By the Instigation of the Popish Clergy There.* London, 1676. The first two pamphlets contain copper engravings, the English do not so.

31 They were György Lani, published his works as *Funda Davidis* in 1676, and *Papistische Gefaengniss* in the same year; Tobias Mascinius published an account about his sufferings and adventurous release as *Unerhörter Gefaengniss-Process* in 1676; János Simonides published his memorial as *Galeria omnium sanctorum* in 1675. which is available in Hungarian, see footnote 4. above, pp. 143–165.

The summary of one of the writers, that of János Simonides, could be regarded as the most unbiased descriptions of the tribunal, the captivity, the life of the galley-slaves and their liberation. It could have been an ideal sample for imitation or copy, but later histories rather choose a different narrative.

The studies and accounts originating from the eighteenth century onwards had partly chosen the task of source publication, and partly dealt with the interpretation of the tribunal and the story of galley-slaves. Both the Catholic and Protestant search for primary sources concluded with the release of original and transcribed documents, though the only authentic version of tribunal's record was found in 1999.[32] This fact is closely connected to the historical interpretations since the lack of the most important main source could determine the tone, the emphases and the evaluations. While there were only copies and excerpts on the trial available, this state of affairs could give room for more speculations and less reliable church histories.

Therefore, historical interpretations could offer two types of descriptions, using two major approaches: the one concentrated on the absolutist state of Leopold and the assistance of the early modern Catholic clergy. This approach positioned the trials within a political-ecclesiastical context in which the consequent conflicts between the ruler and the Protestant estates are genuinely of political nature, so as any questions of religion. The other approach focused on the aftermaths of the galley-slave tribunal, the misery and the faith of the preachers. Also, it considered the trial as a proof for recatholicizing endeavors and the expulsion of Protestants. Both approaches resulted, most of the cases, unbalanced accounts in order to justify the long process of Habsburg and Catholic repression.

The narrative, fabricated for such historical interpretations, had either a romantic or a martyrology-type of emphasis. Or there was an argument based on the dichotomy of good and evil, the struggle of the arbitrary ecclesiastical and political rule versus the poor Protestant churches. It is also a telling example that the period between 1671 and 1681 is called the 'decade of mourning' in Protestant historiography. This is partly because of the failure of the Wesselényi conspiracy against the Habsburgs that was heavily avenged by the court with a series of executions in 1671, and partly because of the show-case trials as the 1673–1674. The phrasing of 'decade of mourning', however, in my opinion, clearly refers to the long-lasting tradition of a historical discourse which exaggerates the ill-fate of Hungarians, the punishment of God, the defenselessness of a nation.[33] The

32 An historiographical overview is provided by Katalin S. Varga in her *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve. Textus és értelmezése* (The Record of the Galley-Slaves Tribunal in 1674. Text and Its Interpretation). Budaörs-Budapest, 2004, 12–16. (PhD Dissertation)

33 It is well-known that there was a so-called *exulens* literature in the second part of the 17th century which heavily used the topoi of displacement and expulsion. The historical discourse had also referred

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

discourse of the Counter-Reformation terror in the historiography had been dominated by a mixture of similar formulations, and a heroicized narrative was also imposed to the cruel Habsburgs and the heroic Hungarians (the so-called *labanc-kuruc* dichotomy). It should also be admitted that for various reasons, and also for the sake of actual ecclesiastical and church political maneuvering, it is hard to detach yourself from the acts of the often heroic Protestants and the straightforward representatives of power. It seems that the majority of historians had rather chosen the dramatic plot and a subjective 'testimony' than a more solid method of historical reconstruction.[34]

***

In the *matriculae* of the Zurich and Basel universities, or in the *alba amicorum* of Swiss and Dutch scholars from the 1670s onwards, there is a constant appearance of an abbreviation: *exul.* meaning *exulens*, that is a man in exile. This shortened version is used – instead of the more conventional designation of *Hungarus* – for those former galley-slaves who visited these places and scholars, and wanted not to reveal their belonging. My impression is that it has a lot to do with the trauma of expulsion and the identity of the refugees.

The present attempt for reconstructing parts of a famous tribunal encountered with some emerging and disappearing individuals; institutions and contexts that had been mixed with the burdens of historiographical conventions. It seems inevitable that victims of the trial sacrificed a good part of their life, but none of a present-day study could remain within the frames of victimology or martyrology. The trauma of removal, persecution and expulsion can be seen from their actions, and also that of the inflexibility of the representatives of power. It was not just a decade of mourning, but a decade which lacked discussions and negotiations on coexistence and tolerance.

---

and developed further its language and argumentation, and that is why such a formulation – decade of mourning – could find its existence in both the litarature of complaint and historical studies.

34 The Preface by László Makkai to the *Galeria omnium Sanctorum* is an interesting example for mixing an official standpoint (that was a Marxist explanation about the clashes of classes) with commonplaces borrowed from church history, and moreover, to offer a detailed historiographical overview with reflections on the distorting ecclesiastical aspects of history-writing.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Josep Xavier Muntané i Santiveri

OÙ CESSENT LES MOTS : JUIFS DE CATALOGNE ? UNE RÉVISION DU TERME « SEFARDI » APPLIQUÉ AUX JUIFS DE CATALOGNE

Depuis quelques décennies sont apparus des observations et commentaires érudits dispersés dans les études historiographiques et philologiques sur le judaïsme médiéval de la péninsule ibérique, rédigés partout, qui coïncident sur la proposition d'une compréhension plus nuancée de cette réalité. Ces approches scientifiques constatent une réalité plus riche et diversifiée pour ce judaïsme et ils ébranlent les fondements de l'image homogène qu'on avait[1]. L'abus qu'on a fait de la dénomination traditionnelle « Sepharad » / « sefardi » a consacré précisément cette prétendue uniformité du judaïsme péninsulaire[2].

La découverte ici et là d'un passé différent a encouragé plusieurs chercheurs à recueillir, d'abord, les conclusions que nous avons mentionnées, et puis, en agissant évidemment à contre-courant, à les étendre avec de nouvelles données qui ne sont pas un résultat indirecte d'autres projets de recherche, mais qui constituent en elles-mêmes un objet valide de recherche[3]. Cette approche contemporaine à la réalité juive a provoqué la suspicion et l'opposition, tant elle remet en cause les

1 J. Riera ; E. Feliu, *Disputa de Barcelona de 1263 entre mestre Mossé de Girona i fra Pau Cristià*, Barcelone : Columna, 1985, pp. x–xii ; J. Riera, « Esculls en la història dels jueus », *Afers : fulls de recerca i pensament*, 53/54 (2006), 137–160 ; D. Catalán, « Removiendo los cimientos de la Historia de España en su perspectiva medieval », *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, vol. extraordinaire (2004), 81–82 ; B. D. Cooperman, « Ethnicity and Institution Building among Jews in Early Modern Rome », *AJS Review*, 30 (2006), pp. 124–125 note 22 ; R. Chazan, *Reassessing Jewish Life in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge : University Press, 2010, pp. 14–15. Y. H. Yerushalmi, « Exile and Expulsion in Jewish History », en B. R. Gampel (ed.), *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World : 1391–1648*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 13 ; Y. T. Assis, « Sepharad : A Definition in the Context of a Cultural Encounter », A. Doron (ed.), *Encuentros and Desencuentros : Spanish Jewish Cultural Interaction Throughout History*, Tel Aviv : University Publishing Projects, 2000, p. 31, 35 ; S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne et l'invention de Sepharad », in *Actes del I Congrés per a l'Estudi dels Jueus en Territori de Llengua Catalana. Barcelona-Girona, del 15 al 17 d'octubre de 2001*, Barcelone : Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2004, p. 187.

2 J. Álvarez, « The Formation of Spanish Identity and Its Adaptation to the Age of Nations », *History and Memory*, 14 (2002), 13–36 ; E. Feliu, « Quatre notes esparses sobre el judaisme medieval », *Tamid*, 2 (1998–1999), p. 83.

3 E. Feliu, « Quatre notes », pp. 81–87 ; E. Feliu, « La trama i l'ordit de la història dels jueus a la Catalunya medieval », in *Actes del I Congrés per a l'Estudi dels Jueus en Territori de Llengua Catalana. Barcelona-Girona, del 15 al 17 d'octubre de 2001*, Barcelone : Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2004, pp. 14–22 ; E. Feliu, « Algunes puntualitzacions sobre diversos aspectes de la història dels jueus a

hypothèses retenues par la majorité. Néanmoins, grâce aux réactions auxquelles elle doit faire face, cette vue alternative progresse dans la synthèse et avance dans un sujet qui ouvre de nouvelles voies de recherche[4].

Pour ceux qui ne connaissent pas le contexte dans lequel cette proposition est faite, et c'est l'une des coordonnées dont nous n'avons parlé ci-dessus, il faut dire que la normalisation progressive, non encore achevée, du fait national catalan dans une grande partie du domaine culturel et scientifique de Catalogne, qui a eu lieu depuis le rétablissement de la liberté et de la démocratie dans l'État espagnol (1978), a conduit à remettre en question ouvertement et sans préjudices quelques idées et concepts pour évaluer leur adéquation ou non aux données historiques telles qu'elles nous sont parvenues et aujourd'hui nous les pouvons interpréter, et demander leur remplacement en cas d'inexactitude.

Contrairement à d'autres communautés scientifiques, en Catalogne, il n'y a pas beaucoup d'historiens qui revendiquent, en l'étudiant et l'aidant à se répandre, le passé des juifs catalans. C'est précisément pour cela que nous trouvons pertinent et nécessaire aujourd'hui de nous poser la question qui donne le titre de notre exposée : que veut dire « juifs de Catalogne » ? Entre autres raisons, parce que la plupart des voix qui ont été entendues jusqu'à présent ont fini d'ajouter sur une part des expulsés de 1492 un double exil, plus pervers si c'est possible, celui de la négation de leur identité.

1. Identités culturelles diverses pour les juifs de la péninsule ibérique

Est-ce qu'on peut proposer une identité propre pour les juifs dans la Catalogne médiévale ? Qu'est-ce qu'ils avaient de spécial par rapport aux autres juifs des royaumes voisins ? L'interprétation traditionnelle défend seulement l'identité séfarade / espagnole, en proposant des caractéristiques communes aux juifs de communautés séparées par des frontières politiques, religieuses, culturelles et linguistiques. C'est un type d'identité, la séfarade, basée principalement sur une interprétation et une pratique religieuses qui s'appliquent de façon presque égale à un nombre de communautés très élevé, et qui c'est définitivement réglée dans les grandes compilations halakhiques du XVI^e^ siècle[5]. Vu de loin et si on le compare avec d'autres réalisations du judaïsme médiéval, c'est vrai qu'on peut peindre des

---

la Catalunya medieval », *Catalan Historical Review*, 2 (2009), pp. 177–178 (version anglaise au même volume, pp. 51–52).

4 C. del Valle, « ¿Fue Cataluña Sepharad ? », *Iberia Judaica*, 3 (2011), p. 211.

5 Notamment dans le *Bet Iosef* et le *Shulhan Arukh* de Iosef Caro (1488–1575), J. Riera, « La conflictivitat de l'alimentació dels jueus medievals (segles XII-XV) », en *Alimentació i societat a la Catalunya medieval*, Barcelone : CSIC, 1988, pp. 296–297. Notre analyse part du point de vue du côté juif, c'est ainsi que l'accent est mis sur l'aspect religieux. Par contre, si le départ s'est fait du côté espagnol, on parlerait surtout de la langue : le *judezmo* ou espagnol. En fait ce fut cet aspect, c'est-à-dire que les sefardis ont conservé

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

espaces entières de la carte avec un même couleur[6]. Vu de près, peut-on maintenir ce chromatisme ? En d'autres termes, est-ce que la religion pouvait être influencée par la diversité culturelle des territoires où ces communautés étaient enracinées ?

À qui croit qu'être juif est le seul élément qui vraiment définit et identifie la réalisation historique de ce collectif de personnes, la réponse à la question est clairement négative : le juif médiéval qui par hasard de la diaspora était né ou était allé résider en Castille, Aragon ou Catalogne… ne se sentait pas spécialement touché par cela, parce que sa foi le liait à une communauté non territoriale qui le dissociait de cet espace particulier[7].

La vision traditionnelle aime combiner le double stéréotype du juif apatride et l'amour de Sion[8]. De la double combinaison des deux vivrait l'image du juif médiévale : l'espoir messianique de la restauration future de Sion, traitée abondamment dans la littérature médiévale et rappelée durant le cycle liturgique annuel, constituerait la force vitale qui lui permettrait de transcender, même de se passer de tout autre

---

la langue de leurs ancêtres, ce qui vraiment étonna les voyageurs espagnols du XIX[e] siècle qui « découvrirent » l'existence de ces juifs.

6 La division traditionnelle sefardi/ashkenazi combine l'identité religieuse des communautés juives médiévales, de nature unique, et leur diversité culturelle. Personnellement, je pense que la diversité culturelle était beaucoup plus diversifiée que celle transmise par cette image de type dual. Je pense aussi que même la double identité religieuse n'était pas si simple.

7 Il est vrai cependant que les juifs médiévaux s'identifient tout d'abord comme membres de la diaspora, grâce à laquelle ils perpétuent les liens avec l'ancienne réalité nationale d'Israël, A. D. Smith, « National Identities : Modern and Medieval ? », in S. Forde ; L. Johnson ; A. V. Murray (ed.), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds : University of Leeds, 1995, pp. 30–31 ; Y. H. Yerushalmi, « Exile », p. 11 ; E. Feliu, « Sobre la lletra que Hasday Cresques adreçà a la comunitat jueva d'Avinyó parlant dels avalots de 1391 », *Tamid*, 5 (2004–2005), p. 174 note 6.

8 S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century. A Study of Their Relations during the Years 1198–1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period*, New York : Hermon Press, 1966, doc. 24 (Innocent III, 1208) ; R. Chazan, *Reassessing*, p. 86. Dans quelle mesure, cependant, la mémoire de Sion annula le désir inné en chaque homme de participer dans les structures politiques et sociales des lieux de résidence ? Lorsque la situation le permet, les juifs de l'Europe médiévale vivent et interagissent avec le reste de la population, en font partie, B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096*, Paris ; La Haye : Mouton & Co, 1960, pp. 373–391. Même pendant les siècles les plus difficiles du bas Moyen Age, on trouve des membres des communautés juives qui participent à la gouvernance et aux structures administratives du royaume, embauchés en tant que médecins municipaux, participant à la fiscalité municipale, ayant des relations sexuelles avec des chrétiens… (D. Romano, *Judíos al servicio de Pedro el Grande de Aragón (1276–1285)*, Barcelone : Universitat de Barcelona, 1983 ; A. Toaff, *Love, Work, and Death. Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria*, Oxford ; Portland, Oregon : The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010, pp. 5–13 ; J. X. Muntané, « Metges jueus contractats pel govern municipal de Tàrrega durant els segles XIV i XV », *Urtx*, 26 (2012), 136–147.) Personnellement, je trouve qu'il est difficile d'imaginer que les juifs eussent pu vivre pendant des générations dans un territoire spécifique, totalement indifférents aux divers facteurs qui le constituaient. Comme si la ville, les connaissances, les coutumes, la langue, le paysage et le climat… ne les eussent affectés du tout, J. X. Muntané, « El patrimoni dels conversos als llibres de fiscalitat municipal de Cervera i Tàrrega durant el primer terç del segle XVI », *Miscel·lània Cerverina*, 19 (2009), pp. 231–232.

accomplissement patriotique qui ne se trouverait pas à ce niveau. À quoi bon un juif catalan ou aragonais ou castillan, si Sion est à l'autre côté de la Méditerranée ?

Paradoxalement cette vision simpliste est accompagnée, dans le cas des juifs de la péninsule ibérique, d'un autre élément à l'acceptation duquel a contribué une certaine tradition historique, en montrant comme normale ce qui n'est rien sinon qu'une *contradictio in terminis* : la question de l'identité espagnole des juifs expulsés en 1492. De *tous* les juifs expulsés, en plus. Une identité qui se manifeste dans une nostalgie incorruptible pour le pays perdu, alimentée par le zèle avec lequel on aurait maintenu la langue, les coutumes, la liturgie, le folklore… Mais, est-ce qu'elle a pu coexister avec l'amour de Sion ?[9]

Ainsi, malgré toutes les réserves qu'on se pose quand il s'agit d'envisager un enracinement historique de ce peuple en dehors de l'imaginaire géographique, politique et théologique qui représente Sion, on parle tranquillement de juifs sefardis / espagnols. Et on est en mesure d'énumérer et expliquer non seulement les caractéristiques qui les identifient en tant que juifs, mais aussi de les affecter à un lieu et une histoire qui n'a rien à voir avec Sion : Sepharad / Espagne.

Relativisée donc, la nature apatride qu'on attribua au juif médiéval, maintenant il faut s'interroger sur la pertinence de la désignation sefardi / espagnol pour les expulsés de 1492, notamment quand lorsque le lieu d'origine et la tradition de certains d'entre eux nous savons que ce terme est trompeur[10].

1.1. Témoins de cette diversité après 1492 : les juifs catalans exilés

Contraints par l'édit d'expulsion selon lequel ou ils se faisaient chrétiens ou ils devaient s'en aller, les juifs de Catalogne qui en 1492 n'apostasièrent pas, revendirent à bas prix leurs possessions[11] et partirent vers un autre pays. Il existe divers études sur les groupes d'exilés de Catalogne qui s'installèrent à Alger, à Rome et dans des villes de l'empire ottoman comme Thessalonique, Edirne, Istanbul et Safed. De chacun

9 Y. Kaplan, « El vínculo prohibido : las relaciones de la "nación sefardí" occidental con Iberia en el siglo XVII », A. Doron (ed.), *Encuentros and Desencuentros : Spanish Jewish Cultural Interaction Throughout History*, Tel Aviv : University Publishing Projects, 2000, pp. 39–41.

10 E. Feliu, « La trama i l'ordit », p. 21. Bien que présente dans les documents relatifs aux exilés, il faut noter que la place qu'occupe « sefardita »/« hispanus » par rapport aux autres noms de nation d'origine ibérique est secondaire, même pour les juifs expulsés de Castille. En effet, dans les documents relatifs aux expulsés de ce royaume qui allèrent au Portugal, le nom de nation avec lequel on les désigne est *judeus castelhanos*, F. Soyer, « Le royaume du Portugal et l'expulsion des juifs d'Espagne en 1492 », en M. F. Lopes ; J. Hinojosa, *Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica (Período Medieval e Moderno)*, Lisboa : Ed. Colibri ; Universidad de Alicante, 2008, pp. 335–338 ; de même, pour les juifs castillans émigrés au Maroc, A. I. Laredo, « Las taqanot de los expulsados de Castilla en Marruecos y su régimen matrimonial y sucesoral », *Sepharad*, 8 (1948), p. 252.

11 J. X. Muntané, « *Les cases que solien ésser dels juheus*. Una aproximació al call de Tàrrega a través dels llibres d'estimes », *Urtx*, 19 (2006), pp. 122–123.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

de ces sites nous avons des documents qui prouvent l'existence d'une identité catalane et le désir de le maintenir et préserver en face des identités des autres exilés.

Dans le cas d'Alger, F. Touati-Wachsstock[12] recueille, entre autres témoins, un *responsum* d'Abraham ibn Taboua (XVI^e^ siècle, Alger) gardé dans le corps de *responsa* de son ancêtre, le rabbi majorquin Simeon ben Zemah Duran (1361–1444), qui émigra à Alger à la suite des émeutes de 1391. Ibn Taboua répond à la question que les savants de Fès lui avaient posé concernant la validité légale d'une coutume des juifs exilés de Catalogne qui était contraire à la halakha et à la doctrine juridique de Maïmonide, Alfassi, Asher de Tolède et son fils, Jacob ben Asher, bon et disant :

> Sachez que nous sommes des exilés de Catalogne et que nous suivons [...] l'usage que nos pères avaient en Catalogne. Et vous savez que les rabbins de Catalogne sur l'enseignement desquels sont fondés tous les usages des communautés sont Nahmanide, rabbi Salomon ben Adret, rabbi Aaron ha Lévi de Na Clara, rabbenu Nissim ainsi que d'autres éminents rabbins à chaque génération. Et ce, même si leurs décisions ne se sont pas toujours répandues et n'ont pas été publiés. C'est pourquoi il est inconvenant de mettre en doute les usages de ces communautés même si on ne trouve pas de mention explicite de la chose dans les livres, car ces usages proviennent de ces grands.

Comme note F. Touati-Wachsstock, les juifs catalans installés à Alger avaient des coutumes qui les unissaient en tant que groupe et les distinguaient des autres groupes culturels, grâce auxquels se maintenaient vivants, au sien de cette communauté, les enseignements des grands rabbins catalans du passé, sur lesquels se fondait la coutume. Praxis et mémoire en tant que source d'identité collective[13].

Grâce à un autre responsum, dans ce cas du rabbin provençal Isaac ben Emanuel de Lattes (actif à Rome entre 1530 et 1540)[14], nous savons que les

---

12 F. Touati-Wachsstock, « Halacha en Catalogne : un élément constituant de l'identité judéo-catalane », *Actes del II Congrés per a l'Estudi dels Jueus en Territori de Llengua Catalana. Barcelona-Cervera, del 25 al 27 d'octubre de 2004*, Barcelone : Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània, 2005, pp. 172–173.

13 Idem, p. 173. Rien n'est dit, cependant, de la langue utilisée par ces exilés de Catalogne. À la fin de ce siècle, si nous tenons compte des mots du voyager castillan Antonio de Sosa (1583) qu'aurait édités Diego de Haedo (1612), abbé de Frómista, avec le titre *Topographía e historia general de Argel*, parmi ceux qui dans la ville tunisienne parlaient espagnol, français et italien « aparte que hay muchos turcos y moros que han estado captivos en España, Italia y Francia, y, por otra parte, una multitud infinita de renegados de aquellas y otras provincias », il y avait aussi « gran copia de judíos que han estado acá, que hablan español, italiano y francés muy lindamente ». Aucun mot sur le catalan. Antonio de Sosa explique que le nombre de parlants de castillan (et aussi de français et italien) avait augmenté grâce à l'arrivée des musulmans et des turcs qui avaient été esclaves dans ces pays, et grâce également à l'intégration dans la société algérienne de la deuxième génération de convertis, nés là : « todos los hijos de renegados y renegadas, que en la teta deprendieron el hablar natural cristianesco de sus padres y madres, le hablan tan bien como si en España o Italia fueran nacidos », M. De Epalza, A. Slama-Gafsi, *El español hablado en Túnez por los moriscos (siglos XVII-XVIII)*, Valence : Universitat de València, 2010, p. 103.

14 A. Toaff, « The Jewish Communities of Catalonia, Aragon and Castille in 16th-Century Rome », in A. Toaff ; S. Schwarzfuchs (ed.), *The Mediterranean and the Jews. Banking, Finance and International*

expulsés catalans, castillans et aragonais qui s'installèrent à Rome et qui au début se réunirent dans une seule synagogue, probablement en réponse à l'hostilité avec laquelle ils furent reçus par leurs coreligionnaires romains[15], après quelques années le faisaient dans des synagogues particulières ou nationales à fin de préserver leurs propres coutumes :[16] une *scola catalana* pour les juifs

Trade, pp. 250–251 notes 4 et 5 ; A. Toaff, « Le comunità di Aragona e Catalogna in Italia e a Roma in particolare », in *Actes del Simposi Internacional sobre Cultura Sefardita*, Barcelone : Facultat de Filologia, Secció d'Hebreu i Arameu, 1993, p. 32 ; A. David (ed), *A Hebrew Chronicle from Prague, c. 1615*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama : The University of Alabama Press, 1993, pp. 33–34 note 31.

15 De cette communauté initiale, presque d'émergence, nous n'avons références soit en italien (« tutta la comunità degli spagnioli ebrei habitanti in Roma », doc. de 1496) ou qu'en latin (« communitatis hebreorum hispanorum in Urbe commorantium », doc. de 1506), A. Esposito, « Le "comunità" ebraiche di Roma prima del Sacco (1527) : problemi di identificazione », *Henoch*, 12 (1990), pp. 176–177. L'hostilité de la communauté réceptrice, étudiée suffisamment pour le cas de Rome (B. D. Cooperman, « Ethnicity », pp. 122–124, 141–142), a son parallèle dans les tensions qui eurent lieu parmi les communautés juives du nord d'Afrique avec l'arrivée d'immigrés procédant de la péninsule ibérique, à la fin du XV^e^ siècle M. Abitbol, « Juifs maghrébins et commerce transsaharien au Moyen-Âge », en M. Abitbol (éd.), *Communautés juives des marges sahariennes du Maghreb*, Jérusalem : Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi ; Hebrew University, 1982, pp. 243–244. Dans le cens de Rome de 1527 figurent 318 noms de chefs de famille juifs, suivis du mot « hebreus » ou « hebrea ». Du ceux-ci, seulement un vient qualifié comme « hispanus » (nm. 7627). Ce nom de nation se retrouve dans trois cas en plus dont nous soupçonnons (par nom, métier et localisation à Rome) que, malgré l'absence du qualificatif « hebreus », ils étaient des juifs (nm. 6481, 7662 et 7794). De même, pour « Isac catalanus sutor » (nm. 7664), E. Lee (ed.), *Descriptio Urbis, The Roman Census of 1527*, Rome : Bulzoni editore, 1985.

16 Cette est la raison donnée par Isaac de Lattes: בהתפללים יחד וירע להם כי כל אחד היה נוטה אחרי מנהג אבוחיו, et ainsi vient signalé dans A. Milano, « I "Capitoli" di Daniel da Pisa e la comunità di Roma », *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, 7/8 (1935), p. 325, bien qu'au préambule des accords on se réfère seulement et de manière générique, à désordres : « ad infiniti desordini e per eradicare le cattive piante dell'Uominj peccatori e malvaggi », idem, doc. 2 p. 334. Dans un testament de 1501 on destine des montants d'argent pour les différentes synagogues « degli spagnoli » de Rome, A. Toaff, « The Jewish Comunities », pp. 251–252 ; un document notarial de 1505 énumère les représentants des trois synagogues, A. Esposito, « Le "comunità" ebraiche », p. 177 ; dans un autre testament, de 1507, s'établit une cession pour l'huile des lampes des « tribus scolis yspanorum », A. Toaff, « The Jewish Communities », p. 252. L'usage du nom « degli spagnoli » ou « yspanorum » pour se référer génériquement à l'ensemble de ces synagogues particulières (doc. de 1501 et 1507, et aussi dans ceux de 1496 i 1506, indiqués préalablement)est très intéressant. Si on fait attention au fait que les synagogues étaient nationales (le document de 1505 parle du « factor Catalanorum », un autre de 1517 indique les procurateurs « comunitatis hebreorum Cathalanorum » et un, de 1519, s'adresse aux « universis judeis nationis Cathalanorum in Alma Urbe degentibus », A. Esposito, « Le "comunità" ebraiche », p. 177 note 35 ; A. Toaff, « The Jewish Communities », p. 253), nous devons entendre cet appellatif comme purement géographique, tel comme nous voyons qu'Isaac de Lattes fait dans le *responsum* déjà indiqué, en se référant au lieu de provenance des expulsés de 1492 installés à Rome. Il dit qu'ils étaient « מקסטילייאה וקאטאלונייאה ממלכת מלך בספרד מארגון », c'est à dire, « d'Aragon, de Castille et Catalogne, domaine[s] du roi qui [avait] à Sepharad ». Il ne dit pas « du roi de Sepharad » parce que Sepharad, en temps d'Isaac de Lattes, n'équivalait pas encore à aucun règne, comme Aragon ou Castille. Sepharad et ses dérivés, dans les cas mentionnés, sont des mots avec un contenu politique très faible et c'est pour cela qu'ils sont utilisés en situations juridiques peu importantes, A. Esposito, « Le "comunità" ebraiche », p. 177 ; E. Feliu, « Quatre notes », p. 87. Quant à la prédominance de l'usage de l'adjectif « espagnol » au substantif « Espagne » dans la documentation contemporaine, J. Álvarez, « The Formation », p. 14.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

catalans[17], une aragonaise pour les aragonais et une castillane pour les juifs castillans.

Des coutumes propres et des différences évidentes que ni le déclin démographique qui suivit le Sacco de Rome (1527) ni la réduction de l'espace physique causée par la création du ghetto romain (1555), ne furent disparaître. La solution qui passait par assembler les trois communautés nationales dans une seule synagogue géographique ne fut pas considérée : la synagogue aragonaise s'unit à la catalane et la castillane, à la française[18]. L'an 1868, il y avait encore *scola catalana* à Rome et des 4995 juifs censés, 683 lui appartenaient[19].

Quelque chose de semblable à ce que nous avons vu à Alger et à Rome se passa aussi dans ces villes de l'Empire ottoman, où les juifs ibériques se refugièrent et dont on a étudié la documentation[20]. Grâce aux enregistrements de l'administration turque, par exemple, nous savons que ces communautés, au moins celles des grandes villes, étaient très fragmentées car il y avait une grande présence de *kehalim* ou congrégations dans leur sein. L'arrivée des juifs ibériques augmenta cette division interne encore plus : des 12 *kehalim* qu'au XVI^e^ siècle avait à Edirne (registres de 1519, 1568–1569 et 1570–1571), un était catalan ; des 18 *kehalim* comptabilisés à Istanbul pendant le premier tiers du XVII^e^ siècle (registres de 1608 et 1623), un était catalan ; des 20 *kehalim* censés à Thessalonique durant les XVI^e^–XVII^e^ siècles (registres de 1530–1531, 1589–1590 et 1613–1614), deux étaient catalans[21]. Dans ces villes, il y avait aussi des *kehalim* aragonais et castillans avec

17 La première mention est de 1506, A. Esposito, « Le "comunità" ebraiche », p. 183 ; quant à la composition catalane des membres de cette synagogue, p. 183 note 51 ; quant à la formation de la communauté catalane et aragonaise du fin du XVI^e^ siècle, A. Toaff, « The Jewish Comunities », doc. 9 [1581, octubre, 4] p. 269. Comme l'onomastique met en évidence, dans ce document et dans d'autres où figurent les noms des membres de la communauté, l'appartenance à une communauté spécifique ne se fondait pas seulement sur des raisons généalogiques mais aussi sur l'affiliation de nouveaux membres, R. Davis, « The Reception », pp. 258–259.

18 A. Toaff, « The Jewish Communities », p. 251 note 5. Paradoxalement, ces différences n'empêchèrent pas que les juifs italiens et romains, et même l'autorité papale, se référèrent aux divers groupes de juifs provenant du dehors du territoire italien comme des *ultramontani*, mot tout a fait inapproprié pour designer tant les expulsés de la péninsule ibérique que les juifs du nord d'Afrique, A. Toaff, « Lotte e fazioni tra gli ebrei di Roma nel Cinquecento », *Studi Romani*, 27 (1979), pp. 25–26 note 2.

19 A. Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma. Illustrazioni Storiche*, Roma : Staderini, 1964, p. 232. Il n'a pas été étudié encore, à ma connaissance, si parmi la documentation parvenue de la *scola catalana*, notamment celle du début, il y a quelque trace de langue catalane. On peut détecter un indice de l'assimilation rapide de l'italien par ceux qui parlaient des langues romanes dans l'instrument notarié de 1496, qui certifie l'élection de postes et fonctions de ce qui alors était la seule communauté d'expulsés ibériques, et aussi dans les ordonnances de l'école aragonaise de 1511, rédigés les deux en italien, A. Esposito, « Le "comunità" ebraiche », pp. 176–177 (élection de postes), 179–180 (ordonnances). Bien au contraire, cependant, de ce qu'on constate dans les ordonnances rédigées par les expulsés castillans installés au Maroc, où le castillan (parfois écrit en caractères hébraïques) domine sur l'arabe et l'hébreu, A. I. Laredo, « Las taqanot », pp. 250–251.

20 S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », pp. 197–209.

21 Idem, pp. 197–199.

lesquels les catalans prirent distance[22]. Dans la ville grecque de Thessalonique la communauté catalane demeura active jusqu'au XIX^e^ siècle.

1.2. Particularité de la identité catalane des juifs expulsés

Préservée depuis des siècles, comment peut être comprise la nature catalane de ces communautés juives ? Le fait qu'a posteriori[23] on les ait qualifiées, toutes, de « sefardi » a minimisé cette question et par conséquent la perception des différences qui devaient exister entre juifs catalans, castillans et aragonais, en les réduisant à des questions de détail, soit liturgiques que juridiques. Toutefois, si ces différences étaient si insignifiantes, pourquoi s'obstinèrent-ils à les garder ou à évoquer leur mémoire pendant si longtemps, même lorsque la réalité conseillait aux expulsés que l'union était l'option la plus favorable pour eux ?[24]

Si nous demandons, alors, pour la catalanité de ces juifs, l'aspect qui domine dans les sources étudiées a à voir avec les coutumes (מנהגים) légaux et liturgiques développés et acceptés par les communautés juives de la Catalogne médiévale[25]. Nous sommes donc, dans un contexte d'observance religieuse dans lequel la tradition des ancêtres configure l'identité et la vie de la génération des expulsés et, plus tard, celle de leurs descendants et de tous ceux qui se joignirent à eux.

---

22 À Safed la communauté catalane se joint, à la moitié du XVI^e^ siècle, à l'aragonaise, ce qui indique qu'au moment de s'unir à quelqu'un d'autre, les juifs catalans préféraient les aragonais et ceux-ci, comme avait déjà passé à Rome après le Sacco, les catalans. Ces préférences se fondaient probablement en l'union dynastique qui depuis 1137, avait fédéré les territoires de Catalogne et l'Aragon. Isaac Luria (1534–1572) distinguait dans un de ses commentaires, entre la coutume de Sepharad, celle de Catalogne et celle d'Askenaz, entre autres, R. Davis, « The Reception of the "Shulḥan 'Arukh" and the Formation of Ashkenazic Jewish Identity », *AJS Review*, 26 (2002), p. 256.

23 Même si je ne partage pas la vision de J. Ray selon laquelle les juifs médievaux s'identifiaient en tant qu'appartenant uniquement à des villes et occasionallement à des regions (les communautés que ces mêmes juifs, après l'expulsion de 1492, formèrent dans leurs pays d'adoption eurent surtout des dénominations nationales : communauté des catalans, des aragonais, des castillans... et très rarement des dénominations locales), je suis d'accord avec lui quand il observe que ces communautés ne s'identifiaient pas elles-mêmes, au début, avec le terme sefardi, J. Ray, « New Approaches to the Jewish Diaspora : The Sephardim as a Sub-Ethnic Group », *Jewish Social Studies, New Series*, 15 (2008), p. 18.

24 B. D. Cooperman, « Ethnicity », pp. 137–138. Certainement, au cours des ans, la spécificité de ces communautés se dilua, pressée et influencée par d'autres facteurs externes. Même dans le cas des communautés qui prospérèrent à l'ombre du prestige accumulé au cours de l'ère moderne par Espagne : quand, au début du XX^e^ siècle, la ville de Rome et la Università Israelitica de la ville arrivèrent à un accord sur la démolition de l'ensemble synagogal des Cinque Scole, en outre du Tempio Maggiore on construisit aussi un Oratorio Spagnolo « a ricordo di un qualche cosa che nessuno dei molti frequentatori d'oggi riesce a spiegare, ma che tuttavia resiste dopo quattro secoli e mezzo », A. Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma*, pp. 232–233 ; B. Migliau, « Nuove prospettive di studio sulle Cinque Scole del ghetto di Roma : l'identificazione ed il recupero dell'*aròn* di Scola Catalana », *Henoch*, 12 (1990), p. 193

25 Sur l'importance du coutume dans la vie des communautés juives médiévales, H. Pollack, « An Historical Explanation of the Origin and Development of Jewish Books of Customs ("Sifre Minhagim") : 1100–1300 », *Jewish Social Studies*, 49 (1987), pp. 195–216 ; R. Davis, « The Reception », pp. 266–267.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

À présent n'a pas été étudié encore la répercussion que le fait d'avoir le catalan comme langue propre et habituelle eut sur l'intégration linguistique des expulsés catalans dans leurs lieux d'arrivée, de même que n'ont pas été étudiées non plus les traces de la littérature orale des juifs catalans[26]. Nous ignorons aussi si quelques-uns des aspects organisationnels des communautés juives catalanes perdurèrent dans les communautés que les expulsés créèrent dans les endroits où ils s'installèrent. En fait, ils sont nombreux les éléments de ces communautés qui, parce qu'on pensait qu'ils étaient sefardis/espagnols, n'ont pas été étudiés car on tenait pour acquis qu'ils étaient identiques à ceux des autres communautés d'expulsés de la péninsule ibérique[27]. À cet égard toutefois, la continuité des noms de famille catalans, déformés au cours des ans à cause de la langue du pays d'adoption ou de la pressure exercée par le castillan, est un indice, léger, mais indice de toute façon, de la survie d'un élément linguistique original.

