

LAS EXCELENCIAS DE LOS HEBREOS: AN INTRODUCTION AND
TRANSLATION OF ISAAC CARDOSO'S SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
APOLOGY

By
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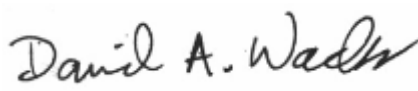
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Title: *LAS EXCELENCIAS DE LOS HEBREOS*: AN INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION
OF ISAAC CARDOSO'S SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY APOLOGY

Approved by Professor David Wacks

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "David A. Wacks". The signature is written in a cursive style and is positioned above a horizontal line.

This thesis presents an introduction and a critical translation of a seventeenth-century Jewish apology written by the Sephardic Jew Isaac Cardoso. The *Excelencias* represents the culmination of Cardoso's spiritual and physical path from Catholic Spain to the Jewish ghetto in Verona in order to (re)identify with his ancestral religion, Judaism. In the *Excelencias*, Cardoso defends and explains Judaism to non-Jews, and he helps other *conversos* like himself make the difficult transition from Christianity to Judaism. The project consists of an introduction giving a short biography of Cardoso, an analysis of the *Excelencias*, a comparison to three other prominent Jewish apologists of the seventeenth century (Leon da Modena, Simone Luzzatto, Menasseh ben Israel), and a comparison between the Verona ghetto and the Jewish community in Amsterdam (where the text was printed). Afterwards follows the translation with supplementary footnotes of the first two chapters of the *Excelencias*: "A People Chosen by God" and "One People."

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DEDICATION

To my grandparents, Gloria and Eddy

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In 1679, Doctor Isaac Cardoso sent *Las excelencias de los Hebreos* to the printing house of David de Castro Tartas in Amsterdam for publication. *The Wonders of the Hebrews* stands as the culmination of Cardoso's spiritual and physical journey for self-identification. The work is part of a number of Jewish apologies published in the seventeenth century, written in the vernacular, and with the intent of explaining the 'Other' – Jews with respect to their religion and to their status as a minority group – to a Christian readership. By not explaining Judaism and Jewish history from a Christian-centric perspective, Cardoso's work stands out from other, perhaps more famous, Jewish apologetic works written during the seventeenth century, such as those written by Leon da Modena, Menasseh ben Israel, and Simone Luzzatto. Unlike the works of the three previous authors, Cardoso's *Excelencias* goes beyond the practical attempt to justify the presence of Jews in Christian Europe by referencing their economic contribution and non-threatening status. His work stands apart from the other apologetic works by not always treating Jews in deference to Christian society and law, and by not defining the 'Hebrew Nation' by its inferior status as a minority group in relation to Christians; Cardoso attempts to define Jews as a people on their own terms and not on Christian terms. The Christian population did influence the Jewish communities in Europe, but the writings of Luzzatto and the others were pragmatic in nature, arguing for the Jews' right to live in Western Europe, while Cardoso's goal in the *Excelencias* was to help shape the identity of the Jews as a people and as a religion apart from, but in dialogue with, the Christian religion and Christian society.¹

¹ In his groundbreaking book *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*, Yosef Yerushalmi writes, "The *Excelencias* is a proud and impassioned outcry to the entire world for justice to Israel and its faith, made all the more intense and compelling by Cardoso's own experience of years spent among the gentiles" (357). In my thesis I expand upon both the idea that the *Excelencias* stands apart from former Jewish apologies through its defense of Jews and Judaism as well as the idea that Cardoso's own experience as a practicing Catholic helped him shape the *Excelencias* in order to share the Jewish heritage with others newly (re)converted to Judaism.

As an apology, Cardoso's text addresses a Christian audience with the intent of correcting popular as well as theological misconceptions about Jews and Judaism held by many non-Jews; in addition he directed his text to a Jewish audience, writing to both Jews who were 'backsliding' in their religious observance and to those newly converted to Judaism or trying to convert to Judaism after having emigrated from a Christian country. Cardoso himself was a *converso*² and an immigrant from the Catholic Iberian Peninsula. Born in Trancoso, Portugal in 1603/4, he spent the first half of his life in Spain attending university and establishing a career for himself as a physician and intellectual, all the while adhering to the Catholicism strictly observed in Portugal and Spain. Although he left almost no autobiographical evidence, Cardoso must have identified on some level as a Jew when he emigrated from Spain to Italy in order to convert to Judaism at the age of forty-four.³ Cardoso's journey from the Iberian Peninsula to the Venetian Republic, where Judaism was permitted, reflects the movements of other Sephardic Jews⁴ and *conversos* who took the leap of starting life over in a new country due either to the threat of the Spanish Inquisition or to the need to embrace their Jewish heritage. While many Sepharadim in the sixteenth century continued on to the Ottoman Empire where they would be accepted as a minority living in the Turkish Empire,⁵ some immigrants decided to settle in the northern Italian city-states and join the established Jewish communities there. Upon arrival, those wishing to convert or return to Judaism had to learn how to live as a Jew, be a member of the Jewish community, and how to observe the many laws of Judaism.⁶ In addition, they worked to

² I use the terms *converso* and New Christian to refer to the Iberian residents who had converted to Christianity from Judaism or whose ancestors had converted from Judaism to Christianity.

³ Cardoso and his younger brother, Abraham (Miguel) left Spain in 1648. Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 192-193.

⁴ Ashkenazim is plural for *Ashkenaz*, a Hebrew term describing Jews from Eastern Europe. Sepharadim is the plural for describing Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, and later those from Western Europe, specifically the Balkans, the Levant, England, and the Netherlands.

⁵ Bonfil, *Jewish Life*, 59-63.

⁶ Conversion even in the Italian states was not always so simple: because New Christians had been baptized, any conversion would be deemed blasphemous by the Inquisition. However, city-states such as Venice, where Cardoso

overcome previous, usually skewed ideas about Judaism derived from spending a large portion of their life in a strictly Catholic environment isolated from any literature dealing with Judaism. The road to conversion was daunting; having himself experienced the transition, Cardoso wrote the *Excelencias* to ease the transition for other newcomers to Judaism. In the dedication to his book, Cardoso states that he wrote the *Excelencias* so “that we may know ourselves and know the prerogatives that God has illustrated for us,”⁷ implying that his readers did not know themselves or God’s law beforehand, while the “us” indicates his Jewish readers, not his Christian audience. One of his goals in the *Excelencias* is to help the *conversos* reclaim their Jewish heritage.

Isaac Cardoso

Cardoso was born Fernando Cardoso in 1604/5 in Trancoso, Portugal. Probably sometime before 1610 and the reinstatement of the restrictions of movement of New Christians,⁸ the Cardoso family moved from Trancoso to Spain where Cardoso remained until he was forty-four. He received a bachelors in medicine from the University of Salamanca before taking a teaching post at the University of Valladolid, where he received a doctorate in medicine in 1625 at the age of twenty-one. Cardoso received, therefore, an education in “classical and medieval thought, [where] Latin was the language of study and instruction.”⁹ He moved to Madrid sometime between 1627-30 and made a name for himself as a physician and intellectual; he

first arrived and started studying Judaism, allowed the conversions for economic considerations: many of the Sephardic immigrants were international merchants or, like Cardoso, successful scholars and physicians. For the process of admitting Jews into the international trade business in Venice, see Arbel, “Jews in International Trade.” For relations between the Venetian Inquisition, the government, and the *conversos*, see Zorattini, “Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the Inquisition.”

⁷ Cardoso, *Excelencias* iv, trans. Shindelman 44.

⁸ Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 66-68.

⁹ Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 85.

practiced medicine, published poems, wrote books, and gave lectures. In other words, Cardoso participated and succeeded in the intellectual and cultural capital of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰

Unfortunately, Cardoso left very few autobiographical comments, and, fortunately, he did not seem to have any trouble with the Inquisition, so the question remains: to what degree did Cardoso identify with his Jewish heritage while still living on the Iberian Peninsula? Did he actively practice any pseudo-Jewish ritual, or was his process of self-identification completely internal? The Inquisition has no case file for Cardoso, which means he was never officially subjected to scrutiny from the Inquisition while living on the peninsula.¹¹ The Inquisition banned any books dealing with Judaism, so learning about Judaism directly was impossible, however indirect references to Jews and Judaism did exist and Cardoso, through the texts studied during his university career and intellectual life, would have come across these references. At the same time he could not fail to be aware of the outright anti-Semitic works published by Iberian authors.¹²

In his book *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*, Yosef Yerushalmi extrapolates Cardoso's lack of enthusiasm for Catholicism by comparing what Cardoso refrains from writing while in Madrid to what other Catholic authors wrote.¹³ Yerushalmi finds that Cardoso does not employ any of the "conventional Christian terminology which appears in other Spanish writers

¹⁰ For Cardoso's successful life as a physician and intellectual in Madrid, see Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, chapter 4.

¹¹ For a discussion of the circumstances about why Cardoso may have left the Peninsula, as well as an account of a Dr. Cardoso judaizing from an Inquisitorial testimony which took place ten years after Cardoso left Spain but testified about an event ten years earlier, see Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 177-184.

¹² For example, Cardoso contributed a poem to a work written by Juan de Quiñones about Mt. Vesuvius; in another, unprinted but circulated work, Quiñones attempts to prove that Jews have tails and that Jewish men menstruate, a work of which Cardoso seems to have been aware, given his reference to the accusation in an anecdote in the *Excelencias*. When Quiñones had hemorrhoids, Cardoso was one of the attending physicians, and he 'jested' with Quiñones that now he had been afflicted with the same condition as Jewish men. For a further treatment of the relation between Cardoso and Quiñones, a summary of Quiñones' anti-Semitic work, and references to many other Iberian anti-Semitic works, see Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 122-136.

¹³ For a more in depth discussion of Cardoso's lack of Catholic references, see Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 184-193.

as a matter of course.”¹⁴ In his analysis of Cardoso’s texts written while he lived in Madrid and was still a practicing Catholic, Yerushalmi finds that Cardoso rarely mentions Christ and he uses primarily Old Testament sources, which leaves his texts somewhat lacking in biblical references when compared to the abundance of such references from other contemporary Iberian writers.¹⁵

Cardoso spent the first forty-four years of his life immersed in the Catholic Iberian Peninsula, and, although he obviously questioned his place in that society or he would never have emigrated and converted to Judaism, forty-four years in such an extremely single-minded community must have left its imprint. He received his education from within an entirely Christian and Classical context without exposure to any other sources. When he arrived in Venice, he converted to Judaism and studied for five years to learn how to live as a Jew in a Jewish community. He learned Hebrew so that he could read the Torah in its original language; after moving to Verona¹⁶ from Venice in 1653 to be the Ghetto’s new doctor after the previous physician had retired, he continued to study Judaism. But in the end, how much of those formative years of the first half of his life, the ten years spent in university and of living as a Catholic, attending services, and maintaining a façade of devotion, continued to underlie his belief system even as he wrote the *Excelencias* as a self-professed Jew?

He wrote two major works while living in the Verona Ghetto: the *Philosophia libera*, written in Latin and published in Italy in 1673, and *Las excelencias de los Hebreos*, published in Amsterdam in 1679. If the *Excelencias* represents the culmination of Cardoso’s spiritual journey,

¹⁴ Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 191.

¹⁵ For Yerushalmi’s analysis of Cardoso’s works in comparison with other Iberian authors’ works, see *Spanish Court*, 184-193.

¹⁶ For a very interesting history of the establishment of the Verona Ghetto and the development of its confraternities, see Horowitz, *Jewish Confraternities*.

then the *Philosophia libera* stands as his great intellectual accomplishment as he discusses and critiques the history and historical trends of philosophy.¹⁷

Las Excelencias de los Hebreos

Unlike the *Philosophia libera*, Cardoso sent the *Excelencias* to Amsterdam for printing in the publishing house of David de Castro Tartas¹⁸ in 1679. His decision to publish in Amsterdam rather than in Verona or a printing press in a neighboring city-state or principality may have been an attempt to avoid problems with his local Holy Office. While he had to censor his writing regardless of where his work was printed, the printing presses in Amsterdam had more freedom from censorship than those in Italy, which were closer to the central influence and power of the Roman Holy Office.

Cardoso divides the *Excelencias* into two parts: the ‘wonders’ and the ‘calumnies,’ with each part consisting of ten chapters. In the first three-quarters of the book Cardoso presents the wonders of the Jews, the top ten truths that distinguish the Hebrew nation from all other nations, which make them so special, and which the gentiles most often attempt to refute. In the last quarter of the book, Cardoso defends Judaism and the Jews against both doctrinal accusations and popular calumnies most often raised against Jews.¹⁹ The first two chapters, which I have translated, are “Nation Chosen By God” and “One People.” In the original edition, the first chapter is twenty-two pages long while the second chapter is a little over eleven pages long; the whole work is 431 pages. In both chapters Cardoso quotes verbatim from the Ferrara Bible, one

¹⁷ For a discussion of the *Philosophia libera*, see “Philosopher in the Ghetto from Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*.

¹⁸ For a short biography on David de Castro Tartas and for a bibliography of works printed at his printing house between 1662-1698, see Fuks, *Hebrew Typography*, 339-382.

¹⁹ For more information on how Cardoso structured his book, see Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 359-360, and for an analysis of the themes Cardoso addresses through the work, see 381-412 as well as chapter IX.

of the first bibles to be published in its entirety in Spanish in 1553.²⁰ He also draws from Roman historians such as Strabo, Philo, and Josephus. Whenever he quotes, either from the Torah or one of the historians, Cardoso usually follows up the quote with an explanation in his own words of the meaning of the quote; he gives his interpretation and explains the relevance of the quote to his argument. At the same time, he quite profusely pulls verses from the Torah to support his claims, often listing the verses one after the other with only an indication as to which book he pulled the verse from. In both chapters, he narrates both biblical history and history taken from historians, both Roman and Iberian, and it seems that his intent in referencing the historical as well as the biblical is both to explain the history of the Hebrew Nation through the centuries and to provide spiritual and scholastic proof of his narration.