La nostalgie de la patrie. Ceci est un autre élément crucial. Les sefardis perpétuent la mémoire de la terre abandonnée en maintenant vivants ses coutumes et son folklore et en créant de nouveaux… Il y a des familles qui ont encore la clé d'une maison qui n'existe plus[28]. Les écrivains hébreux installés dans les terres

---

26 L' hébreu était la langue qui identifiait clairement les juifs dans le contexte linguistique péninsulaire (A. Sáenz-Badillos, « Defining borders. Early-fifteenth-century Jews from the Crown of Aragon in search of their identity », in C. Caballero-Navas, E. Alfonso (ed.), *Late Medieval Jewish Identities. Iberia and Beyond (The New Middle Ages)*, 2010, pp. 201–214), bien que son utilisation comme langue scientifique, littéraire et notariée était réservée à une élite bien formée. Liturgie et administration par contre, en hébreu, rapprochaient l'ensemble général de la population juive, c'est peut-être pour cela que dans ces domaines est plus perceptible l'influence de la langue parlée par les juifs, ce qui n'était pas l'hébreu, mais le catalan, l'aragonais ou le castillan (nous pensons, par exemple, au folklore et au recours à l'aljamia dans des documents publics et privés, M. Lazar, « Epithalames bilingues hébraïco-romans dans deux manuscrits du XV^e^ siècle » en I. Cluzel, F. Pirot (ed.), *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à la mémoire de Jean Boutière (1899–1967)*, Lieja : Soledi, 1971, vol. 1, pp. 333–346 ; J. Riera, *Cants de noces dels jueus catalans*, Barcelona : Curial, 1974 ; A. Duran, « Documents aljamiats de jueus catalans », *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*, 5 (1918–1919), pp. 132–148). Cependant, même dans ce qui était le bastion par excellence de l'hébreu médiévale, la littérature, où il y a peu d'ouvrages écrits en catalan, castillan et aragonais (Jahuda Bonsenyor, *Llibre de paraules e dits de savis e filosofs. Los Proverbis de Salomó. Lo llibre de Cató*, [G. Llabrés ed.], Palma de Mallorca : Imp. Joan Comoar y Salas, 1889 ; Moixé Natan, *Qüestions de vida* [J. X. Muntané ed.], Barcelona : Institut Món Juïc, 2010, pp. 57–75), l'influence du contexte littéraire chrétien est perceptible, T. Calders, « La literatura hebrea de creació dels jueus catalans : una aproximació », en *Actes del I Congrés per a l'Estudi dels Jueus en Territori de Llengua Catalana. Barcelona-Girona, del 15 al 17 d'octubre de 2001*, Barcelone : Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2004, pp. 105–119 ; E. Vernet, « Mètrica i estròfica en la poesia de Meixul·lam ben Xelomó de Piera : paral·lelismes hebreus, àrabs i occitans », en *Actes del II Congrés per a l'Estudi dels Jueus en Territoris de Llengua Catalana. Barcelona-Cervera, del 25 al 27 d'octubre de 2004*, Barcelona : Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània, 2005, pp. 37–58 ; J. X. Muntané (ed.), *Qüestions de vida*, pp. 100–103 ; A. Sáenz-Badillos, « Defining borders », p. 206.

27 R. K. Spaulding, *How Spanish Grew*, Berkeley ; Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1975, p. 153 ; A. Benaim, *Sixteenth-Century Judeo-Spanish Testimonies. An Edition of Eighty-four Testimonies from the Sephardic Responsa in the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2012, pp. 119–129.

28 A. de Mentaberry, *Viaje a Oriente. De Madrid a Constantinopla*, Madrid : Berenguillo, 1873, pp. 123–124 i 505.

chrétiennes se souvenaient avec nostalgie et admiration des grands poètes et écrivains des communautés juives qui existaient dans l'Al Andalus avant que l'invasion almohade les ait forcés à quitter le pays[29]. Les juifs qui échappèrent au siège de Béziers (1209) et s'installèrent à Olot (Catalogne), n'oublièrent pas la ville qu'ils avaient laissé derrière eux[30]. Dans la prière que le maître talmudiste catalan Moshé ben Nahman (1193/94–1270), émigré en Terre Sainte, composa en contemplant les ruines de Jérusalem, il se rappelle de la situation aisée qu'il avait à Girona, les amis et connaissances qu'il avait à la communauté et sa famille manquée[31]. Sion n'est pas la seule réceptrice de la nostalgie des juifs médiévaux malgré le fait que ces échantillons de sentiment soient rares, peut-être parce qu'ils n'acquirent jamais le statut de topos littéraire ou ne possédèrent le prestige, consolidé depuis l'antiquité, de la marque Sion. Cependant, nous n'avons aucune trace de chansons qui exaltent la mémoire et le souvenir de villes catalanes abandonnés en 1492 et ne savons pas si c'est parce qu'ils n'ont jamais existé ou parce qu'on a négligé la recherche.

Est-il possible que dans la dénomination « catalan » (קטלוניא) avec laquelle les juifs expulsés de Catalogne s'identifiaient eux-mêmes par rapport aux autres expulsés de la péninsule, se joignissent d'autres éléments ? Avec cette question, nous voulons aller plus loin des concepts que nous avons utilisées jusqu'ici et qui sortent du parallélisme qui peut être établi avec les éléments qui traditionnellement composent le concept « sefardi » (coutumes, langue et patrie)[32], pour explorer l'existence ou non d'une façon d'être juif catalan qui fût différente de celle des autres juifs péninsulaires.

29 E. Alfonso, « La representación de Al Andalus en fuentes judías », *Norba. Revista de Historia*, 19 (2006), pp. 64–68 ; Y. H. Yerushalmi, « Exile », pp. 16–18.

30 Sur la pierre de la synagogue que les juifs refugiés de Béziers commencèrent à édifier à Olot on peut lire : היתה העיר בדרש עיר גדולה, G. Nahon, *Inscriptions hébraïques et juives de France*, Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1986, p. 343 ; B. Blumenkranz, « Écriture et image dans la polémique antijuive de Matfre Ermengaud », en *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, Toulouse : Édouard Privat, Éditeur, 1977, p. 297 ; C. Denjean ; J. Sibon, « Citoyenneté et fait minoritaire dans la ville médiévale. Etude comparée des juifs de Marseille, de Catalogne et de Majorque au bas Moyen Âge », *Histoire Urbaine*, 32 (2011), p. 90.

31 « Sóc l'home que ha sentit la fiblada/ del dolor. Vaig deixar la taula parada,/ em vaig allunyar d'amics i companys,/ car el viatge és llarg i ple d'afanys./ Jo que era príncep per als meus germans/ visc ara en alberg de vianants./ Casa i heretatge, tot ho vaig jaquir,/ ànima i esperit vaig deixar allí/ amb els fills i les filles que estimava/ i els noiets que a la falda agombolava./ Ells són al capdavant del meu deler, plaents com eren, qui els pogués haver !/ En ells tindré posats els ulls i el cor/ per sempre més… » (trad. E. Feliu). Ainsi dans son commentaire au Pentateuque (Dt 28,42) il fait référence à la supériorité de la situation des juifs aux pays de l'exil en comparaison à celle des chrétiens, E. Feliu, « Quatre lletres de Mossé ben Nahman », *Calls*, 4 (1990), pp. 86–87, je remercie Tessa Calders pour ces références.

32 A. I. Laredo, « Las taqanot », pp. 248–249.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

2. Témoins de cette diversité avant 1492 : les juifs de Catalogne

Nous ne nous interrogeons pas sur les juifs expulsés qui se reconnaissaient catalans en dehors la Catalogne, mais sur la signification de cette réalité avant 1492 : que voulait dire être juif en Catalogne ou être juif catalan à la Péninsule ?

D'un point de vue géographique, historique, culturelle et linguistique à la péninsule ibérique il y a des éléments communs de départ, qui ne peuvent être niés, mais qu'ils ne sont pas ceux d'arrivée. A partir de ce substrat commun, tout au long du Moyen Age, sortirent et se développèrent des accomplissements culturels, linguistiques et politiques différents : parler donc de juifs « sefardis » aussi avant 1492, contient le risque de négliger ces histoires particulières ou de les considérer comme anecdotiques ou futiles pour les juifs qui vécurent dans ces contextes historiques spécifiques[33].

Ce n'est pas le cas des chercheurs qui, au cours des dernières décennies, ont proposé une identité spécifique pour les juifs catalans en niant qu'ils avaient fait partie de Sepharad. En effet, par rapport à ceux qui affirment que, au Moyen Age, le terme « Sepharad » comprenait le territoire et les habitants de Catalogne, qu'ils désignent par conséquent comme des juifs « espagnols », il y a ceux qui soutiennent que « Sepharad » désignait l'Al Andalus et non pas les territoires sous pouvoir chrétien, parmi lesquels il y avait une partie de ce qui après deviendrait Catalogne, et pourtant les juifs catalans ne pouvaient pas se sentir « sefardis »[34].

Le mérite de la position plus récent a été celui de questionner le statu quo qui, à la lumière de certains documents, ne semble pas qu'il soit en mesure de se maintenir tel qu'il était posé jusqu'à maintenant.

2.1 Catalogne dans le territoire de Sepharad

D'une part, il est vrai qu'il y a des documents dans lesquels Catalogne et les juifs qui y vivent sont inclus dans le concept de Sepharad[35]. Voyons-en quelqu'un. Dans la célèbre chronique de voyages de Benjamin de Tudela (composée entre 1165 et 1173[36]), il y a deux cas où le terme « Sepharad » est utilisé inclusivement. Arrivé

33 Il existe le risque que cette vision uniforme des juifs sefardis avant 1492 plus qu'uniforme ne soit uniformisant. Tout comme de qui, dans une autre manière, c'est passé pendant le XX^{e} siècle quand on a utilisé le mot « sefardi » pour se référer à d'autres types de judaïsme qui n'avaient rien à voire à ce qui ce concept implique, « Sephardim », *Encyclopædia Judaica*, vol. 14, col. 1164.

34 Quelques uns de ces chercheurs ont été déjà nommés dans des notes précédentes. Nous ajoutons ici : T. Calders ; E. Valls, « Catalunya and the myth of Sepharad », *Catalan International View*, 4 (2009), pp. 56–59 ; M. J. Estanyol, *Els jueus catalans*, Barcelona : PPU, 2009, pp. 28–33.

35 C. del Valle, « ¿Fue Cataluña Sepharad ? », pp. 209–210.

36 H. Harboun, *Benjamin de Tudèle, 1165/66–1172/73*, Aix-en-Provence : Editions Massoreth, 1998, pp. 53–57 ; M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, Londres : Henry Frowde ; Oxford University Press, 1907. Tudela fut reconquise par Alfonse I d'Aragon l'an 1119.

à Tarragone (conquise et repeuplée par les comtes catalans en 1131), Benjamin fait l'éloge de l'architecture cyclopéenne de ses bâtiments, qu'il attribue aux grecs, notant qu'il n'y a rien de semblable sur « tout le territoire qui [existe] à Sepharad »[37]. Quelques semaines plus tard, en parlant des palais de Rome, il explique que le dernier roi qui en eût un fut Pépin le Bref, père de Charlemagne, « qui libéra le pays de Sepharad du pouvoir des ismaélites »[38]. Évidemment, Sepharad, dans ce cas dernier, ne peut pas designer Al Andalus mais la péninsule ibérique. Et cela doit être aussi pour la première référence, lorsque Benjamin compare les restes de l'antiquité classique de Tarragone avec ceux qu'il y avait dans la péninsule, indépendamment du fait que celle-ci se trouvait sous pouvoir des musulmans (Al Andalus) ou des chrétiens (comme les royaumes du nord, dont Tudela et Tarragone formaient partie).

Les références à Sepharad et aux écrivains de Sepharad du *Tahkemoni*, de Shelomo al-Harizi (fin du XII^e^ siècle et premières décennies du XIII^e^ siècle), sont bien connues. Dans la *maqama* 18, consacrée à expliquer l'origine et la dédicace à la poésie des juifs, l'auteur se réfère aux traditions littéraires des terres qu'il y a « aux deux côtés de Sepharad »[39]. Il commence par le nord, par les régions de Provence : il loue les poèmes qui y ont été faits, bien qu'ils ne soient pas si agréables et doux comme ceux de Sepharad[40]. Il situe l'autre côté dans les terres où régnait le « roi rebelle »[41], c'est-à-dire, le Maghreb, dont il laisse la tradition littéraire très maltraitée[42]. Le territoire compris entre ces deux limites est

---

37 הלכתי דרך שני ימים לעיר תרכונה הקדומה והיא היתה מבניין ענקים יוונים לא נמצא כבניין ההוא בכל הארץ אשר בספרד. Ou selon une variante : « dans tous les territoires de Sepharad » (בכל ארצות ספרד), M. N. Adler, *The itinerary*, p. בּ§ א.

38 ושם שמונים ארמונים משמונים מלכים שהיו בתוכה הנקראים אינפראטורי. ממלכות […] ועד מלכות פפוס אביו של קרלו מגנוס שכבש ארץ ספרד מיד הישמעאלים בתחלה, M. N. Adler, *The itinerary*, p. ט§ז. Le texte hébraïque n'est pas très clair pour savoir si celui qui libéra Sepharad des musulmans fut Pépin ou Charlemagne, ce qu'il indique c'est que le titre de ceux qui habitèrent ces palais fut celui d'empereur et que la conquête de Sepharad dont il parle doit être situé au début. On sait que l'an 759 Pépin, grand défenseur de la papauté, récupérait Narbonne des musulmans et libérait la Septimanie de leur pouvoir, mais que fut Charlemagne, couronné empereur l'an 800 à Rome, celui qui fixa la nouvelle frontière avec l'Al Andalus au sud du fleuve Llobregat, commençant ainsi la reconquête de cette partie de la péninsule ibérique. Faisant partie de cette frontière méridionale, il y avait les futurs comtés catalans. Ainsi donc, le plus probable soit que l'antécédent de la phrase de relatif ne soit pas Pépin mais Charlemagne.

39 וראיתי בגלילות המערב ארצות סמוכות משני צדדים לספרד, י. טופורבסקי, רבי יהודה אלחריזי. תחכמוני, תל אביב, ה'תשי"ב, 190.

40 הצד האחד הם גלילות פרובינצא ולהם שירים עמוקים ועניניהם טובים וחזקים אבל אינם כשירי ספרד ערבים ומתוקים, idem.

41 L'adjectif et l'imprécation que nous lisons après la référence de ce roi (ומן הצד השני ארצות ישמעאלים אשר במלכות המלך המורד ימח ומפלתו מחרה תצמח, idem), avec le fait que quand al-Harizi écrit cet ouvrage, il régnait encore, pointent vers le calife almohade Abu Yusuf Yaqub al-Mansur (1160–1199). Le rigorisme qui caractérisa la dynastie des almohades provoqua que grand part des juifs andalus partirent vers les règnes chrétiens de la péninsule et du sud de France.

42 Il épargne seulement les poèmes rédigés par Joseph ben Judah ibn Simeon (XII^e^–XIII^e^ siècles), *Encyclopædia Judaica*, vol. 14, col. 1403–1404.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Sepharad, et Catalogne y est incluse. De même, il arrive aussi dans un des récits de voyages du *Tahkemoni*, en particulier dans celui de la *maqama* 46. Arrivé à Sepharad, le voyageur nous dit qu'il « le tourna d'un bout à un autre, d'une ville à une autre, qu'il traversa les terres des musulmans et de là il sortit vers les terres des incirconcis où habitent des israélites »[43]. L'itinéraire en terres chrétiennes est expliqué avec un peu de détail : il commence à Tolède, qualifiée de capitale du royaume, et continue par Calatayud, Lleida, Barcelone, Narbonne, Beaucaire et Marseille, d'où il lève l'ancre vers Alexandrie. La centralité de Tolède, ainsi que l'absence de références aux différentes réalités politiques qu'il y avait alors dans la partie chrétienne de la péninsule, ainsi que le progrès sans interruption de ce voyage par Sepharad jusqu'à l'autre côté des Pyrénées, nous font nous demander si l'auteur n'avait pas à l'esprit l'image de l'Hispanie wisigothe, avec capital à Tolède, quand au moment de son apogée elle s'élargit au-delà des Pyrénées[44]. Dans les deux *maqama* donc, le territoire catalan fait partie de Sepharad. Un terme comme celui-ci est surtout géographique, comme passait dans Benjamin de Tudela, bien qu'on y perçoive aussi un écho du passé politique préislamique de ce territoire, en particulier de l'Hispanie wisigothe[45].

2.2. Catalogne différente des autres royaumes péninsulaires (parmi lesquels, Sepharad)

Cependant, le cas contraire, dans lequel on distingue clairement entre Catalogne et le reste de royaumes et territoires péninsulaires, parmi lesquels parfois y apparaît Sepharad comme un territoire en plus et différent de Catalogne, est également bien documenté. Ce qui suit est un échantillon, une très brève sélection, de ces textes[46].

---

43 ושוטטתי בה מפנה לפנה וממדינה למדינה ועברתי בארצות הישמעאלים ומשם יצאתי לארצות הערלים אשר שם ישכנו הישראלים, י. טופורבסקי, תחכמוני, תל אביב, ה'תשי"ב, 345.

44 Le royaume de Castille se leva comme l'héritier de ce royaume wisigoth à mesure qu'il récupéra le territoire qui en avait fait partie et que les musulmans avaient conquis, notamment l'ancienne capitale wisigothique de Tolède (reconquise par Alfonse VI l'an 1086), J. Montemayor, « Le rêve impérial », en L. Cardaillac (dir.), *Tolède, XII^e^-XIII^e^. Musulmans, chrétiens et juifs : le savoir et la tolérance*, Paris : Éditions Autrement, 1997, pp. 54–67.

45 Semblablement la terre de « Spanya », dans la traduction catalane de la chronique de Ximénez de Rada, est un terme géographique, vide de contenu politique : « la derrera part de occident qui Spanya es apellada », *Aquesta obra es stada treta de les cronicas de mestre Rodrigo, archabisbe de Toledo, en les quals es breument atrobat lo estament de Spanya del començament del mon tro al dia present quins e quals princeps la han posseida*, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 6, f. 3r.

46 E. Feliu, « Quatre notes », pp. 82–85 ; E. Feliu, « La trama i l'ordit », pp. 19–21 ; E. Feliu, « Algunes puntualitzacions », 177–178 ; S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », pp. 189–190 ; D. Iancu, « Affinités historiques et interferences culturelles chez les communautés juives de l'espace occitano-catalan », en *Mossé ben Nahman i el seu temps. Simposi commemoratiu del vuitè centenari del seu naixement : 1194–1994. Girona, novembre de 1994*, Girona : Ajuntament de Girona, 1995, pp. 125–127.

Dans la question que Shlomo ben Adret (1235–1310) adressa à Meir de Rothenburg (*c.* 1215–1293) sur la peine de mort applicable aux malsins[47], le rabbin de Barcelone se réfère à Catalogne comme un pays qui lui est propre ;[48] plus tard, quand il fait mention des accords de 1354, il distingue parfaitement les communautés juives selon qu'elles appartenaient à la Catalogne, au royaume de Valence et au celui d'Aragon[49] et, éventuellement, après avoir cité divers textes talmudiques, il se fait écho de la pratique de cette punition en commençant par les communautés de la terre de Castille, en continuant par celles du royaume d'Aragon et en finissant avec celles de Catalogne[50].

Dans la préface avec laquelle le médecin de Besalú, Abraham ben David Caslar (première moitié du XIV^e^ siècle) introduit son traité sur l'épidémie de peste, il se souvient de l'épidémie général qu'il y eut lieu, à la fin du printemps et pendant l'été, en « Provence, Catalogne et Valence, à la zone d'Aragon et [jusqu'] aux confins de Navarre et Castille »[51].

Dans un *responsum* d'Isaac bar Sheshet Perfet (1326–1408), qui fait également référence à la punition qui correspond aux *malsins*, le rabbin barcelonais prend note de la coutume qu'il trouve répandue de manière égale par les communautés juives des différents territoires de la péninsule, dont il spécifie Sepharad, Aragon, Valence et Catalogne[52]. Étant donné, comme nous allons le voir, qu'en raison de la domination musulmane de la péninsule on utilisa le terme Sepharad pour désigner Al Andalus, il n'est pas clair si, dans ce cas, sous la désignation Sepharad doive s'y inclure la partie de la péninsule qu'à la fin du XIV^e^ siècle, était encore sous domination musulmane, à savoir le royaume de Grenade, ou plutôt le royaume de Castille, parce qu'il avait gagné une grande partie de son territoire à Al Andalus[53].

---

47 *Responsum* édité à D. Kaufmann, « Jewish informers in the Middle Ages », *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 8 (1896), pp. 217–238 (texte hébreu, pp. 228–238).

48 עד שקם אחד בארצנו ארץ קטלוניא , D. Kaufmann, « Jewish informers », p. 229.

49 ויהי היום נקראו כל הקהלות לפני אדוננו המלך יר"ה קהלות קטלונייא וקהלות מלכות ואלינצייה וקהלות מלכות ארגון, D. Kaufmann, « Jewish informers », p. 229.

50 וכן עושים מעשה בכל יום בארץ קסטיליא ונהגו לעשות כן בפני גדולי הדור שהיו שם וכן במלכות אראגון גם מעשים היו בקאטלוניא בדור שלפנינו גם בדורנו זה, D. Kaufmann, « Jewish informers », p. 232.

51 אמר אברהם קשלרי […] מה שקרה בקיץ וסוף האביב כללי פרוונצה וקטלאניאה וולינצייה ומחוז ארגון וקצת נאברי וקשטילה, B. Dinur, *A documentary History of the Jewish People from its Beginning to the Present. Israel in the Diaspora*, Jérusalem : Defus Akademi, 1966, vol. II, 2, p. 624 § ג, selon l'édition hollandaise de 1890 ; S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », p. 191 note 21. Le ms. 1191 de la BNF omet quelques uns de ces territoires et il se réfère seulement à Provence, Catalogne et Aragon: כל מחוז פרוינציאה וכל קטלונייאה וארגון f. 134^v^.

52 וזה היה דרך הקהלות הקדושות בספרד בארגון בבלינסיאה וקטלוניא, D. Kaufmann, « Jewish informers », p. 219 nota 6.

53 Dans un autre *responsum*, le 369, Bar Sheshet situa Tolède à Sepharad, S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », p. 190 note 15. De même quand en se référant aux émeutes de 1391 contre les communautés juives péninsulaires, Shlomo Ibn Verga (XV^e^–XVI^e^ siècles) explique que celles-ci eurent lieu dans « la plus grand partie de Sepharad » et dans « le royaume d'Aragon, Valence, Majorque, Barcelone et Lleida », le plus probable est que pour Sepharad le chroniqueur entende le royaume de Castille (la vague des émeutes débouta à Seville, alors une ville castillane), M. J. Cano, « Los judíos de Aragón y Cataluña en el Šebet

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Dans la liste de rabbins qu'Azriel Trabotto (mort le 1569) écrit à Ascoli on distingue aussi clairement entre les sages de « Sepharad, Catalogne et Languedoc » quand on se réfère aux savants juifs qui vécurent dans ces lieux[54].

Lorsque le chroniqueur Yossef ha-Cohen (1496–1575), contemporain de l'auteur précédent, décrit l'assaut du quartier juif d'Estella, pendant la Semaine Sainte de 1328, il fait recours au témoignage d'un des rares survivants juifs : Menahem ben Aaron ibn Zerah (*c.* 1308–1385 ; présent dans la préface de son recueil légal Zedad la derekh). Le chroniqueur se fait écho de l'épisode dans lequel, grâce à un ami du père de Menahem qui le sauva de la mort et prit soin de lui, ce juif put se n'aller à Sepharad[55]. Quel est le sens de Sepharad, dans ce contexte ? Sepharad ne peut pas désigner la péninsule parce que la Navarre en faisait partie. Sa signification doit donc être autre. Compte tenu de la façon dont les textes médiévaux distinguent les différents territoires, et ne confondent pas Sepharad avec Aragon, Catalogne ou Valence, une des interprétations possibles (celle qui met Al Andalus et Sepharad comme des équivalents) serait que Menakhem serait parti vers le royaume de Grenade, au sud de la péninsule ; bien que l'interprétation la plus probable, parce qu'elle serait renforcée par la tendance d'identifier Sepharad avec Castille, serait que le juif navarrais s'aurait transféré en Castille. En plus, les nouvelles qui nous sont parvenues de l'activité de celui-ci par plusieurs villes castillanes (Alcala et Tolède) renforcent cette seconde interprétation.

Compte tenu de cela, nous pensons qu'on ne peut pas appliquer une seule signification au terme « Sepharad » et que les fluctuations que nous avons constatées sont un indicateur de l'évolution sémantique que le mot expérimenta durant le Moyen Age.

Yehudah de Šelomoh Ibn Verga », en *Actes Ir Col·loqui d'Història dels Jueus a la Corona d' Aragó*, p. 176 ; E. Feliu, « Quatre notes », p. 85 note 18.

54 גם בספרד וקטלוניא ולנגדוק היו חכמים גדולים, D. Kaufman, « Liste de rabbins dressée par Azriel Trabotto. Une des sources de Guedalya ibn Yahya », *Revue d'Études Juives*, 4 (1880), p. 212 ; S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », p. 191 note 20. Cette distinction même entre Sepharad et Catalogne est encore plus claire dans les *Shaare Sion* (1340), d'Isaac de Lattes : ואחרים איו מספר בארץ המערב ובספרד ובקאטאלוניאה ובצרפת, B. Dinur, *A documentary*, p. 8 § ה ; S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », p. 191 note 19 ; E. Feliu, « Algunes puntualitzacions », p. 177. Une Catalogne dont les frontières allaient au-delà des Pyrénées, tel comme vient l'indiquer dans le récit miraculeux que Guedalya ben Joseph ibn Yayha (1515-*c.* 1587) reproduit dans le *Sefer Shalshelet hakabbala*, sur la mort de Moshe ben Nahman, dans lequel le maître et ses disciples se trouvent à Perpignan, c'est à dire, en Catalogne : אמרו ובאשכנז אנשים נכבדים הוציאו לאור כל תעלומה על הרב רבינו משה בר נחמן זצ"ל אשר היה בעיר פירפינייאנו בקאטאלונייא [...] ונכנס בספינה והלך בשלום בירושלים, D. Kaufman, « Liste de rabbins », pp. 224–225 note 94. Avec le traité des Pyrénées (1659), Perpignan avec le reste de la Catalogne nord furent annexés à la couronne française.

55 וגמול אליו חסד וילך מאתו אל ספרד, Joseph ha-Kohen, *Sefer 'Emeq ha-bakha (The Vale of Tears) with the chronicle of the anonymous Corrector*, (K. Almbladh ed.), Uppsala : Almqvist & Wiksell, p. מז ; P. Leon (ed.), *'Emeq ha-Bakha de Yosef ha-Kohen. Estudio preliminar, traducción y notas*, Madrid ; Barcelone : CSIC Instituto Arias Montano, 1964, pp. 145–146 ; B. Leroy, « Les juifs de Navarre à la fin du XIV^e^ siècle. A propos d'une adjudication à Estella en 1383 », *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 63 (1992), pp. 117–118.

2.3 Evolution sémantique du terme « Sepharad »

Sepharad apparaît une seule fois dans la Bible, à Ab. 20 : וגלת ירושלים אשר בספרד (« et les exilés de Jérusalem qui sont à Sepharad »). L'absence de consensus sur l'identification géographique a converti ce passage en une très bien connue crux interpretorum, depuis les temps anciens[56]. Le Targum (ספמיא, *Spamia* ou אספמיא, *Aspamia* : וגלות ירושלים דבספמיא) et la Peshitta (אספניא, *Aspania*, peut-être influencée par le Targum) reproduisent le passage d'Ab en changeant le toponyme original hébreu par la forme araméenne du nom romain pour la péninsule ibérique, Hispania, sans en donner aucune explication[57].

Contemporainement au Targum, la Mishna utilise une seule fois le toponyme אספמיא (*Aspamia*) et deux, le nom de pays ספנין (*aspanin* ; pour qualifier un type de poisson), pour se référer à la péninsule ibérique sous domination romaine, mais elle ne connecte jamais ces termes avec Sepharad[58]. De même, les Talmuds, en discutant les passages de la Mishna où il apparaît ce toponyme ou son nom de pays, reprennent la forme mishnaïque et n'utilisent jamais Sepharad.

Plus tard, dans quelques chroniques hébraïques du haut Moyen Age, réapparaît l'équivalent targumique Sepharad/Hispania, même si, contrairement au Targum, la forme la plus utilisée pour indiquer ce territoire est l'hébraïque (ספרד) au détriment de l'araméenne (אספמיא et ses variantes). Lorsqu'au Seder Olam Zutta (804) on fait mémoire de la déportation des juifs ordonnée par Vespasien, on spécifie que le destin de ces exilés fut Hispania/Sepharad[59]. De son côté, quand

---

56 Dans ce sens, soit la traduction grecque des LXX (καὶ ἡ μετοικεσία Ιερουσαλημ ἕως Εφραθα) que la latine de la Vulgate (*et transmigratio Hierusalem quae in Bosforo est*) témoignent la diversité de traditions associées à ce toponyme, P. R. Raabe, *Obadiah. A New Translation with Introduction and Comentary*, New York : Doubleday, 1996, pp. 266–268.

57 Idem, p. 266 § 1. Dans la Bible Hispania apparaît seulement à 1Mac 8,3 : *in regione Hispaniæ*, dont la version grecque est un calque de la forme latine : ἐν χώρᾳ Σπανίας.

58 BB 3,2 : באספמיא ; Maksh 6,3 i Shab 22,2 : וקוליס האספנין.

59 בשנת [...] ג' אלפים וה' מאות חמשים ושמנה שנים לבריאת עולם בא אספסיאנוס והחריב הבית והגלה את ישראל ובתים הרבה מבית דוד ויהודה לאספמיא היא ספרד dans l'original hébreu (f. sans numération) ; dans la traduction latine de G. Genebrado : « Anno [...] ter millesimus, octingentesimus vigesimus octavus ab orbe condito venit Vespasianus, et solo æquavit ædem. Traduxit in captivitatem Israëlitas, familias multas domus Davidicæ et Iudam in Hispanias, quas vocamus Sepharad », f. 18^{v}, *Seder Olam Zuta, Hebraeorum Breve Chronicon, sive compendium de mundi ordine et temporibus, ab orbe condito usque ad annum Christi 1112*, Paris : Apud Martinum Iuuenem, 1572 ; C. del Valle, « ¿Fue Cataluña Sepharad ? », p. 206 (il reprend la version latine de la *Chronologia hebraeorum maior quae Seder Olam Rabba inscribitur, & minor, quae Seder Olam Zuta* de 1584). Dans le *Sefer ha-qabbala* (écrit le 1161), du juif de Tolède Abraham ben David ha-Levi (*c* 1110-*c*. 1180), qui, dans la notre édition de 1572, vient après du *Seder Olam Zuta*, l'usage de Sepharad pour designer la péninsule ibérique sous domination romane est clair, soit quand on indique la division en provinces de l'empire romain : רומי ואשכנז וצרפת וספרד וקצת ארץ יו וארץ מצרים ופלשתים (f. sans numération) ; dans la traduction latine : « Romanis autem Italia, Germania, Gallia, Hispania, reliqua Græciæ pars, Ægyptus Palestina sive ora Iudeæ maritima », f. 44^{r} ; soit pour indiquer la portée générale de la diaspore juive médiévale : ופסקו ישיבות וגאונים שנכרת חקם של ישיבות שהיה הולך אליהם מארץ ספרד וארץ מערב ואפריקה ומצרים וארץ הצבי (dernier f. du *Sefer ha-qabbala*) ; dans la tradution latine : « Nam etiam

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

le Yosippon (mi-X^e siècle) fait référence à la marche d'Hannibal à travers la péninsule ibérique ou à celle-ci en tant que destination finale d'Hérode Antipas, tombé en disgrâce, il utilise également le toponyme Sepharad[60]. Fait intéressant, toutefois, lorsque le Yosippon raconte les conquêtes du roi Cyrus il fait recours aussi au toponyme Sepharad pour indiquer un endroit qui ne peut évidemment pas être la péninsule ibérique, mais qui correspond à la ville de Sardes[61].

Les chroniques indiquées s'arrêtent avant ou ne s'intéressent pas à la conquête musulmane de la péninsule ibérique, et c'est pour cela que dans la plupart des cas, le toponyme fait référence à la péninsule sous l'administration romaine. Cependant, l'invasion musulmane de la péninsule ibérique et l'occupation

---

extincta sunt academiarum instituta, ad quas proficiscebantur Iudei ex Hispania, toto occidente, Africa, Ægypto, terra denique desiderii », f. 46^r.

60 Pour l'épisode de la marche d'Hannibal on lit que : אניבל […] ויעבור את הים הקצר אש׳ בין אפריקה ובין ספרד ויבא בספרד ויבנע את גאון גוי גיתוס ויסע משם ; dans la version latine : « Hannibal [...] atque angustum illud fretum, quod Africam ab Hispania dividit, trajecisset, & in Hispaniam profectus Geticæ gentis ferociam ibidem fregisset », Yosippon ben Gurion, sive, Josephus Hebraicus, *Rerum memorabilium in populo Judaico tam pacis, quam belli tempore gestarum, inprimis de excidio Hierosolymitano. Libri.VI. hebraici, juxta editionem Venetam, quam secuta est illa, quæ superioribus annis Francofurti ad Mœnum typis excusa est, atque collati sunt sex isti libri cum exemplari Constantinopolitano*, Gota ; Leipzig : Apud Andream Schallium, 1710, ll. 3, c. 15, p. 221. Dans l'épisode sur le tétrarque Hérode Antipas : הורודוס […] וילך וילכוד את ארץ ספרד וישמידה על אשר לקח מלך ספרד את אשר אחיו וימת שם ; dans la version latine : « Herodis [...] is ipse in Hispaniam profectus est eamque subegit ac devastavit, quia rex Hispaniæ fratris sui uxorem ceperat, atque Antipas ibi vitam cum morte commutavit », idem, ll. 6, c. 6, p. 564. Il paraît que, concernant cet épisode, le *Yosippon* suit Flavius Josèphe, qui rapporte Hispania comme le destin de l'exile du tétrarque et lieu de son décès : Ἡρώδης ἦκεν πρὸς Γάιον ὑφ' οὗ τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιτιμᾶται φυγῇ εἰς Ἱσπανίαν ἠκολούθησεν [...] Καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ συμφυγούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τελευτᾷ (« Hérode se rendit près de Caius, qui le punit de ses prétensions en l'exilant en Espagne. [...] Quant à Hérode, il mourut en Espagne, où sa femme avait partagé son exil »), Flavius Josèphe, *Guerre des juifs*, tome II, livres II et III, Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1980, II § 183. La localisation que le *Yosippon* fait des actions de guerre du tétrarque ne devaient pas être suffisamment claires aux yeux du commentateur de l'ouvrage, J. F. Breithaupto, lequel, en note au bas du page, explique que : « Ita nomen ספרד, quod hic habetur, communiter exponitur, sic & Targum Jonathan teste R. Salomone ad Obadiae cap. unic. vers. 20 interpretatur ».

61 En effet, la ville de Sardes figure comme une des hypothèses d'interprétation d'Ab 20, peut-être la plus plausible de toutes celles qui ont été suggérées pour identifier le toponyme biblique. Sur la portée des conquêtes de Cire, le *Yosippon* raconte que כל ישבי׳ באפסי הדרום ובמערב ועד ארץ ספרד ; la version latine ne traduit Sardes mais Hispania : « Cyrus [...] omnesque finitimos meridianæ & occidentalis plagæ populos ad Hispaniam usque subjugavit », ll. 1, c. 21, p. 64 (latin), 65 (hébreu). Sardes, conquise par Cire et devenue capital de la satrapie de l'Asie Mineur, marquait la limite occidentale de l'empire perse en temps de ce monarque, P. R. Raabe, *Obadiah*, p. 267. Aux notes de la version latine du *Yosippon* il y a un autre cas de confusion avec Hispania : en se référant aux conquêtes romaines de Pompé qui correspondent aux campagnes du Caucase, Syrie et Palestine (65–63 aC), le *Yosippon* parle de l'Ibérie comme un des peuples soumis par les romains, avec les albanais et les colquis : ובשנת ההיא העבידו הרומיים את ארץ אלמבניאה ואת ארץ אביריאה ואת ארץ קולוסיס ואת בני ערב כלם תחתיהם Evidemment c'est le royaume caucasique de Cartli, connu dans les sources classiques comme Ibérie, bien que la version latine penche vers la péninsule ibérique : « Eodem anno Romani Almabeniam & Iberiam Colossiamque terram atque Arabiam omnem subjugarunt » ; en note au bas de page on se réfère à Hispania et justifie ça grâce au fleuve Ibère (« Iberum fluvium ») dont, selon la tradition, proviendrait le nom de la péninsule ibérique, ll. 2, c. 24, p. 160 note 46.

prolongée d'une grande partie de son territoire comporta une évolution de la signification de Sepharad.

Dans la lettre très connue que le juif de Jaen, Ibn Saprut (910–975), écrit au roi des khazars, il expliquait à son destinataire que « le nom de notre pays dans lequel nous vivons est Sepharad dans la langue sacrée et Al Andalus dans la langue des Musulmans qui habitent ce pays et le nom de la capitale est Cordoue »[62]. La référence à la capitale semble ajouter une connotation différente au terme, qui indiquerait non seulement une réalité géographique, mais aussi politique : le territoire qui se trouvait sous la domination musulmane. Le califat de Cordoue (929–1031), à l'apogée de son expansion, domina une grande partie de la péninsule ibérique, peut-être pour cela Ibn Saprut semble ignorer le nord chrétien et établit l'équivalence Sepharad/Al Andalus. Un siècle plus tard, le grenadin Moshe ibn Ezra (*c.* 1060–1138), dans son traité de rhétorique *Kitab al-Muḥaḍarah wal-Mudhakarah*, avec la traduction arabe de Sepharad susmentionné, Al Andalus (אלאנדלס), il donne sa traduction dans la langue des chrétiens, c'est-à-dire, en latin, Isfaniya (אשפאניה), et ajoute également ce qu'il appelle la langue des anciens, Isfamwa (אספמיא), qui est l'araméen[63]. Pour Ibn Ezra, dont la vie a coïncidé avec la réunification des territoires andalous menées par la dynastie des almoravides, il est tellement évident que ceci est le nom qu'il faut donner à la péninsule que les musulmans conquirent à la place des wisigoths : « péninsule d'Al Andalus » (גזירה אלאנדלס)[64], que, tout au long de son livre, écrit en arabe mais avec des caractères hébreux, il laisse de côté la forme hébraïque, l'araméenne et la latine et il utilisera uniquement Al Andalus pour se référer à Sepharad[65].

Dans ce cas, le toponyme biblique cesse de signifier la péninsule chrétienne pour signifier le même territoire, mais sous la domination musulmane. Si alors

62 E. Feliu, « Quatre notes », p. 83 ; S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », p. 188, avec autres documents qui soutiennent cette nouvelle équivalence. Au contraire de ce qu'on avait fait jusqu'à ce moment, Ibn Saprut, intéressé comme grand partie de l'élite cultivée andaluse en question philologiques, ne donne pas le significat de Sepharad mais sa traduction ou, mieux dit, il donne sa signification à travers sa traduction ; trad. anglaise, F. Kobler (ed.), *Letters of Jews through the Ages from Biblical Times to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century*, Kent : Ararat Publishing Society ; East and West Library, 1953, vol. I, p. 99.

63 Moshe ibn Ezra, *Kitab al-Muḥāḍarah wal-Mudhākarah. Liber Discussionis et Commemorationis (Poetica Hebraica)* [A. S. Halkin ed.], Jerusalem : Mekize Nirdamim, 1975, p. 54, 90–93 ; Moshe ibn ʿEzra, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarah wal-Muḍākara* [M. Abumalham ed.], Madrid : CSIC Instituto de Filología, 1986, vol. II, p. 60. Ibn Ezra reprend le passage d'Ab 20 pour expliquer l'origine des juifs de la péninsule. C'est ainsi qu'il donne la traduction du toponyme biblique. Tel comme avait déjà fait Ibn Saprut, Ibn Ezra traduit Sepharad, bien qu'après il y ajoute l'étymologie des formes arabe et chrétienne. Une étymologie populaire qu'il fonde sur des éponymes passés : un pour les musulmans andalus, et un autre pour les chrétiens, identifiés ici comme des godes et des romains.

64 ולמא אסתפתחת אלערב גזירה אלאנדלס אלמדכורה עלי אלקות M. ibn Ezra, *Kitab*, p. 54, 98–99 ; « Y cuando los árabes conquistaron la Península de Al Andalus, ya mencionada, a los godos », M. ibn ʿEzra, *Kitāb*, p. 61.

65 M. ibn ʿEzra, *Kitāb*, p. 65 (f. 31^{v}), 68 (f. 33^{r}), 74 (f. 36^{r}), 154 (f. 74^{r}), parmi d'autres.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

nous nous rappelons que la reconquête menée par les royaumes chrétiens du nord ne réussit pas à récupérer la péninsule dans sa intégrité avant 1492 et que, en plus, le territoire qui se gagna à Al Andalus se trouvait fragmenté en plusieurs royaumes : León, Castille, Navarre, Aragon, Catalogne… nous comprendrons que, contrairement à ce qui s'est passé pendant l'occupation romaine, wisigothe et musulmane, le significat qu'eut Sepharad pour les juifs du côté chrétien de la péninsule fut essentiellement géographique, parce que pendant le bas Moyen Age aucun des royaumes chrétiens atteignit l'hégémonie sur tout le territoire. Si dans quelque occasion Sepharad avait une nuance politique c'était pour se référer à la réalisation historique dernière pendant laquelle la péninsule avait été sous la domination d'un pouvoir unique (dont la mémoire resta vive dans l'imaginaire médiéval jusqu'à sa extinction totale en 1492), c'est-à-dire, Al Andalus[66]. Sepharad donc, pour indiquer l'endroit auquel arrivèrent les exilés venus de Jérusalem (Ab 20) ou la péninsule sous domination musulmane. Ces-ci sont en fait les significations que nous avons vues dans les documents analysés plus tôt.

En face de cela, il n'est pas surprenant que les juifs du côté chrétien préférassent utiliser d'autres manières pour se désigner à eux-mêmes qui fussent plus utiles pour les identifier, formes dans lesquelles géographie et politique fussent incluses, et c'est ainsi que nous nous trouvons avec des juifs catalans, aragonais, castillans…

Des noms de pays que, comme nous l'avons indiqué, les exilés prirent avec eux dans leur nouveaux pays. Et que là, ils réussirent à perdurer même après le changement de signification que Sepharad expérimenta à partir du XVI^e^ siècle, quand il cessa de signifier le disparu Al Andalus pour signifier l'Espagne : une union dynastique de royaumes dans laquelle l'expansion atlantique de Castille et le déclin méditerranéen de Catalogne, pour ainsi dire brièvement, impliqua l'hégémonie territoriale, culturelle et linguistique de Castille au détriment des autres réalités nationales péninsulaires[67].

Depuis lors, l'identification progressive de Sepharad avec Espagne impliqua dans la pratique, l'identification avec l'image, la culture et la langue de Castille[68]. Mais ce ne fut pas la réalité ni la pratique non plus durant le Moyen Age.

---

66 C'est normal donc, que quelques auteurs andalus n'utilisassent pas le nom du pays « sefardi » pour se référer à ceux qui n'étaient pas partie d'Al Andalus, c'est à dire, les habitants de la zone chrétienne, P. Wexler, *The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews*, New York : State University of New York Press, 1996, p. 77 ; E. Feliu, « Quatre notes », p. 83.

67 C. Mar-Molinero, « The Role of Language in Spanish Nation-Building », in C. Mar-Molinero ; A. Smith, *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula. Competing and Conflicting Identities*, Oxford ; Washington D.C. : Berg, 1996, pp. 73–75.

68 J. Álvarez, « The Formation », pp. 13–16. Le prestige et la suprématie que tout au long du XVI^e^ siècle et d'une partie du XVII^e^ eut Castille au dessous des autres royaumes péninsulaires durent influencer énormément la propagation d'une idée de Sepharad dans laquelle celle-ci s'identifia de plus en plus aux traits spécifiques de cette communauté politique. Ceci dût être, probablement, un des éléments principaux

3. L'identité des juifs catalans : conclusions et perspectives de futur

Après avoir atteint la fin de cette partie de notre exposée, nous revenons à la question posée au début : quand les juifs catalans se distinguaient de leurs coreligionnaires aragonais, castillans ou sefardis/andalus, qu'est-ce qu'ils voulaient dire réellement ?[69]

Si nous partons du fait qu'une grande partie de la documentation s'articule autour des questions de nature religieuse et que, en fait, au Moyen Age, la religion était l'un des facteurs les plus importants de l'identité, autant pour les individus que pour la société, et que dans le cas du judaïsme à l'Europe bas médiévale, ce fut l'élément clé qui les regroupait entre eux et les séparait du reste[70], il faudra considérer que sous la dénomination catalan, aragonais, castillan… le juif se référait principalement à une manière de vivre sa religion caractérisée par la coutume et la tradition qui avaient pris forme dans ce territoire particulier, et aux référents qu'il pouvait y situer (des personnalités qui y avaient vécu, des communautés célèbres et des tendances spirituelles spécifiques), avec lesquels il avait établi un lien d'appartenance.

C'est pour cela principalement que les juifs exilés de Catalogne défendront –comme nous l'avons vu dans certains des textes antérieurs– leurs coutumes, leur liturgie, et ils se souviendront avec fierté des sages catalans du passé.

Si alors nous nous interrogeons sur les facteurs qui intervinrent pour que la coutume et la liturgie adoptassent une forme précise, qui firent en sorte que des communautés précises excellèrent, que quelques personnages devinrent célèbres ou que des tendances spécifiques se furent formées… La réponse apparait complexe mais elle ne peut pas ignorer l'espace géographique où ces communautés étaient placées et le développement politique et culturel qui y eut lieu pendant le bas Moyen Age.

---

qui fait que les communautés catalanes finissent pour entrer dans l'orbite de cette idée de Sepharad. À Thessalonique, par exemple, en l'an 1526 s'imprimait le « Rituel du texte barcelonais du rite de Catalogne », mais trois siècles plus tard, pendant les ans soixante du XIX[e] siècle, on rééditait le rituel d'An nouveau catalan selon le rite de Sepharad, S. Schwarzfuchs, « La Catalogne », pp. 206–207 ; F. Touati-Wachsstock, « Halacha en Catalogne », p. 173. Cependant, et en dépit du prestige du judaïsme sefardi, dans le cas indiqué du rituel de Thessalonique nous ne laissons pas d'être devant un produit hybride dans lequel l'élément catalan y est encore présent.

69 C. del Valle, « ¿Fue Cataluña Sefarad ? », p. 211.

70 La séparation de l'autre est un fait voulu et promu tant par les chrétiens que par les juifs, J. Riera, « La conflictivitat », p. 302 ; D. Romano, « Característiques dels jueus en relació amb els cristians en els estats hispànics », en *Actes de Jornades d'Història dels Jueus a Catalunya. Girona, abril 1987*, Girona : Ajuntament de Girona, 1990, pp. 23–24 ; C. Soussen, *Judei nostri. Pouvoir royal, communautés juives et société chrétienne dans les territoires de la Couronne d'Aragon (XIII[e]-1[ère] moitié du XIV[e] siècle),* Toulouse : FRAMESPA, 2011, p. 32 ; B. R. Gampel, « The "Identity" of Sephardim of Medieval Christian Iberia », *Jewish Social Studies*, New Series, 8 (2002), pp. 133–138.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Par exemple, les possessions des comtes catalans au-delà des Pyrénées sont à la base des contacts étroits et fluides qui existaient entre les juifs de Languedoc et Provence et ceux de Catalogne ;[71] la croissance qu'expérimenta la Principauté au cours du XIII^e^ siècle et la première moitié du XIV^e^, explique la prolifération exceptionnelle de quartiers juifs dans tout le réseau routier et commercial du territoire ;[72] de même, l'émergence et la consolidation de la figure du municipe catalan au cours de ces siècles nous aide à comprendre la configuration des institutions de gouvernement de ces quartiers juifs ;[73] l'onomastique et la production écrite de quelques-uns des auteurs juifs catalans attestent l'assomption d'éléments provenant du domaine de la langue et de la littérature du catalan médiéval. Ceux-ci et d'autres cas similaires peuvent aider à mieux comprendre le processus par lequel ces communautés devinrent catalanes.

71 Perceptibles dans les domaines très connues de la cabale, la polémique autour de Maïmonide, les expulsions des juifs français, les unions matrimoniales… D. Romano, « La transmission des sciences arabes par les juifs en Languedoc », en *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, Toulouse : Édouard Privat, Éditeur, 1977, p. 366 ; Y. T. Assis, « Juifs de France réfugiés en Aragon (XIII^e^–XIV^e^ siècles) », *Revue d'Études Juives*, 142 (1983), pp. 285–322 ; H. Pollack, « An Historical », pp. 198–204 ; Y. T. Assis, « Naḥmánides y su concepción del judaísmo », en *Mossé ben Nahman i el seu temps. Simposi commemoratiu del vuitè centenari del seu naixement : 1194–1994. Girona, novembre de 1994*, Girona : Ajuntament de Girona, 1995, pp. 84–85 ; E. Feliu, « Quatre notes », p. 86.

72 J. Riera, *Catalunya i els jueus*, Barcelona : Departament de Comerç Consum i Turisme de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1987.

73 Y. T. Assis, *The Golden Age*, pp. 68–70 ; E. Feliu, « Algunes puntualitzacions », p. 178 ; B. D. Cooperman, « Ethnicity », p. 120.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Patrick Sänger

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE JEWISH MILITARY COLONY IN LEONTOPOLIS: A CASE OF GENEROSITY AND CALCULATION*

The immigration of Onias, member of the Oniad family, from Judaea to Egypt and the founding of a Jewish temple in Egypt is a quite enlightening historical episode because it seems to show the creation of a Diaspora community. Much has been written and discussed around the localisation of the temple in Leontopolis (near Heliopolis in the Heliopolite nome) and the identity of its founder – be it Onias III or IV. An aspect that received only little attention thus far, however, is the question in which form the Jewish military colony that was established together with the temple could have been organized. The present article focuses on this issue by proposing that in view of the purpose and political importance the Jewish settlement in Leontopolis probably had, it would be reasonable to assume that the military colony was constituted as *politeuma*, a kind of association for communities named after ethnic categories – an approach, which was already brought forward, but without further examining this point.[1] Before expanding on the probable organization of the Jewish military colony in question, introductory

* This study was completed during my APART-fellowship that was kindly granted to me by the Austrian Academy of Sciences for my habilitation project the Ptolemaic institution of the *politeuma*. I thank Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski for the feedback he gave me on this paper. List of abbreviations: CIG III = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. 3, ed. by Johannes Franz (Berlin: Officina Acad., 1845–1853); C.Pap.Jud. = *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, ed. by Victor A. Tcherikover, Alexander Fuks, and Menahem Stern, 3 vols (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964); IGR I = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, vol. 1, ed. by René Cagnat (Paris: Leroux, 1906); OGIS = *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. by Wilhelm Dittenberger, 2 vols (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905); P.Phrur.Diosk. = *Das Archiv des Phrurarchen Dioskurides (154 – 145 v. Chr.?)*, ed. by James M. S. Cowey, Klaus Maresch, and Christopher Barnes (Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003); P.Polit. Iud. = *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3 – 133/2 v. Chr.)*, ed. by James M. S. Cowey and Klaus Maresch (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001); P.Tebt. I = *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. 1, ed. by Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and Josiah G. Smyly (London: Henry Frowde, 1902); SB I, III, IV, V = *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 1 (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1915); vol. 3 (Berlin, Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926); vol. 4, 5 (Heidelberg: Selbstverlag, 1931, 1934); SEG 2, 8, 16, 20 = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, vol. 2, 8, 16, 20 (Leiden: Apud A. W. Sijthoff, 1924, 1937, 1959, 1964); W.Chr. = *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, vol. 1: *Historischer Teil*, part 2: *Chrestomathie*, ed. by Ulrich Wilcken (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1912).

1 Cf. below note 43.

remarks shall give a short and summarizing overview over the Jewish immigration to Egypt and the state of knowledge on the Jewish settlement in Leontopolis.

1. Introduction: Jews in Egypt, Onias, and the Revolt of the Maccabees

Among the various immigrant groups, which are attested for Hellenistic or Ptolemaic Egypt – named after the dynasty that was founded by king Ptolemy I Soter and reigned Egypt from Alexander's death (323 BCE) till the Roman takeover in the year 30 BCE –, Jews represent the best documented one. To state that they were a 'settled or fixed immigrant minority group' in Ptolemaic Egypt[2] is certainly not exaggerated; they and their communities left notable traces on the documentary sources from Hellenistic Egypt, namely (Greek) papyri and inscriptions.[3] Moreover, intellectual life of Alexandrian Jewry finds its expression in Greek literature: Most prominent is certainly the Septuagint or bible translation. It was conducted in Alexandria, where in the third century BCE, probably during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285–246 BCE), Jewish scholars translated the Pentateuch,[4] the first five books of the Old Testament (or the books of Moses) from Hebrew into Greek. This episode is documented in the so-called Letter of Aristeas, a fictitious report, created as an epistolary novel, which was probably completed during the second half of the second century BCE.[5] It was written by a Hellenized Jew of Alexandria and relates the circumstances of the bible translation. Numerous other examples of Judeo-Alexandrian literature could be added such as, for example, the Third Book of Maccabees as well as the works of the philosophers Aristoboulos and Philo, of the tragedian Ezekiel, of Artapanos, the author of a historical novel, and of Demetrios the chronographer.[6]

It was certainly the geographical proximity of Egypt and Judaea and the close political and historical ties between these two regions that contributed to the longevity of Egyptian Jewry. However, Jewish immigration into Egypt did

2 Robert Kugler, 'Judean Marriage Custom and Law in Second-Century BCE Egypt: A Case of Migrating Ideas and a Fixed Ethnic Minority', in *Minderheiten und Migration in der griechisch-römischen Welt: Politische, rechtliche, religiöse und kulturelle Aspekte*, ed. by Patrick Sänger (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), pp. 123–139 (p. 125; cf. p. 139).

3 The related texts are collected in C.Pap.Jud. and William Horbury and David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

4 Cf. Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski, 'Law and Justice in Ptolemaic Egypt', in *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World*, ed. by Markham J. Geller and Herwig Maehler (London: The Warburg Institute University of London, 1995), pp. 1–11 (pp. 8–10).

5 Cf. Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt. From Ramses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, repr. 1997), pp. 65–66; Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria. A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London, New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 128–130.

6 Cf. the overview in Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 65–72.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

not start in Hellenistic times. Possibly as early as in the seventh century BCE (or even earlier), Jewish refugees and soldiers arrived in Pharaonic Egypt, and the Neo-Babylonian empire's conquests during the early sixth century BCE certainly encouraged emigration from the Kingdom of Judah.[7] After the Persians had conquered Egypt in the year 525 BCE, we encounter Jewish soldiers in the service of the occupying forces: Aramaic papyri attest a Jewish garrison at Elephantine, a Nile island at the southern border of Egypt, in the fifth century BCE. As already indicated, a fresh wave of Jewish immigrants entering Egypt was a result of Alexander's conquests. The reason for this migration movement lies in the fact that Coele-Syria and thereby also Palestine were part of the Ptolemaic empire from the reign of Ptolemy I Soter till the break of the third and the second century BCE. Furthermore, the Ptolemies (as the last Pharaos and Persians) incorporated Jewish soldiers into their army: either as cleruchs (soldiers who, instead of being paid in money, received a plot of land which secured their livelihoods in peacetime) or – which will become clear in section 3 and 4 – as mercenaries or professional soldiers.[8]

But also after the Ptolemies had lost Coele-Syria (after several military conflicts) in the fifth Syrian war (202–198 BCE) to the Seleucids (Hellenistic dynasty ruling over the core region of the former Achaemenid Persian empire), Jewish immigration into Egypt did not come to an end because the Ptolemies remained open to sympathisers and political refugees.[9] A particularly far-reaching impact on the emigration from Judaea had the years after the sixth Syrian war (170/69–168 BCE), in which the Ptolemies were once again defeated by the Seleucids, now led by king Antiochos IV (175–164 BCE) who continued to control Judaea for a short time. It was during this king's reign that an internal crisis arose in Judaea, because a controversy about the office of the high priest among the Jews in connection with attempts to Hellenize the Jewish cult caused violent unrest among the Hellenized Jewish circle, the 'Hellenists', and the opposition, the 'traditionalists'. This unrest culminated in the revolt of the Maccabees (opponents of the 'Hellenists') in the year 167 BCE. Three years later, in 164 BCE, Jerusalem was recaptured and the Jewish temple, which had been defiled since 167 BCE, purified by the leader of the revolt, Judas Maccabeus. As a result, the Seleucids lost supremacy over Judaea; nevertheless, the war between them and the Maccabees/Hasmoneans and the inner-Jewish conflict ended only several years later. That in this situation Egypt was among the preferred destinations (perhaps even the most

7 Cf. Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 21–26, esp. pp. 22–23.

8 Cf. Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 83–87, focusing on the Jewish cleruchs.

9 Cf., for instance, Victor A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, C.Pap.Jud., Prolegomena, pp. 2–3 and Sandra Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 CE and the Persecution of the Jews: A Historical Reconstruction* (Leiden, Boston: E. J. Brill, 2009), p. 43.

preferred one) for political refugees from Judaea can be demonstrated exemplarily by the case of Onias and the founding of a Jewish temple on his initiative.

Onias belonged to the Oniad family (descendants of Zadok, high priest under Salomon) whose members held the office of high priest since Onias I (*c.* 320–280 BCE). The first-century CE Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, our primary source for Onias' temple founding in Egypt, offers contradictory reports on the identity of the founder:[10] In *The Jewish War*, Josephus refers to Onias III, the last legitimate Zadokite high priest who was deposed from office by his brother Jason ('the Hellenist') succeeding him in 175/4 BCE;[11] in the *Jewish Antiquities*, it is Onias III' son Onias IV who immigrated to Egypt. It is still not possible to determine with certainty, whether Onias should be identified with Onias III or his son.[12] In any case, in both of Josephus' reports it was the political confusion in Judaea that led Onias to leave his home – given the historical situation, there is no reason to question such a background of Onias' arrival in Egypt. We will now turn to the place of the famous immigrant's activities.

2. Leontopolis, Tell el-Yehoudieh, and Onias' military colony

After Onias' arrival in Egypt Ptolemy VI – known for his friendly policy towards Jews[13] – allowed him to found a Jewish temple in the Heliopolite nome.[14] The start of construction can, depending on the interpretation of Josephus' reports,

10 The passages are: *The Jewish War* 1, 31–33; 7, 421–436; *Jewish Antiquities* 12, 237–239; 386–389; 13, 62–73; 20, 236.

11 Cf. II Maccabees 4,4–7; 31–34.

12 Cf. Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), pp. 132–135, who leaves the question, whether Onias III or IV is meant, open. Fausto Parente, 'Onias III' Death and the Founding of the Temple of Leontopolis', in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period. Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, ed. by Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 69–98 argued for Onias III, and also Joan E. Taylor, 'A Second Temple in Egypt: The Evidence for the Zadokite Temple of Onias', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 29 (1998), 297–321 (pp. 298–310) and Walter Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde von Leontopolis nach den Inschriften', in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. by Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 117–133 (pp. 118–119) tend towards such an identification. Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 124–125 identifies Onias with Onias IV – a solution that is also preferred by Erich S. Gruen, 'The Origins and Objectives of Onias' Temple', *Scripta Classica Israelica*, 16 (1997), 47–70 (pp. 47–57) (n. 26 citing older literature for this approach), Livia Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto: Identità politica e religiosa dei Giudei di Onia (c. 150 a.C. – 73 d.C.)* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2007), pp. 42–53 and Peter Nadig, 'Zur Rolle der Juden unter Ptolemaios VI. und Ptolemaios VIII.', in *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äußerem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. bis VIII.*, ed. by Andrea Jördens and Joachim F. Quack (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), pp. 186–200 (pp. 188–194).

13 However, cf. below note 90.

14 According to Josephus, *The Jewish War* 7, 430 Onias was offered not only a place for the erection of the temple but also land for financing the priests and the sacrifices.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

be dated between 164 and 150 BCE.[15] The temple existed for more than 200 years until the Roman governor of Egypt Valerius Paulinus – after the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (70 CE) and the fall of Masada (73 CE) – closed it in the year 74/5 CE.[16]

The motives Onias had for the temple founding do not emerge clearly from our sources: in *The Jewish War*, the temple served as political instrument directed against the Seleucid rule in Judaea; in the *Jewish Antiquities*, Onias wanted to establish a central sanctuary for the Jews of Egypt and was driven by the desire to obtain glory. According to Erich S. Gruen, none of these reasons are plausible.[17] For our purposes we do not have to dwell on this matter. More important is the localisation of Onias' temple.

All reports agree that the temple was built in the Heliopolite nome (situated in the south-east of the Nile Delta, not far from Memphis). In that nome we indeed know a place named Tell el-Yehoudieh ('the knoll of the Jews'). The same holds true, however, for the Bubastite nome to the north of the Heliopolite nome. Nevertheless, the site of the temple has been identified with the Heliopolite Tell el-Yehoudieh, located north of Heliopolis (capital of the Heliopolite nome) and referred to as Leontopolis ('city of the lions') by Josephus[18] – not to be confused with the well-known town of Leontopolis, capital of the Leontopolite nome and also situated in the Nile-Delta. The region around Heliopolis, which obviously was an object of fascination in the Second Temple period, seems to have been

15 Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, p. 59; Nadig, 'Zur Rolle der Juden', pp. 188, 191–193; cf. also Gruen, 'The Origins', pp. 69–70 pointing to 159–152 BCE, when the office of high priest was vacant.

16 Cf. Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 129 and Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', p. 121.

17 Cf. Gruen, 'The Origins', pp. 57–70 who proposes that in a time of political confusion in Judaea 'a lesser replica of the Jerusalem Temple in the Heliopolite nome would provide a center for pious Jews in Egypt for whom the fate of their homeland must have seemed to be in grave jeopardy. A new temple would serve as a beacon announcing that the faith remained alive and strong' (p. 69). Similarly Taylor, 'A Second Temple', p. 310 ('Given this reconstruction, it may be possible also to conjecture that the establishment of the temple [... was] designed to bolster support for [...] the continuation of the proper worship of God at a time when the Jerusalem temple and its cultus would have been considered plundered, altered and defiled.') who moreover sees a political motive behind the temple founding by favoring to interpret it as an anti-Seleucid or -hellenizing measure taken by Onias III. Completely different Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, pp. 61–89 who regards the temple as an attempt (by Onias IV) to establish a temple of 'pure' character for the multi-religious society of Egypt. However, that initiative, according to Capponi, was not appreciated by Jewish intellectuals in Alexandria which could explain their silence on the temple in Leontopolis.

18 Cf. Edouard Naville, 'The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias. Belbeis, Samanood, Abusir, Tukh el Karmus. 1887', *Seventh Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Extra Volume for 1888–9)* (London: Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1890), pp. 3–30 (pp. 19–20); William M. Flinders Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London: Office of School of Archaeology, 1906), pp. 19–27; Kasher, *The Jews*, pp. 119–122; Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 127; Taylor, 'A Second Temple', pp. 313–320; Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', pp. 117–118.

named after Onias;[19] this, in any case, seems to indicate a greater Jewish settlement density in that area. Perhaps, Jews inhabited the 'land of Onias' already before the founding of the temple, and after its closure, it was probably the Diaspora revolt (115–117 CE) that brought the end to the related communities.[20]

In contrast to older research literature, today it is generally agreed that there is no archaeological proof of the temple.[21] In the *Jewish Antiquities* (13, 73; 387–388), Flavius Josephus mentions that the temple was built on the model of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem and gives a more detailed description in *The Jewish War* (7, 426–430). Apart from Josephus, the literary evidence about the temple in Leontopolis is very modest. Obviously, the temple played almost no role in the intellectual life of Egyptian Jewry (Philo does not mention it). The very sparse references in rabbinic literature suggest that worship in Leontopolis was not regarded as 'schismatic' and as rivalling with the temple in Jerusalem.[22]

Given the lack of archaeological evidence, identifying Leontopolis, Tell el-Yehoudieh, as the site of the temple is not possible without any restrictions. What is certain, however, is the assumption that the cemetery, which was uncovered near Tell el-Yehoudieh, belonged to a Jewish community. The tombstones of this cemetery bear Greek-language inscriptions – by the way: apart from Rome or Sardis in Asia Minor no Jewish community has left a comparable amount of texts.[23] However, based on the form of the burials, the content of the inscriptions, and the fact that none of the decedents is denoted as *Ioudaios* – an identification feature which in other parts of the Diaspora is of great importance – it would be hardly possible to identify the cemetery as being specifically Jewish. Apart from the reports on the founding of a Jewish temple in the Heliopolite nome and from the toponym 'Tell el-Yehoudieh', only the names of the decedents suggest that we are dealing (in large part) with Jews.[24]

The inscriptions of the cemetery date from the first century BCE and the first century CE. Thus, the decedents are not to be considered as contemporaries of

19 Cf. *The Jewish War* 1, 190; 7, 421; *Jewish Antiquities* 14, 131. On the 'land of Onias' see esp. Taylor, 'A Second Temple', pp. 314–316 (with further references to ancient literature).

20 Cf. Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', p. 117 and 121.

21 Alain-Pierre Zivie, 'Tell el-Jahudija', in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. by Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, vol. 6 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), coll. 331–335 (col. 334); Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 127; Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', p. 118.

22 Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 128; Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', pp. 120–121 with n. 14 and 15; Nadig, 'Zur Rolle der Juden', p. 189 with n. 13 and 15; Gruen, 'The Origins', pp. 60–69.

23 Most of the related Jewish inscriptions of Leontopolis are collected in Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 29–105; on problematic cases (such as no. 129, the 'Chelkias-inscription', which possibly does not stem from Tell el-Yehoudieh) and new discoveries see Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', p. 122, n. 18. On the content of the texts cf. Kasher, *The Jews*, pp. 122–132; Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 129–133; Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', pp. 122–133; Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, pp. 131–162.

24 Cf. Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', pp. 123–127.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Onias. Nevertheless, the community the cemetery pays witness to is to be put in context with the founder of the temple: at least one inscription makes direct reference to Onias by mentioning the Ὀνίου γᾶ, the 'land of Onias'.[25]

Despite all the difficulties associated with the identification of the temple site in the Heliopolite Tell el-Yehoudieh, it would be possible that Onias was also the founder of the Jewish community located there. Indeed, in *The Jewish War* (1, 33) it is stated that Onias, having received land from king Ptolemy VI, also built a fort or small town (πολίχνη), and in 7, 427 Josephus used a term with a purely military meaning, namely φρούριον, fort. In the *Jewish Antiquities* (13, 65–66) Onias was accompanied by fellow Jews and found an appropriate place for the erection of the temple in a castle (ὀχύρωμα). Therefore, Onias probably founded not only a temple but also a fort and a related military colony. The military potential of this community is possibly demonstrated by the further course of history:[26] We learn from Josephus' *Against Apion* (2,49–56) that, when civil war broke out at Ptolemy's VI death (145 BCE), a man named Onias[27] moved to Alexandria with an armed force and supported the beleaguered queen Cleopatra II and her sons against Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physkon). A few decades later, according to Josephus and Strabo (cited by Josephus), Chelkias and Ananias, who are referred to as Onias' sons, are associated with the Jews of the 'land of Onias'.[28] We are told that, after Cleopatra III had expelled her son Ptolemy IX Soter II (Lathyros) in 107 BCE, her power relied to a significant extent on these two Jewish commanders and their troops. Finally, we encounter the Jews of the 'land of Onias' again, this time supporting a Jewish contingent of Judaea led by Antipater; the aim of the military operation was the relief of Julius Caesar, who was besieged in Alexandria during the civil war in 48/7 BCE.[29]

A tombstone most probably originating in the cemetery of Tell el-Yehoudieh could confirm the link between the related Jewish settlement and Onias' military colony. The content of the inscription, which might date from the first century

25 Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 38, line 4.

26 Cf. John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 – 117 CE)* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 37–41 and Gruen, 'The Origins', pp. 66–67.

27 However, if this Onias is to be identified with the founder of the temple is not certain; cf. Gruen, 'The Origins', p. 53, n. 32, and p. 59.

28 *Jewish Antiquities* 13, 285–287 and 349. If the Chelkias, who is mentioned in Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 129, is to be identified with the son of the temple founder Onias is most uncertain; cf. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, p. 39, n. 60.

29 Cf. *The Jewish War* 1, 187–192; *Jewish Antiquities* 14, 127–132.

CE – and, therefore, from Roman times –, is a grave epigram.[30] The translation of the text reads as follows:[31]

> When he had already accomplished a span of fifty-three years, the all-subduer himself carried him off to Hades. O sandy earth, how notable a body you cover: that which had the soul of Abramos, most fortunate of men. For he was not without honour in the city, but was crowned in his wisdom with a communal magistracy over all people.
>
> For you were honoured by being a *politarches* in two places, fulfilling the double expense with gracious liberality. Until you hid yourself in the grave all things that befitted you were yours, dear soul, and we, a family of good children, increase them.
>
> But you, passer-by, beholding the grave of a good man, depart with these favourable words for him: 'May you find the earth light upon you for all time.'[32]

About persons who held leading positions in the Jewish community of Tell el-Yehoudieh and the status of that community per se only the grave epigram of Abramos provides meaningful information.[33] However, the interpretation of the text is controversial, especially the meaning of the non-specific wording 'being *politarches* in two locations' (διϲϲῶν γάρ τε τόπων πολιταρχῶν).[34] It will turn out that although my reading of this passage is optimistic with regard to the usage of a somewhat clear terminology in this poetic text, it is nonetheless justified given the way some Jewish (and other ethnic) communities were organized in Ptolemaic and Roman times.

---

30 For the provenance and dating of the inscription see Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, p. 96 and 97.

31 SB I 5765 = C.Pap.Jud. III 1530A = Étienne Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1969), no. 16 = Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 39: πεντήκοτα (*lege* πεντήκοντα) τριῶν ἐτέων κύκλον ϋδ' ἀνύσαντα | αὐτὸϲ ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἥρπαϲεν εἰϲ Ἀΐδην. | ὦ χθὼν ἀμμοφανήϲ, οἷον δέμαϲ ἀμφικαλύπτιϲ | Ἀβράμου ψυχῆϲ, τοῦ μακαριϲτοτάτου· | οὐκ ἀγέραϲτοϲ ἔφυ γὰρ ἀνὰ πτόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῇ | πανδήμῳ ἐθνικῇ ἐϲτέφετ' ἐν ϲοφίᾳ. | διϲϲῶν γάρ τε τόπων πολιταρχῶν αὐτὸϲ ἐτειμῶ | τὴν διμερῆ δαπάνην ἐξανύϲαϲ χάριϲιν. | πάντα δέ ϲοι, ἐπέοιχ' ὅϲα τοι, ψυχή, πρὶν ἔκευθεϲ, | καὶ τέκνων ἀγαθῶν αὔξομεν γενεή. | ἀλλὰ ϲύ, ὦ παροδεῖτα, ἰδὼν ἀγαθοῦ τάφον ἀνδρὸϲ | ὅν τε κατευφημῶν τοῖα φράϲαϲ ἄπιθι. | 'γαῖαν ἔχοιϲ ἐλαφρὰν εἰϲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον'.

32 The translation is oriented towards Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, p. 95. In the version above only the translation of διϲϲῶν γάρ τε τόπων πολιταρχῶν was altered, because the rendering 'holding a city magistracy in two places' could be somewhat misleading.

33 Contrary to Kasher, *The Jews*, pp. 123–124 and Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, 143, the 'Chelkias-inscription' (or Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 129) has to be excluded in this context because of its uncertain provenance (cf. above note 23).

34 Cf. Louis Robert, *Hellenica: recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités*, vol. 1 (Limoges: A. Bontemps, 1940), pp. 18–24 (p. 21); Gert Lüderitz, 'What is the Politeuma?', in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, ed. by Jan W. van Henten and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 183–225 (pp. 209–210). Cf. also below note 40.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Let us start with the verb πολιταρχέω which means 'hold office of *politarches*';[35] of course, its meaning could also be paraphrased as 'being leader of citizens'.[36] The participle πολιταρχῶν, therefore, indicates that Abramos held a socially elevated position. This word use may be compared with a Jewish community in Herakleopolis (the capital of the Middle Egyptian Herakleopolite nome) whose highest official was referred to as *politarches*.[37] Furthermore, we know that this community was organized as *politeuma*, a word, which could be translated as 'polity' (cf. below section 3); its members apparently called themselves *politai* (πολῖται), therefore 'citizens',[38] a common designation adopted by Jews to designate that they belong to the *politeia* of Moses, the Jewish religious community – a word usage which is already attested in the Septuagint.[39] Although the verb πολιταρχέω does not necessarily indicate that Abramos was the leading official of a *politeuma*,[40] such an interpretation would seem plausible because of the evidence from Herakleopolis and, by the way, was already suggested before the Jewish *politeuma* of that city became known.[41] Thus, the grave epigram in question could attest a person who

35 Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones, Roderick McKenzie, *A Greek English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940, 9th ed.), 1434 s. v.

36 Cf. the translation of Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 96.

37 See P.Polit.Iud. 1, line 1 (135 BCE); 2, line 1 (*c.* 135 BCE); 17, line 5 (143 BCE); cf. also P.Oxy. IV 745, line 5 (Oxy., *c.* 1 CE), where the title is mentioned, though its interpretation remains open.