“The First Wonder of the Hebrews: Nation Chosen By God” opens with God’s creation of Adam and Eve. Cardoso interweaves his narration of the beginning of history, from the Garden of Eden through Noah to the Patriarchs and on into the exiles, with the argument that the Hebrew Nation has always been God’s chosen nation. Despite their constant rebellions – Adam and Eve eating from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, Cain killing Abel, Noah’s lineage falling into sin despite the earlier warning of the flood, the sins that landed them in exile – God always returns to the Hebrews as his legacy and reiterates his promise to love them for all eternity; Cardoso always counters the verses of rejection with one or more verses of affirmation. He writes, “It is notable...that in this way the Lord is accustomed to threaten and destroy his people through his Prophets, and later together console, and animate, and enrich his people that were hardly injured, when he gives together the medicine and the remedy.”²¹ While God

²⁰ Published in Ferrara, Italy in 1553. The Ferrara Bible’s primary audiences were the Spanish and Portuguese *conversos* immigrating to the Italian cities and to Amsterdam, Lazar, “Introducción,” *Ferrara Biblia*, XV-XVI.

²¹ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 12-13, trans. Shindelman 71.

punishes their disobedience, when they return to him in penitence he will always receive them with grace; their sin is like a sickness which God's punishment "remedies."

Cardoso draws out two common proofs used by non-Jews to persuade others that Jews are no longer the chosen people: one, that in all the time of their exile, God has performed no miracles with them as he did in biblical time, and two, that the millennium long exile of the Jews proves that they are no longer God's chosen people. Cardoso takes care to respond to each. To the first argument, Cardoso writes that God has most certainly performed a great miracle with the Hebrew Nation while they have lived in the diaspora; he points out that even though the Jews have been persecuted in almost all the provinces, even though they have been driven out, killed, tortured, and squeezed out of almost all economic spheres (in western Europe), they have persevered as a people and as a religion, something which no other people or god has managed to do. "What greater wonder than to see a people persevere among nations for two thousand years with his name and with his Law when the other nations barely have memory. Where are the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Tyrians, the Phoenicians," and the list continues to include the gods and the rites that have also disappeared or been transformed into a 'new' people or god.²² "Only in the Jews does his name endure," continues Cardoso. He emphasizes as miraculous both their ability to survive in exile and their long memory and ability to preserve their faith and identity as Jews.

For the second argument, that their long exile is proof of God's rejection of the Jews as his chosen people and that their present exile is punishment for deicide, for killing Christ, Cardoso points out both historical instances that show the Jews were in exile before Christ's death and biblical testament showing that the exile stemmed not from deicide but from disobeying the law. Cardoso cites Strabo, Josephus, and Philo to show that Jews were already

²² Cardoso, *Excelencias* 14, trans. Shindelman 74.

dispersed throughout the known world, from Cyrene and Alexandria in Africa, from Sicily to Athens to Crete in Europe, and along the Euphrates and other “fertile and abundant cities” in Asia.²³ As further evidence that deicide is not their crime, Cardoso draws from Jeremiah, Leviticus, and then Deuteronomy to show that they committed the sin of transgressing the law, not of deicide:

in Deuteronomy in the blessings and curses he repeats the same and announces to the living what we are now passing through with these heavy and grave words, *But if you will not obey the voice of the Lord your God or be careful to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command you this day, then all these curses shall come upon you and overtake you.*²⁴

Through historical evidence and references from the Torah, Cardoso refutes the argument that they are in exile for the sin of deicide, and he shows instead that the transgression of the law was their sin. In the end and most importantly, he argues that God has not abandoned the Hebrew Nation.

Cardoso structures “The Second Wonder of the Hebrews: One People” into three arguments for proving the unity and oneness of Israel: he cites Israel’s progeny, or heritage, the unity of their law, and their love and compassion for each other. The unity of the Hebrew Nation brings them closer to God: “Israel, although multiplied and scattered, is always one and perfect because the Unity is the best perfection and similarity to the Creator.”²⁵ God is indivisible, Cardoso argues, therefore his chosen people should also be one in heart and voice in order to praise him with purity.

Cardoso first argues for the singularity of Israel’s heritage. They descended from God’s handpicked Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the Patriarchs themselves descended from Adam and Eve, whom God created himself. In addition, God created Eve from one of

²³ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 16-17, trans. Shindelman 79-80.

²⁴ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 18, trans. Shindelman 83.

²⁵ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 25, trans. Shindelman 95.

Adam's ribs: "and even the woman herself he formed from the man from one of his ribs so that he reduced all to one root and foundation, so that all men would have among themselves an internal love and close union as they are derived from the same body and substance."²⁶ Cardoso also uses multiplication as an analogy for the wonder of the oneness of Israel. Unlike all other numbers, one times one is the only number that continues to equal itself no matter how many times it is multiplied against itself, which Cardoso equates with the Jewish condition: no matter how many Jews there are, they still equal one.

In his second point, Cardoso argues that the law unifies Jews into one whole. No matter where in the world they live, all Jews observe the same precepts:

All received [the law] in one voice, everyone embraced as one, everyone became one gathering in order to follow it, and from this union and conformity were born into being the sons of Israel, each one guarantor for the others and together they make a mystical body and a whole and equal compound; they are obligated to one another.²⁷

The law binds them together into a "mystical body" and they speak with one voice as they observe the precepts; their closeness makes them worthy to worship God and brings them closer to God.

And third, the great love and compassion the Jews have for one another on all occasions bind them together and make them one people. Cardoso use of several metaphors for the unity of the nation demonstrates repeatedly how wonderful it is to be one people. He writes, for example, that "a united and whole crystal is beautiful, splendid, and transparent, but divided in parts and as dust it loses its beauty and becomes opaque; it is the same with men, united they are beautiful and strong, but divided they are opaque and weak."²⁸

²⁶ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 25, trans. Shindelman 94.

²⁷ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 26, trans. Shindelman 96.

²⁸ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 26-27, trans. Shindelman 98.

In chapter two, Cardoso discusses the two symbols of Israel's unity that also symbolize the equality of all Jews in God's eyes, the gift of manna in the desert and the donation of the half shekel during the first temple. After God leads them up out of Egypt through Moses, the Jews wander in the desert, hungry, and so God promises to give them sustenance and he rains manna down from the sky, commanding each person to gather up their gift of food for the day. Not only does God send them manna, but he ensures that every person receives an equal amount of the gift, no matter how much or how little each person manages to gather: "he equaled all with his grace... To the poor, to the rich, to the grand and to the small he served the same amount in abundance, and the Divine grace shared equally among all."²⁹ The second gift demonstrating the oneness of Israel is the donation of the half shekel to the temple. Every year every man above the age of twenty donated a half shekel to the temple, and others, women and younger people, donated a half shekel as well even though they were not obligated to. The half shekel paid for the necessary items for conducting rites and for clothing the priests of the temple; it helped to financially maintain the temple and its activities. The act of each person donating half a shekel symbolized that alone that person was only half, but together with the rest of the 'Nation,' all the half shekels become whole.

After explaining the two symbols demonstrating Israel's unity, Cardoso uses the rest of the chapter to describe historical situations demonstrating Israel's unity: the action of prayer three times a day as well as coming together three times a year in Jerusalem to pray, the visions of Abraham and Jacob that demonstrate Israel's unity, and even references to the natural world, likening the self-sustaining interiority of the community of Israel to a herd of deer and a flock of herons, and to the cooperation of all the body parts working together in order to survive.

²⁹ Cardoso, *Excelencias* 27, trans. Shindelman 99.

Cardoso's *Excelencias* strives to give a comprehensive defense of Judaism and the Jews through their long, sometimes convoluted history. In the first two chapters, Cardoso describes the cohesiveness of Israel by putting into persuasive rhetoric his knowledge of the natural world, from animal group-behavior and the composition of crystals to a contemporary understanding of how the body functions; he draws from well-known historians such as Josephus and Philo; he engages in numerology and the mystical assignment of meaning to Hebrew letters; and he interweaves his text with verses from the Old Testament; in short, he pulls in historical evidence, scientific analogies, and numerical and philological searches for spiritual meaning in support of his explanation and defense of Jews and Judaism.

Jewish Apologies as a Genre

As stated in the introduction to the *Excelencias*, Cardoso addresses the spirituality as well as the history of the 'Hebrew Nation.' He looks beyond the contemporary situation of the Jews and their marginalization in Christian society by elaborating on the themes that make Jews special and distinct from the gentile population. While remaining aware of and within the confines of the censorship laws, Cardoso, unlike three other famous authors of apologies from earlier in the seventeenth-century, does not use his text as an attempt to justify the Jewish presence in Christian Europe. Instead, Cardoso celebrates the strengths of the Jewish community and of Judaism, and he shows how those strengths (such as their unity) have held the community together in the diaspora. Leon da Modena, Simone Luzzatto, and Menasseh ben Israel take a different approach to their apologetic works and focus their advocacy for Jews primarily within the contemporary, Christian context; in addition, all three texts were written for a non-Jewish audience while one of Cardoso's goals was to help *conversos* (re)turn to Judaism.

Leon da Modena's *Historia de' riti hebraici* was one of the first Jewish apologies published for a non-Jewish audience.³⁰ The *Riti* first appeared in print in 1637, although Modena penned the text in 1616 for a private client. Written in Italian, its primary goal was the further integration of Jews into Christian society by explaining Jewish life and religion to its Christian audience.³¹ Modena wrote the *Riti* in order to refute Christian publications written in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that seriously disparaged Jewish life and beliefs³² as well as works that attempted to explain Judaism to non-Jews from a Christian perspective, which were also quite ruthless in their portrayal of Jews and Judaism.³³ One of the most difficult publications to refute was the *Synagoga Judaica*, written in 1603 by the Protestant scholar Johanne Buxtorf, in which Buxtorf makes extensive use of Hebrew sources to support his depiction of Judaism as superstitious. Buxtorf had three goals in writing the *Synagoga*: first, to disprove the Protestant attitude that Jews were admirably strict about observing their Law and holy scripture; second, to emphasize, as a lesson to Christians, the disgraced state of the Jews after they disobeyed God; and third, to denounce Judaism as a superstitious religion.³⁴ Modena refutes works like Buxtorf's by giving an extensive explanation of the private and public Jewish rituals while downplaying any beliefs or customs that Christians could construe as superstitious or mystical. Modena describes many aspects of daily Jewish life, such as giving detailed descriptions of the interior of

³⁰ Cohen, "Riti," 287. The "Riti" was first published by Jacque Gaffarel, Paris, 1637. Modena republished the "Riti" in Venice, 1638. The first English version appeared in 1650, translated by Edmund Chilmead, followed by an English translation in 1707 by Simon Ockley.

³¹ Cohen, "Riti," 288.

³² Works written against the Jews in the early sixteenth century, as cited in Cohen, "Riti," 292: Ortuinus Gratius, *De vita et moribus Judaeorum* (1504); Francois Tissart, *De Judeorum ritibus compendium* (1508); Jewish apostate Victor von Carben, *Opus aureum...in quo omnes Judaeorum errores manifestantur* (1509).

³³ Cohen, "Riti," 292: works written by Christians and Jewish apostates derisively explaining Judaism to Christians.: Antonius Margaritha, *Der ganz Juedisch glaub* (1530); Johann Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica* (1603). Buxtorf used many quotes from rabbinic sources, the *Mishnah*, and the Talmud; for this reason, it required a great deal of work to refute his treatise and untangle his use of rabbinical literature.

³⁴ Cohen, "Riti," 293-294. Buxtorf published the *Synagoga Judaica das ist Juden Schul* in 1603 in German. In the mid-seventeenth century it was translated into Latin. For more information on Buxtorf, see Burnett, *Christian Hebraism*.

the synagogue and the preparation of kosher food, and explaining the processes, ceremonies, and rituals that accompany the Jews from birth to death. He argues against the stereotype that Jews make a practice of hating Christians, and he affirms that God created Jewish rabbinical law, not the rabbis. In the *Excelencias*, Cardoso also refutes the accusation of Jews praying against the gentiles, and he also affirms that God gave the Jews their Law; however, Modena's *Riti* is more similar to a how-to manual on Judaism and daily Jewish life than the *Excelencias*, which seeks to impart knowledge of the Jewish heritage.

Handwritten versions of the *Riti* circulated in private in England after Modena first penned the text in 1617. Modena wrote the comprehensive text on Judaism and Jewish life at the behest of an Englishman working for King James I; the Englishman returned to England with handwritten copies of the *Riti* for circulation among individuals interested in learning about Judaism from a Jew's perspective. Private circulation of handwritten polemics was not uncommon;³⁵ by restricting access to the text and not having it printed, Jewish scholars could take a more polemical approach to issues by sidestepping the inquisitorial censorship.³⁶ The publication of a text, however, introduced that work to mass consumption and made it available to the general population, especially, as Modena himself notes in his autobiography, if it was published in a vernacular.

The *Riti*'s publication in Paris in 1637 came as something of a shock to Modena; he had sent a copy of the manuscript to the French scholar Jacques Gaffarel in 1635 in the hopes that he would publish it after Modena made revisions to the text and corrected or excised passages that the censors would not approve of. However, Gaffarel published the *Riti* two years later without

³⁵ Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 355.