38 This can be inferred from P.Polit.Iud. 1, line 18 (135 BCE), where a member of the Jewish *politeuma* distinguishes between *politai*, members of the *politeuma*, and *allophyloi* (ἀλλόφυλοι), foreigners or non-members.

39 Cf. Hermann Strathmann, 'πόλις κτλ.', in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Begründet von Gerhard Kittel*, ed. by Gerhard Friedrich, vol. 6 (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln: Kohlhammer, 1990, repr.) pp. 516–535 (p. 525). For the word usage in the context of the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis cf. J. M. S. Cowey, K. Maresch, P.Polit.Iud., Introduction, pp. 22–23, 38; Sylvie Honigman, 'The Jewish *Politeuma* at Heracleopolis' [Review P.Polit.Iud.], *Scripta Classica Israelica*, 21 (2002), 251–266 (pp. 253–254); ead., 'Jewish Communities in Hellenistic Egypt: Different Responses to Different Environments', in *Jewish Identities in Antiquity. Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern*, ed. by Lee I. Levine and Daniel R. Schwartz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), pp. 117–135 (p. 126, n. 18); Walter Ameling, ''Market-Place' und Gewalt. Die Juden in Alexandrien 38 n.Chr.', *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Folge*, 27 (2003), 71–123 (p. 98). Contrary to James M. S. Cowey, 'Das ägyptische Judentum in hellenistischer Zeit – neue Erkenntnisse aus jüngst veröffentlichten Papyri', in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel. Band 2*, ed. by Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen P. Lesch (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2004), pp. 24–43 (pp. 33–34); Kasher, *The Jews*, (for instance) pp. 30, 127, 130, n. 71, 192–194 (disputed by Constantine Zuckerman, 'Hellenistic *politeumata* and the Jews. A Reconsideration' [Review Kasher, *The Jews*], *Scripta Classica Israelica*, 8/9 [1985–1988], 171–185 [p. 184]; Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 82; Lüderitz, 'What is the Politeuma?', pp. 194–195); Aryeh Kasher, 'The Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria: A Pattern of Jewish Communal Life in the Greco-Roman Diaspora', in *Homelands and Diasporas: Greek, Jews and Their Migrations*, ed. by Minna Rozen (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 109–125 (pp. 115–117, 124–125); and Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, pp. 141–142, there is no proof that *polites* was used as (technical) term for a member of a *politeuma*.

40 Cf. Lüderitz, 'What is the Politeuma?', p. 210 against Robert, *Hellenica*, p. 21.

41 Cf. below note 43.

in the function of a *politarches* or a 'leader of Jewish fellow believers' was active in two Jewish *politeumata*.[42] Such an assumption appears to make sense especially in the context of the 'land of Onias': As will be explained in the next sections, it is reasonable to assume that Onias' military colony was constituted as *politeuma*, and it would not be surprising if there existed more than one Jewish *politeuma* in a region called the 'land of Onias'. It is quite possible that it was the settlement originating in Onias' military colony, where Abramos held one of his offices. If he had exercised that function in the settlement, where he was buried (which is extremely likely), this could be a further indication that the Heliopolite Tell el-Yehoudieh was the site, where Onias and his followers settled down and founded a temple.

By piling hypothesis upon hypothesis, the reasoning presented above intended to show that, although our grave epigram may give us a hint that Onias' military colony was organized as *politeuma* and located in the Heliopolite Tell el-Yehoudieh (or Leontopolis), such an assumption is associated with a number of uncertainties. Nevertheless, especially after the discovery of the Jewish *politeuma* in Herakleopolis this interpretation was hardly questioned by researchers.[43]

The following discussion aims at demonstrating that a thorough investigation of the general characteristics of the institution of the *politeuma* may provide at least a strong argument for supporting the view suggested by Abramos' epitaph, namely that Onias' military colony was organized as *politeuma*. Furthermore, such an approach will help us to identify more precisely the interest the Ptolemies

42 Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, p. 140 interprets the phrase διοσσῶν γάρ τε τόπων πολιταρχῶν in such a way that Abramos was *politarches* of two administrative districts or nomes, namely of the Heliopolite and the neighbouring Bubastite nome. Even if τόπων had such a meaning, there is no reason to understand the phrase exclusively as an indication of Abramos' actual administrative responsibility. Rather one could also interpret the wording just as a poetic description of Abramos' sphere of influence which resulted from his official function. Indeed, all we know up until now, is that in Egypt a *politarches* was the head of a Jewish community (in Herakleopolis) constituted as *politeuma*; apart from this, there is no proof of further official competences. That is why we also have to reject Kasher's (*The Jews*, pp. 125–126) assumption that the administration of Leontopolis was 'all Jewish' and that this city was capital of the 'land of Onias'.

43 Before the papyri of the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis were published, Robert, *Hellenica* and Kasher, *The Jews*, pp. 123–132 argued for, Lüderitz, 'What is the Politeuma?', pp. 208–210 and Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski, 'Jewish Law and Hellenistic Legal Practice in the Light of Greek Papyri from Egypt', in *An Introduction to the History and Sources of Jewish Law*, ed. by Neil S. Hecht, Bernard S. Jackson, Stephen M. Passamaneck, Daniela Piattelli, and Alfredo M. Rabello (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 75–99 (p. 77) against the existence of a Jewish *politeuma* in Leontopolis. Edith M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), p. 226 considered the first view probable. More recently, Sylvie Honigman, '*Politeumata* and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt', *Ancient Society*, 33 (2003), 61–102 (pp. 65–66); Cowey, 'Das ägyptische Judentum', pp. 30–31; Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, pp. 140–142; Thomas Kruse, 'Das jüdische *politeuma* von Herakleopolis und die Integration fremder Ethnien im Ptolemäerreich', in *Volk und Demokratie im Altertum*, ed. by Vera V. Dement'eva and Tassilo Schmitt (Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 93–105 (p. 97) took the Herakleopolite evidence as confirmation of the Jewish *politeuma* in Leontopolis. Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', pp. 128–129 and Werner Huß, *Die Verwaltung des ptolemaiischen Reiches* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck München, 2011), p. 300, n. 240 still remain sceptical.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

could have had in the immigration and settlement of the group around Onias and to explain the willingness of these people to take such a step.

3. The institution of the politeuma

The word *politeuma* is in fact relatively common in Greek, and has a wide spectrum of meanings.[44] It can, for instance, refer to a 'political act' or appear as a term for 'government', 'citizenry', 'polity' or 'state'. As a technical term *politeuma* can, in the context of a Greek city-state or *polis*, also refer to the political leading class of citizens as a sovereign body with specific rights. Therefore, in an oligarchic constitution the word refers to the richer section of the citizenry with full rights of political participation; in a democratic *polis* to the entire male citizenry. However, the word, as a technical term, is not restricted to the political organization of a classical Greek *polis*, but can also be applied to designate a specific and organized group of persons within an urban area. In this context we are dealing, as already indicated, with groups whose ethnic designation is pointing to a migrant background. As we will see, these ethnic *politeumata* are securely attested only in regions that were part of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Altogether, the institution of the *politeuma* seems to have been a specific kind of association aiming at promoting certain minority or ethnic communities.[45]

So far eight ethnic *politeumata* have been discovered from Hellenistic times. The oldest testimony we have is from Sidon, on the coast of present day Lebanon, dating to the end of the third century BCE (when Sidon was still controlled by the Ptolemies).[46] In Sidon the immigrants from the towns of Kaunos (in Caria), Termessos Minor near Oinoanda, and Pinara (both in Lycia) – situated in the south of Asia Minor – each appear to be organized in, or to have had at their

44 On the terminology see the detailed study by Walter Ruppel, 'Politeuma. Bedeutungsgeschichte eines staatsrechtlichen Terminus', *Philologus: Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption*, 82 (1927), 268–312 and 433–454, who collected all of the (at that time) known literary and documentary evidence; cf. also Arnaldo Biscardi, 'Polis, politeia, politeuma', in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (Napoli, 19–26 maggio 1983)*, vol. 3 (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1984), pp. 1201–1215 (pp. 1205–1215); Zuckerman, 'Hellenistic *politeumata*', p. 174 and Lüderitz, 'What is the Politeuma?', p. 183.

45 On this definition see Patrick Sänger, 'Das *politeuma* in der hellenistischen Staatenwelt: Eine Organisationsform zur Systemintegration von Minderheiten', in *Minderheiten und Migration in der griechisch-römischen Welt: Politische, rechtliche, religiöse und kulturelle Aspekte*, ed. by Patrick Sänger (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), pp. 25–45 (pp. 41–45).

46 On the approach of associating the Sidonian *politeumata* with the Ptolemies and not with the Seleucids see Patrick Sänger, 'The *Politeuma* in the Hellenistic World (Third to First Century BC): A Form of Organization to Integrate Minorities', in *Migration und Integration – wissenschaftliche Perspektiven aus Österreich. Jahrbuch 2/2013*, ed. by Julia Dahlvik, Christoph Reinprecht, and Wiebke Sievers (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014), pp. 51–68 (pp. 61–62); id., 'Das *politeuma*', pp. 38–39.

disposal, a *politeuma*.[47] Apart from Sidon this kind of association is otherwise only attested in Egypt, the core territory of the Ptolemies. In Egypt, too, the members of a *politeuma* were bound together by bearing the same ethnic label which indicated their belonging to a foreign (non-Egyptian) ethnic group. But in Egypt these labels were derived from a certain geographical region[48] – unlike in the case of Sidon, where membership in a *politeuma* implied association with a given Greek city-state or *polis*. In Egypt, by contrast, a *politeuma* of Cilicians (named after the region Cilicia in the south of Asia Minor),[49] one of Boeotians (named after the region Boeotia in the east of Central Greece),[50] one of Cretans,[51] one of Jews,[52] and one of Idumaeans (named after the region Idumaea south of Judaea)[53] are attested. We come across all these *politeumata* in the second or first century BCE.[54] For their locations in Egypt we know only that the Boeotian *politeuma* was based in the nome (regional) capital Xois in the north of the Nile delta, the Idumaean one in Memphis (south of the Nile delta), and the Jewish

47 Theodor Macridy, 'À travers les nécropoles sidoniennes', *Revue biblique*, 13 (= n.s. 1) (1904), 547–572 (p. 549: stele A; p. 551: stele 2; pp. 551–552: stele 3). A *politeuma* is also mentioned in stele 8 (pp. 553–554); however, the name of the city the members of this *politeuma* came from is lost.

48 By far the largest part of the ethnic designations attested in the papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt belongs to the context of administrative categorization. These ethnic designations can, but do not have to, point to a person's actual origin. The same applies to ethnic designations, which were used by individuals to express their self-definition: such a usage, too, may be based on actual origin or may have had a fictive character; cf. e.g. Dorothy J. Thompson, 'Hellenistic Hellenes. The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt', in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. by Irad Malkin (Cambridge [MA], London: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 301–322 und Bernard Legras, *L'Égypte grecque et romain* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004), p. 60. In the case of the ethnic *politeumata*, administrative categorization might correspond to the members' self-definition (and to a certain degree probably also to actual origin); cf. Sänger, 'Das *politeuma*', pp. 41–45.

49 SB IV 7270 = SEG 8, 573 = Étienne Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum. Tome I: La 'méris' d'Hérakleides* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), no. 15 = id., *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au musée du Louvre* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992), no. 22.

50 SEG 2, 871 = SB III 6664.

51 P.Tebt. I 32 = W.Chr. 448.

52 P.Polit.Iud. 1–20.

53 OGIS 737 = Joseph G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905), pp. 18–19, no. 33027 = SB V 8929 = André Bernand, *La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Tome I: Textes et traductions; Tome II: Commentaires* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992), no. 25. On the identification of the Idumaean *politeuma* see Dorothy J. Thompson Crawford, 'The Idumaeans of Memphis and the Ptolemaic *Politeuma*', *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (Napoli, 19–26 maggio 1983)*, vol. 3 (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papiri Ercolanesi, 1984), pp. 1069–1075; ead., *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012, 2nd ed.), pp. 93–96.

54 The testimony for the Cilician *politeuma* mentioned above could also be dated to the third century BCE. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques*, no. 22, p. 65 summarized the various dating approaches reaching from the third to the first century BCE and favoured, based on Leon Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography* (Brüssel: Paleis der Academiën, 1975), p. 173, no. 281, a dating to the first century BCE.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

one, which was already mentioned in the previous section, in Herakleopolis.[55] The Cilician and the Cretan *politeuma* cannot be located exactly; at least they can be linked to the Fayum or the Arsinoite nome (Middle Egypt).

Because the grave epigram discussed above probably stems from Roman times, it is important to note that also after Egypt fell under Roman rule and became a Roman province – this was in the year 30 BCE – *politeumata* still existed. But their origins most probably lay in the Ptolemaic period. At the end of the first century BCE – when Egypt, that is, was already under Roman rule – we come across a *politeuma* of Phrygians (named after the region Phrygia in the west of central Asia Minor), whose location in Egypt is unknown,[56] and a great period later, in the year 120 CE, we encounter a *politeuma* of Lycians (named after the region Lycia in the south of Asia Minor) which existed in Alexandria.[57] We also know about a *politeuma* of Jews under Roman sovereignty at the end of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE.[58] This was located in the Greek city of Berenike, founded by Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 BCE) and situated on the Mediterranean coast of western Cyrenaica (today the eastern part

55 Contrary to the generally accepted interpretation of P.Polit.Iud. 1–20 Bradley Ritter, 'On the 'πολίτευμα in Heracleopolis", *Scripta Classica Israelica*, 30 (2011), 9–37 rejected the existence of a Jewish *politeuma* in Herakleopolis. But his argumentation is not convincing. Ritter proposes a new interpretation of the phrase τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὸ λζ (ἔτος) τοῦ ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει πολιτεύ[μα]τος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ('to the archons of the *politeuma* of the Jews in Herakleopolis, holding office in the 37th year') attested in P.Polit. Iud. 8, lines 4–5 (Herakl., 133 BCE). According to Ritter (*op. cit.*, pp. 10–17) τῶν Ἰουδαίων should not be linked to πολιτεύ[μα]τος but to τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὸ λζ (ἔτος). However, such a linguistic interpretation seems to be too contrived to appear plausible. Since Ritter sees no hint to a Jewish *politeuma* in Herakleopolis, he deprives the related papyri of their general validity for that kind of association. As a consequence Ritter (*op. cit.*, pp. 17–22) classified all the other known *politeumata* as ordinary (private) associations. Such an approach prevailed immediately before the publication of P.Polit.Iud. as a result of an insufficient body of source material (cf. below note 70). Furthermore, based on his linguistic interpretation of P.Polit.Iud. 8, lines 4–5, Ritter (*op. cit.*, pp. 23–33) supposed that the word *politeuma* in the context of P.Polit.Iud. refers to the 'citizen body' of Herakleopolis, and that this nome (regional) capital should be understood as a *polis* with *politai* and a *politarches* as its highest official. On this point, it suffices to cite Ritter (*op. cit.*, p. 27) himself, who against his own view stated correctly: 'Admittedly, we have no other reference to the term *politeuma* in the sense of a city or civic body of a nome capital.' This observation is not surprising, because (as already indicated above) the word *politeuma* as a technical term – except for the so-called Ptolemaic institution – is related to the (ruling) citizens of a *polis*, and the nome capitals of Hellenistic or Ptolemaic Egypt neither possessed the legal status of a Greek city or *polis,* nor were they organized as such.

56 IG XIV 701 = OGIS 658 = SB V 7875 = IGR I 458 = François Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (I^er^–III^e^ s. apr. J.-C.)* (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1994), no. 74. On the provenance of the inscription see also Huß, *Die Verwaltung*, p. 299 with further references in n. 232.

57 SB III 6025 = V 8757 = IGR I 1078 = SEG 2, 848 = Bernand, *La prose sur pierre*, no. 61 = Kayser, *Recueil des inscriptions*, no. 24.

58 CIG III 5362 = SEG 16, 931 = Gert Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika mit einem Anhang von Joyce M. Reynolds* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1983), no. 70 and CIG III 5361 = Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*, no. 71.

of Libya) – a region which until the beginning of the first century BCE was under Ptolemaic control.

Finally, we must consider the above mentioned letter of Aristeas. At the end of the letter, where the presentation of the Septuagint to Ptolemy II is described, particularly notable amongst those, who were responsible for the verification of the translation from Hebrew into Greek, are 'the elders of those from the *politeuma*' (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος; § 310).[59] The interpretation of the passage is disputed and it is therefore not absolutely clear whether '*politeuma*' was used in its sense as an ethnic association – remember, the word had a wide range of meanings – and so whether the letter of Aristeas can be regarded as proof positive that a Jewish *politeuma* existed in Alexandria. But the existence of such a *politeuma* would hardly be unexpected. This is so not only because of the evidence of the Jewish *politeumata* of Berenike and Herakleopolis, but also because of the large Jewish community in Alexandria.[60] There, according to the ancient author Strabo, writing in the early Augustan period (i.e., at the beginning of the Roman rule over Egypt) and cited by Flavius Josephus, Jews had their own residential district, which was administrated by an official called *ethnarches*, while Philo mentions the title *genarches* which existed in the late Augustan period.[61]

A summarizing look at the whole evidence for the social origin and administrative character of ethnic *politeumata* leads to the following conclusions:[62]

First, all the persons, who came together in an ethnic *politeuma*, are connected with regions that were temporarily in the possession or under the protectorate (Caria, Lycia, Cilicia, Iudaea, Idumaea, Crete) or at least in the sphere of influence (Boeotia, Phrygia) of the Ptolemaic kings.

Second, *politeumata* were established in Greek cities such as Berenike as well as in urban settlements which were of Egyptian or Phoenician origin. Therefore, the *politeumata* were flexible units that were not tied to a certain type of host town.

Third, in order to preserve the identity of the named ethnic group the members of the *politeumatata* each exercised their own cult. We know this from the

59 On the translation see Kasher, *The Jews*, p. 208; Lüderitz, 'What is the Politeuma?', p. 204.

60 There is a rich literature on this topic; cf. exemplarily the most recent studies of Honigman, '*Politeumata* and Ethnicity'; ead., 'Jewish Communities', pp. 131–134; Aryeh Kasher, 'The Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria'; Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 CE*, pp. 48–52; and Peter Arzt-Grabner, 'Die Stellung des Judentums in neutestamentlicher Zeit anhand der Politeuma-Papyri und anderer Texte', in *Papyrologie und Exegese: Die Auslegung des Neuen Testament im Licht der Papyri*, ed. by Jens Herzer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), pp. 127–158. Contrary to these studies, which affirm the existence of a Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria, Amelings, 'Market-Place', pp. 90–98 remains skeptical towards this assumption.

61 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14, 117; cf. also 19, 283; Philo, *Against Flaccus* 74.

62 On the following characterization cf. Sänger, 'The *Politeuma*', pp. 57–60 and id., 'Das *politeuma*', pp. 33–38.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

fact that the Cilician, Boeotian, and Idumaean *politeuma* had its own sanctuary or temple district and that in the case of the Boeotian and Phrygian *politeuma* a priest is attested who presided over the cult.

Fourth, it is certainly right to assume that all the recorded *politeumata* had military connections.[63] The Ptolemies were highly dependent on mercenaries for the defense of their territory. These troops, which can be classified as one of the largest migrant groups of the Ptolemaic kingdom, were settled in garrisons at various, strategically significant points (in urban settlements, for example). They were recruited in the outer possessions (or sphere of influence) of the Ptolemaic kingdom and often fought as specialized contingents using the characteristic fighting techniques of their places of origin.[64] Moreover, there is direct evidence to show that the ethnic *politeumata* were connected to military groups. On tomb steles, which provide the evidence for the Sidonian *politeumata*, soldiers bearing weapons are depicted. Furthermore, the texts illuminating the *politeumata* of Cilicians, Boeotians, Cretans, and Idumaeans indicate that these communities had close links with military dignitaries or consisted partly of professional soldiers.[65] Furthermore, one can point to an inscription which dates from the year 112/11 or 76/75 BCE and refers to a *politeuma* of soldiers of unspecified ethnicity stationed in Alexandria (SEG 20, 499). Because its members are not defined by

63 On this approach cf. also Marcel Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris: De Boccard, 1987, réimpression avec addenda et mise à jour, en postface par Yvon Garlan, Philippe Gauthier, Claude Orrieux), pp. 1064–1084; Thompson Crawford, 'The Idumaeans of Memphis'; Zuckerman, 'Hellenistic *politeumata*', pp. 174–180; Honigman, '*Politeumata* and Ethnicity', pp. 64–67.

64 Cf. Guy T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp. 118–135; Edmond Van 't Dack, 'Sur l'évolution des institutions militaires lagides', in *Armée et fiscalité dans le monde antique. Actes du colloque, Paris 14–16 Octobre 1976*, ed. by André Chastagnol (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977), pp. 77–105 (pp. 91–92); Roger S. Bagnall, 'The Origins of Ptolemaic Cleruchs', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 21 (1984), 7–20 (p. 16); Thompson Crawford, 'The Idumaeans of Memphis', p. 1069; Sandra Scheuble, 'Bemerkungen zu den μισθοφόροι und τακτόμισθοι im ptolemäischen Ägypten', in *„... vor dem Papyrus sind alle gleich!" Papyrologische Beiträge zu Ehren von Bärbel Kramer (P. Kramer)*, ed. by Raimar Eberhard, Holger Kockelmann, Stefan Pfeiffer, and Maren Schentuleit (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 213–222; Mary Stefanou, 'Waterborne Recruits: The Military Settlers of Ptolemaic Egypt', in *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile. Studies in Waterborne Power*, ed. by Kostas Buraselis, Mary Stefanou and Dorothy J. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 108–131 (pp. 127–130).

65 The Boeotian *politeuma*, whose priest was *strategos* (the highest nome official), obviously consisted of a group of soldiers and a group of civilians; cf. Zuckerman, 'Hellenistic *politeumata*', p. 175 and Dorothy J. Thompson, 'Ethnic Minorities in Hellenistic Egypt', in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, ed. by Onno M. van Nijf and Richard Alston (Leuven, Paris, Walpole [MA]: Peeters, 2011), pp. 101–117 (p. 110). In the case of the Cilician *politeuma*, we encounter a high-ranking military officer of *machairophoroi* (a troop of professional soldiers) acting as a benefactor of the community concerned. In the case of the Idumaean *politeuma*, a *strategos*, who simultaneously held the position of a priest of *machairophoroi*, was honoured by the Idumaeans. Regarding the Cretan *politeuma*, it is documented that two representatives of the community were involved in the administrative processing of the promotion of a member of the *politeuma* to a higher rank within the military hierarchy.

their origins in a foreign geographical region, but by their profession, this *politeuma,* just like the Sidonian *politeumata* (whose members where defined by being citizens of a certain *polis*, rather than region, as in Egypt), seems to be an odd case. But that oddity aside, this Alexandrian *politeuma* of soldiers supports the theory that the origin of the communities named *politeuma* are to be found in bodies of mercenaries (and their civilian staff, and families), who were, ordinarily, linked by a common ethnic background and settled at their place of deployment.[66] As Dorothy Thompson says, 'Local ethnic communities in the Ptolemaic period often derived in origin from military groups; in their developed form they were total communities, consisting of far more that just the military.[67]' It appears quite clear that in Ptolemaic Egypt such a composition can be attributed to most of the ethnic groups constituted as *politeumata*. Because of their military origins, it follows that these communities were of some importance to the Ptolemaic rulers.

Fifth, in the administration of Ptolemaic Egypt all groups constituted as *politeumata* – also the Jews – were classified among the population category of the *Hellenes* or Greeks who were granted slight tax advantages.[68] The term '*Hellen*' mostly denoted an 'immigrant' or a 'foreign settler' who was to be distinguished from someone who was assigned to the population category *Aigyptos*, 'Egyptian'.[69] Thus, people classified as Boeotians, Cilicians, Cretans, Idumaeans, Jews, Lycians, and Phrygians generally held an elevated constitutional and socio-political status; to be a member of a *politeuma* certainly implied a further improvement of social status.

Sixth, institutionally and administratively the ethnic *politeuma* could be characterized as an administrative unit based on a (semi-autonomous) community or association and their territorial base.[70] This is suggested by those twenty

66 Thompson, 'Ethnic Minorities in Hellenistic Egypt', pp. 109–110 and 112–113.

67 Thompson, 'Ethnic Minorities in Hellenistic Egypt', pp. 112–113.

68 Cf. Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 'Le statut des Hellènes dans l'Égypte lagide. Bilan et perspectives des recherches', *Revue des études grecques*, 96 (1983), 241–268; Thompson, 'Hellenistic Hellenes', pp. 307–310; Willy Clarysse and Dorothy J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, vol. 2: *Historical Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 138–148. Till the end of the third century BCE, at least for fiscal purposes Jews seem to have been counted among the group of *Hellenes*. Just around that time, besides the *Hellenes* there appears the separate category *Ioudaios* which, however, probably provides no indication of an altered tax status; cf. Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People*, pp. 147–148.

69 Cf. Roger S. Bagnall, 'The People of the Roman Fayum', in *Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Sources and Approaches*, ed. by Roger S. Bagnall (London: Ashgate Variorum, 1997), chap. XIV, pp. 1–19 (p. 3).

70 Before the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis became known, the approach that the *politeumata* should be regarded as semi-autonomous communities was the main thrust of Wilhelm Schubart, 'Spuren politischer Autonomie in Aegypten unter den Ptolemäern', *Klio: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*, 10 (1910), 41–71 (pp. 63–66); cf. also Ruppel, 'Politeuma', p. 305, 309, and 454; Thompson Crawford, 'The Idumaeans of Memphis', p. 1073 (thinking that a community organized as *politeuma* is comparable to a *polis* or city); Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellenistiques*, pp. 1077–1081; as well as Kasher, *The Jews* (summarizing on pp. 356–357) with a focus on the Jewish population. The last author interpreted the *politeuma* as a means by which a community could separate itself from its social environment on a local level,

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

papyri texts (dated between 144/3 and 133/2 BCE), which attest the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis.[71] These documents seem to indicate that the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis actually governed its own district of the city, an area that was located in the harbour district, which was about a mile removed from the town and located on the Bahr Yusuf, the western branch of the Nile.[72] It was probably this district where the Jews belonging to the *politeuma* were concentrated. There the officials of the Jewish *politeuma*, the archons (and the presiding *politarches*), seemed to act (at least in judicial matters) like state functionaries.[73] We can explain why the Jewish *politeuma* was located in the harbour of Herakleopolis because in the fifties of the second century BCE a fortress was built in this area.[74] That would fit with the theory mentioned above that *politeumata* are somehow strongly connected to military groups. Thus, a substantial part of the membership of the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis could have consisted of Jewish soldiers residing near their base.[75]

It seems that the construction of the fortress was completed a decade before the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis is attested in the papyri, because a commander led the fortress probably as early as 154 BCE.[76] According to Thomas

---

and therefore (assuming that larger Jewish communities were normally organized as *politeumata*) argued for a Jewish separateness. However, the issue of segregation is doubtless overemphasized by Kasher and strongly relativised by Zuckerman, 'Hellenistic *politeumata*'. Zuckerman's argumentation against a Jewish separateness is still valid, although a *politeuma* (against his own view [pp. 177–178, 180, and 184]) turned out to be more than just an ordinary association. For the interpretation of the *politeumata* as ordinary (private) associations cf. also Lüderitz, 'What is the Politeuma?', pp. 202–204 as well as Koen Goudriaan, 'Les signes d'identité ethnique en Égypte ptolémaïque', in *Valeur et distance. Identités et sociétés en Égypte*, ed. by Christian Décobert (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2000), pp. 39–70 (pp. 50–52); cf. also above note 55 and below note 71.

71 Cf. Sänger, 'Das *politeuma*', pp. 35–38, 44; id., 'Heracleopolis, Jewish politeuma', in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (digital edition; forthcoming); Kruse, 'Das jüdische *politeuma* von Herakleopolis', pp. 95, 97, and 99–100. Ameling, 'Market-Place', pp. 86–100, hardly considering the case of the Jewish *politeuma* of Herakleopolis, furthermore adheres to compare a *politeuma* with an ordinary (cult) association. However, his statement that it is not impossible, 'daß sich der Staat der jüdischen Beamten bediente und ihnen in einem bestimmten, wohl geographisch umgrenzten Gebiet Autorität verlieh' (*op. cit.*, pp. 97–98), could be understood as a paraphrase for a kind of 'selbständige Rechtskörperschaft', from which, according to Ameling (*op. cit.*, pp. 94–95), a *politeuma* should be differentiated. On the approach of Ritter, 'On the 'πολίτευμα in Heracleopolis'', who also continued to interpret the *politeumata* as ordinary (private) associations see above note 55.

72 Cf. P.Polit.Iud., pp. 11–13; Kruse, 'Das jüdische *politeuma* von Herakleopolis', pp. 98–100; and Arzt-Grabner, 'Die Stellung des Judentums', pp. 129–139.

73 Kruse, 'Das jüdische *politeuma* von Herakleopolis', p. 97.

74 Cf. P.Polit.Iud., p. 12, and the detailed study of Thomas Kruse, 'Die Festung in Herakleopolis und der Zwist im Ptolemäerhaus', in *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äußerem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. bis VIII. Internationales Symposion Heidelberg 16.–19.9. 2007*, ed. by Andrea Jördens and Joachim F. Quack, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), pp. 255–267.

75 Cf. Kruse, 'Das jüdische *politeuma* von Herakleopolis', pp. 100–101 and id., 'Die Festung in Herakleopolis', p. 261.

76 Cf. P.Phrur.Diosk., Introduction, pp. 1–8.

Kruse, the immediate reason for the construction of a fortress in the harbour district of Herakleopolis was probably the quarrel between Ptolemy VI – we remember him as allowing Onias to settle in Leontopolis – and his brother Ptolemy VIII, who, although his authority had been limited to the Cyrenaica in 164/3 BCE, continued to pose a significant threat to Ptolemy VI and his rule over Egypt in the fifties of the second century BCE.[77] Of course, the increased security measures in Herakleopolis could additionally be interpreted as an indirect response to the two Seleucid invasions of Lower Egypt in 170/69 and 168 BCE, the revolt of Dionysios Petosarapis in *c.* 165 BCE, which began near Alexandria and obviously expanded also to the Herakleopolite nome,[78] and, finally, another revolt that broke out at about the same time in the Thebais or Upper Egypt.[79] In such a politically tense situation the fortress in question could well be regarded as part of an attempt to expand the cordon of fortresses in the Herakleopolite nome in order to improve the military defense of Middle Egypt at the entrance of the economically important Arsinoite nome.[80]

We may finish this brief sketch of the nature of the institution of the *politeuma* with some considerations on its political function.[81] To begin with, the Ptolemies, by allowing a pre-existing group to organize itself as *politeuma*, conferred a public character on its semi-autonomous structure. This involved official sanction of the authority and duties of the leading officials of the community. Unlike ordinary associations, a community constituted as *politeuma* can be considered a

77 Cf. Kruse, 'Das jüdische *politeuma* von Herakleopolis', p. 100 and id., 'Die Festung in Herakleopolis', pp. 264–267.

78 Cf. Brian McGing, 'Revolt Egyptian Style. Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, 43 (1997), 273–314 (p. 293).

79 Cf. Günther Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung* (Stuttgart: Theiss, repr. 2004), pp. 157–158. On basic details on the Egyptian revolts in Ptolemaic Egypt see in general McGing, 'Revolt Egyptian Style' and Anne Emmanuelle Veïsse, *Les 'révoltes égyptiennes'. Recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Egypte du règne de Ptolémée III à la conquête romaine* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

80 On the cordon of fortresses in the Herakleopolite nome see P.Phrur.Diosk., Introduction, pp. 8–9 and Kruse, 'Die Festung in Herakleopolis', p. 262.

81 On the following characterisation see Sänger, 'Das *politeuma*', pp. 41–45; id., 'Heracleopolis, Jewish politeuma'. The focus is on integration on an administrative level, because it is this sphere that is illuminated by our sources. To what extent the *politeumata* produced integrative effects on a social level is more difficult to assess and needs further investigation. Nevertheless, two aspects are worth mentioning in this regard. Locally, on the one hand, a *politeuma* certainly had an integrative effect on its members and on those who simply participated in the activities of the community or identified with its principles – therefore, those who felt that they belonged to the ethnic category represented by the respective *politeuma*. On the other hand, this process of group formation together with the administrative function a *politeuma* had could have fostered a delimitation of its members and participants from their immediate social surroundings, namely from those belonging to the ('Egyptian') majority society. So, on a social level, we probably have to consider integrative and separating aspects of the institution the *politeuma*. The latter one was undoubtedly overestimated by Kasher, *The Jews*; it was challenged by Zuckerman, 'Hellenistic *politeumata*' (cf. above note 70).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

part of the Ptolemaic administrative structure, a part which – comparable to a *polis* – possessed responsibility for itself within the Ptolemaic kingdom. Because of this position, it was possibly much easier for the members of the *politeuma* to make (as a collective) direct contact with the government. At the same time, the creation of a *politeuma* had implications for the district or the city in which the members of the *politeuma* were concentrated. For constituting a community as *politeuma* probably had the result that the settlement area, in which the members of the group formed the dominant section of the population, officially became 'their' district (a further difference from ordinary associations). In this district, the officials of the *politeuma* had a general peacekeeping power and exercised their competence like Ptolemaic officials, and it was in this quarter of the city that the members, in addition to their status as 'migrants' or *Hellenes,* could appear as native 'citizens'. After revealing the features of the institution of the *politeuma*, the benefit the Ptolemaic government expected from this institution becomes obvious. For the founding of a *politeuma* probably represented an attempt on the part of the Ptolemies to strengthen the relationship of an ethnic group with its place of residence in Egypt, and to ensure that the Ptolemaic kingdom remained an attractive country of residence and that these useful persons would be concentrated and available when needed – probably mainly for military purposes. Secondly, the intention of the Ptolemies was probably to increase the likelihood that they would be able to continue to attract immigrants from the foreign city or region in question. Therefore, by means of the communities constituted as *politeumata*, the Ptolemies were issuing a powerful signal about their settlement policy. In conclusion, the *politeuma* appears to be a unique, well thought-out political tool to advance, at an administrative level, the comfortable integration and immigration of persons the Ptolemaic government regarded as desirable.[82]

4. Résumé

Given the above analysis, would it be surprising if Ptolemy VI had offered Onias a temple and military colony organized as *politeuma*? Certainly not: As we have seen, the institution of the *politeuma* seems to have been tailored to the needs of specific segments of the population, whose origins lay in groups of immigrant mercenaries of the same provenance. And indeed, that Onias' colony consisted of soldiers is suggested by Josephus' reports, and the mention of a fort could moreover point towards the conclusion that the Jewish troops were employed as

82 As mentioned by Sänger, 'Das *politeuma*', pp. 44–45 the *politeumata* could perhaps be interpreted as a sign of instrumentalization of ethnicity.

mercenaries or professional soldiers.[83] The military character of the community is also confirmed by its further history (cf. above section 2), and that it was established in the border region of the eastern Delta seems to be a further proof for the military purpose of the settlement: Comparable to the Jewish *politeuma* in Herakleopolis, which could have been a result of an expansion of the cordon of fortresses in the Herakleopolite nome (cf. above section 3), the Jews around Onias could have been deployed by Ptolemy VI to strengthen the eastern line of defense (directed towards Palestine) in general and the buffer zone between the northern Mediterranean coast and Memphis at the southern vertex of the Nile Delta in particular; not only after the Seleucid army under Antiochos IV invaded the Delta region in 170/69 and 168 BCE, the Heliopolite and Bubastite nome must have been of great strategic importance for the defense of Egypt.

Furthermore, it seems that a sanctuary or temple district was an integral part of a *politeuma*. Without a doubt, the founding of a Jewish temple beside that in Jerusalem is something special, but leaving this peculiarity aside, the fact that a *politeuma* demanded a religious centre would be in line with what was stated by Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski: 'Actually, since its foundation was associated with a military colony under the commandment of Onias, the new temple was simply intended to serve the religious needs of the Jewish soldiers in the 'land of Onias'.[84]' Because of the coincidence between a religious centre and a *politeuma* it would be reasonable to assume that in the case of the newly founded Jewish settlement in Leontopolis the construction of the Jewish temple and the formal constitution of the community happened at the same time – an approach on which the following concluding considerations are based.

Possibly, it was during the reign of Ptolemy VI (180–145 BCE) that the establishment of ethnic *politeumata* was particularly supported.[85] Therefore, it would

83 Cf. Capponi, *Il tempio di Leontopoli*, pp. 94–95, although there is no indication that this troop was established by Ptolemy VI as 'una nuova forza di polizia fatta di mercenari'. Without any further proof, also the assumption of Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia [PA], Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), p. 279 that the soldiers of Onias' military colony were incorporated as military settlers or cleruchs into the Ptolemaic army does not appear convincing.

84 Mélèze Modrzejewski. *The Jews of Egypt*, p. 128; cf. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 278–280. For different purposes the Jewish temple in Leontopolis could have fulfilled see above note 17.

85 It is a widespread assumption that there is no secure evidence for *politeumata* dating before the reign of Ptolemy VI and that the institution in question was therefore introduced by this king; cf. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, p. 1077; Honigman, '*Politeumata* and Ethnicity', p. 67; Dorothy J. Thompson, 'The Sons of Ptolemy V in a post-secession World', in *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äußerem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. bis VIII.*, ed. by Andrea Jördens and Joachim F. Quack (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), pp. 10–23 (pp. 21–22 with further references in n. 47). Indeed, as indicated above in section 3, in the case of Egypt there is no testimony for an ethnic *politeuma* that could be dated (without a doubt; cf. above note 54) to the third century BCE. However, the evidence gives no indication when the respective *politeuma* was actually established. Therefore, especially against the background of

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

come as no surprise, if Onias had been granted a *politeuma*, and Leontopolis would probably not have been the first place where a Jewish *politeuma* was established. To be sure, the known Jewish *politeumata* of Herakleopolis and Berenike are only attested for a period after Onias' temple founding, but – considering the fact that the founding of the *politeuma* in Herakleopolis could be related to the construction of a fortress in the harbour district in the fifties of the second century BCE (cf. section 3) – at least that one in Berenike could have been older because the Cyrenaica belonged to the Ptolemaic kingdom from the very start, and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that Jews settled in this region in the first half of the third century BCE at the latest.[86] Furthermore, we have good reasons to believe that if there really existed a Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria, this one was established before Onias found refuge in Egypt,[87] for around the middle of the third century BCE at the latest the number of Jews (many of them soldiers or their descendants) living in the Ptolemaic capital must have been noticable.[88] Therefore, at the time of the temple founding, the institution of the *politeuma* could already have been a tried and tested means to promote some urban Jewish (and other ethnic) communities, which were of particular importance for the Ptolemies.

But also if Onias had been granted the first Jewish *politeuma* (which seems not to be very likely), such a step needed little explaining. Judaea had been part of the Ptolemaic kingdom from the reign of Ptolemy I until the year 198 BCE, and Jews served the Ptolemies not only as soldiers since the beginning of the dynasty, but can be found in almost all occupational groups.[89] As argued in section 1, Jews were

---

the Sidonian *politeumata*, dated to the end of the third century BCE (cf. above note 46) and ordinarily excluded from the discussion, the possibility that the institution of the *politeuma* was introduced already in the third century BCE cannot be ruled out; cf. Sänger, 'The *Politeuma*', pp. 61–62; id., 'Das *politeuma*', pp. 38–39. Unlike in her article cited above, Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, p. 99 assumes that *politeumata* were established 'no earlier than the reign of Ptolemy IV' (221–205 BCE). Although such an approach fits with my own considerations, it still remains almost impossible to link the introduction of the institution of the *politeuma* to the reign of a certain Ptolemaic king.

86 Cf. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, pp. 232–233.

87 Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, pp. 100 and 132–133 argues that the Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria was established in the sixties of the second century BCE 'on the arrival of an organized group of refugees from Judaea as a result of the civil war launched in their homeland by the Maccabean revolt' (p. 132). This assumption – that would parallelize the establishment of the Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria with the temple founding in Leontopolis – is purely hypothetical and, especially considering the long-established Jewish community in Alexandria, needs some more explanation.

88 Cf. Honigman, '*Politeumata* and Ethnicity', pp. 76–78; Ameling, 'Market-Place', pp. 85–86; and Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 CE*, pp. 23–29.

89 Cf. Victor A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, C.Pap.Jud., Prolegomena, pp. 10–19; Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, pp. 24–25; Werner Huß, 'Die Juden im ptolemaiischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft', in *Artibus. Kulturwissenschaft und deutsche Philologie des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Stephan Füssel, Gert Hübner, and Joachim Knape, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), pp. 10–11.

a settled and fixed immigrant minority group in Ptolemaic Egypt. They were an integral part of the Ptolemaic society and counted among the privileged population category of *Hellenes*, and all of the (ethnic) groups organized as *politeumata* belonged to this category. To give refuge to Jewish emigrants – all the more such prominent ones as Onias – willing to perform military duties was certainly not a difficult decision for Ptolemy VI from a domestic perspective, especially in connection with the strategic considerations mentioned above.

This aspect turns the 'pro-Jewish' policy of Ptolemy VI in a more pragmatic light.[90] It is certainly true that, according to John M. G. Barclay, 'after the invasions and the near-annexation of Egypt by Antiochus IV in 170–168 BCE, no Ptolemy could afford to neglect the defenses of his country, and the presence of a strong and loyal community at this strategic location [Leontopolis – author's note] fitted the royal needs exactly.[91]' This statement becomes even more true if we also take into account the revolts shaking Egypt in the 160s BCE (cf. section 3), in whose wake any enforcement of the Ptolemaic army must have been welcome.[92] However, considering the foreign policy situation in the first half of the second century BCE, it is all too clear that Jews were given special preference: The internal unrest in Judaea and the conflict between the Maccabees/Hasmonaeans and the Seleucids certainly suited Ptolemy VI perfectly, because it was this region (as part of Coele-Syria, which his father Ptolemy V had lost to the Seleucids in the fifth Syrian war) he had unsuccessfully tried to reconquer in the sixth Syrian war, a political failure, which led to the Seleucid invasions of Egypt (cf. section 3). That there was still interest in regaining control over Coele-Syria and Judaea became apparent in 150 BCE, when Ptolemy VI started to pursue an offensive policy towards this region, which indeed had almost become Ptolemaic territory again. Under these circumstances, by absorbing political refugees from Judaea, Ptolemy VI not only gained loyal soldiers to strengthen the internal stability of Egypt by means of an indispensable reinforcement of the Ptolemaic army and fortification system. Moreover, the king was also able to send an unmistakable message to the Seleucids and the Jews of Judaea. On the eve of his offensive policy directed towards Coele-Syria, by establishing a Jewish military colony in the Eastern border region of Egypt Ptolemy VI probably intended, on the one hand, to signal that he still kept an eye on Judaea. On the other hand, by allowing Onias and his followers to erect their own temple, the king was further able to point out

90 Cf. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, pp. 36–37; Werner Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit. 332–30 v. Chr.* (München: C. H. Beck, 2001), pp. 590–591; Ameling, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde', p. 119; Nadig, 'Zur Rolle der Juden', pp. 193–194.
91 Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, pp. 36–37.
92 Cf. Huß, 'Die Juden im ptolemaiischen Ägypten', p. 5.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

that Egypt was (still) open to Jewish immigrants and that, in general, immigration to Egypt could bring definite benefits.

We, therefore, may conclude that not only the formal characteristics of the Jewish settlement founded by Onias could support the notion that the community was organized as *politeuma*. Also the political circumstances would be consistent with this approach, for the situation sketched here represents a certain moment in which emigrants from Judaea were more than mercenaries reinforcing the Ptolemaic troops, because they and their treatment could be used to convey a political message. That is the reason why Onias' importance for Ptolemy VI cannot be overestimated, and that is exactly why the king could have granted the newly founded community the right to be organized as *politeuma*: By means of this political decision Ptolemy VI was able to emphasize his generosity or goodwill in a striking manner. By offering the Jews around Onias the possibility to form an administrative unit and, thereby, to become institutionally embedded into the Ptolemaic state, the king could show that he tried to act in Onias' interest. Simultaneously, the constitution of a *politeuma* could be used to strengthen Onias' and the community's loyalty towards Ptolemy VI and, subsequently, to secure the Ptolemies a future pool of Jewish soldiers. Maybe, such a measure would also help to attract further immigrants willing to serve in the Ptolemaic forces. Therefore, Ptolemy VI could have used the institution of the *politeuma* – besides the temple founding – in order to support his political aims and to seize the opportunity for establishing a Jewish stronghold in an important border region, henceforth known as the 'land of Onias'.

However, there are two problems associated with the theory that Onias' military colony could have been organized as *politeuma*. One is that contrary to all the other *politeumata*, which were located within an urban settlement or a nome capital, it is uncertain whether this is also true for the site where the temple founding took place; that Leontopolis in the Leontopolite nome is meant is excluded, and based on the remnants of the Heliopolite Tell el-Yahoudieh it is not possible to assess the dimensions or the character of the settlement which seems to have been of some importance in the New Kingdom and in the Third Intermediate Period (sixteenth till seventh century BCE), but gradually declined in the subsequent Late Period (preceding the Ptolemaic Period).[93] Perhaps a more serious problem is that there is no single clear reference to a Jewish *politeuma* in the 'land of Onias' in the inscriptions stemming from Tell el-Yahoudieh, and also Josephus makes no mention of it. While the first problem could only be explained by the chance of epigraphical findings and the imprecise word usage in these documents, the last one could be explained more satisfactorily: Josephus' 'silence' about a Jewish

93 Cf. Zivie, 'Tell el-Jahudija', col. 333.

politeuma in Leontopolis corresponds to a general tendency of this author who also gives no clear information that any other Jewish community was organized as *politeuma*. There is only one phrase that refers to the Jews in Alexandria and could be interpreted as indication that they had a *politeuma* at their disposal;[94] but the whole section is possibly a paraphrase of the Letter of Aristeas[95] where the wording is also disputed (cf. section 3). On the basis of Josephus' *Against Apion* (and Philo's *Against Flaccus* and *Embassy to Gaius*) Sylvie Honigman recently put forward an explanation for this apparent 'silence':[96] As Josephus' (and Philo's) aim was to justify that Jews were entitled to lay claim to the Alexandrian citizenship under Roman rule,[97] a clear mention of a Jewish *politeuma* in Alexandria (whose membership, of course, is not to be equated with Alexandrian citizenship) would have worked against such a concept – that is why Josephus avoided to use the word *politeuma* with that meaning.[98] However, taking this approach to explain why Josephus does not report on a Jewish *politeuma* in Leontopolis would not be entirely convincing, because the constitution of Onias' community basically has nothing to do with the of the Alexandrian Jews whose affairs are, by the way, not focused in *The Jewish War* and the *Jewish Antiquities*. Thus, one might also wonder whether Josephus actually knew how the Jewish community in Leontopolis was officially organized or was even interested in telling this detail.

In the end, it is currently not possible to solve these and all the other problems relating to Onias, the Jewish temple, and the Jewish settlement in Leontopolis. However, considering the wording of the grave epigram of Abramos and the ethnic *politeumata* in Ptolemaic Egypt, this institution and its specific character is worth considering when dealing with Onias' military colony and the historical background of its founding.

94 *Jewish Antiquities* 12, 108: τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἱ προεστηκότες.

95 Cf. Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora. Jews Amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge [MA], London: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 287, n. 156.

96 Cf. Honigman, '*Politeumata* and Ethnicity', pp. 92–93.

97 Cf. also Sylvie Honigman, 'Philon, Flavius Josèphe, et la citoyenneté alexandrine: vers une utopie politique', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 48 (1997), 62–90.

98 Cf. also Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 CE*, who argues that under the Roman emperor Gaius (Caligula; 37–41 CE), the right of residence of the Alexandrian Jews was rigorously restricted to the members of the Jewish *politeuma* of Alexandria or the inhabitants of its quarter. She thinks that under these circumstances Philo could not 'speak in any way about the *politeuma*; the mere mention of it would have meant acknowledging its historical foundation and giving credit to the principle that had condemned the Jews' (p. 252).

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Georg Christ

TRANSIENTS? JEWS IN ALEXANDRIA IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES THROUGH VENETIAN EYES*

While only a relatively small number of Jews resided permanently in Mamluk Alexandria in the late Middle Ages, many travelled through the port city in their pursuit of spiritual or secular business. Some of them have been studied in detail, while others remain to be discovered. Their historical analysis is somewhat hampered by the transient nature of their presence in the city of Alexandria.

Alexandria had lost much of its ancient glory but was still the chief harbour of the Mamluk Empire. The global spice route had shifted south in the wake of the imploding Mongol Empire and a great deal of the trade with Indian spices, precious metal and cloth passed through Alexandria. For that reason the town was teeming with diasporic trading communities of many nations and provenances. Prominent among them were Venetians mainly because the Venetian republic controlled a substantial part of the transcontinental spice trade in the eastern Mediterranean and thus maintained a strong permanent presence with two *fondachi* (caravanserais) under the guidance of a consul who was assisted by a notary and even a doctor.[1]

In 1987, David Jacoby published a seminal article on Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean. He argued that Jews, for instance Veneto-Romaniote[2] Jews from Crete, were rather well integrated into the Venetian merchants' communities.[3] However, this integration was limited and fragile, constantly threat-

* I would like to thank my colleagues from the World History Research Cluster, The University of Manchester, for their brilliant advice and especially Natalie Zacek, Charlotte Hastings and Laurence Brown for their careful reading of this text. Thank you to Angela Marisol Roberts Christ for copy-editing.

1 Cf. Georg Christ, *Trading Conflicts. Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* The Medieval Mediterranean 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), mainly 19–96.

2 Romaniote = Byzantine (the Byzantine Empire officially being the Roman Empire and Byzantine lands being referred to as Romania.

3 David Jacoby, 'Venice and Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean', in *Gli Ebrei a Venezia : secoli XIV-XVIII: atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore 5–10 giugno 1983*, ed. by Gaetano Cozzi (Milano: Ed. Comunità, 1987), pp. 29–58, here 31 seq., 34 seqq., 49 seq.

ened by looming discriminatory measures.[4] Jacoby emphasized that this overview was not final and invited further studies to complete lacunae in the larger picture.[5]

In the meantime, many studies on Venetian Jews in the eastern Mediterranean have been produced, not least in a recent volume of the *Mediterranean Historical Review,* edited by Benjamin Arbel.[6] Some of the Jewish communities along the main arteries of Venetian trade, such as Modon, Coron, and Corfu, have received some attention,[7] while the Jewish communities in Venetian Crete and the Venetian quarter of Constantinople are particularly well studied. Segregated (by their own choosing or not) communities in Crete were in many ways similar to both Western *universitates* (bottom-up, self-constituted communities) and *dhimma* (top-down, protected) communities under Islamic rule. The latter were led by an elected head with a body of administrative officers, held together by common cult, and were forced to pay a substantial community tax to the ruler.[8] In Constantinople, however, Jews were more organically part of the Venetian community without segregated living quarters and with greater occupational variety and overall stronger features of integration.[9] In his study on the Jews in Crete, Benjamin Arbel questioned to what extent 'integration' was possible:

4 Ibid., p. 47, cf. Francisco Javier Apellániz Ruiz de Galarreta, 'Venetian Trading Networks in the Medieval Mediterranean', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XLIV, no. 2 (2013): pp. 157–179, here p. 167.

5 Jacoby, 'Venice and the Venetian Jews', p. 50.

6 Benjamin Arbel (ed.), 'Special Issue: Minorities in Colonial Settings: The Jews in Venice's Hellenic Territories (15th–18th Centuries)', *The Mediterranean Historical Review* 27/2 (2012); see also Ariel Toaff and Simon Schwarzfuchs, ed., *The Mediterranean and the Jews: Banking, Finance and International Trade (XVI-XVIII Centuries)*, Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1989.

7 Gerassimos D. Pagratis, 'Jews in Corfu's Economy (from the late fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century)'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): 189–198; Andrea Nanetti, 'The Jews in Modon and Coron During the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): pp. 215–225.

8 Anastasia Papadia-Lala, 'The Jews in Early Modern Venetian Crete: Community and Identities'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): pp. 141–150, here 143; Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

9 David Jacoby, 'The Jews and the Silk Industry of Constantinople', in id. (ed.) *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*. Variorum Collected Studies Series 703 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001): pp. 1–20 also in *The Jewish presence in the Greek territory (4th-19th centuries)*, ed. by A. Lambropoulou and K. Tsiknakis, International Symposium 12 (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation-Institute for Byzantine Research, 2008): pp. 2–37; id. 'The Jews of Constantinople and Their Demographic Hinterland', In *Constantinople and its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993,* Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995); reprinted in *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, edited by David Jacoby, Variorum Collected Studies Series 703 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); Benjamin Arbel, 'Venice and the Jewish Merchants of Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Mediterranean and the Jews: Banking, Finance and International Trade (XVI-XVIII Centuries)*, edited by Ariel Toaff and Simon Schwarzfuchs (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1989), pp. 92–109.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

> Can we deduce from business relations between clients and craftsmen or people exercising other occupations any conclusions related to social integration? It would be more useful to verify whether there were any forms of close collaboration or association between Christians and Jews on a professional or business level. No such evidence has surfaced thus far.[10]

He argued that, despite daily contacts, Jews in Crete were not perceived to be fully part of Cretan society.[11]

The Jewish presence in Alexandria, the crucial terminus of Venetian trade on the spice route, has received relatively little attention, though one might argue that it would be particularly prone to exhibit patterns of 'association on a business level'[12] between Jews and Christian, if they existed at all. Eliyahu Ashtor and David Jacoby touched on the subject briefly, both proposing that the Venetian Jews were rather well integrated into the Venetian community in Alexandria.[13] The Jewish communities in this Egyptian-Mamluk port, however, might be particularly worthy of our attention since an investigation of their situation might shed light on an interesting problem: Were all Jews present in Alexandria integrated into one community? One might perhaps expect that there was one integrated and institutionalized Jewish community composed of various Oriental, Romaniote and, perhaps, Western Jews akin to the Jewish *universitas* of Candia which amalgamated into its fold Jews from Germany and, later in a more conflict-laden way, Spain with the autochthonous Greek or Romaniote Jews.[14] Yet looking at the Geniza evidence for Alexandria, one might rather expect to see a continuation of the almost hermetic (if contested) division between Latin, Romaniote and Arabic Jewries.[15]

---

10 Benjamin Arbel, 'Jews and Christians in Sixteenth-Century Crete: Between Segregation and Integration', in *'Interstizi': Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini tra basso medioevo e prima epoca moderna*, edited by Uwe Israel, Robert Jütte, Reinhold Mueller (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010), pp. 281–294, here p. 291.

11 Ibid., p. 294.

12 See above, note 11.

13 'Merchants of the Serenissima did not refrain from trading with Jews or from having recourse to collaboration with them in emporia overseas. Their attitude towards the Jews at home and abroad was very different: overseas they carried on trade with Jewish merchants everywhere. Many texts from Venetian sources could be adduced as proof of this.' Eliyahu Ashtor, 'New Data for the History of Levantine Jewries in the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies* 3 (1975): pp. 67–102, here 73; id., 'Ebrei cittadini di Venezia?', *Studi Veneziani* XVII-XVIII (1975–1976): pp. 145–156, here mainly 151 seqq., referring to the case to be revisited below; Jacoby, 'Venice and Venetian Jews', pp. 25 seq., 46, 48 seq.

14 For the early immigration of Sephardic Jews and the tensions between those newcomers and the autochthonous Romaniote élite, see Rena Lauer, 'Cretan Jews and the First Sephardic Encounter in the Fifteenth Century'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): pp. 129–140.

15 Michael Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* Études sur le judaïsme médiéval 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 199; cf. for a more recent study: Jessica L. Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: the Geniza Merchants and their Business World*,

This paper will limit itself to exploring Jewish presence in Alexandria through the dealings of the Venetian consul and merchant Biagio Dolfin (died 1420 in Cairo) with Jewish merchants. It presents several case studies of Jews interacting with the consul in business or in official capacities; a merchant from Lecce, a wine trader from Crete, the consulate's doctor (also from Crete), and a money-lender from the Veneto, as well as Oriental Jewish intermediaries in the consulate's service. It will pay particular attention to the status of these Jews and their degree of integration into the Venetian community.[16] It shall be argued that the Romaniote and Latin Jews' presence in Alexandria was transient and geared towards a move to Venice, and that their links to Oriental Jews probably remained weak.

The perspective is thus Venetian and chiefly based on notarial instruments produced in Alexandria as well as the consul's private archive.[17] The case studies will be preceded by a general introduction to the history of the Jewish presence in Alexandria, and they will be matched with information gleaned from travelogues.

Jews in Alexandria – an Overview

Jews had lived in Egypt since the sixth century BC emigration from Palestine. Then, with the foundation of Alexandria in 331 BC, Jews were deported to Egypt under Ptolemy I. It is not clear whether they were citizens with full rights or not, but it is uncontroversial that they formed a substantial part of the Ptolemaic metropolis. Yet another wave of Jewish immigration to Egypt might have resulted from the *c.* 135 AD expulsion of Jews from Palestine in the wake of the Bar Kokhba revolt.[18]

After the Arabic conquest of Egypt in 641, Jews were granted the status of *dhimmî* with the Treaty of Alexandria. It seems that 40,000 Jews lived in Alexandria at this time. In the early Islamic period the Jewish population changed with the Karaite group rising to substantial size. The Karaites ('the ones who read [the Tanakh/Miqra = i.e. the Hebrew bible]') were a Jewish group basing

Cambridge studies in economic history (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 355; my colleague Renate Smithuis kindly guided me through the Manchester Geniza collection, which, however, does not yield relevant information on the Jewish community in Alexandria in the ninth/fifteenth century.

16 'Integration' might seem anachronistic in this context and is used analytically, not descriptively, cf. Benjamin Arbel, 'Jews and Christians in Sixteenth-Century Crete: Between Segregation and Integration', in: *'Interstizi': Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini tra basso medioevo e prima epoca moderna*, ed. by Uwe Israel et al. (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010), pp. 281–294, here 281.

17 Preservered in the Archive of the Procuratori di San Marco in the Venetian State Archives, cf.

18 'Alexandria', in Fred Skolnik et al., ed. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-2587500765/alexandria.html.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

their religious and legal practice on the sole authority of the Tanakh. In medieval Egypt, the Karaites were a group of respectable size and distinct from Rabbinic Jews.[19]

Karaites and Rabbinic Jews (of different denominations: Babylonian and Palestinian), despite general recognition as *ahl al kitâb* (that is, 'people of the book' protected by the Islamic ruler) suffered occasional persecution. Overall, however, the relationship between Jews and their neighbours of other confessions seemed to have been good in the Fatimid period, which one might also find corroborated in the fact that there was no distinctly and entirely Jewish quarter in Alexandria.[20] In any case, the dramatic decline of Alexandrian Jewries in the following centuries can hardly be attributed to persecution or expulsion. It was voluntary emigration to Cairo (alongside the Muslim and Christian élites) that reduced Alexandrian Jewries as Cairo became the capital of a series of Islamic, Egypt-centred empires.[21]

Even though this golden age was long past by the late fifteenth century, Karaites still existed as a Jewish confession in Cairo and Egypt alongside the smaller group of Samaritans (of yet an older Thora-observant confession)[22] and the already dominant groups of Rabbinic Jews at a ratio of about 65% Rabbinic, 25% Karaite, 10% Samaritans.[23] This underlines the heterogeneity of the Oriental

19 The origins of this group are debated, but some connection to Philo of Alexandria and Egypt can be established. In any case, the golden age of Karaite Judaism was during the Islamic Middle Ages (*c.* 700–1100), when the group arguably formed a substantial segment (according to some estimates up to 40%) of the Jewish world population while, presently, the group is reduced to a few hundred members mainly living in Israel and Palestine, for detailed bibliographical references, see Lawrence Fine, ed., *Judaism in Practice: From the Middle Ages Through the Early Modern Period* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), p. 252; for Karaites and their relationship with Rabbinic Jews in the Fatimid period, see Marina Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community: The Jews of the Fatimide Caliphate* (Ithaca (N.Y.): Cornell University Press, 2008). on Karaites in the Mamluk period, Donald S. Richards, 'Arabic Documents from the Karaite Community in Cairo'. *JESHO* 15, no. 1 (1972): pp. 105–162, here mainly 114–125; cf. Zvi Ankori, 'Some Aspects of Karaite-Rabbanite Relations in Byzantium on the Eve of the First Crusade', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 24 (1955): pp. 1–38.

20 Miriam Frenkel, 'Medieval Alexandria: Life in a Port City', *Al-Masaq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* 26, no. 1 (2014): pp. 5–35, here 21 seq.; cf. id. Miriam Frenkel, *The Compassionate and Benevolent: The Leading Elite in the Jewish Community of Alexandria in the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2006); Goldberg, *Trade and institutions*, mainly pp. 52, 292, 355; for an earlier period also Moshe Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

21 Abraham L. Udovitch, 'L'énigme d'Alexandrie: sa position au Moyen Age d'après les documents de la Geniza du Caire', *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 46 (1987): pp. 71–80;.

22 Cf. the many references to Samaritans in the New Testament. This ethno-religious group was, as it seems, particularly strong in the Roman period (over a million), but was then subsequently reduced to a low point of about 150 members at the end of the nineteenth century and is currently recovered to some hundred members, cf. Reinhard Pummer, *The Samaritans* (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

23 Obadiah da Bertinoro, 'Letters', in *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages: 19 Firsthand Accounts*, edited by Elkan Nathan Adler (London: Routledge, 1930, numerous reprints), pp. 209–250; 'in Alexandria gibt es ungefähr sechzig jüdische Familienoberhäupter, darunter sind allerdings weder Karäer noch

Jewish (or rather, Thora-observant) groups that were encountered in Mamluk Egypt.[24]

Travelogues are a prime (and often abused) source of information on Alexandria and its population. The critical problems of the genre (narrative conventions, enrichment with encyclopaedic knowledge, catering to needs of readership, etc.) have been discussed widely and do not have to be repeated here.[25] Among the Jewish travellers two stand out: Meshulam di Volterra and Obadiah di Bertinoro. Both travelled through Alexandria in the second half of the fifteenth century, the latter reached the city in 1488 and only mentions the presence of Rabbinic Jews.[26] Meshulam identifies Karaites and Samaritans but only in Cairo.[27] Obadiah later settled in Jerusalem and became an eminent leader of its Jewish community, living in the house of the Nagid (head of the Jewish community in the Mamluk Empire, appointed by the sultan) as his major-domo.[28]

In addition to Oriental Jews (albeit, perhaps, only Rabbinic), another element was added by the fact that Alexandria was the chief Mediterranean port of Egypt. Jews from Italy and Romaniote Jews from Venetian Crete, Hospitaller Rhodes, or other parts of the (former) Byzantine Empire (Romania) were present, probably alongside North African and perhaps some Spanish (Sephardic) Jews.[29]

The travelogues describe Jewish communities in some detail, with a strong focus on Rabbinic Jews, while Karaites and Samaritans are perceived as peripheral elements of Judaism.[30] These descriptions reveal that even the Arabic Rabbinic Jews, though seen as spiritual brethren, are perceived as Orientals: They have no

---

Samaritaner. Vielmehr handelt es sich um rabbanitische Juden', Meshulam ben Menaḥem mi-Volterah; *Von der Toskana in den Orient: ein Renaissance-Kaufmann auf Reisen* ed. & transl. by Daniel Jütte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), p. 43; the same Meshulam gives a clearer breakdown for Cairo: 400 Rabbinic, 150 Karaite and 50 Samaritan families, pp. 54 seq.

24 The variance becomes even greater when one takes into account the subgroups within these communities, for instance Cabbalists: Bertinoro, 'Letters', 220.

25 Cf., for instance, Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World* (Philadelphia (Pa.): University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Benjamin Arbel, 'The Port Towns of the Levant in Sixteenth-Century Travel Literature', in *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400–1700*, ed. by Alexander Cowan, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 151–164; Daniel Jütte's introduction to Volterah, *Von der Toskana*, or Stefan Schröder, *Zwischen Islam und Christentum. Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri*, Orbis Medievalis Bd. 11 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), pp. 7–29; see also the forthcoming PhD thesis of Marci Freedman on Benjamin of Tudela.

26 Bertinoro, 'Letters', pp. 220–223.

27 Volterah, *Von der Toskana*, p. 43.

28 Bertinoro, 'Letters', pp. 209, 229, 234, 247; on the Nagid, see also Volterah, *Von der Toskana*, p. 55.

29 Cf. the alleged coalition of Maghribi traders, Avner Greif, 'Reputation and Coalitions in Medieval Trade: Evidence on the Maghribi Traders', *Journal of Economic History* 49, no. 4 (1989): pp. 857–882; cf. more recent and comprehensively: Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions*. More substantial Sephardic immigration in response to the late fourteenth-century pogroms in Spain is attested for Crete, Rena Lauer, 'Cretan Jews and the First Sephardic Encounter in the Fifteenth Century' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): pp. 129–140; for a slightly later period also for Cairo, Bertinoro, 'Letters', p. 228.

30 Volterah, *Von der Toskana*, pp. 43, 54, 55.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

proper furniture, are dressed like Orientals; sit in the synagogues like Orientals; take their shoes off and eat like Orientals (with their hands and on the ground); and they speak mainly Arabic – like Orientals.[31] The travelogues remain silent, however, on the role of Latin and Romaniote Jewish merchants. The following case studies, based on documents from the Venetian state archives, shall attempt to compensate for this silence.

Sabatino Russo

Biagio Dolfin had been active as a merchant in the Mamluk Empire as well as in Venice since the end of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of his commercial career, while active in Alexandria in 1392, he had engaged in a joint venture with the Jewish merchant Sabatino Russo from Lecce.[32] They formed a joint stock company, a *commenda* or, rather, *colleganza*, for a two-year period with Sabatino as the *tractator* (travelling merchant) and Biagio Dolfin (who acted on behalf ofthe Dolfin brothers' *fraterna* [i.e. association of heirs]) as the *socius stans* (investor).[33] Sabatino as *tractator* and travelling merchant invested 300 ducats and Biagio as *socius stans* 600 (in two instalments) while profits and losses were to be divided half-and-half in line with the usual stipulations in *colleganza/commmenda* contracts.[34] The purpose of the company was to trade between Apulia and Venice as well as between Apulia and Alexandria. Sabatino and Biagio's first

31 Cf. for instance Volterah, *Von der Toskana*, pp. 41, 43; also Bertinoro, 'Letters', pp. 220 seq.

32 The Leccese Jew, Moses de Meli, claimed that he was originally from Copertino, Letter from Mose de Meli to Biagio Dolfin 1 August (year unknown), ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. a, f. [7], published Alfredo Stussi, 'Antichi testi salentini in volgare', in *Studi e documenti di storia della lingua e dei dialetti italiani*, edited by Alfredo Stussi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), pp. 156, 164.

33 Stussi dates the first document instituting the company to 1392, which seems wrong both in light of the date given by Biagio Dolfin in a later *recordatio* and the correspondence regarding the dissolution of the company starting in 1399, but which is confirmed by another letter by Sabatino from 1395 held in a private collection and only very recently brought to my attention, see following notes; on the *commenda* and *fraterna* as commercial partnerships, see Max Weber, *Zur Geschichte der Handelsgesellschaften im Mittelalter: Schriften 1889–1894*, edited by Gerhard Dilcher and Susanne Lepsius. Schriften und Reden 1, Gesamtausgabe Max Weber Abt. 1, Bd. 1 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2008), mainly chapter II and for the *fraterna* chapter III, English: id. *The history of commercial partnerships in the Middle Ages*, ed. and transl. by Lutz Kaelber (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); for a short summary, see Georg Christ, 'Weber, Max. Zur Geschichte der Handelsgesellschaften im Mittelalter: nach südeuropäischen Quellen. Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1889', in *Max Weber Handbuch*, edited by Hans Peter Müller and Steffen Sigmund (Stuttgart: Metzler, forthcoming); Gino Luzzatto, 'La commenda nella vita economica dei secoli XIII e XIV. Con particolare riguardo a Venezia', in *Mostra bibliografica e Convegno internazionale di studi storici del diritto marittimo medioevale. Amalfi, luglio-ottobre 1934,* ed. by L A. Senigallia (Napoli, 1934), pp. 139–164.

34 All three invested 300 ducats worth of money or merchandise into the venture, which would reflect the classical *colleganza* or *commenda* model: Two thirds of the investment from the *socius stans*, one third from the *tractator* whereby the gains are divided fifty-fifty in compensation for the higher risk carried by the *tractator*. This risk also includes the traditional arrangement of the *tractator* being liable without limits while only the *socius stans*' liability is limited to the amount of his investment, cf. note above.

instalments, which formed the initial joint stock, consisted of pepper and other spices that were loaded onto a ship bound for Apulia.[35] One might want to consider whether another purpose of this joint venture was to avoid taxes and the higher freight charges that were due for pepper transported on the official and quasi-monopolistic carriers to Venice (the state-leased galleys) by routing spices from Alexandria to the Southern Italian markets (or even Venice) using cheaper transportation.[36]

However, the venture went awry. While Sabatino received half of Biagio's investment in cash in Alexandria, the other half of it was supposed to be sent from Venice to Lecce, in Florentine cloth worth 300 ducats, by Biagio's brother Antonio. The last transaction never occurred because Biagio's brother Antonio left Venice to escape an outbreak of epidemic disease. Despite this cautionary measure Antonio Dolfin died and his brother Biagio sought to dissolve the joint venture without investing the remaining amount. Sabatino allegedly agreed to close the account, that is, to sever business ties and return the 300 ducats that he had received from Biagio Dolfin with half of the profits so far realized. He advised Biagio to point out a partner in Lecce who could settle the account on Biagio's behalf. It seems, however, that this did not happen, and Biagio accused Sabatino of not fully paying back his investment.[37]

A conflict arose over the exact amount owed. Sabatino claimed that the goods which he had sent to Venice had been lost as early as in 1399. He described in detail how, after a dramatic pursuit, pirates boarded the ship carrying the merchandise, and that cheese [*sic*] worth 40 ducats, which Sabatino had sent to Dolfin in Venice, was lost.[38] In 1402 Sabatino informed Biagio that he had lost the rest of their common assets due to war in Apulia, which had also hindered him from

35 Letter from Sabatino Russo to Biagio Dolfin, 07.05.1392, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. a, f. [3]; Stussi, 'Antichi testi salentini', p. 159.

36 For the galley system, see Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise*. The Medieval Mediterranean 5 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); Claire Judde de Larivière, *Naviguer, commercer, gouverner: économie maritime et pouvoirs à Venise (XV^e^-XVI^e^ siècles)*, The Medieval Mediterranean 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2008); for trade between Venice and Apulia, see Francesco Carabellese and A. Zambler, *Le relazioni commerciali fra la Puglia e la repubblica di Venezia dal secolo X al XV: Ricerche e documenti*, 2 vols (Trani, 1897–1898).

37 'Et chomo per so letere par, che a vuy ho mostrando, io li scrisy fin del 1399 che per la chaxon de la morte de mio fradelo io voleva che a la dita raxion el metese fin et che voleva aver el mio. El me respoxe che l'avrà apariado et che dese ordene a chy io voleva, che'l designase le mie raxon li a Leze, che lo'l faria. Et chusy li scrisy, ma maymente de volse far.' *Recordatio* (memo) of Biagio Dolfin for Piero Vignati, 20.09.1414, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 180, fasc. 7, f. [8].

38 Letter from Sabatino Russo to Biagio Dolfin, 14.03.1399, Letter from Russo, Sabatino to Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo, 14.03.1400, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. a, f. [5], cf. Stussi, 'Antichi testi salentini', nr. 2, p. 160; for the trade in cheese, albeit from another provenance, see David Jacoby, 'Cretan Cheese: a Neglected Aspect of Venetian Medieval Trade', in *Medieval and Renaissance Venice. Studies in Honour of Donald E. Queller*, ed. by Ellen E. Kittell, and Thomas F. Madden, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 49–68.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

returning home.[39] Both these cases were thus presented as being due to *force majeure* and thus not incurring Sabatino's personal responsibility.[40]

Meanwhile, Biagio had charged his 'cousin'[41] Giovanni Dolfin (son of Marco), who travelled to Alexandria in 1399, with the pursuance of his claims. Giovanni succeeded only partially. He encountered Sabatino in Alexandria and managed to receive some spices from him. However, according to Biagio, their value only amounted to a third of the initial investment.[42] Sabatino nimbly argued that he could not possibly send spices to Venice from Lecce because doing so would violate Venetian contraband regulations. He agreed, however, to deliver goods to clear the remaining debt (which according to him amounted to hardly more than a trifle[43]) to a partner of Biagio in the Venetian colony of Modon in the Peloponnese.[44]

Much later, in 1414, Biagio Dolfin finally charged a certain Piero Vignati, who was travelling to Lecce,[45] with the task of claiming the rest and providing Sabatino with *salvocondotto* (safe conduct pass) so that he could travel to Venice in order to settle his accounts personally and amicably without risking being sued and incarcerated for the outstanding debt.[46] At the same time, Biagio Dolfin tried to apply pressure on Sabatino through different Jewish merchants in Lecce. One Giacomo Sacerdote, son of Abraham, with whom Biagio traded

---

39 Letter from Russo, Sabatino to Dolfin, Biagio qd. Lorenzo, 08.09.1402, ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. a, f. [9]; published Stussi, 'Antichi testi salentini', nr. 3, pp. 161 seq.; the war he is alluding to must be the 1399 insurrection of the Pugliesi barons against the Angevins (i.e. Louis II) and the subsequent consolidation of Orsini rule in Apulia.