³⁶ Yerushalmi draws the distinction between the two types of works: the printed and closely censored apologies versus the handwritten, privately circulated, and more freely written polemics against Christianity. Christian polemicists would print ant-Christian polemics along with their refutations, such as the case with Philip van Limborch and Orobio de Castro in 1687. *Spanish Court*, 354-355.

giving Modena the chance to make his revisions. Modena immediately became fearful of its reception by the Roman Inquisition and by Italian Christians in general:

Heartbroken, I shouted and tore at my beard until I almost lost my breath. I said to myself, ‘When this book is seen in Rome, it will become a stumbling block for all Jews and for me, in particular. They will say, ‘How insolent are they to print in the vernacular, informing the Christians not only of their laws, but also of some matters contrary to our religion and our beliefs?’³⁷

Fearing reprisal from the Inquisition for the unrevised text, Modena took the initiative by turning in himself a copy to the Holy Office in Venice. As he feared, the inquisitor declared the text unfit for publication on two accounts: a recital of Maimonides’ thirteen articles and a section on the transmigration of souls.³⁸ Modena excised those passages and returned the text to the censors who gave it their approval. As it turned out, Gaffarel had also edited the text before publishing it, cutting out the offending parts and even introducing the book with a letter of praise for Modena, although, ironically, he criticized Modena for not including more of the ‘mystical’ aspects commonly stereotyped by Christians as being part of Jewish life and practice, a stereotype Modena was trying to correct in the *Riti*.³⁹ Modena decided to publish the book again in Venice in 1638 with his own revisions,⁴⁰ and he received praise for the text and even a slight income from the publication.

The difference between Cardoso’s *Excelencias* and other seventeenth-century apologies becomes even clearer when compared to Venetian Rabbi Simone Luzzatto’s *Discorso circa il Stato degli Ebrei*, or, *Discourse on the Situation of the Hebrews*,⁴¹ written in 1638. Whereas

³⁷ Modena, 147.

³⁸ Cohen, “Riti,” 289-290.

³⁹ Cohen, “Riti,” 292.

⁴⁰ He corrected grammatical and spelling mistakes found in Gaffarel’s edition, and he deemphasized even more any customs that might seem superstitious or mystical to a Christian reader.

⁴¹ For a translation of Considerations XI-XII, see “The Situation of the Hebrews,” 372-377; for a translation of Considerations XVII-XVIII, see “The Hebrews Among the Nations,” 474-478; both are excerpts printed in the Jewish magazine, *Commentary*, from the first English translation by Felix Giovanelli. For a list of partial

Cardoso writes, in part, so “that we [Jews] may know ourselves and know the prerogatives that God has illustrated for us,”⁴² Luzzatto clearly defines why the Jews are useful to the Venetian republic, and he pragmatically formulates his arguments based on his Christian audience by appealing to historical events and common sources in order to create a sense of solidarity with his readers. His pragmatic approach reflects the fact that he writes in direct response to a proposal to ban Jews from Venice.⁴³ He emphasizes the Jews’ economic usefulness to the maritime city as well as their non-threatening position morally, politically, and economically to Christian society in general and to Venice in particular. Luzzatto carefully portrays the Hebrew Nation as inferior in terms of ambition and political connections in comparison with Christians due to the centrality in their life of the sacred Law; the Jewish community focuses mainly on observing their sacred Law, while external matters become secondary: the political and economic spheres beyond their own sphere of work do not disturb them from their internal and communal Jewish world. “It might be said that they are a Nation of a very abased spirit, weak, inept in their present state for all Political government, immersed in their private interests, and little concerned, indeed not at all, for their universal interests.”⁴⁴ They, as a people, are “abased, weak, inept,” they embody a subjugated minority, and, importantly, they accept this subjugation in favor of their Law, and they expect to stay inferior because they are “immersed in their private” lives without building up “universal interests” in affairs beyond the continuation of their physical and financial establishment in their host country. At the same time, however, Luzzatto demonstrates the admirable solidarity of Jews everywhere who uphold the same tradition:

translations into English, see Ravid, *Economics*, 7-8, note 1. For a study on the *Discorso* and Luzzatto, see Ravid, *Economics*.

⁴² Cardoso, *Excelencias* iv, trans. Shindelman 42.

⁴³ For studies on the Jewish experience in Venice, see Ravid, *Studies*, “Between the Myth;” Davis and Ravid, *Jews of Early Modern Venice*.

⁴⁴ “Situation,” 372.

To which defects [abased, weak, inept...] can be counterpoised other qualities meriting some observation, to wit, an inexpressible firmness and tenacity in the belief and observation of their Religion, a uniformity of dogmas concerning their faith, in the course of the 1550 years that they have been scattered over the planet; admirable constancy, if not in confronting danger, at least in bearing up under calamities.⁴⁵

Luzzatto argues that Jews do possess praiseworthy traits: in terms of their religion, they show great faith and willpower in both observing the many precepts of the Law and in having preserved their faith over a millennium and a half despite persecutions, exiles, and pogroms. The praise also shows the uniformity of the Jews, not only as they are scattered throughout the known world but also as they travel through time; as a group, Luzzatto argues, the Hebrew Nation has maintained strong solidarity through their shared faith despite being separated by thousands of miles, different languages, different cultures, and by centuries. Cardoso's argument sounds remarkably similar, but Luzzatto blatantly outlines the inadequacies attributable to Jews in order to appease his Christian audience as he defends the Jews without offending his Christian audience.

Ever sensitive of his audience, Luzzatto draws on non-Hebrew sources to support his arguments as well as playing to their ego. He writes,

To the vulgar, it is easy to suggest, most convincingly, all manner of calumny and slander contrived through hatred of the [Hebrew] Nation. Did the vulgar have any capacity for learning, they could be admonished to read the ancient Doctors and Historians who, like Tacitus amongst the Pagans and Tertullian amongst the Christians, treated of the events befalling the first Christians. They would then observe what false imputations were fastened upon innocent people; and it could be conjectured that the same could now easily befall the Hebrews.⁴⁶

Luzzatto creates a connection between his Christian audience and the Jewish experience of persecution by bringing in Roman sources that demonstrate the unjustified persecution of the early Christians. In *The Annals*, Tacitus (55-117 CE) reports Roman Emperor Nero's brutal

⁴⁵ "Situation," 372.

⁴⁶ "Situation," 375.

persecution of the Christians after a massive fire sweeps through the capital. In 64 CE, a fire consumes Rome and a rumor starts that the emperor himself ordered this fire. In an attempt to deter the rumor, Nero, according to Tacitus, shifts the blame to the Christians and calls for mass executions of the Christians for their supposed “hatred of the human race.” Tacitus describes the executions: “covered with skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.”⁴⁷ The story of Tertullian also plays off unjustified persecution: Luzzatto relates how the early Christian author, Tertullian (160-220 CE), “bitterly defended” Christians against accusations of infanticide. In both stories, therefore, Luzzatto recalls the mistreatment of Christians at the hands of the Romans when they were still a minority, hopefully eliciting feelings of empathy from his audience. In addition to creating an emotional and historical connection through persecutions of early Christians at the hands of Romans and of Jews at the hands of Christians, Luzzatto’s use of classical historians validates his erudition, therefore strengthening the validity of his own text. At the same time, by referencing classical historians, Luzzatto refers to texts his Christian readers will know; he could have used rabbinical literature, but this would have made the content of his argument foreign to his audience, while, by citing Tacitus and Tertullian, he and his audience find themselves on the same page and his audience cannot fail to draw the similarities between the persecutions of the early Christians and the contemporary and historical persecutions of the Jews.

On another level, Luzzatto plays to the ego of his audience by implying that they must be part of the intellectual class and not “vulgar” and uneducated because they are reading his text. His audience must be intellectual: the “vulgar” are easily swayed by fallacious arguments and would not read informative authors such as Tacitus or Tertullian, or, implicitly, Luzzatto. At the

⁴⁷ Tacitus, *The Annals*, Book XV.

same time, by implying that his readers are intellectuals and that his text is a reliable text, therefore asserting his status as an intellectual, Luzzatto puts himself on equal footing with his Christian readers. He claims the status of intellectual and makes himself part of the ‘We’ while the uneducated class becomes the ‘Other.’ Instead of being a part of a powerless Jewish minority, Luzzatto joins the educated Christians and redefines boundaries along social and economic lines instead of along religious lines. Luzzatto, therefore, employs debasement of his people in combination with subtle praise and equalizing strategies. His purpose is entirely pragmatic, however, and directed to allowing Jews a space in Venetian society by weighing their detractions against their contributions.

A third prominent rabbi of the seventeenth-century was Menasseh ben Israel. He was born in 1604, lived in the Jewish community in Amsterdam from 1613/14-1657, and was descended from Iberian parents; he was the first to establish a Hebrew printing press in the Amsterdam Jewish community when he contracted with type-cutter Nicolas Briot in March, 1626.⁴⁸ In 1655, Lord Protector of England Oliver Cromwell⁴⁹ asked Menasseh to convince the English Council to allow Jews back into England, both to live and to work. Jews were formally expelled from the British Isles in 1290, but after the expulsions from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 (Spain) and 1497 (Portugal) some Sepharadim secretly settled in England. Cromwell hoped to attract to England more Sepharadim, along with their wealth and their international mercantile connections, if the Council would lift the decree prohibiting Jews to live openly in England as Jews. In 1655, Menasseh wrote the petition and went to England to defend it in front of the

⁴⁸ For a short biography of Menasseh and his career as a printer and bookseller in Amsterdam, see Fuks, *Hebrew Typography*, vol. 1, 99-114; for a bibliography of works printed by him, 114-135. For a collection of short studies on Menassah and his role in the Amsterdam Jewish community as well as the western European Jewish diaspora, see *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*. Menasseh ben Israel also authored the *Esperanza de Israel* (1650), a treatise on the scattering and exile of the ten tribes and his hopes for their future regathering. Yerushalmi writes that “it is certain that [Cardoso] has closely read Manasseh b. Israel’s *Esperanza*” (362).

⁴⁹ Oliver Cromwell – King Charles I of England was deposed and executed in 1649. Cromwell became the Lord Protector from 1653-1658.

Council; it was rejected, but Menasseh's practicality through his arguments remains reminiscent of Luzzatto's own pragmatism. Like Luzzatto, Menasseh's main goal is to win or maintain an economic function and living space in a specific environment: for Luzzatto, it was the attempt to maintain the Jews' current position in Venice, while Menasseh's petition attempted to gain a position for the Jews in England. Their very specific goals and relatively narrow audience necessitates the pragmatism of both texts and also separates both texts from the *Excelencias* with its much broader audience and intent.

The petition itself is well organized: Menasseh divides the usefulness of the Jews into three main points and then proceeds to explain why each point is valid. His three main arguments are that Jews bring profit, are loyal, and are noble and pure of blood, and he lists these valuable attributes in order of importance, with profit preceding the other two. "*Profit* is a most powerful motive, and which all the World preferres before all other things... It is a thing confirmed, that merchandizing is, as it were, the proper profession of the Nation of the Jews."⁵⁰ Menasseh attributes to the Jews a natural talent for business, and he points out that the scattered demographics of the Jews actually complements their business interests: they have connections in all the major trading centers of the western world, even some in the east, and so wherever Jews go, economic wealth follows: "And so 'tis observed, that where so ever they go to dwell, there presently the Traficq begins to flourish. Which may be seen in diverse places..."⁵¹ In addition, there is no reason for the princes and government of the host country to fear the Jews picking up and taking off with all their wealth to return to their homeland because, as Menasseh

⁵⁰ "How Profitable," 9. The editors, Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz, copy the petition, preserving its orthography, from: Menasseh ben Israel. "To His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland." *The Humble Addresses of Menasseh ben Israel (1655)*, in *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell: Being a Reprint of the Pamphlets published by Menasseh ben Israel to promote the Re-admission of the Jews to England, 1649-1645*. Ed. Lucien Wolf. London: Macmillan, 1901. pp. 81-89.

⁵¹ "How Profitable," 9.

points out, they have no homeland. Therefore, wherever they are accepted, Jews bring economic wealth to the country and its princes through taxes, customs tariffs, and the exportation of goods from the host country. At the same time, Menasseh stresses, Sephardic merchants import luxury goods: the target consumers for luxury goods are the people Menasseh has to convince to change the law and officially allow Jews into England. He writes, the mercantilists “have perfect knowledge of all the kinds of Moneys, Diamonds, Cochinil, Indigo, Wines, Oyle... Wooll, Leather..., Jewels, as Diamants, Pearles, and such like Merchandize.”⁵²

While Cromwell hoped to bring over wealthy *conversos* of Portuguese or Spanish descent, Menasseh hoped the Isles would also serve as a refuge for Polish Jews fleeing Poland-Lithuania after the 1648-49 massacres.⁵³ These two groups of Jews, the Sepharadim and the Ashkenazim, represent two distinct groups in terms of economic status and occupation in addition to speaking different languages, living in different cultures, and observing different religious traditions. The Ashkenazi refugees were often poorer and illiterate,⁵⁴ while the Sepharadim were wealthy, literate, and well connected. By relying on the argument of having sharp business acumen, Menasseh appears to promote primarily the Sepharadim in his petition rather than the Ashkenazim. That Cromwell’s target demographic consists of the Sephardic Jews, Menasseh alludes to while demonstrating at the same time the international connections of the Sephardic merchants: “Now in this dispersion our Fore-fathers flying from the Spanish Inquisition, some of them came in Holland, others got into Italy, and others betook themselves into Asia...” and he later adds,

...not onely the Jewish Nation dwelling in Holland and Italy, trafficqs with their own stocks but also with the riches of many others of their own Nation, friends, kinds-men

⁵² “How Profitable,” 10.

⁵³ On Menasseh’s goal to bring over the Polish refugees, see Marcus, “A Petition for Readmission,” 76. For a concise summary of the Cossack pogroms of 1648-49, see Barnavi, *Historical Atlas*, 146-147.