40 Vis major, that is, losses due to pirate attacks (war) or shipwreck (due to an act of God, i.e. storm); cf. 'per la legi di Dio my perdivy ducati 200 […]. Item sazati miser Biasi che mi non ti so tenuto de dari de dibitiu tantu chi valla uno bagatino', letter from Russo, Sabatino to Dolfin, Biagio qd. Lorenzo, 08.09.1402, ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. a, f. [9]; published Stussi, 'Antichi testi salentini', nr. 3, pp. 161 seq.

41 Not necessarily meaning a direct cousin, it could also indicate a more distant relative.

42 *Recordatio* (memo) of Biagio Dolfin for Piero Vignati, 20.09.1414, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 180, fasc. 7, f. [8].

43 'Bagatino', see above note 244.

44 The text is not very clear concerning the place, but Modon (Methoni) would indeed make sense, as the official terminal of the Aegean from where northwards the stricter Venetian monopolistic trade regime would apply: 'mi li asinga li dicti cosi allu vosstru commessa'u a Mydona e cussì mi di ò scryto de sua man comu l'à richiputu', Letter from Sabatino Russo to Dolfin, Biagio qd. Lorenzo, 08.09.1402, ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. a, f. [9]; published: Stussi, 'Antichi testi salentini', nr. 3, pp. 161 seq.

45 Giacomo de Abramo, sacerdote, to Biagio Dolfin 05.04.1416, ASVe, *Miscellanea Gregolin*, b. 8, fasc. 1413–1416, int. 1416, f. 405.

46 Sabatino Russo had already asked for (and allegedly received) an official Venetian safe conduct pass, letter from Sabatino Russo to Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo, 18.10.1403, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. a, f. 6, published in: Stussi, 'Antichi testi salentini', doc. 4, p. 163; Recordatio (memo) by Biagio Dolfin for Pietro Vignati, 25.09.1414, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 180, fasc. 7, f. [9].

in cloth,[47] pretended not to know Sabatino personally but defended him somewhat, arguing that Biagio had first 'damaged' (and thus broke the agreement) by not sending Sabatino the cloth, as had been agreed.[48] However, the testimony of Mose de Meli, also from Lecce, incriminated Sabatino heavily. He wrote Biagio Dolfin that Sabatino owed him money as well, that he was a fraudster, not a Leccese, and last but not least a 'falzo iudeo' [a false Jew]. He advised Biagio to try to catch Sabatino in Lecce before he could escape to Alexandria again.[49]

This arguably negative experience did not stop Biagio's dealings with other Jewish merchants. Nevertheless, Sabatino's Jewishness seemed to matter a great deal. After several attempts to obtain the money owed to him had failed, Biagio tried to reach Sabatino through his community. He did not try to make the Leccese Jewish community collectively liable, but hoped to use them as informal leverage against Sabatino. It might be tempting to interpret Sabatino's rhetorical exclusion labelling him a 'false Jew' and not a proper resident of Lecce as an attempt to squelch the threat of collective liability that could loom over the Jewish community of Lecce. However, the response of Giacomo Sacerdote, which was far more sympathetic to Sabatino, shows that such a position was not universal. In any case, Ashtor showed that such cooperation between Venetians and Jews from Apulia was not unusual throughout the fifteenth century.[50] One strong reason might have been that inner-Jewish restrictions on the use of more sophisticated types of commercial partnership and credit created a strong incentive for cross-confessional joint ventures.[51]

47 Ibid.

48 Giacomo de Abramo, sacerdote, to Biagio Dolfin 05.04.1416, ASVe, *Miscellanea Gregolin*, b. 8, fasc. 1413–1416, int. 1416, f. 405.

49 'Fazove a saper como Sabatyno foe per andary a Levanty fazaty che vuy mandaty presto da qua in vanty che sy mova perché ca illo è uno falzo iudio e mentytymenty per la vya de Levanty chy vuy la averyty per li many et avie per la vya d'Elesandira. Ma mello è sy vuy potryte mandary presto da qua in Leze ca averyty de la roba soa propya syry pagato.' Letter from Mose de Meli to Biagio Dolfin 01 August (year unknown), ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. a, f. [7], ed. Stussi, ‚Antichi testi salentini', nr. 6, p. 164.

50 Ashtor, 'New Data', p. 79 seq.

51 Cf. Benjamin Arbel, 'Mediterranean Jewish Diasporas and the Bill of Exchange: Coping with a Foreign Financial Instrument (14th-17th Centuries)', in *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, ed. by Georg Christ, Franz-Julius Morche et al. (Roma: Viella, in press 2015), passim and note 47.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Eliyahu Capsali

Eliyahu Capsali, a Creto-Venetian Jew of Romaniote cultural affiliation from Rethymnon, was active as a wine trader[52] between his native town and Alexandria.[53] His life has been described exhaustively by Eliyahu Ashtor.[54] However, after working with the same archival documents (notarial deeds), I came to slightly different conclusions regarding Capsali's status in the Venetian community, which might justify to consider the case afresh. Capsali did not maintain contacts with Biagio Dolfin in a private or business capacity, but he seemed to have called on consular support to enforce his right as a member of the Venetian community in Alexandria.

The documentation chiefly consists of notarial deeds (mainly letters of attorney) drawn by the Venetian notaries Vittore Bonfantin and Nicolò Venier from 1418 to 1422. One such letter is jointly intended for Capsali's brother Sabatino and a certain Nemara, son of Moses, in order to claim money owed by another Jew, the Sicilian (?) shipowner Grassono [or Grissone] qd.[55] Salomon.[56] In a similar letter of attorney, granted to Simone Sartore, also identified as a Jew, Capsali gave an order to cash another debt owed by the Genoese (?) businessman Giorgio

52 On Veneto-Jewish wine trade in Crete and Egypt, see Benjamin Arbel, 'The 'Jewish Wine' of Crete', in *Monemvasian wine – Monovas(i)a – Malvasia*, edited by Ilias Anagnostakis, Proceedings of the International Symposium (Athens, May 19–20, 2006), International Symposia, 17; Οἶνον Ἱστορώ V (Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), pp. 81–88; Abraham David, 'Der Weinkonsum bei Juden des Nahen Ostens im späten Mittelalter und darüber hinaus', in *Wein und Judentum*, ed. by Andreas Lehnardt, (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2014), pp. 185–202; cf. Jacoby, 'Venice and Venetian Jews', p. 49.

53 Ashtor, 'Ebrei cittadini', p. 150 states that Capsali lived in Alexandria (because of the numerous deeds drawn up by the Venetian notary in this port city). However, this could be an over-interpretation. Like so many Alexandrians in this time, he probably engaged in an urban transhumance lifestyle of commuting between Crete (Candia), perhaps his native town of Rethymnon, and Alexandria. For urban transhumance, see Georg Christ, 'Eine Stadt wandert aus. Kollaps und Kontinuität im spätmittelalterlichen Alexandria'. *Viator* 42 (2011): pp. 145–168, here p. 156.

54 Ashtor, 'Ebrei cittadini', see there pp. 148 seqq. for Eliyahu Capsali's family history; cf. id., 'New Data', pp. 76 seqq.; for Capsali's Talmudist name-sake (and perhaps descendent) in the 16th century, see Meir Benayahu, *Rabbi Eliyahu Capsali of Candia: Rabbi, Leader and Historian* [in Hebrew].Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Diaspora Studies, 1983; also *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (1906), http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4009-capsali#anchor2 accessed 30.12.2013 and Cecil Roth, 'Capsali, Elijah'. in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, edited by Fred Skolnik, et al.2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson, 2007), consulted on http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0004_0_03939.html; Aleida Paudice, *Between Several Worlds: The Life and Writings of Elia Capsali: The Historical Works of a 16th-Century Cretan Rabbi* (Forum Europaische Geschichte).München, 2010; Giacomo Corazzol, 'On the sources of Elijah Capsali's Chronicle of the 'Kings' of Venice', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27, no. 2 (2012): pp. 151–160.

55 Qd.=quondam=son of the late.

56 Deed Eliyahu Capsali qd. Psalach, 10.03.1419, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, 'Vittore Bonfantin', fasc. 9, int. 3, f. 3; for Grassone/Grissone, see Apellaniz, 'Venetian Trading Networks', p. 176.

Londachi from Candia (Venetian Crete) for a wine delivery.[57] Capsali had accepted this debt from a certain Michele Pescaro, a resident in his hometown of Rethymnon, in lieu of his debt to Capsali; however, it is not clear what the underlying business venture between Capsali and Pescaro was.[58]

Wine seems to have been Capsali's main trade. In January 1420, Eliyahu charged a certain Percut (?) with the task of selling 100 barrels of wine, but now overrode this arrangement by selling the same 100 barrels to Angelo Michiel, a powerful Venetian wine merchant in Alexandria. He detailed the arrangements to satisfy Percut's claims.[59] Later, in October, Eliyahu, strangely, seems to have owed 125 ducats to the aforesaid Angelo Michiel, which he agreed to pay back by December. He must have done so, for the deed is cancelled in the notarial minutes.[60] In February 1420, Eliyahu registered a particularly complex operation with the Venetian notary: he bought wine from another Jewish merchant in Candia, Eliyahu Michaelis, and paid only a 13 ducat down payment on the 238 ducats owed, while accepting to pay 100 ducats to Ametto Benesadacha (Ahmed ibn as-Sadiq?), a Mamluk official (*muqaddam*), and 41 ducats to Emmanuele Sclavo, both creditors of Eliyahu Michaelis. The remaining 80 ducats were to be sent in cash by a safe messenger ('nuntio securo') to Eliyahu Michaelis.[61] Perhaps, the wine trade, because of the high-values handled, was intrinsically linked to the finance industry. In any case, in 1420 Eliyahu commissioned Isaya, son of Chaim, to cash a letter of exchange over 130 ducats in Venice for him.[62] In May he again took measures to cash an outstanding debt. The debtor, the Alexandrian publican Onofrio, was summoned by the Venetian consul and acknowledged to owe Eliyahu Capsali 27 ducats for two casks of wine.[63] Capsali must have been the supplier of quite a few taverns, for in one case he imported 75 barrels of wine for

57 Or Michaletto Sguro qd. Giorgio respectively who had been charged by Capsali to cash the debt on his behalf.

58 Pescaro owed Capsali 200 ducats. Londachi, however, owed Pescaro money in return for a wine delivery. Pescaro agreed that Londachi repaid the 100 ducats / 200 censum (?) to Capsali. Sguro committed to cash the sum on behalf of Capsili, deed Michele Pescaro di Retimo, 15.05.1419, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, 'Vittore Bonfantin', fasc. ix, int. c, f. 3.

59 Deed (*relatio*) Eliyahu Capsali qd. Psalach, January 1420; ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, 'Vittore Bonfantin', fasc. 9, int. 3, f. 8.

60 Deed Eliyahu Capsali qd. Psalach, 27.02.1420, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, 'Vittore Bonfantin', fasc. 9, int. 3, f. 8.

61 The bill does not fully add up (17 ducats was the price per barrel for 14 barrels, i.e. the full amount would be 238, Eliyahu's obligations, however, add up to merely 234. Perhaps the remaining 4 ducats was the price that Michaelis paid for the service rendered by Capsali in clearing his debts, purchase contract, Eliyahu Capsali qd. Psalach and Eliyahu Michaelis, 27.02.1420, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, 'Vittore Bonfantin', fasc. 9, int. 3, f. 8.

62 Commission, 21.10.1420, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 230, fasc. I 'Nicolò Venier, int. a, f. 9

63 Deed, 16.11.1419, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, 'Vittore Bonfantin', fasc. 9, int. 3, f. 7.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

tavern sale.[64] This is also evidenced by a much-cited 1421 notarial deed detailing taxes owed on the import of seventy barrels of *vini iudaici* (identified as kasher wine).[65] However, considering that the Jewish community in Alexandria, as shown above, was rather small, we might wonder whether this wine was perhaps destined for transshipment to the Jewish communities in Cairo. The question arises of how this wine then would have travelled to the Mamluk capital, and whether Eliyahu might have relied on a supply network based on local Oriental Jews. As it stands, however, this remains speculative and awaits further evidence.

Following common practice, Eliyahu Capsali used the Venetian notary rather than a rabbi for private matters.[66] The deeds' purpose was to integrate his fellow Jews of Rethymnon into the Venetian community in Alexandria by commissioning them to act on his behalf in matters regarding the Venetian community.[67]

This case study, based solely on Venetian notarial deeds, is inevitably incomplete (we know, for instance, very little about Eliyahu's arrangements for the transport of wine and money).[68] However, though one might be at first tempted to think that notarial confirmation of transactions was sought for cross-cultural ventures, we have to acknowledge that in two cases the main part of the transactions are intra-Jewish (the purchase from Eliyahu Michaelis and the cashing of Grissone's debt). A lack of evidence about trading with local Alexandrian Jewish merchants does not necessarily suggest that such trading did not happen, and the 70 barrels of 'Jewish wine' can indeed be interpreted convincingly as destined for Oriental Jewish consumption.[69]

Furthermore, the deeds underline Eliyahu Capsali's tight integration into the Venetian regional trade system: he bought wine from different partners in Candia, shipped it probably by Greco-Venetian shipmasters to Alexandria,[70] and accepted to combine payment with complex debt-clearing arrangements in Alexandria.

---

64 Deed for Giorgio Londachi, 21.05.1420, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, fasc. IX, int. c, f. 10.

65 Deed, 27.04.1421, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 230, fasc. i 'Nicolò Venier', int. a, f. 12, cf. Charles Verlinden, 'Marchands chrétiens et juifs dans l'Etat mamelouk au début du XV siècle d'après un notaire vénitien', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome* 51 (1981): pp. 19–86, here p. 55; Arbel, 'The 'Jewish Wine' of Crete'; Jacoby, 'Venice and Venetian Jews', p. 49; David, 'Der Weinkonsum bei Juden des Nahen Ostens', p. 194 seq..

66 Deed, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 230, fasc. i 'Nicolò Venier', int. a, f. 16.

67 See also, commission, 27.06.1421, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 230, fasc. I 'Nicolò Venier', int. a, f. 14.

68 In only one case, we learn how the wine was actually transported: Eliyahu cooperated for the shipping of his wine from Rethymnon to Alexandria with an operator, Giacomo di Modon, perhaps originating from this Venetian port in the Peloponnese. The contract specifies *vini de firmo*. Probably it means transport at fixed price, cf. Ashtor, 'New Data', p. 78, rather than *vino firmo*, i.e. non-sparkling ('mossato') or from Fermo, Marche (Lat. *Firmum Picenum*), contract, 19.01.1422, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 230, fasc. I 'Nicolò Venier', int. a, f. 18.

69 Bertinoro, 'Letters', p. 221.

70 Kasher wine could be transported by non-Jews in sealed casks, David, 'Wein und Judentum', p. 194.

This, and Capsali's ability to mobilize the Venetian consul for the recognition of a debt, indicate his rather prominent status in the Venetian community. This makes it plausible enough to argue that Capsali in these years already enjoyed the status of a Venetian colonial citizen who was entitled to benefit from Venetian privileges to some extent (i.e. the privileges of a *fidelis*, a kind of colonial citizen).[71]

Indeed, it seems to be on the basis of this privilege that Eliyahu already enjoyed *de facto*, that he later commissioned Piero Bernardo (qd. Francesco), Isaya, son of Chaim, and Moses Sacerdote, son of the late Psalach, to seal the acquired status quo and to request a privilege of citizenship for him and his offspring: *pro persona mea et nomine meo proprio cum heredibus meis quodam citadinantie privilegium bulla Sancti Marci pendenti* [for my person and in my proper name with my heirs a certain privilege of citizenship with the seal of St. Mark hanging from it] but then, somewhat confusingly, *prout et sicut alliis fidellibus civibus eiusdem dominationis nostre venete consuetum est* [just so as it is common for other faithful citizens of our Venetian domain], so that he could

> in quibuscumque mondi partibus securiter mercari et pro fidelli et dillecto cive eiusdem civitatis venetiarum prout et sicut omnes affines mei preteriti fuerunt et ad presens etiam sum ego effectualiter pertractari [*sic- perhaps a scribal error, recte* pertractati]
>
> > [trade securely in whatever part of the world as a faithful and beloved citizen of the aforesaid state (or even: city) of Venice just so as all my passed in-laws (affinal kin) have been and as at present I am de facto treated].[72]

It is not clear what the exact form of citizenship is that Capsali is applying for, and a lot here depends on the interpretation of the adjective *fidelis*.

---

71 Cf. David Jacoby, 'Citoyens, Sujets et Protégés de Venise et de Génes en Chypre du XIII au XV siècle'. *Byzantinische Forschungen* V (1977): pp. 159–188.

72 'Committens committo ego Liachus Capsaliebreus filius qd. Psalachie ebrei civis et habitator civitatis Rethimi vobis viro nob dom Petro Bernardo qd. domini Francisci civi et habitatoris Venetiarum in confine S. Pauli et discretis viris Isaie ebreo filio Chaini ebrei ac Moysi Sacerdoti ebreo filio qd. Psalachie Sacerdotis civibus et habitatoribus civitatis Candide ut amodo in anthea pro me meoque nomine vos in simul tres et quilibet vostrum in solidum plenam virtutuem et potestatem habeatis coram serenissimo et excellentissimo ducali Veneto dominio comparendi et ab ipso petendi et de gratia spetiali impetrandi pro persona mea et nomine meo proprio cum heredibus meis quodam citadinantie privilegium bulla Sancti Marci pendenti munitum cum clausulis et solenitatibus usitatis et opportunis prout et sicut alliis fidellibus civibus eiusdem dominationis nostre venete consuetum est fatiendi et fieri fatiendi ita et taliter quod possim et valleam in quibuscumque mondi partibus securiter mercari et pro fidelli et dillecto cive eiusdem civitatis venetiarum prout et sicut omnes affines mei preteriti fuerunt et ad presens etiam sum ego effectualiter pertractari (recte: pertractati) dando et attribuendo vobis tribus et cuilibet vostrum in solidum plenissimam auctoritatem libertatem et potestatem pro ipso privilegio aquerendo si aliqua expensa occurerit [...].' Letter of attorney from Capsali, Eliyahu for Pietro Bernardo qd. Francesco, Isai ben Chaim and Moses Sacerdote qd. Psalach, 22 April 1422, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore,* Notai, b. 230, fasc. 1, parchment ledger, f. 13^{v}/14^{r}., 22.04.1422, edited by Ashtor, 'Ebrei cittadini', p. 147 seq.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

It has been repeatedly argued that the adjective *fidelis* suggests that Capsali requested a sort of colonial citizen's or *fidelis* status.[73] As an adjective to *cives*, however, *fidelis* does not perhaps mean quite so much. Interestingly, in a shortened summary of the deed, *fidelis* is completely omitted, stating simply *privilegium zitadinantie Venetum*.[74] One might argue that the adjective *fidelis* [faithful] was naturally connected to citizenship and would not have a more specific meaning than *dilectus* [beloved] in this context, the more so as *fidelis*, in the sense of a specific type of citizenship, seems, in other places, to be used as a noun in clear opposition to *cives* rather than as an adjective specifying it.[75] In any case, Capsali must have thought that the privilege he applied for (even if it was not full citizenship) would provide a substantial added value. It obviously did not suffice for him that he was tacitly co-opted into the Venetian community in Alexandria; he wanted his acquired status to be officially corroborated and acknowledged in the metropolitan centre of gravity: in Venice.[76]

Iochoda, Jewish merchant from Candia, residing in Venice[77]

We return to Biagio Dolfin, who certainly did not abstain from cross-confessional joint ventures as a result of his experiences with the Jewish merchant from Lecce.

---

73 Ashtor, 'Ebrei cittadini', pp. 153–156 interprets the deed as Capsali applying for some sort of *fidelis*, i.e. limited or colonial citizenship status. Apellániz, 'Venetian Trading', pp. 175 seq. seems to replicate Ashtor's interpretation, but differentiates between *fidelis* and colonial citizen without explaining this further. He states that 'contrary to claims based on his case that active Jewish entrepreneurs could apply for the citizenship of the colonies, accurate analysis shows otherwise. Capsali probably sought the title of fidelis, a status inferior to that of Venetian citizenship'. He must mean this deed; but does not cite it, merely referencing Ashtor's similar interpretation of the case and Jacoby on the *fidelis* status; cf. also Jacoby, 'Citoyens, Sujets et Protégés'.

74 'Nota de commisseria facta per Liachum Iudeum qd. Pasalachie de Rethimo ad personam viri nobilis domini Petri Bernardo domini Francisci sancti Pauli de Venetiis et Isaie iudei filii Chaini iudei a Moysi Sacerdotis iudei qd. Psalachie de Candida et cuiuslibet ipsorum in solidum ad conparendum coram dominio Veneti causa impetrandi nomine ipsius unum privilegium zitadinantie Venetum' (...witnesses) – the whole paragraph is cancelled (crossed out): ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 230, fasc. I 'Nicolò Venier', int. a, f. 21^{v}

75 Cf. 'Quis civis, subditus, vel fidelis, seu habitator aliquarum terrarum, et cocorum nostrorum sub aliquo modo, colore, vel forma non possit [...]' Decision of the Senate, 1 Februar 1420, ASVe, *Senato*, Misti, b. 53, fol. 51[punctuation is mine].

76 In light of the anti-Jewish regulation passed shortly after in 1423 it is perhaps rather unlikely that Eliyahu ever managed to obtain the desired privilege, Jacoby, 'Venice and the Venetian Jews', p. 47. It was, however, not entirely impossible; some sort of special status (including the right to wear the non-discriminatory black rather than the Jewish yellow beret) was granted a few years later to the Mavrogonato family for service rendered to the Serenissima, Papadia-Lala, 'The Jews in early modern Venetian Crete', p. 146; David Jacoby, 'Un agent juif au service de Venise: David Mavrogonato de Candie ', *Thesaurismata* 9 (1972): pp. 68–96.

77 Iocoda, at least for the time in question, was not active in Alexandria but, from what the documents suggest, in Venice or its vicinity, for instance in Mestre. Technically Jews were not allowed to reside in

From 1414 onwards, Dolfin engaged in business with another Jewish merchant, Iocoda from Candia (i.e. Venetian Crete). At the time he was residing in Venice, or, perhaps, at least officially, the vicinity of it, in Mestre.[78] The interaction was in this case more conventional: money lending.[79]

Iochoda lent Biagio 80 ducats between 1414 and 1417. The last instalment of the repayment and the negotiation of the interest and commission took a bit longer, and were still a matter of disagreement in 1418. While Dolfin was in Alexandria, Iocoda claimed from the former's representative in Venice more money than he was willing to pay.[80] Interestingly, the note documenting this last claim is a non-notarized translation of the Hebrew (!) original of the contract.[81] Biagio, informed about this last claim by letter, was angry but he expressed his anger in surprising moderation compared to expressions of his frustration over fellow patrician Venetians in Alexandria.[82] One might be tempted to identify an anti-Semitic tone in '*da nuovo non me par perché'l è de chostanza de la lor par*

Venice at the time, cf. Arbel, 'Introduction', p. 117. On Jews in Venice and the Venetian Terraferma, see David Jacoby, 'New Evidence on Jewish Bankers in Venice and the Venetian Terraferma (*c.* 1450–1550)', in *The Mediterranean and the Jews: Banking, Finance and International Trade (XVI-XVIII Centuries)*, op. cit., pp. 151–178; Cecil Roth, *Venice* Jewish Communities Series (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1930); Benjamin Ravid, *Studies on the Jews of Venice* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003); Reinhold C. Mueller, 'The Status and Economic Activity of Jews in the Venetian Dominions during the Fifteenth Century', in: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden: Fragen und Einschätzungen*, ed. by Michael Toch, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 71 (München: Oldenbourg, 2008), 63–92; on Iocoda, see also Franz-Julius Morche, 'Business Networks as Complex Systems – Venetian Merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean', in *Union in Separation* op. cit..

78 Reinhold C. Mueller, 'Banchi ebraici tra Mestre e Venezia nel trado medioevo', in *'Interstizi': Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini tra basso medioevo e prima epoca moderna*, edited by Uwe Israel et al. (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010), pp. 103–132, here 104: Jews operating in Venice had to live officially in Mestre, but this was probably not always the case, cf. ibid., 'Venezia, dove pure abitavano tanti ebrei'; cf. also for the later fifteenth century, Jacoby, 'New Evidence', p. 155.

79 Mueller, 'Banchi ebraici', p. 104; cf. Jacoby, 'Venice and Venetian Jews', p. 46.

80 Account, 1414, Ibid., *Procuratori di San Marco, Citra*, 'Commissaria Lorenzo Dolfin', b. 282, fasc. 3, f. [132]; letter from Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo to Lorenzo Dolfin qd. Antonio, arrived 23.11.1418, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. e, f. [24]; promissory letter of Iochoda to Lorenzo Dolfin, 06 December 1418, ibid., *Procuratori di San Marco,* Citra, 'Commissaria Lorenzo Dolfin', b. 282, fasc. 1, f. [3]; letter of Biagio to Lorenzo Dolfin (?), 1419 undated, ibid., *Procuratori di San Marco, Commissarie miste*, 'Commissaria Biagio Dolfin', b. 181, fasc. 15, int. f, f. [6]; letter of Lorenzo to Biagio Dolfin, 24 March 1419, ibid., f. [5].

81 Account of Lorenzo Dolfin qd. Antonio, 1414, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 282, fasc. 3, f. 132; fragment of letter copy from Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo to Lorenzo Dolfin qd. Antonio, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. f, f. [6]; letter from Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo to Lorenzo Dolfin qd. Antonio, 24.03.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. f, f. [5]; letter from Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo to Lorenzo Dolfin qd. Antonio, 24.04.1419, ibid., Citra, b. 282, fasc. iii, f. [3]; letter from Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo to Lorenzo Dolfin qd. Antonio 24.02.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Citra, b. 282, fasc. iii, f. [2] and copy ibid., Commissarie miste, b. 180, fasc. vi, int. c, f. [17-seq.].

82 Christ, *Trading Conflicts*, pp. 108, 277; cf. 'dove ch'io son ch'io poso dir chiarmamente che io son in man di chani rabioxi [there where I am, I can clearly say that I am in the hands of rabid dogs]' written with

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

senper ad inganar [it seems to me that this is nothing new for what is constant from their side <is> always to <be ready to> cheat]'.[83] However, the tone is not specifically anti-Jewish, and the 'them' might refer to money-lenders or bankers in general. Cheating, as it were, was part of the business, and Biagio was not above using such practices himself: he had openly instigated his nephew and representative to try to defraud Iocoda by not reminding him of a further petty amount owed, and had done this before the aforementioned disagreement had even occurred.[84] In any case, Biagio Dolfin makes it very clear that the disagreement was a minor one (and insinuates that Iocoda also would see it this way).[85] Certainly, this would not have been a reason for them to discontinue their business relationship, because as a dealer in precious stones Biagio was interested in a particular gem in Iocoda's possession.[86] For both reasons this open-horizon game involving high sums and sophisticated expertise would be expected to continue.[87]

Dragomans and brokers

We encounter many more Jews interacting with the Venetian consul, some merchants and some intermediaries, in the service of the Venetian community in Alexandria/Egypt.[88] The Venetian dragomans (translators/interpreters) in

---

reference to his countrymen's behaviour in Alexandria, copy of letter/draft from Biagio Dolfin 05.11.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. e, f. [6].

83 Letter from Biagio to Lorenzo Dolfin, 24.03.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. f, f. [5]; cf. letter, 24.04.1419, ibid., Citra, b. 282, fasc. iii, f. [3].

84 'Arichordandote che ultra li ducati che'l dito Iochoda d'aver chomo par per lo conto so ch'io te mando el die aver ch'el me inpresta [...] dapoy ch'io vigny da Sibenicho ducati 3 over 4 che ben non me rechando, ma ty non de' far menzion lasa pure che'l diga luy', letter from Biagio to Lorenzo Dolfin, 01.11.1418, ibid., Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. e, f. [24].

85 'Siché lo à fato mal ad aver tolto quelo lo à et in pero de lì per parte mia che'l non voia aver briga con my et fa te dar li dity duc. 9 s. 60 et et quando vignerò a Veniexia con Dio avanty sì faremo li nostry conty luy et my et si troverò la letera che'l me scrise a Sibenicho et sì son zerto che'l non voia aver deferenzia con my ni per sì pichola chosa' letter from Biagio to Lorenzo Dolfin, 24.03.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. f, f. [5]; cf. letter, 24.04.1419, ibid., Citra, b. 282, fasc. iii, f. [3].

86 Ibid. and Letter from Biagio to Lorenzo Dolfin, 01.11.1418, ibid., Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. e, f. [24].

87 For open-horizon games in game theory see Robert M. Axelrod, *Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

88 For other Jewish merchants not treated here, see deed Abraham Billi qd. Moise, 10.04.1420, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, fasc. IX, int. c, ff. 9–10; deed Abdallah, 28.06.1419, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, fasc. ix, int. c, f. 4; Davide Cassale from Crete and Abdallah Sarazenus alias Judeus appear as collaborators of yet another Iochoda, *Commissaria* Abdallah to Davide Cassale and Iochoda, 28.06.1419; ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, fasc. ix 'Vittore Bonfantin', int. c, f. 4; Jacob ben Apanet was possibly also Jewish.

Alexandria, for instance, are identified as Jews in the consul's documents: Obed,[89] Abraham,[90] and Moses.[91] This seems to be in line with a general pattern noted in Venetian colonies, where Oriental Jews were employed as interpreters.[92] Another Jewish interpreter is mentioned in a court case involving the (Creto-)Venetian vice-consul in Damietta, one Abdallah.[93] There is also an Arabic document among Biagio Dolfin's papers, which obliged the Venetian (?) dragomans to pass certain information to their employer (the consul?) only upon receiving permission by the Mamluk *ustadâr* (major domo, a high official at court).[94] Finally, in a similar role we encounter yet another Abdallah (*Abdelle iudeo ebrayco*) – perhaps the same as the man mentioned above – from the Maghreb who was on a mission to liberate slaves in Rhodes and to return them to Beirut.[95] There was also at least one pepper broker who in the Venetian documents was called 'Mansur, the Jew'.[96] There is no evidence of a particularly close interaction between those Oriental Jews and the above-mentioned Jewish merchants from Crete. And the possible existence of a fondaco for (Latin) Jews would also suggest a rather strong separation.[97]

89 Tax declaration by Lorenzo Bembo qd. Leonardo, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xxiii, int. n, f. [25]; 'per Obeit zudio nostro trizimeno che cheda l'ofizial del ca' Perron per de la voxe duc. 15' tax declaration Angelo Michiel, 27.10.1418, ibid., f. [10].

90 'Da per mi ad Habram truzimano per spazar uno messo ad Damascho [...] d[eremi=*dirham*] 40', petty cash payment, 08.08.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco* (Psm 181 1419), Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. '1419', int. 13, f. [155]; probably the same Abraham, later dragoman of the Florentines mentioned by Ashtor, 'New Data', p. 89.

91 'Da per mi ad sta zima fo per lo retegnir de Moyse nostro truziman [...]' Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo: Frachtliste Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo, 01.04.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. '1419', int. 19, f. [200].

92 Jacoby, 'Venice and Venetian Jews', p. 81; Ashtor, 'New Data', pp. 83, 88 seq.

93 Causa Nikita Zamisi vs. Micheletto Papadopolo, 03.06.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 17, f. [1], ed. Georg Christ, 'The Venetian Consul and the Cosmopolitan Mercantile Community of Alexandria at the Beginning of the 15th Century', *Al-Masaq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* 26, no. 1 (forthcoming April 2014).

94 Arabic letter, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 180, fasc. 9, f. 13, cf. Labib 502 seq., doc. 10; Frédéric Bauden, 'The Mamluk Documents of the Venetian State Archives: Handlist'. *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 20/21 (2002/2003): pp. 147–156, here p. 153; the *ustadâr* was the major-domo, or head eunuch and the head of the Mamluk diwân al mufrad, cf. Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlûk*, Damas: Institut Français d'Études Arabes, 1992, p. 57; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages. The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press /London: Croom Helm, 1986), p. 38.

95 Deed Venier, Nicolò, ASVe, *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 230, 'Nicolò Venier', fasc. 2, fol. 13seq.

96 'Biaxio Dolfin chonsollo die dar [...] Monsor zudio' Tax & expenses account Angelo Michiel, 27 October 1418(?), ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 23, int. n, f. 10; 'non tuor alltro sanser che Momsor zudio' letter from Filippo di Malerbi qd. Nicolò to his brother Pietro, 08 August 1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. n, f. [18]; possibly also letter from Michiel, Angelo qd. Luca to Dolfin, Biagio qd. Lorenzo, 1 September 1419, ASVe, Procuratori di San Marco, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 15, int. d, f. [17]; Ashtor, 'New Data', pp. 88 seq.

97 Ashtor, 'New Data', p. 81.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Lazarus, medical officer of the Venetian Commonwealth in Alexandria

Most prominent among the Jewish officers of the Venetian consulate, however, was Lazarus, the medical officer (*medigo=medico*) from Candia.[98] After Biagio's sudden death in Cairo in 1420, Lazarus claimed to not have received the whole of the salary owed to him and pursued his claim with the vice-consul who replaced Dolfin. He won the case, but it was Biagio Dolfin's heir, rather than the consulate's cash-box, that had to pay the salary. It was conveniently argued that the consular cash-box could not be separated from Biagio's personal funds, probably due to the consul's sudden death, which prevented him from disentangling, settling, and closing his accounts.[99] The case might relate to expenses covered by Lazarus on the same consular trip to Cairo when Biagio died. Why Lazarus accompanied the Venetian party is unclear; it might have been his previous experience with the capital, as well as his medical skills that motivated this decision.[100] His close integration into the Venetian community and liberal use of Venetian institutions is also highlighted by the fact that he shipped goods on Venetian galleys.[101] Finally, in 1428 it seems that he repeated the migratory pattern of his compatriot and fellow-Jew, Iochoda, and eventually moved to Venice.[102]

98 For his activity as the consulate's medical officer, see letter from Andrea Benedetto qd. Piero to Biagio Dolfin, 02.07.1419, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. xv, int. d, f. [28]; Letter from Vida, Maistro Fisico to Biagio Dolfin qd. Lorenzo, 17.02.1419, ibid., f. [1]; on Lazarus and other Jewish physicians, see Jacoby, 'Venice and Venetian Jews', pp. 43 seqq.; specifically on physicians from Candia, id., 'Jewish Physicians and Surgeons in Crete under Venetian Rule [in Hebrew]', in *Culture and Society in Jewish Medieval History. A Collection of Essays in Memory of Hayim Hilel Ben Sasson* [in Hebrew], ed. by Reuven Bonfil, et al. (Jerusalem: Merkaz Zalman Shazar and The Jewish Historical Society, 1989), pp. 431–444; cf. Ashtor, 'New Data', pp. 86–88; on Jewish physicians in general, see Eliakim Carmoly, *Histoire des médecins juifs anciens et modernes*, vol. 1 [only one volume published] (Bruxelles: Imprimerie de H. Bourlard, 1844).

99 Cf. Christ, *Trading Conflicts*, p. 75; *carta securitatis* i.e. receipt of payment by Lazaro Iudeo for Lorenzo Dolfin, corroborated by the notary Vittore de Bonfantin, 28.08.1420, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 180, pergamene, p. [60] [Lorenzo's copy]; ibid., *Cancelleria inferiore*, Notai, b. 22, 'Vittore Bonfantin', fasc. ix, int. c, fol. 9[notarial copy].

100 It seems that he was also involved in their commercial transactions, cf. Angelo Michiel, account with Lorenzo Dolfin qd. Antonio, 1420, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 209A, 'Comissaria Angelo Michiel', int. a; 'per duchati 12 m'à promeso per maistro Lezaro in drio ne dego i qual ge presti al Caiero a k. 22 p. 3' and 'e per duchati x da maistro Lazaro zudio medego (?) in do fiade b. viiii k. xi p. 2' Angelo Michiel qd. Luca: Tax declaration/closing of accounts with the consul, 27.10.1418, ASVe, *Procuratori di San Marco*, Commissarie miste, b. 181, fasc. 23, int. n, f. [10].

101 Bernardo, Nicolò qd. Francesco: Galley cargo list, 11.11.1418, ibid., fasc. 13, int. carichi, f. [4]; for other ships used: 'Maistro Lazaro zudio chollo 9 dise eser indego', Faldur, Triano: Cargo List of the ship Bona destriera, 23.02.1420, ibid.

102 Jacoby, 'Venice and the Venetian Jews', p. 45.

Conclusions

What connects the Jewish travellers and the four Venetian Jews in the case studies is how they all used Alexandria as a stepping-stone. In the cited travelogues the final destination of the Jewish travellers to Alexandria was Jerusalem, and the local Egyptian-Arabic Jews looked towards Cairo. The Jewish businessmen and the physician described in the case studies, however, gravitated towards Venice. For them, Alexandria, having lost most of its glory, was a mere stopover, albeit an important one, on a kind of *cursus locorum* (rather than *honorum*) from Lecce or Crete via Alexandria to Venice. The buzzling metropolis in the lagoon, the new Alexandria,[103] attracted well-qualified foreigners, and the autochthonous Venetian population reacted against them, as is highlighted by a legislation aiming at ousting foreigners from participating in the Venetian economic success that could not have been brought about without them.[104]

Nevertheless, Venice remained a prime objective of economic migration and, as the case of Iochoda shows, an achievable one. Russo tried to use his case with Biagio Dolfin to obtain a safe conduct pass to come to Venice and Lazaro and Capsali were not content with their liberally bestowed, distinguished status as *habitatores* in Crete and *de facto* Venetians in the peripheral emporium of Alexandria. While Lazaro eventually moved to Venice, Eliyahu found it necessary to buttress his position in the Venetian eastern Mediterranean by sending for a privilege granted in Venice. They thus all, in one way or another, gravitated towards Venice and sought metropolitan closeness. This gravitating towards the secular and distinctly non-Jewish centre of Venice contrasts with the movement towards religious centres of gravity, chiefly Jerusalem, that was evidenced in the travelogues.[105]

The question arises of whether this gravitating towards Venice (and cross-cultural co-operation in general) was not perceived as a liability by the Jewish communities who feared the negative repercussions of such worldly embrace. If those adventurers crossing the boundaries and cooperating with the gentiles were found guilty of default, bankruptcy and other problems arising from their ventures, the injured parties might have taken redress on the whole Jewish community.[106]

---

103 After having acquired Alexandria's prime relic, Saint Mark (although this is contested, cf. Christ, *Trading Conflicts*, pp. 155–165) and its former status of a globally leading commercial hub.

104 Frederic C. Lane, *Venice – A Maritime Republic*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973, p. 140.

105 Perhaps these centres needed their peripheries because of such competing centres of attraction, Marina Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community. The Jews of the Fatimide Caliphate*, Ithaca (N.Y.): Cornell University Press, 2008, p. 9.

106 Seeking to enforce community responsibility, Lars Börner and Albrecht Ritschl, 'Communal Responsibility and the Coexistence of Money and Credit Under Anonymous Matching', *CEP Discussion*

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

This danger might have contributed to a tendency towards 'voluntary collective segregation' (Jacoby), which in an atmosphere of looming anti-Semitism and discriminatory measures, if not full-fledged persecution, might indeed have been an effective and perhaps even necessary blueprint of communal institutional design.[107] In this light, and buttressed by a strong line of biblical and Talmudic regulations, one might ask: Was Sabatino perhaps declared to be a *falzo iudeo* not for having betrayed his gentile business partner but rather for having such a close partner among the gentiles, and thus betraying his community?

The evidence suggests that, despite this incentive structure, members of Jewish communities interacted closely with Biagio Dolfin, a patrician Venetian, in many different capacities. The Jewish merchants seemed to have been rather well integrated into Venetian business life in this period, despite actual or looming persecution. However, it is also true, that Jewish subjects of the Serenissima's realms had to *nolens volens* operate within the Venetian framework if they wanted to engage in trade at all. Jews in the Venetian community of Alexandria, at the fringes of the Venetian sphere of influence, appear to have been especially well integrated. Capsali had access to most services provided by the Venetian consulate in Alexandria (in part by Jews), even though he would not have enjoyed the same privileges in Venice or even in the Venetian colonies, such as Crete.[108]

Yet the extent to which Latin and Romaniote Jews were integrated into the communities of Oriental Jews cannot be answered on the basis of the archival material presented here. There is only very weak evidence for connections between the worlds of Latin, Romaniote, and Oriental Jews (and perhaps Samaritans), as in the case of Capsali's wine imports. While Oriental Jews served as Venetian dragomans, we find no evidence of extensive business links between Egyptian and Romaniote or Latin Jews, other than the occasional encounters reported in the travelogues. Perhaps those communities employed their multilingual skills rather for jobs in the consulate of a Latin power than for interaction with their occidental fellow-Jews. Perhaps, fostered by the persecution of Jews from the

---

Paper 1034 (Dec 2010); cf. Avner Greif, 'Institutional Foundations of Impersonal Exchange. From Communal to Individual Responsibility in Pre-Modern Europe', *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 158, no. 1 (2002): pp. 168–204.

107 David Jacoby, 'Jews and Christians in Venetian Crete: Segregation, Interaction, and Conflict'. In *'Interstizi': Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini tra basso medioevo e prima epoca moderna*, edited by Uwe Israel et al. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2010, pp. 243–279, here 256 seq.; Papadia-Lala, 'The Jews in early modern Venetian Crete', p. 146.

108 Apellaniz recently questioned this integration in his 'Venetian Trading', pp. 174–176. The statement on p. 174 that 'Greeks and Jews from Candia, like Sclavo, were not allowed to benefit from Venetian commercial institutions' seems difficult to uphold; cf. also David Jacoby, 'Venice and the Venetian Jews', pp. 34–36; Ashtor, 'Ebrei cittadini di Venezia?', pp. 150–153; id., 'New Data', p. 73; Apellaniz himself admonishes that Greeks, Jews and Venetians acted as partners, p. 170.

fourteenth century onwards,[109] Arabic-Egyptian Jews sought the backing of foreign powers? However, the fact that thirty times more Jews lived in Cairo than in Alexandria somewhat contradicts this assumption. It seems though that what was stated for the Fatimid period still held true for the Mamluk era: a surprisingly strong separation of Levantine from Romaniote and Western European Jewries.[110]

This is puzzling since the Jewish communities in Crete, by contrast, were characterised by strong pan-Jewish connections. *Responsa* were sought from Barcelona, Sephardi and German Jews immigrated to Crete and settled permanently within the local Jewish communities, and links with Constantinople remained very strong.[111] However, links to the nearby Egyptian-Arabic communities in Alexandria, apparently, remained weak and the Romaniote presence in Alexandria was, albeit regular, of a merely transient nature. There is little reason, then, to assert the existence of an integrated homogeneous Jewish diaspora in Alexandria.[112] Contact with the few resident local Jews might thus have been of limited interest for Sabatino, Capsali and Lazaro. While Alexandria was but an outpost of Cairo for the Egyptian Jews, and a stopover on the way to Jerusalem for Jewish travellers, for the Romaniote it was a stepping stone, worthy of but transient presence on their *cursus locorum* to make money, gain status, earn a living, and, perhaps even eventually settle down in the metropolitan area of Venice. For some, Jerusalem, though 'present in the minds and hearts [...] of most Jews living in the Diaspora' (Jacoby), could wait for a little time while one lived a better life in Venice, the new and more worldly Jerusalem.[113]

109 Cf. Donald Presgrave Little, 'Coptic Conversion to Islam Under the Bah'rî Mamlûks', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): pp. 552–569.

110 Michael Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* Etudes sur le judaïsme médiéval 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 199.

111 Andrew Jason Schoenfeld, 'Immigration and Assimilation in the Jewish Community of Late Venetian Crete (15th-17th Centuries)', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 25, no. 1 (2007): pp. 1–15; Lauer, 'Cretan Jews'.

112 'Jewish religious homogenization should be neither assumed nor overstated', Rustow, *Heresy*, p. 9.

113 Jacoby, 'New Evidence', p. 177; on Venice as the new Jerusalem, see David Rosand, *Myths of Venice: The Figuration of a State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 99 seq.; Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 18, 25.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Marianna D. Birnbaum

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE AND THE JEWS OF MALTA*

Christopher Marlowe's drama *The Jew of Malta* is often considered one of the most incendiary anti-Jewish works performed on stage. Before his well-deserved death, the Jew Barabas, who is responsible for dozens of deaths, including noblemen, nuns, friars, and even his own daughter, is portrayed as the ultimate stage villain, a veritable demon. Marlowe, however, seems to have been fairly ignorant of Maltese history and society, not least of the economic and social status of the Jews who lived on the island during the period in which the drama is set. Marlowe, as will be shown, did not write solely against Jews, but rather offered a vicious comedy of manners against all religions.

The History of Maltese Jews before 1492

The island of Malta lies fifty-eight miles south of Sicily, 180 miles north of Libya, and one hundred miles east of Tunisia. Of the islands in the Maltese archipelago, the three largest islands, Malta, Gozo, and Comino have been inhabited since approximately 5000 BCE. Malta's history is replete with the invasions and settlements of many peoples: Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Turks, English, and even briefly French all conquered the island, resulting in a blend of European, Middle Eastern, and North African population in the Maltese towns.[1] The islands always depended upon trade and merchants. In the sixteenth century, Italian was declared the official language of the islands.[2] Today, independent of the British Commonwealth since 1964, the official languages are Maltese and English. Malta has 350,000 residents. The main religion is Catholicism. There are only a few Jews living there.[3]

---

* A summary of the plot can be found in the Appendix. This paper is part of an ongoing project on Malta's Jewish inhabitants from the first records to the island's occupation by Napoleonic armies.

1 Pottery from Sicily found on Malta is dated to the Neolithic age (*c.* 5200 BCE). The Phoenicians (850 BCE) were preceded by the builders of the *Hypogeum* (around 2400 BCE), which was discovered by accident in 1902 and then unearthed by a developer.

2 There is an undated sixteenth century map of Malta, which was most probably executed by Ferdando Bertelli *c.* 1563. An early map of Malta by Piri Reis (1513, and later editions in 1554, etc.) was followed by Tarik-I Hind-I Garbi *c.* 1580.

3 Places such as the Jewish Silk Market (in Mdina) the Jews's Gate, the Jews's Sally Port (in Valletta, close to the Jewish slave prison's location), the Jewry Street in Birgu, the Jewry Square in Zejtun, the *Ghajn*

Maltese Christians have always claimed that the first and most famous of their kind was the apostle St. Paul, who, when shipwrecked in 62 CE on his way to Rome, introduced Christianity to the island.[4] By the same token, Maltese Jews could claim that Saul/Paul was the most famous Jew who ever set foot on Malta. Being a natural hub for trade and travel, Jewish and other traders might have been active there even earlier. Representations of the menorah carved in stone and text fragments in Hellenistic inscriptions in a number of catacombs prove that there was a permanent Jewish community in Malta during Greco-Roman times.[5] Arab Muslims ruled the island from 870 to 1090; during Arab rule, Jews served as civil servants and could even become viziers.[6] In 1090, the Normans drove out the Arabs and Malta became a part of the Kingdom of Sicily, and the three hundred years that followed were considered a golden age for the Jews of Malta.[7] About 500 Jews lived on the main island and about 350 on Gozo.[8] They moved about freely, owned land or worked as merchants. Jews also engaged in money lending, because Emperor Frederick II of Sicily, taking into account the demand for credit facilities, promulgated in his *Liber Augustalis* (1231) that, while usury was forbidden to Christians, Jews were exempted and permitted to practicing money lending, because 'it cannot be maintained that usury is illicit for them. The divine law does not prohibit it. They are not under the law established by the most blessed Fathers'.[9]

A number of the island's Jews were rabbis and physicians. Among them, the name of Abraham Safaradi, the chief physician, can be found in a number of documents.[10] Current names, such as Altard, Ellu, Salamone, Mamo – the first

Lhudi ('Jews's Cave') in Gozo, as well as the *Wied il-Lhudi* ('Jewish Fountain'), still referred to as such in 1555, testify to an earlier Jewish presence.

4 Acts 28:1–10.

5 There are extant burial places built in the 'Jewish style' in the vicinity of Valletta (then St. Elmo) and Birzebbuga (in the Roman Empire, the Jews were Greek speakers).

6 Throughout the Middle Ages, Jews from Sicily, Sardinia, Spain and North Africa settled on the islands.

7 Aline P'nina Tayar, *How Shall We Sing* (Sydney, 2000).

8 In 1420, Giliberto Abate reported to Frederick II that Malta had 25 Jewish families and Gozo had 8. That would have counted as two to three percent of the local population. Local archives begin with the fifteenth century. Most references are from Godfrey Wettinger's seminal work, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo in the Late Middle Ages* (Malta, 2002), p. 66.

9 Quoted from Joseph Shatzmiller, *Shylock Reconsidered. Jews, Moneylending, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 44. Yet, in 1370, Bishop Papalla followed Frederick II's *Contra Judeos ut in differentia vestium et gestorum discernatur* in introducing the red badge and the order of retaining a beard in Malta.

10 Among the Jews known by name was Avraham ben Shmuel Abulafia. He lived on the tiny isle of Comino. Born in 1240, in Saragossa, Abulafia was a famous mystic, who, having proclaiming himself the Messiah, wanted to abolish the differences between Judaism, Christianity and Islam and promised that the Messianic era would begin in 5050 (1290 in the Christian calendar). The Pope, Nicholas III remained unconvinced and sentenced Abulafia to burn on the pyre. However, the Pope suddenly suffered a heart attack and died. Shortly thereafter, Abulafia was freed. Rejected by Italy, Sicily and Spain, he settled in Malta and stayed there, 'against his own will'. There he authored several works, among them *Sefer Ha'ot*

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

president of Malta – and Azzopardi – a frequent name of Sephardim – refer to Jewish ancestry.[11] The 1421 grant of King Alfonso V (of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396–1458) that permitted the Jews of Sicily to acquire land and the license to own all other but Christian slaves, applied to the Maltese Jews as well. In 1435, the special Jewish taxes were abolished. Jewish integration into mainstream society is testified to by the fact that a Jew from Gozo, a certain Xilorun (?) was picked as one of the Maltese deputies to the court of Sicily.

Wettinger has identified three generations of Jews who lived in Malta prior to their expulsion. Those records show that Jews were engaged in agriculture and even served in the militia.[12] They owned and rented land, were craftsmen, stone masons and merchants. There were Jewish blacksmiths (three of the same family) and candle-makers, some providing the Church. There were several dyers, a frequent occupation of Jews during the Middle Ages. Their main source of income came from purchasing and selling, both wholesale and retail, and trading with the villages. Records on the division of property among heirs show holdings that had been purchased from Christian owners. The growing and export of cotton yarn was the mainstay of the economy of Malta, and at that time Jews also participated in the trade and had Christian trading partners. There was sporadic harassment of Jews in the decades preceding their expulsion, but they also enjoyed some protection from the Church. On holidays, Jews presented gifts to the high clergy, but they were not forced to participate in Christian services. Holy Week created tension (as elsewhere in the Christian world) and the Jews frequently received armed protection (guards).[13] Maltese Jews contributed to the royal forces. They also had to make forced loans to the court, as in every place in Europe where they were tolerated. Jews elected by their coreligionists functioned as trustees in their own communities.[14] Gozo Jews (where competition was fiercer) fared generally less well than their coreligionists in Birgu and Mdina. There was a synagogue in Mdina, one in Birgu and one in Gozo.[15] Birgu too had a small Jewish population.

(*Book of Signs*) and *Imre Sefer* (*Goodly Works*). He died sometime after 1291. Roth, p. 192. Also quoted by Wettinger.

11 Descendants of Iberian Jews refer to the peninsula as Sepharad (or Sefarad).

12 Wettinger, p. 7. In the following, material is based on Wettinger, pp. 15–60.

13 There are a few instances on record: one Christian charged Jews with planning to crucify a cat, but the case was dropped because he could not identify the culprits, 'since their heads were covered.' There were, however no pogroms, like in Syracuse when in 1113, when six Jews were accused of having crucified a billy goat (Wettinger, p. 60).

14 The Jews were under the authority of ecclesiastical courts and paid taxes on the land they owned to the Church. On the Sabbath, they were released on bail from jail.

15 Wettinger, p. 58.

It is not known, how many women and children lived on the islands because only male Jews were counted.[16]

In the fifteenth century, most Maltese Jews had ties with Sicily, and many had migrated from there.[17] In turn, some Maltese Jews moved to Sicily. Jews of different regions formed partnerships with Jews of Ragusa, Syracuse, etc. The Sicilian Jews often represented the cause of Maltese Jews before the court.[18] Specifically Jewish surnames as Levi and Cohen have been found in Sicily and the families were in touch with families in Malta for several generations. Thus, Jews were suspect, because many had contacts outside the islands. Although not obligated to live in ghettos – that would be tried in 1485 – they generally lived close to one another.[19] Furthermore, King Alfonso ordered them to wear a *rotella*, a round piece of red cloth. After the papal bull of 1 November 1478, pertaining to the establishment of the Inquisition, the hunt began for 'Judaizing' *conversos*. In Malta, at first outside delegates arrived, and later local appointees selected by the Diocese carried out the functions of the Inquisition.[20] By 1479, Malta and Sicily were taken by the Aragonese.

1492: The Edict of Expulsion

As part of Sicily, the general Edict of Expulsion signed on 31 March 1492, in Palermo, applied to Malta as well. Jews had to convert or to leave the island within three months. They even had to pay compensation for the losses incurred by their expulsion. On 18 May 1492, a letter by Ferdinand promised that Maltese *conversos* would be treated as the 'older' Christians; however, they had to surrender 45% of their property. Some Maltese Jews – just as the Sicilians – must have accepted those conditions.[21] All Jews under King Ferdinand's dominion were ordered to

16 C. Trasselli, 'Ricerche su la popolazione della Sicilia,' *Annali della Facoltà di scienze e letterature di Palermo* (1956), pp. 252–253, quoted in Wettinger, p. 8.

17 Names such as Xamuel de Ragosa, Azar Marsany, Josef de Missina refer to their respective ancestral homes.

18 It was promulgated that, whereas Malta belonged to the Kingdom of Sicily, the Jews of Malta and Gozo belonged to the Jewry of Sicily. Their ultimate ruler was the king but their legal cases were the responsibility of the viceroy. A large number of Jewish physicians were active in Malta as well as in Sicily. In 1398, Leone Maltese was authorized to practice in the entire realm, and. just like his Spanish coreligionist Joseph Abenazia, he was appointed to the royal household.

19 Prior to their expulsion, already in 1485, Jews were prohibited from selling their goods in the countryside and were confined to the Giurucca (ghetto); see Wettinger, p. 26.

20 It was the Church in Sicily that first urged Ferdinand to implement the goals of the Inquisition.

21 There were conversions in Malta even before the edict and afterwards several *converso* families lived on or moved to Malta. They were referred to everywhere, as 'New Christians'. A marriage contract between Benedict Forzati 'of Portugal', and Paula's father, 'a New Christian', dated January 7, 1496, stipulated that Benedict would marry Paula – a Jewess – if she converted to Christianity. The fact that the person had become a Christian by conversion, accompanied him throughout his life. A deed from November 20,

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

leave immediately after they had satisfied their creditors. The Jewish communities of the island were shocked; they did not expect such rejection and hatred. *Conversos* were forbidden to leave, recent converts were permitted to stay for three months, but they had to leave by 17 September 1492. Their assets were inventoried and sold in their presence. The money from the sale of the synagogue and its effects were to be deposited with the *Secreto* of Malta. They still had to pay their annual poll taxes and an additional four percent was extracted from the property and the property sales of all departing Jews, bringing great profits to those close to the local power.[22] The disposal of Jewish lands continued into the first decades of the sixteenth century. There is no record whether *converso*s had been permitted to buy such Jewish lands. After the Edict of Expulsion, a large number of *conversos* trying to escape to the Levant fell victim to the Knights. Those who did not die aboard ship or were pushed into the sea (allegedly thirty eight persons) were imprisoned in Maltese dungeons and later sold as galley slaves. Some, however, were able to bribe their captors and escape.[23]

Slaves of the Knights of St. John

In 1530, Charles V granted Malta and the surrounding islands to the Knights of Rhodes.[24] During the mid-sixteenth century (i.e., the period in which Marlowe's play is set), all Jews living on Malta were their slaves. Captured by corsairs on merchant boats crossing the Mediterranean, the Jews were sold to the Knights of St. John who were ruling the islands. Unless ransomed by their families, they and all their offspring lived and worked as slaves.[25]

The Jews landed in captivity on Malta because they made up a significant portion of the Levantine merchant class and, while travelling, many were captured by pirates. Soon, Malta became a terrible place for Jews, identified with cruelty and slavery. Malta was not alone in this practice: In his *Vale of Tears* (1552),

---

1500 identifies one party as *'Johannes de Malta conversus ex Judaysmo.'* Although the *conversos* preferred to marry among themselves, some ex-Jews married old Christians.

22 The expelled Jews were permitted to take along sufficient food and passage money (to last them until their next port of destiny) and were allowed to take mules, donkeys, money and their jewelry to the boats. They traveled on small vessels.

23 See Marianna D. Birnbaum, *The Long Journey of Gracia Mendes* (Budapest-New York, 2003), pp. 98–103 and passim.

24 The history of the Knights of Rhodes, and the reasons for their arrival in Malta, falls outside the scope of this paper.

25 The Knights or Rhodes were given the Island of Malta in 1530. Jews, however, fell victim to pirates much earlier than 1530. In 1390, six poor Jews from Gozo were taken captive by Tunisian Corsairs. Without anyone to provide for their ransom, they remained captives for 13 years (allegedly, they were freed in the end). Under King Martin I of Sicily (called the Younger, 1374/66?-1409), the Jews fared well and some even became money lenders to the viceroy. Among them, Mosè Arnocrani is known by name. We also know of Abram Safaradi, a doctor in Gozo who later moved to Malta (Wettinger, pp. 104–115).

Joseph-ha-Cohen tells about the monks of Rhodes who set out to find a ship with booty, and when they encountered a ship from Salonika with seventy Jews on board, they captured the boat and took it to their island. The Jews had to send for help to collect the ransom money the monks demanded before they let ship continue. There is a record of December 1553 stating that sixty-two Jews (males and females) paid their ransoms and left the island. Other Jews in their company who were not able to pay up had to wait until their ransoms arrived.[26] It is recorded that on 15 February 1567, four Jews who belonged to Grand Master Del Monte were permitted to leave for various venues in order to collect ransom monies from the Jewish communities for 110 Jews.[27] They were a part of 116 Jews who had been captures by a certain 'Captain Lussan,' who was commanding the Grand Master's *galeotta*. They were captured near Cyprus while traveling from Italy to Palestine. The travelers had left the papal state without official permission.[28] In that case, the men were sent to the galleys and the women and children were sent to work on the island. The last ones, finally ransomed, were permitted to leave in 1574. In late 1572, some of them were permitted to charter a vessel to take 120 Italian Jews off the island, because Don Juan of Austria had provided them with safe conduct.[29] Hans Dernschwam, an astute, albeit strongly anti-Jewish, observer who traveled in the company of the Austrian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, must have heard about such stories, because he entered it in his diary: 'For example, recently a Turkish boat was captured with many Jews on board. The ship was taken to Malta and those Jews were ransomed by the Jews of Constantinople'.[30]

Rescuing captives has a long history in Jewish tradition. When Sodom was conquered by the enemy and Abraham's nephew Lot was taken prisoner, Abraham raised an army to rescue him. This is the earliest example of *pydion shvuyim* 'ransoming the captives' – always at a cost. It appeared in the Talmud as *mitzva rabbah.* In the *Shulhan Arukh* (a legal code compiled in the sixteenth century) it is stated that ransoming captives takes precedence over sustaining the poor and clothing them, and there is no commandment more important than

26 Wettinger, p. 40.
27 Wettinger, p. 40.
28 Wettinger, p. 41.
29 Whereas no autobiographical record of the Jewish slaves survived, the experiences of a Turkish captive, that of Mustafa Efendi, can be consulted. His memoirs, which contain prose as well as poetry, were – most probably – later collected into a volume that provides us with a few details of the daily lives of the Muslim captives that could not have been too different from that of the Jewish slaves. The German translation was published by W. Schmucker, 'Die Maltesischen Gefangenschaftserrinerungen eines türkischen Kadi von 1599,' *Archivum Ottomanicum* II (1970), pp. 191–251. Henceforth Schmucker, followed by page number.
30 Birnbaum, pp. 109–110. The English translation is mine.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

ransoming captives.[31] Still today, the importance of ransoming captives makes up part of the Jewish marriage contract: the groom pledges to buy his wife out of from slavery.[32]

Marlowe's drama The Jew of Malta

Thus, the socio-historical background of the drama, which portrays Barabas as a rich free man, is incorrect. A further factual error is that, although Malta was governed by the Knights, Marlowe's Governor Ferneze does not belong to the Order. Moreover, ignorant of the facts, Marlowe imagines a 'senate house', as if the Maltese government had included its local population in a Roman-style gathering of citizens who would have participated in lawmaking or in the island's administration. Relations (especially amorous contacts) between Christians and the Jewish slaves were strictly forbidden.[33]

A search for correspondences between Marlowe's *dramatis personae* and the Jews of sixteenth-century Malta revealed that Marlowe never visited Malta; the closest he ever got to the island was when he stayed in Parma. Therefore, his play could not have been informed by firsthand knowledge. In the drama, in addition to Barabas, several other Jews live as free men, travel, and trade freely and have dealings about money and merchandise with Christians. Barabas sets a table where Christians, Jews and Muslims share food, even if Marlowe turns this symbol of universal conversion into a parody.[34] The Jew's ultimate fate to cook in his own caldron, i.e., to suffer a punishment of his own making, does not diminish the farcical nature of that 'last supper'.[35] Although Marlowe correctly shows

31 It appears in the *Book of Leviticus* and *Nehemia*, and in the Talmud and in Maimonides as well. In the Talmudic volume it comes with caveat: 'Don't redeem captives for more than their worth, so that their enemies will not dedicate themselves to take other people captive.' Yet, Jews were often ransomed for more than their value as slaves.

32 In addition to Turkish and Jewish slaves, the island was well supplied with 'black' slaves who came by the way of the Sahara, already slaves of the Moor or the Turks. Little more is known about them because anybody with a darker skin was called 'negro'.

33 From 1610 on, sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews – even for prostitutes – was forbidden and drew increasingly harsh punishment, proving that earlier prohibitions did not function satisfactorily. If a prostitute were caught, she would be whipped and banished for ten years from Malta, and for the second offence she was sentenced to hanging. Jews in violation of this prohibition would have their ears and noses cut off, and if free (a statement that must have referred to those who had received as subjects of foreign powers were permitted a few days' stay) they would be turned into slaves. The same punishment was meted out to those who would enable them by renting them rooms to meet.

34 Julia Reinhard Lupton, 'The Jew of Malta' in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe.* Ed. Patrick Cheney (Cambridge, 2004), p. 153.

35 In his *Elizabethan Dramatists,* T. S. Eliot wrote, '... If one takes the Jew of Malta not as a tragedy, or as 'a tragedy of blood,' but as a farce, the concluding act becomes intelligible; and if we attend with a careful ear to the versification, we find that Marlowe develops a tone to suit this farce, and even perhaps that this tone is his most powerful and mature tone'. He continues, '... it is a farce of the old English humor, the

that Jews, as a punishment for their refusal to embrace Christianity, were charged higher taxes than the Christian taxpayers, this was no longer the case after 1492, the year that created a Malta free of Jews. It should be mentioned that even if there were some relatively wealthy Jews on Malta before the Edict of Expulsion, none of them owned large fleets of vessels that could have carried their fortunes on board. Moreover, the Jewish slaves, the only Jews living there in the sixteenth century, had no connection with the original Jewish population of the islands.[36]

Ithamore is Barabas's Muslim twin; both men are deliberate caricatures. In addition to their wickedness, circumcision was another characteristic in which the two 'others' shared a mystic bond in the eyes of Christians, who throughout history seemed to have paid more attention to it than Jews or Muslims had. Ultimately, Barabas and Ithamore betray each other, proving that special bond between them to be of no value. Yet, referring to circumcision was meant to reinforce the belief in the uninitiated audience that the mere fact of losing their foreskins had made Jews and Muslims natural allies and enemies of Christianity. Calling Jews and Muslims 'effeminate' might have been based on the fact that some Christians conflated circumcision and castration.

With his tricks and treachery, his evil practices and his ultimate fall, Barabas dominates the drama: the rest of the characters on the stage merely serve to bring out his story, and his is the best-developed role in the entire play. His first monologue, which takes the audience *in medias res*, is more than a greedy enumeration of his wealth: we immediately understand that for Barabas, his possessions are the only key to his safety. The 'infinite riches in a little room [...] may serve in peril of calamity' to kings and Jews alike.[37] Barabas is a wealthy man, but because he is a Jew, he has to humble himself and play lapdog to any Christian, lest he finds offense in his person: 'We Jews can fawn like spaniels when we please [...] Heave up my shoulders when they call me dog'[38] Marlowe makes his hero into a totally unscrupulous person, yet he declares him unshakeable in his faith. Without hesitation, Barabas gives up his beloved but 'wayward' daughter for a higher cause in which he believes. His love for her turns into hate, because the young woman abandoned the faith of her ancestors (note that to sacrifice one's own child is not

terribly serious, even savage comic humour...it is the humour of that very serious (but very different) play, 'Volpone". (London, 1963), pp. 63–64.

36 However, there are a number of episodes in the play that do correspond to reality: Marlowe makes his protagonist a traveling merchant. He picks Ancona, a well-known hub where Italian Jewish and *converso* traders lived or met and, according to the plot, exchanged goods – among them rice – and, as he claims, poison as well.

37 Act I, Scene, I, line 31 and passim.

38 Act II, Scene III, lines 20 and 24, respectively.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

alien to the New Testament either).[39] Barabas's comparison of Jews to Christians and his critique of Christianity should be heard as Marlowe's voice: 'For I can see not fruits in all their faith, /But malice, falsehood and excessive pride [...], | Which methinks fits not their profession'.[40] Barabas turns the tables when he argues: 'all are heretics that are not Jews', lumping Catholics and Protestants together.[41] Machiavel delivers Marlowe's crucial message at the very beginning of the play: 'I count religion but a childish toy, | And hold there is no sin but ignorance' he says in the *Prologue*.

In Marlowe's presentation, Barabas's role is bifurcating: he is a Jew caught up in the turmoil of a specific period and in a specific place, but he is also the 'eternal Jew' possessing all the devilish characteristics that had been hung upon him by centuries of prejudice that had proven to work excellently on the stage. Most importantly, Barabas is the ultimate outsider, the eternal 'other.' Unlike morality plays where the hero may choose between right and wrong, Barabas's only choice would have been an honest conversion.

Remarkably, some elements from Marlowe's own life can be discerned in Barabas's character: Barabas is well educated, like Marlowe himself and Dr. Faustus, Marlowe's other protagonist. The Latin and Greek that Marlowe had studied in Cambridge colors Barabas's speech and appears in *The Massacre in Paris* as well. Barabas too, studied physics 'to practice first upon the Italian' (where Jews were allowed to live and work as physicians), and 'in the wars 'twixt France and Germany, | under pretence of helping Charles the Fifth, | Slew friend and enemy with my stratagems.'[42] Barabas has a private library from which Don Lodowick (in order to explain to his mother why he was chatting with the Jew) claims he was talking 'about the borrowing of a book or two'.[43] Barabas knows

---

39 That, in Barabas's mind, Abigail is no longer his daughter reflects Jewish custom according to which when a Jew converted he became dead for his family and had to be mourned. The same applied to women. The appropriation of Barabas's property and its conversion into a nunnery is not just a typological theme. *Ecclesia*'s victory over *Synagoga* is a *topos* in medieval art (compare the Cathedral of Strasbourg, etc.).

40 Act I, Scene I, lines 120–122.

41 In *Three Ladies of London* Robert Wilson makes his Christian 'turn Turk,' in order to escape his debts to a Jew. Quoted by F. P. Wilson, *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare. The Clark Lectures* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 49. Henceforth Wilson, followed by page number.

42 Although not a despised 'other,' Marlowe did not feel a part of his own surroundings either. The story of his short life reveals a man who rejected the society in which he never found his own place. Born to poor people, John Marlowe, Christopher's father, was a cobbler who married Katherine Arthur in 1561, a girl without means. Christopher was their second child, and the first son. Clearly gifted, Marlowe had sponsors and studied at elite schools. From Canterbury, he moved to Cambridge in 1580, arriving at Corpus Christi College to study Theology on a scholarship established by the previous archbishop Mather Parker. He remained an outsider, however, among the wealthy students. Act II, Scene III, lines: 192–194.

43 Act II, Scene III, line: 162. Hopkins, p. 5. I contend that Hopkins's claim that this phrase, which alludes to Christians, and especially to the Knights, had been borrowed from the *Pentateuch*, is rather far fetched.

about other religions. Just like Orkan in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine,* he too is familiar with the tenets of Islam.[44]

Marlowe lived in times when pre-existing values had turned uncertain and fragile. Religion was no longer the most stable thing in a person's life. We do not know what his own beliefs were, if any. Barabas makes a sport of spying and we know that, during his stays in France and probably in England as well, Marlowe acted as a spy, though we do not know for whom. Did he pick the Roman Church and spy for the Catholics, or did he spy on Catholics to serve the new power? This ambiguity makes Marlowe's life and spurious death to become an issue as well. Marlowe lived in a persecuting society, but it was also a fluid society in which people could change religions from Catholic to Protestant but also from Jewish to Catholic (as was the case of Abigail). There was upward mobility among the members of the growing merchant class; people could move from poverty to wealth, like Ithamore moved from slavery into richness. As Greenblatt pointed out, Renaissance characters fashioned for themselves identities with which they were not born.[45]

Not by accident did Marlowe pick Machiavelli as his Prologuist. Evidently, Marlowe understood Marchiavelli's work as promoting the attainment of power, by any means necessary, as man's utmost goal. Revenge in order to gain or to retain power appears as a seminal idea in both *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Jew of Malta*; in both cases, however, the Jew ends up as the loser. In choosing his protagonist, Marlowe is responding to a time of shattered values when Jews became the embodiment of Christian anxiety about change.[46] The same fateful year of Marlowe's death is also the year of the trial of Dr Rodrigo Lopes, the chief physician of Queen Elizabeth. A Portuguese *converso,* Dr Lopes was tried for treason in 1593 and hanged in 1594.[47] 'The ambitious *Marrano* plausibly matched the ambivalent Marlowe'.[48]

---

44 This was also pointed out by Hopkins (p. 33).

45 Hopkins too refers to Greenblatt (p. 148).

46 The same phenomenon could be identified in connection with the change from feudal into industrial societies, leading to the birth of modern anti-Semitism. However, in the sixteenth century, there was an identifiable dichotomy among Christian thinkers: early Protestants preferred Jews to Catholics. Their belief in the need to return to the original sources of Christianity (*ad fontes revertire*) made Jews their object of study and the hope of their conversion at first overshadowed the usual hostility shown to them.

47 As some scholars now claim, the Earl of Essex wanted to renew the war with Spain and therefore, as a scapegoat, Lopes was charged with spying for the Spanish and conspiring to poison the queen. Although, in his case, the Spanish angle was more emphasized than the Jewish, the fact that he was a converted Jew did not go unnoticed.

48 Peter Berek, 'The Jew as Renaissance Man' (*Renaissance Quarterly* 51(1998), p. 136. Henceforth Berek, followed by page number. The term *Marrano*, referring to a converted Jew, applied by many scholars, was a slur that no *converso*, or New Christian, would have used for his self-definition.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* and Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, both written in the sixteenth century, have been characterized as blatantly anti-Jewish works. They doubtlessly have turned into such since the two dramas created a despicable Jewish stereotype for the Early Modern English stage, influencing the thinking of contemporary theatergoers who had never seen a live Jew. How many Jews had Marlowe seen in his life? Expelled in 1290, Jews were not permitted to return before Cromwell readmitted them in the mid 1650s.[49] Until then, only *conversos* were allowed to do business in England, although some of them might have been secret Jews. Therefore, one can safely claim that the Jew on the Renaissance stage preceded the Jew in the street, thus reversing the causal relationship between fact and fiction. Both Shakespeare and Marlowe 'play a central role in creating and not merely imitating the frightening yet comic Jewish figure which still haunts Western culture.'[50]

The Jews whom the English met were mainly Iberian *conversos* (Marlowe's Barabas too was a Sephardic Jew). As it has been richly documented, converted Jews were regarded everywhere with suspicion: the New Christians were seen as Jews, masked as something else.[51] The *converso* was considered and called dishonest and duplicitous. The outward guise was reversed: rather than looking like a 'Jew' whose cloak disguised the real 'person,' the *converso* looked like a 'person,' but under his cloak of 'gentility' he was just a Jew who knew that he did not belong; he was not grounded in the society in which he lived. *In petto* the converted Jew remained an unprotected, trembling 'other' whom any accuser could intimidate and destroy. According to Marlowe, converted Jews had made 'a counterfeit profession' of Christianity.[52] That he coined this phrase displays a particularly amusing ambiguity in his character because, as is known, Marlowe was a counterfeiter, charged with and sentenced to a jail term for 'coining'![53] However,

---

49 The first recorded Jewish settlement in England dates to the reign of William I the Conqueror (1066–1087). Jewish life flourished on the Island until King Edward I's Edict of Expulsion in 1290. Albeit unofficially, Menasseh ben Israel got Cromwell to readmit the Jews to England in 1655. Thus a small colony of Sephardic Jews appeared during Cromwell's rule and they were permitted to stay.