⁵⁴ Bodian, *Hebrews*, 126-131.

and acquaintance, which notwithstanding live in Spain, and send unto them their moneys and goods, which they hold in their hands, and content themselves with a very small portion of their estate...in case they should fall under the yoke of the Inquisition...⁵⁵

Menasseh also emphasizes that, although the Jews flourish through their good business sense, at heart they remain workers of the land and only work as merchants and small-time moneylenders due to the prohibitions of them having any other occupation. He writes, “The Jews, have no opportunity to live in their own Country, to till the Lands or other like employments, give themselves wholly unto merchandizing and for contriving new Inventions.”⁵⁶

Shaping Identity: The Italian Ghetto and the Amsterdam ‘Portuguese:’

In addition to his Christian readership, Cardoso’s *Excelencias* had a Jewish and *converso* audience. Cardoso himself refers to both audiences in his dedication,

It was necessary to tell at least some of these calumnies against the excellent acts that illuminate Israel, in order that the truth may come to light, and that the liar may be confused, and that we may know ourselves and know the prerogatives that God has illustrated for us, and so the gentiles can understand the lies that they accuse us with and the impieties that they attribute to us.⁵⁷

The “us” represents the ‘Hebrew Nation,’ and one of his goals, “that we may know ourselves...and the prerogatives” from God points to Cardoso’s assumption that his readers will be ignorant to a certain degree when it comes to the Laws and to their heritage; not knowing, in other words, how to practice Judaism or live as a Jew. The “us” includes all the *conversos* and newly arrived Jews, but the experience of converting to Judaism after leaving the Iberian Peninsula was not necessarily similar for each immigrant. Granted, every individual approached conversion within his or her own individual narrative; however, the destinations chosen by the

⁵⁵ “How Profitable,” 9-10.

⁵⁶ “How Profitable,” 9.

⁵⁷ Cardoso, *Excelencias* iv, trans. Shindelman 42.

New Christians led to drastically different conversion experiences. Some, such as Cardoso, chose to move to an Italian city-state and become a member of an established Jewish community in the ghetto; others chose to move to the newly founded Jewish community in Amsterdam where instead of becoming a member of the establishment, they became participants in building the new community and reconstructing their individual identity as a Jew all at the same time.

Cardoso's *Excelencias* addresses both audiences, despite the different conversion experience.

The Verona Ghetto, where Cardoso spent most of his adult, Jewish life, and the Jewish community established in Amsterdam in the mid-1590s represent two distinct types of Jewish communities. Up until 1516 with the first official establishment of the 'Ghetto' in Venice, a segregated neighborhood where only Jews were allowed to reside, Jews lived precariously in the regionally governed cities in northern Italy. Through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, cities such as Venice and Rome allowed Jews, on an individual basis, to live within the city's regional jurisdiction; however, expulsion from the city or the region the city governed always remained a possibility hanging over the Jews. The establishment of the ghettos in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reflects a balancing act between the economic interests of the independent states and cities⁵⁸ against the belief system inculcated by the Catholic Church and the influence wielded by the Church. With the ghettos, Jews received a permanent place to live in Italian society, the city benefited from the economic activity brought by the Jewish moneylenders and later by the Sephardic merchants and intellectuals, and the Church and Catholic population benefited from the segregation they perceived as necessary to preserve the purity of the Christian body. Jewish communities established in the cities received a certain degree of economic and

⁵⁸ The situation differed in cities under the jurisdiction of the Papal State as the establishment of the ghettos took on a different role. The ghettos in cities under directly governed by the Papal State were established in order to encourage conversion to Christianity by greatly restricting the economic freedom of the Jews. For the conditions and purpose of the Roman Ghetto, see Stow, "New Fashioned From the Old," and Foa, "Converts and *Conversos*."

residential security with the official establishment of the ghetto. Jews had lived on the Italian peninsula since the early days of the Diaspora, so when Cardoso immigrated to the Verona Ghetto, he joined a Jewish community made up of members with an unbroken heritage of observing Judaism. While the establishment of the ghetto was relatively new, the Jews within it were not new to Judaism: they were born and raised within the Jewish community; they knew, in other words, how to be a Jew.

The Amsterdam community, however, was established in an entirely different context and made up of an entirely different group of people. The first Portuguese New Christian did not arrive in Amsterdam until the late 1590s, the first rabbi did not arrive until 1602, in city records a notarial deed for building a synagogue appears in 1612, and two years later a Jewish cemetery is established. The first 'Jews' to arrive in Amsterdam were in fact New Christians fleeing or moving from the Iberian Peninsula for various reasons; none of them knew how to be a Jew or even knew what being a Jew entailed. While the Jews in Italy had been Jews for centuries, the newly arrived *conversos* in Amsterdam had to build their identity from the ground up as both Portuguese living in Amsterdam and as Christians learning how to be Jews; they had to learn to reconcile the two, sometimes conflicting identities of being Portuguese and Jewish. Cardoso's conversion to Judaism after arriving in the established Venetian and then Verona ghetto would have been very different if he had decided to immigrate to the Amsterdam community instead; however, the intent of the *Excelencias* is not specific to *conversos* arriving in the Italian ghetto. By writing in Spanish Cardoso invites all Iberian emigres to read his work and better understand their Jewish heritage through the *Excelencias*.

One of the founding fathers of the Catholic Church, St. Augustine, is responsible for the continued presence, although at times tumultuous, of the Jews on the Italian peninsula; he

formed the Church's doctrinal attitude toward the Jews. He argued that although the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ and therefore deserved to die, their punishment, like that of Cain's, was to live in a state of misery and debasement. Because of Augustine's writing on the proper status of the Jews, the official position of the Church did not permit the expulsion of the Jews but did permit their marginalization.⁵⁹ Throughout the Medieval Ages, Renaissance, and early modern period, Italy remained the only region in Western Europe that did not expel its Jews. The Jews lived as a marginalized group, usually restricted to certain neighborhoods and certain cities for living, and as time passed they became more and more restricted to certain economic occupations. From the thirteenth century through the early sixteenth century, Jews searched from city to city looking for an acceptable place to establish a Jewish community: a town large enough to support their economic trade, usually small-scale moneylending or pawnbroking, a town with a wall that would provide at least a modicum of protection from outside threats, a space for their own cemetery, and, of course, a place where they would be allowed to practice Judaism.⁶⁰

While they preferred to live in communities with other Jews rather than be isolated as the only Jews living in the area, the businesses of moneylending and pawnbroking restricted them to smaller numbers as smaller communities could only support a certain number of moneylenders or pawnbrokers. Contrary to popular opinion, the Jewish moneylenders only had enough capital to loan on a small-scale; their primary clients were the peasantry, small farmers who often needed small loans in order buy seed in the spring or right before harvest time in the fall.⁶¹ The governments or ruling princes of the city-states realized the advantage offered by Jewish

⁵⁹ From "St. Augustine." For a history of the development of this attitude and its entrance into Church canonical law, see Grayzel, "The Papal Bull."

⁶⁰ Bonfil, *Jewish Life*, 53-59.

⁶¹ Bonfil, *Jewish Life*, 54; Pullan, "Jewish Banks," 53.

moneylenders: both Jews and Christians were forbidden to practice usury, which at this point in time meant making any profit from interest on loans, on members of their same religion;⁶² therefore, Jewish moneylenders offered a necessary service to the Christian peasantry that the governments could not offer.

From a political and economic point of view, the practice of moneylending was accepted as distasteful but necessary to the functioning of society in the cities and the regions they governed. Bonfil, focusing on Jewish life during the Renaissance period from the end of the thirteenth-century through the fifteenth, writes, "...the strongest argument for the settlement of Jewish moneylenders was the fact that the authorities were never willing to deal with the problem of poverty at the administrative level."⁶³ In the end, therefore, the political systems in the Italian city-states regarded the Jews as necessary to the economy despite their status as Jews or that what made them necessary, offering loans, also made them extremely distasteful to most Catholics.⁶⁴ For the mendicant friars who traveled from town to town, the issue of usury provided their chief weapon against Jews.⁶⁵ The Franciscan and Dominican orders of the Renaissance sometimes delivered such volatile speeches that they incited entire towns to commit violence against the local Jews and/or pass legislation to expel the Jews.⁶⁶ The friars preached that through usury Jews gained control and power over the Christians indebted to them, and that the Jews 'stole' Christian property when their debts were not redeemed: their argument, in essence, was that Jews grew rich off the money of Christians without even working. Although

⁶² Deuteronomy 23:19-20

⁶³ Bonfil, *Jewish Life*, 43-44.

⁶⁴ Bonfil, *Jewish Life*, 45-47. Bonfil draws a stark comparison between the status of the Jews and that of prostitutes in society: both were viewed as the lowest of the classes, performing actions condemned both morally and religiously, however both were also viewed as necessary to the overall health of society and also necessary in order to justify the return of Messiah.

⁶⁵ For more information on Jewish movements, their role in Renaissance Christian society, and the role of the mendicant orders in relation with Jews and the practice of usury, see Bonfil, *Jewish Life*, 19-59. For Jewish banks in comparison to *monti di pietà*, see Pullan, "Jewish Banks."

⁶⁶ Ravid, "Myth of Venice and Jewish History," 159-162.

the Jewish moneylenders worked primarily on a small scale and never came to rival their Christian counterparts who had sufficient capital to lend large amounts to the cities, the system of Jews having monetary power over Christians remained distasteful to the mendicant orders; however, during the first quarter of the sixteenth-century the Franciscans became less actively involved in the issue while town councils or local confraternities began to take over funding the *monti di pietà*, the charitable institutions that lent money based on movable property.⁶⁷ Around the same time, the first quarter of the sixteenth-century, the first official ghetto was established in Venice.

The period of the ghettos in the Italian city-states, starting in Venice in 1516 and lasting through the eighteenth-century,⁶⁸ brought about a shift in Jewish history of the area. The establishment of the ghettos was a double-edged sword; it led to cramped living conditions and physically and obviously subordinated the Jews through segregation, signaling them as second-class citizens to Christians.⁶⁹ On the flip side, the ghettos gave the Jews, for the first time, an established space in society. Before the establishment of the ghetto, Jews lived under the constant fear of being repulsed from their present city of residence, attacked by their Christian neighbors, or restricted from participating in a certain field of occupation. With the official ghettos, a physical as well as economic space was cleared for and then occupied by the Jews. For example, the charters allowing Jews to live in the Venetian Ghettos⁷⁰ also restricted the occupations of the Jews to wholesale importing and exporting, moneylending, and selling second-hand goods.⁷¹ They were assured of a place to live and were given a private, albeit

⁶⁷ Pullan, "Jewish Banks," 57-58.

⁶⁸ See Ravid, "Geographical Realia," 373.

⁶⁹ For conditions in the ghettos in northern Italian cities, see Ruderman, "Cultural Significance," 7; Ravid, "Myth of Venice and Jewish History."

⁷⁰ For a more comprehensive view on the development of the 'Ghetto' as an officially segregated area for Jews in Europe, see Ravid, "Geographical Realia."

⁷¹ Ravid, "Myth of Venice and Jewish History," 152-153.

crowded, space of their own, and they were given permission to operate their businesses. In addition, they were allowed to establish synagogues within the ghetto as long as the exterior of the building was not any different from that of the buildings surrounding it. In effect, the establishment of the ghettos was both dehumanizing – they were locked in during the night, their rent was higher than what was charged for Christian renters,⁷² they were being separated because the rest of the population regarded them as unclean – but also a step up from their previous, migratory existence; at least now they were assured of a place to live and an occupation with which to make a living.

While the cities established the ghettos in order to prevent interaction between Jews and Christians, interactions between the two continued on an economic and intellectual level,⁷³ and the Jewish communities even, probably unconsciously, started imitating to a certain extent their Christian neighbors. David Ruderman outlines a case of Jewish imitation of a larger social pattern followed by their Christian neighbors as well as the imitation of a Catholic liturgical practice.⁷⁴ Despite the segregation of the ghetto, Jewish communities took pride in their students who attended university beyond the ghetto walls and enthusiastically celebrated those who combined their university degrees with their rabbinical learning.

The prestige and authority of a university degree often ensured an enhanced status to an increasing number of rabbis of the Italian ghettos both among Jews and Christians alike...Jewish students...were entering the university in impressive numbers and they were competing with Christian students successfully, fortifying Jewish intellectual life and enhancing the image of the Jewish communities to which they returned.⁷⁵

⁷² Pullan, “Jewish Banks,” 60-61.

⁷³ Both religions, Christianity and Judaism, prevented social interaction between the two. The two most common opportunities for social interaction had no points of contact between the two groups: holidays were celebrated separately and on different days, and meals could not be shared as Jews could not eat anything or drink any wine prepared by non-Jewish hands. Each community, the Christian and the Jewish, had their own social groups – confraternities – that were often religion-based.

⁷⁴ For more reading on Ruderman’s development of Bonfil’s argument, that the ghettos acted as a liberating experience in some respects for Jews, see Ruderman, “Cultural Significance.”

⁷⁵ Ruderman, “Cultural Significance,” 5-6, also discussed in his essay “Medicine and Scientific Thought,” 191.

Young men studying in university as well as becoming rabbis indicates more than a simple pattern of imitation. Instead, two intellectual patterns, or two modes of study and of life, two belief systems, come together in one student while, at the same time, remain separate in that student. Obtaining a university degree, usually in medicine as that being one of the only professions Jews were allowed to practice, shows a separation of the sacred from the secular within the student's identity: on one side he is a university-educated alum, perhaps practicing cutting-edge medicine based on scientific progress, while on the other side he preserves his rabbinical training and belief system. This phenomenon was not restricted to Jewish men: the increasing separation of the secular from the sacred reflects a larger overall pattern occurring throughout Christian Europe and is one of the hallmarks of the modern era.⁷⁶

Another example given by Ruderman demonstrating the integration of a Catholic practice in Jewish life is the addition of music during synagogue services. Leone da Modena was the first to employ music during his synagogal lecture. Modena employed his friend, the composer Salamone d' Rossi, to write music to be played through the course of the lecture.

By so doing, Modena was eager to fuse Jewish cultural habits with those of the larger Catholic society...the music was simply a genus, an aesthetic experience neither Jewish nor Christian in itself. Synagogal music became Jewish only when Jewish texts were employed.⁷⁷

However, Leon da Modena and other Jews of his time did not view their incorporation of music into the synagogue as imitation, it was more reappropriation. During the time of the first temple, music had been a part of Jewish life and it was the Christians who imitated their music. But after the exile and the destruction of the second temple, joyous and celebratory singing and music seemed inappropriate, and the practice tapered off. By the early modern period, the only way to

⁷⁶ Ruderman, "Cultural Significance," 8-10; Kaplan, *Judíos Nuevos*, 19; Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 371-372.

⁷⁷ Ruderman, "Cultural Significance," 6.

reemerge from the musical dearth was to follow the only example available to them, Italian music.⁷⁸

Jews were often made to attend conversionary sermons by priests, and so they were exposed to the use of music during the Catholic liturgy. At the same time, Christian intellectuals frequently attended synagogal lectures from prominent rabbis such as Modena in order to learn about Judaism or to attend to the rhetoric of a certain famed speaker; therefore, Jews and Christians alike influenced each other even in their most separate spheres, in their inner-religious experiences. Modena's decision to pair his lecture with music, and argue that the content of the words, not the addition of the music, determines the religion, demonstrates the continued interaction and acculturation under way between the two communities, despite the establishment of the ghetto. When Cardoso moved to the ghetto, he arrived in an environment distinctly Jewish by dint of the enforced segregation, the close living conditions, and the walls clearly marking the boundaries of the Jewish neighborhood, and yet, although the ghetto segregated the Jews it did not isolate them. During the day there was a constant movement in and out of the ghetto as students attended university and men and women conducted business beyond the walls, while returning to the ghetto meant returning to people with a similar background and religion. Cardoso joined the community of the ghetto and benefited from the support and knowledge of his neighbors as he reconnected with his heritage; in Amsterdam, where Cardoso sent the *Excelencias* to be printed and where a community of Iberian Jews lived (a primary audience for the *Excelencias*), the boundaries between being Jewish, Portuguese, and living in Amsterdam was even less clearly defined than in the Italian cities.

The first Portuguese New Christian arrived in Amsterdam in the mid-1590s looking to take advantage of the lifted embargoes on colonial wholesale goods.⁷⁹ The embargoes had

⁷⁸ Harrán, "Jewish Musical Culture."

prevented trade of the types of goods that many New Christians dealt in, “the ‘rich’ Spanish and Portuguese colonial commodities, especially sugar, spices, bullion, diamonds, and tobacco.”⁸⁰ Even once the embargoes had been lifted and the Portuguese New Christians would be assured of a means to live, moving to Amsterdam in the early seventeenth-century specifically to convert to Judaism and openly practice Judaism did not make as much sense as moving to other centers of international trade that also hosted established Jewish communities, such as Constantinople, Safed, Salonica, or Venice.⁸¹ Not only was it safer to practice Judaism in cities such as these, but there would also be more support and opportunity for a re-education in an established Jewish community. To help with the re-education of the Portuguese, Rabbi Uri Halevi arrived in Amsterdam in 1602 from Emden, Germany; therefore he was Ashkenazi and his first language was probably Yiddish. His origins, along with the fact that he had no international prestige among the larger European Jewish community, demonstrates the transitional phase of the Amsterdam community: despite the fact that the members of the community were Portuguese and would be considered as Sephardic Jews and follow different practices than Ashkenazi Jews, their first real opportunity to receive a Jewish education came from a rabbi with quite a different historical and cultural background.

The incoming Portuguese *conversos* desperately needed an education in the precepts and religious observances of Judaism as well as in how to be good Jews on a day-to-day basis. Up until their arrival in Amsterdam, many of the New Christians had never had any direct contact with Judaism and instead garnered what they could about their ancestral religion through close attention to references to Judaism and Jews in the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and also

⁷⁹ Bodian, *Hebrews*, 28. For more information on the relation between the Sephardic movement north and mercantilism, see Israel, “Sephardic Immigration.”

⁸⁰ Bodian, *Hebrews*, 28.

⁸¹ Bodian, *Hebrews*, 29.

through indirect references to Judaism in works available to intellectuals and those attending university, such as Cardoso. The Spanish Inquisition prohibited Judaism on every level: no one could read, write, or talk about Judaism without fear of attracting the Inquisition's attention, which could have devastating consequences leading either to a complete loss of property, to imprisonment and torture, or to death. The Inquisition also restricted New Christians' ability to travel and required them to carry a special travel permit. Changing residence and moving was difficult for New Christians; the Inquisition wanted to prevent the already baptized, and so therefore Catholic in the eyes of the Church, from committing a heresy by converting to Judaism; New Christians were considered at greater risk for conversion given their blood status and their Jewish heritage.⁸² Uriel da Costa (1585-1640), a famous and controversial philosopher of the seventeenth-century who moved his family from Portugal to Amsterdam in 1615 after a loss of faith in Catholicism, notes the risk he took in moving from Portugal in his autobiography, "When I had concluded all the necessary arrangements, my mother, brothers, and myself boarded a ship, not without danger for it is illegal for those who are descended from Jews to depart without a special permit from the King."⁸³ Uriel goes on to note the danger of even considering aloud his doubts about Christianity and his desire to convert to Judaism: "...out of natural affection, I had communicated to my family my sentiments of the falsity of our religion even though the

⁸² The statutes of *limpieza de sangre*, or purity of blood, perpetuated the separation between New Christians and Old Christians. Due to their Jewish ancestry, the popular perception of *conversos* from the fifteenth-seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries was that they were inherently judaizers. In some cities, the statutes prevented New Christians from participating in political offices and they served as a continued stigma on the New Christians; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, purity of blood became a marker of social prestige, and therefore honor. For more information on the development of the statutes, see Kaplan, "The Inception of *limpieza de sangre*."

⁸³ "From Uriel da Costa's Autobiography," 201. Reprints in English: Costa, Uriel. *The Remarkable Life of Uriel Acosta: An Eminent Freethinker ; with His Reasons for Rejecting All Revealed Religion. to Which Is Added, Mr. Limborch's Defence of Christianity, in Answer to Acosta's Objections: with an Introduction ; Containing, Memoirs of Mr. Limborch's Life, and an Account of His Writings*. London: Printed for John Whiston, at Boyle's Head in Fleet-Street, 1740. Internet resource. Costa, Uriel. *A Specimen of Human Life: [an Autobiography]*. New York, NY: Bergman, 1967. Print.

discovery of it might have proved fatal to me – so dangerous is it in that country to speak freely on this subject.”⁸⁴

The journey from Catholicism to Judaism was not easy and required fortitude in both the dangerous move of fleeing the Iberian Peninsula as well as the perseverance and willingness necessary for the tremendous change in religious and intellectual mentality, and in Amsterdam the Portuguese *conversos* were making this transition without the benefit and support of a surrounding Jewish community. Because their knowledge of Judaism came from indirect references to the religion and through a Catholic filter while reading the Bible, the *conversos* often formulated misconceived ideas about Judaism.⁸⁵ One common misconception among New Christians was the role of circumcision. Some viewed circumcision as the start of their Judaism and as the time when their sins began to count, implying that uncircumcised *conversos* did not have to obey the Law, while others thought of circumcision as a salvation from their previous sins and from their previous life as Catholics. Both concepts were considered “bizarre and misguided” from a rabbinical standpoint.⁸⁶ However, for exactly these reasons *conversos* considered circumcision as an important and symbolic rite of passage; for newly arrived *conversos*, circumcision was more than the symbol of the covenant between God and man, it was also a psychological step undertaken in a very physical process for finally declaring their identity as a Jew.

Despite the massive shift in religious mentality, however, the immigrants actively and consciously maintained a strong attachment to Iberian culture and values. The demographics of

⁸⁴ “From Uriel da Costa’s Autobiography,” 201.

⁸⁵ For information about the process of returning to Judaism for the Portuguese in Amsterdam, see Bodian, *Hebrews*, chapter 5, “The Rejudaization of the ‘Nation.’” For information on the relation New Christians had with their Jewish past, see Kaplan, *Judíos Nuevos*, chapter 1, “La comunidad sefardí de Amsterdam en el siglo XVII: entre la tradición y el cambio.”

⁸⁶ Bodian, *Hebrews*, 98.

the community consisted mainly of wholesale merchants running international trading businesses in luxury items. Many of the families were wealthy and educated, and they continued to adhere to the values of the Iberian nobility. Demonstrations of wealth, the conservation of Portuguese as their daily language, the emphasis placed on honor, and the continued production and participation in Spanish literary culture through plays and literature are examples of how the ‘Portuguese’ came to be the Portuguese in quotation marks. The word ‘Portuguese’ had come to be synonymous with ‘Jew’ all over Western Europe;⁸⁷ in Amsterdam, they actually were Jewish and Portuguese, and their Portuguese identity remained important and continued to play just a pervasive role in their daily life even as they assumed their new identity of being Jewish.

Isaac Cardoso probably would have been welcome in Amsterdam as well as in Venice and then Verona given his status as a physician and renowned intellectual in Madrid, but his conversionary experience would have occurred in a drastically different context than what he encountered in Venice. The Jews had never left the Italian states; their communities had existed long before the establishment of the ghettos made their residency in Italy more stable. The demographics of the Verona Ghetto were poorer, composed mainly of Ashkenazi moneylenders and pawnbrokers than the wealthy Sephardic merchants one found in Amsterdam, one of the most successful centers of trade in the seventeenth-century. Immigrants to the Verona Ghetto were expected to conform to the already established customs and traditions, and even Ashkenazi language, of the community.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the Sephardic community in Amsterdam built their community and their Jewish identity from scratch while actively maintaining their cultural

⁸⁷ Bodian, *Hebrews*, 12-13.

⁸⁸ However, this expectation of leaving behind cultural values and customs caused friction with the newly arrived Sephardic residents of the Verona Ghetto, although by the time Cardoso arrived in Verona, the tensions between the two groups had been resolved. For the political and cultural integration the Sephardic Jews with the Ashkenazi Jews, see Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 207-209. For the impact the integration of the Sephardic Jews had on the confraternities, see Horowitz, *Jewish Confraternities*.

values and inclinations carried with them from the Iberian Peninsula. They became an exclusionist community, unwilling to let in the Ashkenazim fleeing from Eastern Europe (but were willing to help support them financially to a certain extent). Ultimately, the Amsterdam ‘Portuguese’ community would become the center of rabbinical thought and Jewish international mercantilism in the seventeenth-century; it also became the center for Jewish printing, in part due to easier censorial restrictions, which is probably why Cardoso had the *Excelencias* printed in Amsterdam. Both Iberian émigrés to Amsterdam and to the Italian cities benefitted from Cardoso’s work. He provided them with a framework on which to expand their knowledge of their historical and biblical Judaic history; through the *Excelencias*, Cardoso gave the ‘new’ Jews a door to their heritage and the opportunity to have a more rounded conception of their Jewish identity and of what it meant to be a member of the ‘Hebrew Nation.’

A Note on the Translation:

I have taken a literal approach to translating the text; I tried to preserve the original language by directly translating words while at the same time preserving the meaning I thought Cardoso was conveying. However, because Cardoso uses such long sentences, I have taken the liberty of inserting punctuation other than the commas that he so liberally distributes.

All biblical quotes in English are pulled from the *Jewish Study Bible* by the Jewish Publication Society, and all the Spanish biblical quotes come from the bible Cardoso worked from, the *Ferrara Bible*. I maintained Cardoso’s method of putting all quotations, biblical and non-biblical, in italics.

I acknowledge the page numbers in the original edition by inserting them into the text in brackets: for example, one page ends here [9] and the next page begins.

The Wonders of the Hebrews

By Doctor Isaac Cardoso

“El que me esparció, me recogerá”

He who scattered me, will gather me.

Printed in Amsterdam in the house of

David de Castro Tartas.

In the year of 1679.

Dedication

To the Very Noble and Magnificent

Sir

Jacob de Pinto⁸⁹

[i] The nation of Israel, at the same time loved by God as it is persecuted by men, has been scattered among the nations since the time of Nebuchadnezzar two thousand years ago, atoning for their sins and for their fathers' sins committed in the transgression of the Holy Law.⁹⁰ Mistreated by some nations, hurt by others, and despised by all, there has been no Monarchy or King that has not unsheathed their sword against them, spilling their blood and eating their sustenance. The Psalmist says, *Who devour my people as they devour food.*⁹¹ This nation was created especially [ii] for praising God, and God made the nation the herald and witness of His Unity, saying through His Prophet *The people that I formed for Myself, that they might declare My praise.*⁹² God takes [Israel] for His heir, and He exalts it with the illustrious titles of servant, of son, of the first born, of husband, of loved one, and other demonstrations of his inseparable and perpetual love. It falls to all the people and creatures to give Him thanks for having created the world, and the day of the Sabbath celebrates this commemoration with great solemnity and

⁸⁹ Although I found no direct reference to Jacob de Pinto, he was most likely a member of the Pinto family. The older generations, born in Lisbon, had moved to Antwerp or Madrid after the union of Spain and Portugal in 1580 where they made their fortune by becoming *asentistas*, or crown bankers, after 1621 and the introduction of Count-Duke Olivares' mercantilist strategizing. Two of the Pinto brothers moved to Amsterdam in 1646 after political and economic conditions became insecure under the Spanish Crown. It was in Amsterdam that they added the 'de' to their name, implicating the Iberian importance of social prestige through aristocracy and honor. For a more in depth look at the Pinto family, see Bodian, *Hebrews*, 38-43.

⁹⁰ For a discussion of the various interpretations of the "Law" Cardoso refers to, see, Yerushalmi, *Spanish Court*, 404-407.

⁹¹ Psalms 53:5 "Are they so witless, those evildoers, / who devour my people as they devour food, / and do not invoke God?"

⁹² Isaiah 43:20-21 "20 The wild beasts shall honor me, / Jackals and ostriches, / For I provide water in the wilderness, / Rivers in the desert, / To give drink to My chosen people, / 21 The people I formed for Myself / That they might declare my praise." In the *Excelencias*, Cardoso writes, "*Este pueblo que crié para mi, mi loor recontará.*" Cardoso exchanges the verb "formar," to form, for the verb "criar," to raise. The subject in the second half of the sentence changes from the third person plural, "recontarán," to third person singular, "recontará." Cardoso's second change to the verse is a grammatical correction; he matches the verb, "recontar," with the subject, the singular "el pueblo."

with songs, it is an action so that the people may gratefully recognize and value the memory of such benefit.

The peoples, seeing Israel repressed, despised, and without human help, judge it loathed and abandoned by their God. They see Israel disfigured on the outside but [iii] lovely on the inside, like the tents of Kedar⁹³ and the pavilions of Solomon, as the Wife⁹⁴ herself sings,⁹⁵ *I am dark, but comely, don't stare at me because I am swarthy, Because the sun has gazed upon me.*⁹⁶

⁹³ Kedar refers to a nomadic tribe that lived in tents (Ps. 120:5; Song of Songs 1:5) and kept flocks (Is. 60:7). There is also a reference to them as being warriors (Is. 21:17). In Genesis, the son of Abraham and Hagar, Ishmael, has a son named Kedar (Ge. 25:12-14).

⁹⁴ Through the Middle Ages, both Christians and Jews were drawn to writing commentary and interpretations of the Song of Songs (Wacks, "Between Secular and Sacred). One mode of interpretation originating in the Iberian Peninsula is a Kabbalistic interpretation of the Song of Songs, which defines the female persona in the Canticle as the female manifestation of God that walks on earth, the *shekhina*.

Rabbis in Provence, Catalonia, and Castile began to use a mystical approach to interpretation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, creating a mystical theosophy that is now called Kabbalah. In the first half of the thirteenth century, Rabbi Ezra ben Solomon de Gerona wrote the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* that became one of the most important texts in shaping Jewish mysticism (intro. de Gerona, Brody 7-10). The Kabbalist tradition uses mystical symbolism to interpret texts by assigning clusters of different meanings to specific Hebrew words. The clusters are divided into ten categories/ten Hebrew words called the *sefirot*, which transcend daily language in order to speak of the divine. By using the *sefirot* to interpret the Song of Songs, R. Ezra writes that although many read the female figure as allegorically representing Israel, she also represents the *shekhinah*, a division within the Godhead. In his commentary, R. Ezra writes, some "view it as an allegory of the love of the Creator, / the God of the entire world, / for the splendor of Israel" (de Gerona 25), but he later affirms that "those who receive *shekhinah*" understand the text as taking place between God and the *shekhinah* (26-27).

A traditional interpretation of the allegory is that the wife, forced to work in the field symbolizes Israel's slavery in Egypt, and the sunburn symbolizes God's anger that Israel continued to worship Egyptian gods even after God freed them from captivity (Wacks, "Between Secular and Sacred," 5). For an English translation of another important commentary on the Song of Songs by the rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092-1167 CE), see Block, *Ibn Ezra's Commentary*.

⁹⁵ Song of Songs 1:5. The line, "like the tents of Kedar, and the curtains of Solomon" is taken verbatim from the Song of Songs, however Cardoso does not use italics to differentiate the quote from the rest of the text (as he does with other quotes). The first half of Cardoso's sentence differs from the bible verse, "I am dark, but comely, / O daughters of Jerusalem," instead of Cardoso's, "They see Israel disfigured on the outside for being lovely on the inside."

⁹⁶ Song of Songs 1:5-6 "5 I am dark, but comely, / O daughters of Jerusalem – / Like the tents of Kedar, / Like the pavilions of Solomon. / 6 Do not stare at me because I am swarthy, / Because the sun has gazed upon me. / My mother's sons quarreled with me, / They made me guard the vineyards; My own vineyard I did not guard." Although Cardoso quoted the Ferrara Bible using the same wording, he changed the order of the phrases, taking the first part of verse five, "I am black and beautiful" and adding it to the beginning of verse six, skipping completely the phrase "daughters of Jerusalem." He kept the line the "tents of Kedar, curtains of Solomon" as the line prior to the quote. Cardoso clearly marks verse six as a quote by putting it in italics, but he does not italicize the fragment from verse five.

In his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, R. Ezra interprets many of the verses individually. Verses five through six, however, he interprets combined. R. Ezra explicitly states that these are the words of the *shekhina* referring to her accompaniment of the Jews in their exile in Egypt. R. Ezra offers evidence by quoting I Samuel 2:27: "When they were exiled to Egypt, the Presence was with them, as it states: 'Was I not exiled with you with the

Her beauty goes unrecognized with the work and suffering of captivity, punished⁹⁷ but never loathed, always loved but sometimes punished. *Eternal love I conceived for you then,*⁹⁸ captivity being a small point in respect to redemption. *For a little while I forsook you, But with vast love I will bring you back. In slight anger, for a moment, I hid My face from you; But with kindness everlasting I will take you back in love.*⁹⁹ The separation of God from Israel makes Israel loathsome to the peoples, and this makes Israel dearer to their Creator. All people judge against Israel, and they afflict the afflicted, raising one thousand calumnies, setting ambushes against their lives and against their belongings. Without the protection [iv] of the Divine hand, the wolves and the lions that so yearned for their blood would have eaten them. In all the centuries past and present, they raise horrible testimonies against them in order to finish them without giving them a short rest from their tribulations.

It was necessary to tell at least some of these calumnies against the excellent acts that illuminate Israel, in order that the truth may come to light, and that the liar may be confounded, and that we may know ourselves and know the prerogatives that God has illustrated for us, and so the gentiles can understand the lies that they accuse us with and the impieties that they

house of your fathers when you were in Egypt?” (qtd. by de Gerona 43). She calls herself “black” because in exile she toils with the Nation of Israel as they work outside in the fields. Solomon here refers to God as interpreted through one of the *sefirot*: the *tefirot* is one word cluster that can refer to both God and Solomon. When the Wife asks, “don’t stare at me” she means “do not despise me” because I am dark from exile, from working in the fields as a slave with my children, Israel (44). Therefore, while she herself is a part of God, she is darkened due to her association with the earthly world.

⁹⁷ Beginning with the adjective “punished,” the feminine adjectival ending of the first part of the sentence is switched to the masculine, implying that the second half of the sentence refers to Israel and no longer to the wife in the Song of Songs. “Desconocida está su hermosura con los trabajos, y affliciones del cautiverio, castigado, pero nunca aborrecido, amado de siempre, y castigado a tiempos” (III).

⁹⁸ Jeremiah 31:3 “The Lord revealed Himself to me of old. / Eternal love I conceived for you then; / Therefore I continue My grace to you.” Jeremiah 31:2 (FB). The phrase in the FB is slightly different: “amor de siempre te amé;” Cardoso writes the quote as “amor perpetuo te amé” (III). The difference is slight: translated directly, the FB says, “love of always, I loved you,” while Cardoso writes, “[with] perpetual love, I loved you.” However, in the preceding sentence Cardoso writes, “amado de siempre, y castigado a tiempos,” which I have translated as “always loved, but sometimes punished.” The two phrases are nearly identical: “amor de siempre” (FB) and “amado de siempre” (Cardoso). Perhaps Cardoso adjusted the wording of the bible quote so that he could use the quote both directly and indirectly without being repetitive.

⁹⁹ Isaiah 54:7-8

attribute to us:¹⁰⁰ and having let this work come to light, I wanted to thank V.M.¹⁰¹ for his protection, whose virtue and prudence makes him invaluable to everyone, applauding him as one of the most illustrious subjects of our Nation. [v] With generosity and zeal for the Law, he sustains a yeshiva, a glorious Academy raised among the best of its kind, and a seminary of many wise and virtuous scholars that attend the Academy in his honor as an ornament of Israel.¹⁰² In V.M. his relatives find love, his friends wellbeing, strangers help, and the needy refuge, and the students of the law find general protection and assistance as he shines like a sun among so many luminous stars of this Holy Congregation, obtaining in this way the reward of eternal happiness and glory that virtuous actions deserve.

God protect V.M. and give him wellbeing. Verona. 17 March 5438 (1679) Doctor Isaac Cardoso.

¹⁰⁰ This statement lays out Cardoso's reasoning behind writing the *Excelencias*. He intends to demonstrate the "excellent acts" of the Jews as well as refer directly to the accusations brought against the religion and the Jews as a people. Cardoso states first that his work will benefit those who have immigrated to Jewish communities, so that "we may know ourselves" as members of the Nation and begin to understand the Law, "the prerogatives that God has illustrated for us." Secondly, Cardoso points out that his work will help explain Judaism to the gentiles, "so that the gentiles can understand the lies they accuse us with," and that he will present arguments, "so that the liar will be confounded," against the calumnies and myths perpetuated against the Jews.

¹⁰¹ V.M. stands for *vuestra merced*, a respectful form of address. Cardoso is referring to his patron, Jacob de Pinto.

¹⁰² The de Pinto family originally founded a yeshiva in Rotterdam in 1650 before moving it to Amsterdam in 1669. See Fuks, *Hebrew and Judaic Manuscripts*, 194.

[1] First
Wonder of the
Jews:
Nation Chosen by
God.

*For you are a people consecrated to the Lord your God: of all the peoples on earth the Lord your God chose you, etc.*¹⁰³

This is the first wonder of the Jews, God's chosen nation, and the one from among all the nations that is destined to his service to sing his divine praises. His Prophet says, *The people that I formed for Myself, that they might declare My praise.*¹⁰⁴ God created Adam¹⁰⁵ and from Adam he created Eve,¹⁰⁶ with all of nature's gifts and grace they became the cultivated *summa*¹⁰⁷ of beauty and wisdom, formed by the sacred hand as the origin of mankind and the seal and admiration of the creatures. God placed them in the earthly Paradise,¹⁰⁸ the glorious Worldly Garden, so that they could cultivate it¹⁰⁹ and guard it, but did not permit laziness in that happy place. He gave them only one rule: to not eat from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and

¹⁰³ Deuteronomy 7:6

FB: "Que pueblo santo tú a Adonay tu Dio, en ti escogió Adonay tu Dio por seer a él por pueblo de thesoro más que todos los pueblos que sobre fazes de la tierra."

Excelemcias: "Y à vos tomó el Señor por ser à el Pueblo de heredad, que Pueblo santo tu al Señor tu Dio, y en ti escogió etc."

¹⁰⁴ Isaiah 43:21. See above, n 4.

¹⁰⁵ Genesis 1:26, 2:7

¹⁰⁶ Genesis 1:27 God creates man and woman together. Genesis 2:22 God creates Eve from one of Adam's ribs a full fourteen verses after he creates Adam.

¹⁰⁷ Latin from *summa cum laude*, meaning height or pinnacle. *Summa* was also used as a synonym for 'treatise.' This could appear in the title of a work, such as St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*, or *Treatise against the gentiles*. For an English translation, see Thomas, Aquinas. *The Summa Contra Gentiles of Saint Thomas Aquinas*. Charlottesville, Va: InteLex Corp, 1993. Internet resource.

¹⁰⁸ Genesis 2:8

¹⁰⁹ Genesis 2:15 "The Lord God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it." FB: "Y tomó Adonay Dio al hombre y púsolo en huerta de Hedén para labrarla y para guardarla."

Evil.¹¹⁰ So that they would recognize the dominion of their Creator, the serpent was allowed to trick the woman, and the woman the man¹¹¹ so that all were deceived. They lost grace, and with it Paradise, and they were subjected to death and obliged to banishment. Expelled, they left to sow, work, and to gather thorns.¹¹² They lost their happiness and were covered in affliction; sorrow is often the teacher of knowledge when it does not lead to glory. A foolish curiosity to know deceived the woman, and an overwhelming love for his wife prevented the man from true obedience to his Creator. They carried out their exile with a long penance. They had two sons, one of envy and one of innocence. They were named Cain and Abel,¹¹³ one interpreted as possession and the other as vanity, one loathed and the other loved by God.¹¹⁴ Cain killed Abel, and it was the first jealousy and the first murder.¹¹⁵

With Seth, God substituted the holiness of Abel for the penitent parents,¹¹⁶ and through him, the best lineage of Adam, human posterity continued,¹¹⁷ and they were called the sons of God. Cain's descendants, the sons of mankind,¹¹⁸ [2] departed from the fear of the Divine by ones and twos, giving themselves over to lust, to idolatry, and to robbery. The sins grew with great exorbitance and excess¹¹⁹ until the Divine Justice was obliged to carry out a total

¹¹⁰ Genesis 2:17

¹¹¹ Genesis 3:1-7. The serpent persuades Eve to eat the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, telling her that the fruit will bring wisdom and sustenance. Eve accepts and also brings fruit to Adam. After eating, they realize their nakedness and become ashamed.

¹¹² Genesis 3:14-24 The reference to 'thorns' that Cardoso makes appears in Genesis 3:17-18 "17...Cursed be the ground because of you; / By toil you shall eat of it / All the days of your life: / 18 Thorns and thistles shall it sprout for you..." FB: "17...maldita la tierra por ti, con dolor la comerás todos días de tus vidas. 18 Y espino y cardo hermollerá a ti..."

¹¹³ Genesis 4:1-2

¹¹⁴ Genesis 4:3-7

¹¹⁵ Genesis 4:8

¹¹⁶ Genesis 4:25

¹¹⁷ Genesis 5. The lineage of Adam and Seth takes up chapter five of Genesis, ending with Noah and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

¹¹⁸ Seth's descendants become the nation of Israel, making them "the sons of God," while Cain's descendants move away from God and instead worship false idols.

¹¹⁹ Genesis 6:5-13 demonstrates God's unhappiness with the corruptness of the world while limiting its description of the sins to corruption and violence. Cardoso elaborates on the world's corruption by actually naming sins: lust, idolatry, and robbery.

extermination of the living men and animals except for eight people: Sacred Providence saved only Noah and his wife, three sons and three daughters-in-law, and the animals. The universal Flood came into the world in order to extinguish with its waters the libidinous fire that burned so much the heart of those in the world; all of Cain's progeny perished, and from the progeny of Seth only Noah and his sons lived.¹²⁰ All men should have been chastened by the general punishment, and they should have reduced life to the best customs, but they did not appreciate the warning, and increasing sins on sins they built the great tower of Babylon in order to defend what was theirs if another flood should inundate them and in order to immortalize their fame, as if the Potent hand could not unmake all those machines that were conceived in the wind, and humiliate throughout the earth the towers of magnificence and those of ambition.¹²¹ He castigated this vain insolence by dividing the lands into seventy nations according to the seventy languages.¹²² As the sacred and original language of the world, Hebrew was not divided and it remained the only one intact and pure¹²³ in the family of Heber¹²⁴ and of Abraham, and, together with the knowledge of God, they conserved the maternal and original language of men.

There was knowledge of God from the beginning of the world, and some people in particular feared him, such as Adam, Seth, Enoch,¹²⁵ Methuselah,¹²⁶ Noah, and others. They retired from the conversation of ill deeds and followed the path of the virtuous, and they turned themselves into the cult of a God, Creator of the Universe, and they praised and blessed the

¹²⁰ Genesis 7-8

¹²¹ Genesis 11:1-9

¹²² *Midrash Tehilim* 2.68.6. For a brief discussion of the seventy languages and the relation between them and Hebrew, see Patterson, *Hebrew Language*, 8.

¹²³ Patterson writes that Hebrew was not one of the seventy languages, it was instead the original language and the divine language in which God speaks. *Hebrew Language*, 8. For a discussion of sixteenth and seventeenth century language theory, see Zweip, *Mother of Reason and Revelation*.

¹²⁴ Genesis 46:17 Heber is a great-grandson of Jacob, and a grandson of Asher.

¹²⁵ Genesis 5:21-24 Enoch is listed in the genealogy of Adam's descendants.

¹²⁶ Genesis 5:25-27 Methuselah is the firstborn son of Enoch. He dies at 969 years, making him the longest-living patriarch.

natural Law by keeping its precepts. In that first age, God wanted to give to mortals an example of the immortality of the soul and a mirror of blessedness to those who walk in the streets of the Lord. Of saintly Enoch the Scripture says that he walked with God and that God took him, and that by walking with God he did not die,¹²⁷ and he took him for himself, living three hundred and sixty-five years,¹²⁸ as many days as the year has and as many turns as the sun has in its course and implicating that in all of those years there was perfection. Whoever walks with God does not die; rather he takes them for his eternity. There were few in those days who followed the true path, few that dedicated their lives to the true cult, and there were many that idolatized creatures, or ignored the First Cause,¹²⁹ or accompanied their worship with false gods, until the Lord chose one Nation, one people in particular: a people that would have true knowledge and to whom he could give his Holy Law. They would serve him perpetually and be the foundation stone to the Sacred Building. To the Patriarch Abraham¹³⁰ he gave the title of friend¹³¹ and was the first that they called Hebrew in the Scripture,¹³² [3] meaning by it passenger for having passed the Euphrates River of Mesopotamia where he lived and coming because of God's command to Canaan, or the Promised Land, in order to found there the noble progeny of his nation. So his son and grandson would be worthy, God called himself God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.

The Patriarch Abraham was a mirror of the faith, a paragon of charity, and an example of obedience. He was born among idolaters and was himself an idolater like his parents, but at forty

¹²⁷ Genesis 5:24 "Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, for God took him." FB: "Y anduvo Anoch con el Dio; y no él, que tomó a él Dio." The assertion that "Enoch walked with God" is not found in any of the other descriptions of Adam's descendants in chapter five.

¹²⁸ Genesis 5:23

¹²⁹ Exodus 20:3 The first of the Ten Commandments: "You shall have no other gods besides Me." FB: "No sea a ti dioses otros delante mí."

¹³⁰ Genesis 11:26-25:11

¹³¹ Isaiah 41:8 "...Abraham My / friend." FB: "...Abraham mi amigo."

¹³² Genesis 14:13

years of age he parted from idolatry. He learned through his science and natural discourse that neither the Sun nor the Moon and Stars could be gods since they eclipsed themselves and suffered defects, were corporeal and were creatures with a beginning and an end.¹³³ The sun, moon, and stars had an Infinite and Perpetual Creator whom they obeyed in the perpetuity of their orbits, and from whom they received the light and the influence which that other, more brilliant Sun had that illuminated all and upon which everything depended. He [Abraham] taught the Unity of God to men, and he persuaded them with evident reasons to part themselves from their idolatries so that they would not give their respect and honor to the creatures, rather their respect and honor should go only to the Creator. There was a First Cause by the disposition and will of which he governs the world. God commanded that Abraham leave Chaldea, leave his parent's house and his relatives, and go to the land that he [God] will show him in order to make Abraham the Head of a great people and found in him the Monarchy and the holiness of a people that he took for his own,¹³⁴ making them more admirable than all other in the world. He gave them circumcision as a sign of his covenant,¹³⁵ and he confirmed it in Isaac and established it in Jacob and his twelve sons as a nation separate from all others. *I will maintain My covenant between Me and you, and your offspring to come, as an everlasting covenant throughout the ages, to be God to you and to your offspring to come.*¹³⁶ He not only bestowed the grace of election, but that it would be everlasting.

¹³³ The two prior sentences demonstrate a technique for working around the Roman Church censors. The censorship was always on the lookout for any Judaic document that accused Christians of idolatry; in order to avoid this accusation, Cardoso, after stating that Abram was an idolater like his parents, elaborates on what it means to idolatry: to worship the sun, moon, and stars – to worship corporeal bodies or creatures as gods. Cardoso sidesteps the censors by relating idolatry with sun, moon, and star worship, and not with Christian doctrine. It is also interesting to note in this section that Abraham's story parallels Cardoso's: both were born among idolaters, both "learned through science and natural discourse," both are persuading and teaching others about God, and both must leave home in order to embrace their inheritance.

¹³⁴ Genesis 12:1-2

¹³⁵ Genesis 17:9-14

¹³⁶ Genesis 17:7

The Sacred Scriptures prove the election of the nation of Israel in many places, and the Prophets praise it constantly. In the Law it says, *For you are a people consecrated to the Lord your God: of all the peoples on earth the Lord your God chose you to be His treasured people.*¹³⁷ In Exodus, *And I will take you to be my people, and I will be your God,*¹³⁸ and later says, *You shall be my treasured possession among all the peoples. Indeed, all the earth is mine, but you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation,*¹³⁹ and in the admirable chant, *For the Lord's portion is His people, Jacob His own allotment.*¹⁴⁰ Afterwards the Prophets sang this selection from David, *Happy the nation whose God is the Lord, the people He has chosen to be His own,*¹⁴¹ and in another Psalm, *For the Lord has chosen Jacob for Himself, Israel, as His treasured possession.*¹⁴² His son Solomon, *For You, O Lord God, have set them apart for yourself from all the peoples of the earth as Your very own.*¹⁴³ Isaiah, *My very own Israel.*¹⁴⁴ Jeremiah, *Not like these is the Portion of Jacob; For it is He who formed all things, And Israel is His very own tribe: Lord of Hosts is His name,*¹⁴⁵ and Amos, *You alone have I singled out of all the families of the earth.*¹⁴⁶

The Lord not only chose the Hebrews as his people, but he also honors them [4] with the highest titles of grandeur, and he caresses them with the greatest tenderness of love. He calls them his son and his servant, his son with love and his servant with loyalty. *Israel is My firstborn*

¹³⁷ Deuteronomy 7:6

¹³⁸ Exodus 6:7

¹³⁹ Exodus 19:5-6

¹⁴⁰ Deuteronomy 32:9

¹⁴¹ Psalms 33:12

¹⁴² Psalms 135:4

¹⁴³ 1 Kings 8:53 In the margins, either Cardoso or the printer mistakenly identifies the quote as being from 1 Kings 9.

¹⁴⁴ Isaiah 19:25

¹⁴⁵ Jeremiah 10:16

¹⁴⁶ Amos 3:2

son.¹⁴⁷ With the title of son he distinguishes the people from the nations to which he does not give this prominence; with that [title] of firstborn he distinguishes them from the Angels, who, despite being named the sons of God in the sacred letters,¹⁴⁸ are not named as his firstborn. Being Father of All of all the people, he only wanted to call himself Father and God of Israel, for the best uncovering of his affection and the singular Providence with which he governs them. In one part it says that as the Eagle carries its children on its back¹⁴⁹ in order to free them from the hunters and the weapons-carriers that fire at them with their arrows, so God carried through the Desert his children the Hebrews, freeing them from their enemies and defending them with his protection. And in another part, as the father punishes his son in order to teach him, in this way the Lord punishes his people of Israel in order to improve them with his teachings and give them the benefit of his punishment.

In the divine Songs of Solomon, the Lord calls to Israel his wife, and he celebrates their betrothal with spiritual and mystical feeling, and with great demonstrations of love, and great caresses of the husband. He calls [Israel] his Dove, his beloved, One and Perfect.¹⁵⁰ Isaiah said, *For He who made you will espouse you – His name is ‘Lord of Hosts. The Holy One of Israel*

¹⁴⁷ Exodus 4:22

¹⁴⁸ In the book of Job in the Oxford Annotated Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate, the angels are referred to as “the sons of God” (1:6, 2:1), however, in the Jewish Study Bible, which is translated directly from the Hebrew, the angels are referred to as “divine beings” in those same verses. Cardoso’s reference to angels as the “sons of God” is perhaps an indication of using the Latin Vulgate for the first forty-four years of his life as a Christian in Spain.

¹⁴⁹ Exodus 19:4 “...I bore you on eagles’ wings and brought you to Me.” FB: “...llevé a vos sobre alas de águilas y truxe a vos a mí.”

Also, Deuteronomy 32:11 “Like an eagle who rouses his nestlings, / Gliding down to his young, / So did He spread His wings and take him, / Bear him along on His pinions.” FB: “Como águila (que) despierta su nido, sobre sus pollitos abuela, expande sus alas, tómallo, llévalo sobre su pluma.”

¹⁵⁰ Song of Songs 5:2 “Let me in, my own, / My darling, my faultless dove.” FB: “abre a mí, mi hermana, mi compañera, mi paloma, mi perfeta.” And in 6:9 “Only one is my dove, / My perfect one.” FB: “Una ella mi paloma, mi perfeta According to the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* written by rabbi Ezra ben Solomon of Gerona, the phrase, specifically from 6:9, “One is my dove, my perfect one,” refers to the community of Israel. The rabbi writes, “...to Israel He gave the Land of Israel, God’s own treasury. From it come[s]...all good things...Because he distinguished between the son of the queen and the sons of the concubines” (132).

*will redeem you.*¹⁵¹ The Sages say that in ten places the Scripture gives her the name of wife, establishing with her all the principal ceremonies of marriage, and he taught by his own example the same [principal ceremonies] of marriage.

Explaining more particularly the circumstances of this nuptial, we will see that he made the contract from it with our Father Abraham as he habitually contracted with the fathers in Genesis, and when he chose to make Israel his progeny, he declared the conditions to Abraham, *this is My covenant with you.*¹⁵² He signaled the first [condition] of the aforementioned pact, *You shall be the father of a multitude;*¹⁵³ the second, *And you shall no longer be called Abram, but your name shall be Abraham;*¹⁵⁴ the third, *I will make your heirs as numerous as the stars of heaven, so that all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves by your heirs;*¹⁵⁵ the fourth, *I assign the land you sojourn in to you and your offspring to come,*¹⁵⁶ and continues, *and you shall keep My covenant;*¹⁵⁷ and declaring whatever he says, *You shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin,*¹⁵⁸ and indicating the penalty, *And if any male who is uncircumcised fails to circumcise the flesh of his foreskin, that person shall be cut off from his kin; he has broken my covenant,*¹⁵⁹ concludes the conditions to which they were obligated in all parts.

These made conditions, taking the people from Egypt in order to give effect to this sacred matrimony, he commanded [the people] that they count seven weeks of days until the fiftieth day

¹⁵¹ Isaiah 54:5

¹⁵² Genesis 17:4

¹⁵³ Genesis 17:4

¹⁵⁴ Genesis 17:5

¹⁵⁵ Genesis 26:4

¹⁵⁶ Genesis 17:8

¹⁵⁷ Genesis 17:9

¹⁵⁸ Genesis 17:11

¹⁵⁹ Genesis 17:14

arrived at which time he would give them the Law.¹⁶⁰ [Waiting fifty days was] a completely necessary action because a cleaning was necessary after becoming contaminated by the abominations in Egypt, and not one of seven days but one of seven weeks so that in that time they could rid themselves of the many errors learned from the idolaters, and they could not immediately pass [5] from the error of the unclean to the extreme of purity. With the days of the reception approaching, he sent them presents and gifts: they were given the precepts in Marah,¹⁶¹ there was the inestimable gift of the Sabbath,¹⁶² and some other entrustments were put in order there. They arrived at Mount Sinai where, washed and cleanly clothed, separated from their women, the Lord uncovers his Divine Majesty,¹⁶³ accompanied from the Kingdom by chariotry as the Psalmist says, *God's chariots are myriads upon myriads, thousands upon thousands; the Lord is among them as in Sinai in holiness.*¹⁶⁴

He celebrates with Israel his divine betrothals; he gave [Israel] the Kidushim¹⁶⁵ in the Ten Commandments, which virtually include the 613 precepts of the Law. For this reason we say [Hebrew phrase] *Asher kideshanu*, that he blessed us, and it also means that he gave us the Kidushim and with his trust he married us, all of which the Hebrew word means. They are the most precious jewels, and nobody can put a price to one, they are jewels more coveted than gold,

¹⁶⁰ 'Omer,' or the wait of fifty days, refers to the period observed between Passover and Shavuot – between the exodus and receiving the Law at Mt. Sinai – during which time an offering of grain, the measurement of which also takes the name of 'omer,' is made to the Temple on the 16th of Nisan ("Omer, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16).

¹⁶¹ Marah – bitterness. Exodus 15:22-26 After escaping from the armies of Pharaoh, the nation of Israel wanders for three days without water before arriving at Marah where the only spring brings forth bitter, undrinkable water. The people, through Moses, cry out to God for help, and he shows Moses how to sweeten/make potable the water by throwing into the spring a certain tree. Then God commands that they follow and obey his commandments, and in return he would not strike them with the plagues that he struck Egypt with. ²⁶ "If you will diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord your God... I will put none of the diseases upon you which I put upon the Egyptians; for I am the Lord, your healer."

¹⁶² Exodus 16:4-36 Israel receives the gift of manna, and on the sixth day they receive two-days worth of manna so that they may observe the day of rest, the Sabbath, on the seventh day. ²⁹ "The Lord has given you the Sabbath, therefore on the sixth day he gives you bread for two days; remain every man of you in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day." ³⁰ So the people rested on the seventh day."

¹⁶³ Exodus 19-23

¹⁶⁴ Psalms 68:18

¹⁶⁵ Kidushim – Aramaic for 'betrothal.'

sweeter than honey, more precious than Daisies, nothing equals their price.¹⁶⁶ He made for Israel the dowry, and regarding the temporal¹⁶⁷ he gave them the Holy land, which is the Garden of the world and the sanctuary of the Universe. The witnesses were the sky and the earth, as it says at the end of the Song of Songs. The sages say that the marriage bed was the top of the mountain where the Blessed God put them; they mean that he served them from shadow and in the place of the marriage bed. The seven blessings of the Betrotheds were the seven privileges with which the High one honored and illuminated the House of Israel, filling them with all the blessings that the Sacred Scripture promises in various places. They are referred to in *Pirkei Avot*, or, the chapters of the Fathers,¹⁶⁸ and Rabbi Menasseh testifies that he enjoyed them all, as did his children. They [the seven blessings] are beauty, strength, honor, science, old age [long life], children, and wealth, and these cover everything that makes men happy: in terms of the body, beauty and strength; in terms of external goods, honor and wealth; in terms of the good of the soul, science and a long life; and children, who serve for posterity.

The choice of Israel to be God's nation and this Sacred nuptial were not temporary and conditional, but rather eternal and absolute, and the Sacred letters confirm this, and reason supports it. God is not like the earthly princes who at one time choose their Privado or Minister for their service and then later reprimand him [the Minister] for acting dishonestly. This inconstant devotion or ignorance of the future gives them occasion to reject what at one point they chose, but the Lord with his Divine presence knows all the accidents and future successes, and therefore what he once chose with judgment will never be undone. Therefore it says in

¹⁶⁶ These series of comparisons reference Proverbs 31, which relates the woman of strength: the ideal wife and woman in terms of her ability to manage a household, raise children, be a good wife, and, importantly, fear the Lord.

¹⁶⁷ The temporal refers to life on earth, or mortality. Humans live temporary, terrestrial lives before moving onto the final (heavenly) resting state. God gave Israel the land of Canaan to be their garden and sanctuary in this temporary state.

¹⁶⁸ *Avot*, called *Pirkei Avot* since the Middle Ages, translates as 'fathers.' It is a widely read tractate in the Mishnah because "its timeless lessons and uncomplicated language have made it accessible" for those not well-versed in how to read and study rabbinic discourse. For more on *Avot*, see "Avot," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2.

Malachi, *For I am the Lord – I have not changed,*¹⁶⁹ and by Balaam, *God is not man to be capricious, or mortal to change His mind,*¹⁷⁰ and the promise and pact that the Lord made with Abraham, he told him it would be eternal, *and for your offspring to come, as an everlasting [6] covenant,*¹⁷¹ and in Samuel *You have established Your people Israel as Your very own people forever,*¹⁷² and because they did not understand that neither the sins nor the crimes of the people could throw this love away at any time, even inherent and Prophesized in the curses themselves of those not observing the Law, confirms and assures it, saying, *yet, even then, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them or spurn them so as to destroy them, annulling My covenant with them: for I the Lord am their God; I will remember the covenant I made with Jacob etc.*¹⁷³ Through Jeremiah he clearly asserts it, *If these laws should ever be annulled by Me, declares the Lord, only then would the offspring of Israel cease to be a nation before Me for all time,*¹⁷⁴ and later he says, *If the heavens above could be measured, and the foundations of the earth below could be fathomed, only then would I reject all the offspring of Israel for all that they have done, declares the Lord,*¹⁷⁵ who says that no matter how many evils they commit, the Lord will not reject his people, that they will always be eternally his. And in another chapter, *As surely as I have established My covenant with day and night – the laws of heaven and earth – so I will never reject the offspring of Jacob and My servant David; I will never fail to take from his offspring rulers for the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Indeed, I will restore their*

¹⁶⁹ Malachi 3:6

¹⁷⁰ Numbers 23:19

¹⁷¹ Genesis 17:7

¹⁷² 2 Samuel 7:24

¹⁷³ Leviticus 26:44-45 Cardoso summarizes verse 45.

¹⁷⁴ Jeremiah 31:36

¹⁷⁵ Jeremiah 31:37

*fortunes and take them back in love,*¹⁷⁶ meaning that just as they will not lack day and night, so the House of Jacob will not be lacking before the Lord.

In Deuteronomy, the Lord gives as a signal of Israel as his chosen people the division of the seventy nations and languages according to the number of children of Israel that entered Egypt and were seventy souls. It says, *When the Most High gave nations their homes and set the divisions of man, He fixed the boundaries of peoples in relation to Israel's numbers. For the Lord's portion is His people, Jacob His own allotment,*¹⁷⁷ then when he ordered the boundaries of the children of Adam according to the number of children of Israel, in the beginning he either divided the boundaries of the sons of Adam according to the number of the children of Israel, or he divided the boundaries of the peoples and of the lands in twelve parts according to the twelve tribes of Israel, or, since the time of the division of the languages, and he divided the nations into seventy, according to the seventy people that went down into Egypt from Israel, and he put down the fabric of the land, and the distribution as a signal of the election of his people, clearly they follow, and that like the earth is forever firm and stable, so also will be eternal and perpetual the election of Israel. The same Song continues, *O nations, acclaim His people! For He'll avenge the blood of His servants,*¹⁷⁸ then in the last times [at the end] he will pardon his castigated nation, punished for their faults, and command that the peoples praise it, clearly this infers that they were never condemned, but always chosen. The Lord demands that the mysterious Song be written, and that everyone commit it to memory in testimony of not having observed the Law that he had given them, and the afflictions and persecutions they suffer are for this cause and not for another, and if God with a new law had to reprove his people in order to demand that they remember the old [law], and for depreciating it, he declares their present captivity. And it is also

¹⁷⁶ Jeremiah 33:25-26

¹⁷⁷ Deuteronomy 32:8-9

¹⁷⁸ Deuteronomy 32:43

a singular [7] consideration that the last word of the Law ends in Israel, and the last word of the Song ends in his nation, in order to demonstrate how the Sages note the love and great tenderness that he uses with the nation, saying goodbye to each other with the name of Israel in their mouth. The Law begins and ends in Israel, as if that was the intention, and without producing the world, that in the Holy Law names, letters, and punctuation are filled with deep mysteries.

In Ezekiel, the Lord proposes to Israel, contaminated with all its sins and wanting to separate from the Lord and be like the other nations which adore sticks and stones, saying, *As I live, declared the Lord God, I will reign over you with a strong hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with overflowing fury. With a strong hand and an outstretched arm and overflowing fury I will bring you out from the peoples and gather you from the lands where you are scattered, and I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. As I entered into judgment with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so I will enter into judgment with you, declares the Lord God. I will make you pass under the shepherd's staff, and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant. I will remove from you those who rebel and transgress against Me; I will take them out of the countries where they sojourn, but they shall not enter the land of Israel.*¹⁷⁹ If Israel still wants to part from the Lord, and, worshipping sticks and stones, be like the nations of the world, he says it will not be so, instead with a firm hand and an outstretched arm and with rage unleashed he will reign above them, punishing them with anger and the rod, but not unmaking them so that he does not rule over those that are not his people. But he will punish the rebels from his name, so that they will not enter the Promised Land where he will collect the rest in the same way as when he took them from Egypt. Many of the rebels and sinners died, and they did not see the redemption of Israel, and the others, for having rebelled so many times, did not enter in the promised land, except for

¹⁷⁹ Ezekiel 20:33-38

Caleb and Joseph, leaving the punished for dead in the desert. God says through the prophet Samuel, *For the sake of His great name, the Lord will never abandon His people, seeing that the Lord undertook to make you His people,*¹⁸⁰ and which David repeats, *For the Lord will not forsake His people; He will not abandon His very own.*¹⁸¹

The Lord chose Israel for his people with an oath proclaiming the firmness and perpetuity of this election, as referred to many times in those words, as he judged our Fathers and in Isaiah, *The Lord has sworn by His right hand,*¹⁸² and in Deuteronomy, *He chose you, their lineal descendants, from among all peoples,*¹⁸³ and Moses concludes the blessing of the Tribes in the last chapters of the Law, when he already wanted to die, saying goodbye to the people he announces those last prophetic words of his [God's] glory and grandness. *O happy Israel! Who is like you, a people delivered by the Lord, your protecting shield, your sword triumphant! Your enemies shall come cringing before you, and you shall tread on their backs.*¹⁸⁴

The election of the Hebrews as the nation of God was not due to them being the strongest or the richest, but of a [8] pure love and divine grace, because they are the least of the peoples, as it says, *It is not because you are the most numerous of peoples that the Lord set His heart on you and chose you – indeed, you are the smallest of peoples; but it was because the Lord favored you and kept the oath He made to your fathers that the Lord freed you with a mighty hand and rescued you from the house of bondage etc.*¹⁸⁵

But they can object to us over this divine election, that God, being the same goodness, and that he receives no faces nor persons, attends to the welfare of all the creatures as the

¹⁸⁰ 1 Samuel 12:22

¹⁸¹ Psalms 94:14

¹⁸² Isaiah 62:8

¹⁸³ Deuteronomy 10:15

¹⁸⁴ Deuteronomy 33:29

¹⁸⁵ Deuteronomy 7:7-8

Universal Father he should not have chosen only one people for his service, that this would show him to be partial, and however much he inclines favorably toward this or that people, he should be neutral to all, as for all benign, liberal, and gracious. This objection makes many Sages hesitate, seeming to them undignified of that supreme goodness to choose one people to the detriment of the others, and communicate to only one his Holy Law. But they will see themselves satisfied if they concede that being the universal Lord, the Patron of the world, that he does not owe anything to the creatures, creating all of them and giving them being from nothing, it was in his discretion to exalt one people more than the others, as in the Angelic Choirs he raised up some more than others to a higher dignity, and this is not partiality, rather a willing grace dispensed to whom deserves it.

The gardener does not do wrong to choose some flowers and leave others, nor does the vegetable gardener offend the plants by taking some and leaving others; where there is no debt, there is no obligation, and the second causes are those that owe their being to the first cause. All kings have their Privados and their Ministers to whom they communicate their secrets and with whom they share their grace as they are closer to the Royal Person, and although the inequality of the persons keeps them from being friends, grace and beneficence brings them to familiarity and intrinsic communication: in this way, the Divine is completely unequalled by man, and it seemed that his infinite Essence could not form friendship with men, there being no juncture between the Immense Creator and the finite creature. Despite all, he condescended to call Abraham his friend because in him the Just have a mirror and a powerful example for deserving that Divine friendship: and if they should reward the best services with the best awards (that to equal all in grace when the merits are unequal is unjust and a small rectitude in the distribution of favors, that which cannot happen in total goodness and wisdom). The Lord chose Abraham as

the Head and the Progenitor of his people, because he was the Speaker of his [God's] Unity, and the universal Preacher of the people that he persuaded to know and revere the First Cause, continuing in his sons the merits and the awards. God singles out the three Patriarchs by giving them titles, they have been singular in knowing him, they were [9] also distinguished by God choosing them as his and founding in their descendants his filiation and primogeniture, *Israel is My first-born son*.¹⁸⁶ It was not passion, it was grace, it was not partiality, but rather merit, choosing a nation for his own that from birth sacrificed its blood to God, and from birth to death always publicizes his Sacred Unity, with the Lord leaving sufficient support of salvation in the people, either in the observance of the precepts and the natural law, or, for greater glory and perfection in reducing oneself to the Divine Law and uniting with his nation, Israel. *My servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen*.¹⁸⁷

The peoples of the world, seeing the captivity of the Jews, exiled from their land, scattered throughout the nations without king, without priest, without Temple, and without Prophet, wanderers from one Province to another, persecuted by some, mistreated and killed by others, despised by all, being an example of opprobrium, according to the Psalm *We have become the butt of our neighbors, the scorn and derision of those around us*,¹⁸⁸ a portrait of little value, and its abhorred name, they [“the peoples of the world”] think that the Jews are condemned by their God and that they are no longer his people, but rather, abandoned from his hand he scattered them among the peoples for perpetual confusion and the general ignominy that they are not the chosen ones but are the rejected ones, not the loved people, but the abominated people. Appearances can do a lot in forming false judgments: and even Zion seeing itself the

¹⁸⁶ Exodus 