50 Berek, p. 128. Regarding anti-Semitism, Berek calls Marlowe's work a crucial 'initiatory text' (p. 130).

51 For more on this see, Marianna D. Birnbaum. *The Long Journey of Gracia Mendes* (Budapest-New York, 2003), pp. 5–14. See also Carsten Wilke's essay in this volume.

52 Berek, p. 128.

53 The material assembled about Marlowe's short life testifies to the fact that he was continuously in trouble with the law. In 1589, he was arrested and charged with participating in the murder of William Bradley, who died in a fight against Marlowe and Thomas Watson, his friend. In 1592, Marlow, charged with coining, was arrested and jailed in Flushing. He and a known coiner, John Poole, had been together at New Gate where they possibly arranged a common deal. Around May 12, 1593, Thomas Kyd, a fellow dramatist, was charged with sedition, arrested, interrogated, and possibly tortured. He claimed that a 'heretical book' (*The Fal* [*sic*] *of the Late Arrian*) found at his place had belonged to Marlowe. Marlowe died at Deptford on May 30, 1593. In late May, or early June, Richard Baines submitted what has become known as the 'Baines Note' quoting a number of highly provocative statements allegedly made by

none of the three religions featured in *The Jew of Malta* have much to commend themselves. Their representatives are all wicked and out for their own gain only. Barabas poisons his enemies; the friars bicker and plot how to put their hands on Barabas's fortune; *Ithamore* hates Jews and Christians alike. There is no Christian mercy shown by any of the protagonists (neither for Jews, nor for Muslims, nor for one another). Rather, each character exploits the next. Therefore, Barabas's demand to be judged as an individual, and not as a member of a detested race, carries the author's equalizing message.[54]

In conclusion: contradictions characterize each aspect of Marlowe's life, and the same contradictory elements can be identified in his drama about Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*. Regarding the backdrop: it has been demonstrated that the socio-economic status of Jews on the island was entirely different from what transpires from Christopher Marlowe's drama. I believe that the play urges the unbiased reader to consider *The Jew of Malta* (anti-Jewish as it is) as a mischievous comedy of manners directed against all religions and nationalities. This contention would square with Marlowe's personal convictions (if there were any which we can confidently ascribe to him) about the relative values of the three major religions and the foibles of his fellow men as well.

Appendix: synopsis of Christopher Marlowe's The Jew of Malta

As the plot unfolds, Selim-Calymath, the son of the Turkish sultan, arrives in order to collect tribute for the Sultanate that the Maltese have not paid for ten years. Farnese asks for a month of reprieve. He plans to collect the needed large sum from the Jews of the island, by forcing each Jew to surrender half of his estate.

Marlowe. According to this note, Marlowe referred to Christ as a bastard and his mother as a dishonest woman; that he was the son of a carpenter; that the Jews knew best when they crucified him, since he had been born among them; and that the Jews made the right choice when they picked Barabas, although he was both a thief and a murderer. According to Baines's note, Marlowe also said that Papists were a better religion God had made – if indeed there was a God (They at least had ceremonies, whereas the Protestants are hypocritical asses). He allegedly opined that St. John the Evangelist had been a lover of Christ, just as it happened in Sodom. The fact that such accusations could have been given credence proves that Marlowe had a bad reputation that his enemies were able to exploit. He wrote *The Jew of Malta,* in 1589, but as far as the text of the drama goes, it must be remembered that the play first appeared in print in 1633. It is not known how many changes the directors and actors introduced between those two dates (Dr. Faustus was altered considerably after Marlowe's death). Reading *The Jew of Malta*, it becomes clear that after the first two, superbly drawn acts, Acts III and IV are messy and display a degree of disintegration. This might be due to interpolations by the performers, among them primarily of the actor and dramatist Thomas Heywood. However, the contamination in the middle did not affect the farcical end that Marlowe had chosen for his main character, the villain who was supposed to be boiled in his own caldron.

54 Barabas tells Farnese: 'Preach me not out of my possessions | Some Jews are wicked, as all Christians are: | But say the tribe that I descended of | Were all in general cast away for sin, | Shall I be tried by their transgression? | The man that dealeth righteously shall live: | And which of you can charge me otherwise?'Act I, Scene II, 115–122.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Barabas, the richest Jew, protests, whereby Farnese punishes him by confiscating the entirety of Barabas's wealth. Barabas uses his daughter, Abigail, to retrieve his fortune. Abigail, by pretending to become a nun, gains entrance to the nunnery that had formerly been Barabas's house, and regains her father's treasures. Barabas plots his revernge by promising Abigail's favor to two men, Mathias and Ldowich. Barabas's Turkish slave Ithamore delivers fake letters to the young men, who confront and kill one another.

The Spanish vice-admiral, Martin del Bosco, arrives on the island, and promises military aid to Farnese if he is willing to break with the Turks. Barabas had bought slaves from del Bosco's cargo, including Ithamore, a Muslim, whom he kept.

Having learned of her father's involvement in the death of Mathias, whom she truly loved, Abigail decides to enter the nunnery in earnest. Barabas, furious about his daughter's conversion and fearing that she might now betray him, plots to poison Abigail and the other nuns with porridge rice, to be delivered by Ithamore. Abigail, the last to die, confesses her sins and her father's crime to Friar Bernadine. Friars Bernadine and Jacomo arrive at Barabas's mansion and confront Barabas about his grave offenses. To save himself, Barabas expresses his wish to become a Christian. The two friars, who are from different monasteries, fight over Barabas and his wealth, and ultimately kill each other.

Ithamore, seduced by the courtesan Bellamira, blackmails Barabas. Disguised as a French musician, Barabas comes to Bellamira's house, where he poisons the couple. Before the two are able to reveal Barabas's crimes to Farnese, they collapse and die.

Since Farnese refuses to pay the demanded tribute, the Turks declare war on Malta. Captured, Barabas – with the help of drugs – feigns his own death; he is then thrown over the city walls and contacts the Turks. With his treacherous help, Selim-Calymath enters the city, whereupon he installs Barabas as its new governor. Unhappy in his new role, Barabas offers Farnese to help him regain the city and to massacre the Turks inside the walls. The Turks indeed perish because of Barabas's betrayal, but Farnese outsmarts the traitor and Barabas dies in his own trap. Farnese takes Selim-Calymath as his prisoner, thus ensuring peach with the Turks and the city's future independence. Barabas, whose name alludes to the one who was saved instead of Christ, is portrayed as a man without scruples, ready to sacrifice even his own daughter for money and power.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Susan Einbinder

CONCLUSION

They cut off my voice
So I grew two voices
Into different tongues
My songs I pour

Alicia Partnoy[1]

As John Tolan notes in his rich overview to this volume, exile invokes both space and time as well as the person who experiences it: the exile recalls a land and a past that made her who she was before she was separated from them, and that continue to define her in loss. From one or the other perspective, the eleven essays that comprise this collection explore themes of expulsion and exile, either the experience of physical rupture or the ways in which time reconfigures that experience, and the belonging that preceded it. The essays in *Expulsion and Diaspora Formation: Religious and Ethnic Identities in Flux from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* specifically treat religious minorities in exile from European or Middle Eastern lands. They focus largely on Jewish experience, but they also include a study of the nomadic Cuman confederation in thirteenth-century Hungary (Lyublyanovics) and the 'show-trials' of seventeenth-century Hungarian Protestants (Sebok). Chronologically, the studies span from Late Antiquity (Sänger) through the High Middle Ages (Tolan, Lyublyanovics, Mundill, Koryakina, Muntané) to the post-Iberian experience (Muntané, Wilke) to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Szende, Sebök, Christ, Birnbaum). Tolan's introductory essay seeks to identify a common language for the whole, which he describes as a trifold interest in the 'dynamics' of expulsion, then the ways that exiles integrate into new surroundings and subsequently harness expulsion narratives in collective identity narratives. More simply, these essays explore expulsion in space and time. In fact, most of them are preoccupied with only one of these dimensions, and often that from a relatively narrow angle. It will be the reader's task to bring them into dialogue and

1 Alicia Partnoy, in *Women in Exile*, ed. Mahnaz Afkhami (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1994), 100.

yield greater fruit. As one such reader, let me point to some of the ways that might happen.

The mechanics of expulsion – exile in space – concern several of the contributions to this book (Tolan, Mundill, Szende, Sebök). These essays trace the political, socio-economic and cultural forces that converge in decrees of expulsion against a minority community. Tolan's treatment of one royal and three local Jewish expulsions from France (1182), Brittany (1240), Gascony (1287) and Anjou (1287) not only tackles three 'minor' expulsions that have been greatly understudied by modern scholars, but sees in their execution a key to the comprehensive English and French expulsions that follow hard on their heels (1290 and 1306, respectively). This essay, which also introduces the volume, sketches deftly a portrait drawn from the hard facts of economics, climate change, political and institutional developments and the more amorphous cultural and attitudinal shifts that mark an intensifying anti-Jewish spirit in Christian Europe from the thirteenth century on. The result is a careful outline of the calculations and fateful coincidences that culminated in decisions to expel Jewish communities from long-inhabited homes. In the same methodological vein, Mundill reviews the English evidence, independently coming to the conclusion that the 1287 expulsion from Gascony played a critical role in Edward I's decision three years later to expel England's Jews. The convergence of two major essays on the largely ignored Gascon expulsion should give scholars pause, and these essays mark a significant and convincing shift in the interpretation of the first two royal expulsions of medieval Jews that would culminate in the 1492 expulsion from Castile and Aragon, the 1497 expulsion from Portugal, and the disappearance of identifying Jews from the monarchies of Europe. (Papal lands, such as the Comtat Venaissin, continue to host Jewish communities into the modern era.) From eastern Europe, Szende and Sebök treat Hungarian episodes – one a Jewish expulsion in 1526 and one the offer of expulsion (into slavery), imprisonment or conversion to several hundred Protestants in a sham treason trial in 1674. The Hungarian studies, too, emphasize the political expedience of expulsion policies.

There is something satisfying about studies that seek to elicit, if not causes, then the kinds of factors that objectively produce expulsion. The forensic approach to the past, the cautious uncovering and relating of evidence, are also a refusal to essentialize religious violence or to yield to the sweeping claims of lachrymose narratives (Jewish or Protestant). It is also true, as Josep Muntané reminds us, that historians are products of their own historical moment, which has for some decades been characterized by growing violence and instability. The press of events followed on websites, listservs or old-fashioned newspapers – the backdrop we flee to the silence of archives – is one that reminds us

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

constantly that millions of men and women do not live in the lands they called 'home.'[2] Some, like most of the medieval and early modern cases treated here, were displaced by host or rival nations, ethnic or religious groups. Some, in an odd echo of the paradigm Wilke locates in Ovidian tropes, are the victims of their kinsmen or fellow nationals. Whatever the particulars of the situation, it is often depicted as ignited by ancient hatreds, by ethnic or religious differences going back to the edge of time and beyond human hope of resolution. In contrast, the scrupulous work of reconstructing local expulsions discloses a full spectrum of possibilities when it comes to the forced displacement of human communities. As these studies persuade us, some expulsions are smaller and some larger, some reversible and some permanent, some executed 'well' and some less kindly. None is an act of God or Nature or indeterminacy. All are tragic because they are not inevitable, but because human choice makes them so.

Thus, although none of the writers would say so, this is to some extent historical work with a lesson, most probably one expected to fall on deaf ears. All of these essays – and how not so? the authors are nice people – align themselves with the plight of the victim, reducing the motives of the expellers to a dry calculus of expediency and need. And yet, this admirable empathy creates other unanswered questions. Despite their willingness to expel them, the great clerics and nobles and kings of England, France and Iberia nonetheless knew a Jew or two quite well, and it is possible they did not thoroughly detest the lenders and physicians on whom their finances and health depended. So, too, the men and women who aided, abetted, and executed decrees of expulsion, who looted homes and committed acts of violence, who burned pledge documents and refused assistance on the road, were turning against former neighbors, business acquaintances, perhaps even friends. Surely it is not necessary to defend policies of expulsion to ask how its implementers justified their actions, if they even felt a need to justify them at all and to whom, whether God or man. Only Edward I of England emerges, in both Tolan's and Mundill's readings, as motivated by a genuine sense of piety to rid his kingdom of its Jews. What that kind of piety felt like, and how historians should weigh it – is Edward's piety worth less than that of the two thousand Jews he expelled from England? – is a question these essays do not ask. The reader may begin by reading cautiously between the lines.

The remainder of these essays treats the temporal, rather than the spatial, effects of expulsion and exile. We are reminded that, while many of these essays

2 UN Population Fund (at www.unpfa.org) estimates that in 2013, 232 million people lived outside of their countries of origin, an increase of 33% from the turn of the millennium.

assume a considerable overlap between the two, expulsion and exile are not identical. From Sänger's attempts to identify a Jewish military colony in Ptolemaic Leontopolis, or from Koryakina's observations on the stylized address forms of Jewish responsa, we see that expulsion was not always total and its aftermath not always a fall from Eden. Sebök's banished Protestants do not represent an entire population, although they are likely a learned and activist core. For some exiles – Lyublyanovics' Cumans, the Jewish politeuma of ancient Leontopolis, or some Iberian refugees post-1492 – there is a period when their foreignness brings privilege and power and not debasement. In a related vein, Wilke's and Muntané's essays explore the complex ways in which expulsion (sometimes multiple expulsions) and migration reconfigured the meaning of local memory, identity and past among exiles in new lands.

For Wilke, the complex transmutations of *converso* identity in exile may be followed in their literature, a provocative hybrid of biblical and classical motifs. *Conversos*, unlike the overtly Jewish victims of expulsion, became Jews only after they were expelled, and Wilke seems to be arguing that the mythical content of what they constitute as a Jewish past is a unique combination of the real and imaginary. Muntané notes that the late and sweeping application of 'Sephardic' paints a diverse Iberian Jewry with a single brush; Iberian Jewry characterized itself, he demonstrates, as consisting of distinct regional identities. The catch-all label has a genealogy that he unfolds with a focus on medieval Catalonian Jews. How did Catalonian Jews perceive themselves, both before and after the great expulsion of 1492? Did they see themselves as 'Sephardic?' Muntané shows conclusively that they did not, neither before nor after expulsion. The Catalonian Jewish sense of difference was moreover shared by the other Jewish 'identities' that have been lazily conglomerated as 'Sephardic' – Valencian, Aragonese, Provençal, Navarrese and Castilian. Of all of these regional Jewries, Castilian Jewry was the one that would ultimately absorb the 'Sephardic' rubric that originally designated only that region of Iberia formerly under Muslim rule, i.e., al-Andalus. This evolution reflects the rise of Castilian hegemony, and is a post-medieval phenomenon. Muntané also emphasizes that a combination of political, geographical and economic factors contributed to distinct regional identities among Jewish communities as well as to their fate.

Although he does not cite them, contemporary medical theory and writing would reinforce his reading of medieval self-perception. The 'New Galenism' that dominated medical thinking, especially in Aragon and Provence but throughout the peninsula and the universities of western, northern and Mediterranean Europe, insisted on the importance of climate as one of the fundamental factors (one of the six 'non-naturals') that governed individual and national temperament.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Thus, for instance, Juan de Aviñon (formerly Moses de Roquemaure) included in his Castilian medical compendium, the *Sevillana Medicina*, repeated references to local climate and topography as considerations in the treatment of illness and the maintenance of good health.[3]

Muntané's essay is all the more moving because he braves the realm of what is *not* represented by the material history of extant sources or volunteered by ancient authors. What can we say about lost genres or texts that might have lamented abandoned homes in Catalonia but failed to take root in the shadow of laments for lost Zion? What can we hazard about the enduring affective or ideological force of the continuing use of Catalan as a spoken vernacular, of the lost oral transmission of folklore, song, or custom, of naming practices that persisted over generations in exile? To Muntané's first question, we may add the striking absence of a corpus of historical laments commemorating all sorts of disasters, from the devastation wrought by Pastoureaux in 1320 to the attacks on Jewish communities in Catalonia and Valencia during the Black Death. (Indeed, the successful ejection of militant 'shepherds' from Aragonese towns illustrates a story of expulsion – or repulsion – generally treated with approval by historians, another genre not treated here.) Dan Pagis' classic essay on the Hebrew laments marking anti-Jewish violence in 1391 makes the casual observation that liturgical commemoration of the sort ubiquitous in Germany and northern France was alien to Iberian Jews.[4] But was it? Were local commemorations more vulnerable to disappearance, or displaced by compositions favoring recyclable biblical tropes? If these questions are still unanswerable, they nonetheless widen our historical lens by being asked.

In that spirit, let us thank the authors of these studies for the gamut of perspectives, methods and themes reflected in their work. The seriousness of their research permits us to ask what is unique or repeatable in the story of one human society ejecting a vulnerable subgroup from its midst. I conclude with a gesture to another set of questions that should not remain invisible when this book is closed. Perhaps, like Muntané's questions, they are not entirely answerable, but the asking will broaden our view. Reconstructed from a variety of literary, legal, fiscal and theological documents, these studies reconstitute expulsion as an experience of men. What can we say of the fate of Jewish women on the roads out of England, France, Iberia or Provence, women who were surely

3 On the six non-naturals, see, e.g., Michael McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague: Practitioners and Their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285–1345* (Cambridge,UK: Cambridge University Press,, 1993); On Juan/Moses, see Luis García Ballester, *La Búsqueda de la salud: sanadores y enfermos en la España medieval* (Barcelona: Ediciones Peninsula, 2001); and Juan de Aviñon, *Sevillana Medicina*, ed. José Mundéjar (Madrid: Arco, 2000)..

4 Dan Pagis,"Laments for the Persecutions of 1391 in Spain" [in Hebrew], *Tarbitz* 37(1968): 355–373.

accompanied by children and unused to the rigors of travel, women who were pregnant or nursing, who were vulnerable to robbery and rape, to pirates and kidnappers, whose male guardians might be killed or desert them? What can we say of the pressures of female poverty as a factor in conversion and hence non-expulsion? Here Robert Stacey's study of the English *Domus Conversorum* comes to mind.[5] Alternatively, what can we say about the pressures to retain status and privilege as an inducement to leave one's faith and stay in place, socially as well as geographically? Here I think of Daniele Iancou's studies of neophytes in Provence.[6] What about the lost lullabies in vernacular languages that Jewish (or Protestant) women sang to their children in exile, the foods they continued to prepare, the habits of dress they continued to observe? What about the marriages contracted for them, perhaps reinforcing the ties of families in exile, or alternatively linking native and exile communities? What about the women who were abandoned and subsequently divorced, like the first wife of Abraham Caslari, who followed him into exile from Languedoc to Catalonia to see him marry a second wife, the daughter of a local physician?[7] What is the shape of exile, and the past, when we add the shadow of its missing figures, and stories, to the whole?[8]

Finally, the formative experience of exile invoked so clearly in this volume, both as geographical dislocation and imaginative reconfiguration, points silently to the equal and antithetical force of the concept and experience of 'home.' John Tolan reminds us of Edward Said's embrace of exile as the intellectual's truest homeland; the young Stephen Daedalus of Joyce's early fiction, fleeing land, faith and language to claim his identity as an artist, would have agreed. There is a way in which to live in exile is to envy the belonging of the native, the very density of the ties that bind her through family and friend, schooling and work, landscape and history, to shared memory and experience of space. It is to evoke wonderingly the memory of that belonging in one's own life, whether it is real or not. But it is also to observe, precisely from the distance of estrangement, the blindness that comes with home's security, the confidence in truths that are claimed as absolutes but do not extend beyond a neighborhood,

5 See Robert Stacey, 'The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England,' *Speculum* 67.2 (1992): 263–283, and on the same theme, D. Logan, 'Thirteen London Jews and Conversion to Christianity: Problems of Apostasy in the 1280s,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 45 (1972): 214–229, and compare Jessica Elliott's more recent work, some under the aegeis of RELMIN, on France.

6 e.g., Danièle Iancou, *Juifs et neophytes en Provence (1269–1525)* (Paris and Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

7 Susan Einbinder, 'Recall from Exile: Literature, Memory and French Jews,' *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15.3 (2008): 225–240.

8 Again the UN Population Fund website, www.unpfa.org, provides a link to the UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division International Report for 2013, according to which nearly half of all international migrants are female.

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

the puzzled or threatened gaze turned toward the outsider. There is a way in which to live at home is to grapple with demands for conformity, and illusions of unity, where inwardly one rebels. To the extent that communities in exile sought to replicate and sustain the distinct identities and foundational narratives that had propelled them from home, they also replicated the pressures and tyranny of the homeland: the essence of 'home' in portability becomes, not just nostalgia or myth but the power to police and control, reward and punish, accept or eject into micro-exile those who fail to follow the rules. Thus exile traces a shadow in freedom, and home its shadow in constraint and even fear. And to this conundrum I have no answer, except to observe that we live with its riddling mystery at the center of our own experience, in which expulsion as the marker of rupture, when we cease to be who we were, and expulsion as the marker of history, when we decide how that matters, reside in uneasy fellowship with the longing for home.



© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

INDEX

Abraham ibn Ezra: 105
Abraham ben Moses ben Ismael: 114
Abramos, commubenity leader
  Epitaph to: 178, 179, 180
Alger: 152,153,155
Alexander the Great: 25
  Death of, 172
Alexandria: 26,172,177,183-185, 191,194, 197, 198,200-202, 203, 205,207,209, 211-213, 214-216
Albert V, duke of Austria: 52-53
Alfonso V of Spain: 219
Alhambra: 28
Amsterdam: 27, 118, 120, 125, 145
Andalusia/Andalus: 26, 110,158-159, 160-163, 167, 168
Andras Vegh: 74
Andrew III, king of Hungary: 42
Antonio Enrique Gomez: 126
Antiochus IV, King of Seleucids: 192
Aragon: 20, 22, 112, 151, 156, 162, 163, 167, 219, 220, 232,234,235
Ariel (synonym for Jerusalem): 112-114,115
Aristoboulos, philosopher in Egypt: 172
Asher ben Jehiel: 103,108,112, 114
Asher de Tolède: 153
Ashkenazi (Ashkenaz): 13,26, 103,106, 115, 121
Ashtor, Eliyahu: 205
Atrapanos, writer in Egypt: 172
Auerbach, Erich: 29

Babylon: 15, 110, 126, 127
  Talmud of, 104
  Captvity of, 107
  Jews of, 199
  Stepmother of, 127
Bakarat, Salim, poet, 9
Bale, Anthony: 101
Barabas, character in *The Jew of Malta:* 222-226
Barsony, Gyorgy, bishop: 138
Batu, Khan of the Mongols: 33
Benjamin Arbel: 196
Bela IV, king of Hungary: 32-35, 38-39
Belshazzar, biblical king: 15
Benjamin of Tudela: 159-161
Berab, Jakob: 115
Berenike, city: 183, 184, 191
Bertrandon de la Brocquière: 52
Bey Ali, vizier of Buda: 141
Béziers: 110,158
Birgu: 219
Black Sea: 31,32
Black Death: 54, 235
„Black Legend": 119
Blanquefort: 96
Blood libel: 13, 14,70
Blumenkranz, Gerhard: 12
Boer den, Harm: 120
Brand, Paul: 86
The British Commonwealth: 217
Buda:
  Castle Hill, 2
  Cumans imprisoned,35
  expulsion of Jews from, 52-55
  riots in, 57
  map of Jewish Quarter in, 57
  surrender to Ottomans, 73
  expulsion of Jewsih community by Ottomans from, 74
  list of Jewish properties in, 80-82
  Ali Bey, vizier of, 141
Bulgaria: 36-38

Cairo: 92, 198,199, 200, 207, 213, 214, 216
Candia: 196, 207, 209, 213
Castile: 122, 151, 162-163, 167, 232
Caslar, Abraham ben David : 162
Catalans (Jews of Catalonia): 22,150, 152-159, 165-168
Carcel, Garsia: 119

Carpathian Basin: 35,54
Caspar Ritschaner: 72
Catalogne/Catalonia: 26,104, 111, 115, 149,150-155, 1588-159,160-161, 162-163, 167-169, 234-236
Chazan, Robert: 96,106
Charles II of Anjou: 20-22
Charles V, king of Spain: 221
Cilicia/Cilicians: 182, 183, 185, 186
Clement IV, pope: 21
Codex Cumanicus: 46
Cohen, Jeremy: 12
Conversos: 27,220,221,227, 234
Coloman Asen I, tsar of Bulgaria: 37
Comino: 218
Constantinople: 44, 196, 216, 222
Crete: 8, 26, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 205, 206, 210,212,214
Cromwell, Oliver: 227
Crusade
  as a source for ant-Judaism: 12
  Third Crusade: 17
  Baron's Crusade: 18
  of Louis IX: 18
  "crusade" against Cumans in Hungary: 39
  Fourth Crusade: 48
  Edward I of Engalnd and: 93, 95,96
  Jewish self-perception: 106
  Aragonese, 112
Cumans: 24, 32-46

Darwish, Mahmoud, poet 10, 29
David Khimkhi of Narbonne: 115
Demetrios, chronographer in Egypt: 172
Diogo Pires: 121-123,130
Dolfin, Biagio consul in Egypt: 198, 201-204, 205,209,211,212, 213-215
Dominus Cumanorum: 38
Dragomans: 211,212,215

Edward I, king of England: 14,21, 22, 86,87 , 88-90, 96-99, 233
Eleanor, queen of England: 86,94
Elephantine: 173
Elizabeth, Cuman princess: 40,44
Elizabeth, queen of England: 226
Elman, Peter: 86
England: 11, 14-20, 26,85, 88-90, 93, 99-103, 106, 119, 126, 227, 232
Enríquez Gómez Antonio: 126-131,133
Ernst Fürst: 72
Esterházy, family: 67
Ezstergom: 39, 65, 135
Ezekiel: writer in Egypt: 172
Exchequer of the Jews: 19
Expulsion:
  As a general term, 232-237, 5-11, 25-31
  Cumans from Hungary, 34,
  Jews from England, 14, 85-86, 92-93, 99-100
  Jews from France, 15-16, 111
  Jews from Britanny, 16-19
  Jews from Buda, 74
  Jews from Gascony, 20-21, 232
  Jews from Hungarian kingdom, 51-54, 78-80
  Jews from Sopron, 64-67, 73
  Jews from Pressburg, 68- 70
  Jews from Nagyszombat (Tyrnau), 71
  Jews from Wiener Neusatdt, 62
  Jews from Anjou, 21-24, 96
  Jews from York, 90
  In Hebrew language, 103-105
  From Land of Israel, 107, 110
  Poet Gorni as the product of, 113
  Jews from Spain 1492, 11, 115, 123, 152
  Jews from Portugal, 118
  Protestants from Hungary, 136, 146
  Jews From Palestine after Bar Kohba revolt, 196
  Jews from Malta, 219-220
  Mechanics of, 232

Ferdinand I, king of Hungary: 67, 69,81
Fourth Empire: 125
France: 11, 14, 15-17, 26, 96, 104, 106,110, 112, 119, 126, 208, 225, 226, 232
Frangepan: 137
Franciscans: 12, 99,
Frederick II, king of Sicily: 21, 218
Frederick V, duke of Austria: 53

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Fries, Johann Heinrich: 144
Fritzche, Peter: 10

Gershom ben Judah: 114
Geniza: 92, 197
Girona: 112, 158
Gozo: 92, 218,219
Graus, Frantisek: 80
Gregory IX, pope: 18,
Grosseteste of Lincoln, bishop: 99
Gruen, S. Erich: 175

Harsanyi, Moric Istvan: 144
Heliopolis: 171, 175
Henry III, king of England: 98
Holy Roman Empire: 52, 54
House of Converted Jews: 98
Hungary: 24, 32
Hugh of Kendal: 93
Hugh of Sainr-Victor: 29

Innoncent III pope: 16,22
Ibn Saprut: 164
Icabo, (symbol of exile): 124
Irving, Washington: 28
Iochoda: 209, 210, 213, 214
Ithamore : 224,226,228,229
Isaac Ben Emanuel de Lattes: 153
Isaac Ben Josef of Corbeil: 104
Isaac Ben Shesher Perfet: 109,112,162
Isabella, queen of Spain: 122-123
Isabella, queen of Hungary: 40
Istvan Selyei of Papa: 141,143,144

Jacoby, David: 196, 197
Jakob Fischl: 62
Jakov Berab: 115
Jean le Roux, duke of Britanny: 16-18,23
Jedayah ben Abraham Bedersi: 110, 112
Jerusalem:
  destruction of, 10
  Charles as king of, 21
  proper home for Diaspora, 100,
  Destruction of Temple, 104, 113,175
  visit of Jospeh ben Baruch to, 106
  ssynagogues in,108,
  exiles from, 111,112,164
  conflict betwee Jewish communities in,115
  Judas Maccabeus and, 173
  Josephus Flavius and, 176
  Obadiah and,200
  center of later gravity,214, 216
The Jew of Malta: 28, 223-226,
Jewish War: 174-175, 176, 177, 194
Jewish Antiquities: 174, 175,176,177, 194
John, king of England: 89
John le Romayn, archbishop: 89
John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury: 94
John Zapolyai, king of Hungary: 57,74
Jordan, William Chester: 15-16
Josephus Flavius: 174,175,176, 177, 184,190
Judea: 25, 172,173-175, 177, 182, 191, 192-193
Judenbücher: 65, 69
Juda Hakkoneh of Manosque: 109
Judah al-Haziri: 106

Katznelson, Ira: 87
Karaites: 104, 198-200
Kehalim (jewish community unit): 155
Kingdom of Judah: 173
Kingdom of Heaven, 97
Knights of st. John (Hospitaliers): 221
Kocsi Csergo, Balint: 144-145
Kollonich, Leopold, cardinal: 138, 143
Kovats, Ferenc: 57, 78
Koyama, Mark: 88
Kuthen, Cuman khan: 32, 35

Lazslo, Gyula: 37
Ladislaus I king of Hungary: 37
Ladislaus IV king of Hungary: 40-42
Ladislaus Postumus king og Hungary: 52
Late Antiquity: 10, 231
Leontopolis: 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 180, 188, 191,192,194, 234
Leopold I, emperor of Holy Roman Empire: 134, 143,144
Lesser Cumania, 42
Libya: 184, 218
London: 27, 89-91, 92-95, 101

Lower, Michael: 19
Louis II, king of Hungary: 62,79
Louis VII king of France: 14, 15

Maccabees: 25,172, 192
  Book of, 172
Maghreb: 8,160,212,
Maimonides: 105-106, 111
Malta: 28, 217-220, 223-226,229
Mdina: 219
Mamluk Empire: 195, 200, 201
Manuel, king of Portugal: 117
Marlowe, Cristopher: 28,218-219, 224-226, 227-228
Matheus Teufel: 72
Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary: 61,70,
Mary, queen of Hungary: 54, 69,79
Marseille: 24, 161
Massacre:
  In general, 14
  In Anjou and Potou, 18
  Of Cumans in Hungary, 35
  Of Lisbon, 118
  In work of Philippe Marlow, 225
  Of the Turks imagined in *The Jew of Malta*, 229
Matthias During: 53
Pollak, Max (Miska): 66
Méchoulan, Henry: 120
The Melodians, 10
Memphis: 175, 182, 190
Menahem ben Aaron ibn Zerah: 163
Meir de Rothenburg: 162
Menache, Sofia: 93
Menasseh ben Israel: 118
Modrzejewski, Meleze: 190
Mohacs: 411,63-64, 69, 72-73, 79
Mongols: 32-34,35, 48
Moriscos: 28
Moshe of Trani: 115
Moshe ibn Ezra: 166

Nachmanides: 107
Neunkirchen: 63
Nikola Gučetić: 123
Nile: 173,175,182, 187,190
Nirenberg, David: 13
„New Christians“: 118, 227
Nadasdy: 137
Nagyszombat/Trnava: 61
Naples: 21, 54, 143,145,219
Norwich: 101
Nograd: 141

Olot: 158
Onias of Oniades: 171, 172, 174-176, 177, 181, 187, 190-192,
Ottoman Empire: 27, 74, 80, 118, 133, 136,222

Palestine:
  nationalistic narratives of, 10
  hope to create Jewish community in, 104-105
  travel of Talmudic scholars to, 111,112
  future return of Jewish people to, 107
  ruinous state after the destruction of the Second Temple, 108
  life of Rabi Jakob in, 115
  part of Ptolemaic empire, 173
  expulsion of Jews from, 173
Pal Regius of Kisszeben: 137
Pescaro, Michele: 206
Philo, philosopher in Egypt: 172
Philip the Bold, king of France: 112
Paris: 12, 15, 92, 96,106, 122
Pereyra, Abraham: 119
Peshitta, 164
Philip of Macedon: 25
Philip II, king of Spain: 11,23, 68,72,
Pierre de Dreux, duke of Britanny: 17-19,
Plano Carpini: 35, 44,48
Politarches: 178, 179, 187
Politeuma, form of community in Egypt, 25,171, 179-180, 181-182, 183-184, 185-188, 189-191,193-194,234
Pressburg (Bratislava), 55, 57-58, 59, 64, 75, 78-79
  List of Jewish house-owners, 81-84
Ptolemy I Soter, King of Egypt, 172, 173,

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.

Ptolemy II Philadelphos, king of Egypt, 172, 183,184
Ptolemy III Euergetos: king of Egypt, 183

Qipchaks: 44

Portugal: 27, 54,111, 117-118,124, 125-126, 232
Provence: 22, 26, 54, 108, 111, 117, 160, 162, 269. 234-236

Ray, Jonathan: 26-27
Rabad (Abraham ben David of Posquieres): 108
Ralph de Diceto,
Racosci, Ferenz, count of Translivania: 137
Ragusa: 122,220
Ralph of Sandwich: 91
Rhineland: 12
Rigord: monk of St.-Denis: 12-14
Richard of Paris: 15
Richard of Cornwell: 91
Richardson, Henry: 96
Robert Burnell, Chancellor of England: 89
Rodrigo Lopes: 226
Rogerius, chronicler: 33-35,36, 48
Rome: 17, 95, 125, 152, 153-155,218,
Romaniotes: 26 195, 197, 198, 201, 205, 215,216
Royal Hungary: 135,136
Rudolf IV, duke of Austria: 54
Ruyter de, Michiel: 144

Sabatino, Russo: 201-203
Sack of Rome: 155
Said, Edwards: 28-29, 226
Samaritans: 199, 200, 215
Samuel Halevi: 114
Scotland: 92
Seder Olam Zutta: 164
Seleucids: 25,173,192,
Sephardi (Sephard) (Sepharad): 26-27,74, 80, ,113, 115, 118, 121,123, 149, 152, 159, 160-166, 200, 216,219,227, 234,
Shelomo al-Harizi: 160
Shlomo ben Adret: 162
Shulkhan Arukh: 222
Sicilian Vespers: 21
Sidon: 181, 182, 185, 186
Sigismund of Luxemburg: 56, 59
Simeon Ben Zemah Duran: 153
Simon of Keza, chronicler: 41
Simonides, Janos: 135
Solomon ben Abraham Bahye Ben Asher Aderet: 105,107,11
Solomon ben Vergas: 106
Sopron: 51,55,59-60, 61-64, 66-67, 68-69, 70-72, 75-78,80, 144
Spain: 12, 24,28, 54,55, 74, 92,105, 108,111, 115, 118- 133
Stacey, Robert: 86, 236
Statute of Jewry 1275: 86
Styria: 38, 53, 63 , 69-70, 71
Szelepcsenyi, Gyorgyi, governor: 135, 139
Swetschinski, Daniel: 120

Talmud: 12,95,103, 112, 116, 164, 222
Targum: 164
Tatars: 32,37
Tell el-Yehoudieh: 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180
Thessalonika/Thessalonique: 74,152,155-156
Thomas of Split: 35
Thompson, Doroty: 186
Toch, Michael: 51
Toledo/Tolede: 26,114,
Trabotto, Azriel: 163
Tunisia: 217, 218

Usury: 16,20, 21-22, 23, 68, 70, 76, 85, 94, 98, 218,
Usque, Samuel: 123-124, 130

Venice: 144, 201, 202-203, 208, 209-210, 214-216
Venier, Nicolo: 205
Vincent de Beauvais: 34
Valerius Paulinus, Roman governor of Egypt: 175

Vienna: 52, 58,73, 137, 143
Vittore, Bonfantin: 205

Wesselenyi family: 137,146
William de Marchia: 92
Wissant: 92
Wladislas II, king of Hungary: 57
Wiener Neustadt: 53,55,62-63,
Wiener Gesera: 52
William of Norwich: 12

Xois: 182

Yom Tov ben Moses Zahalon
York: 90-91,95,101
Yossef ha-Cohen: 163
Yuval, Israel: 104, 107

Zion/Sion: 117,121,125, 151, 152, 158 235
Zrinyi, Peter: 137
Zurich: 78,144, 147

© BREPOLS PUBLISHERS
THIS DOCUMENT MAY BE PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE ONLY.
IT MAY NOT BE DISTRIBUTED WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER.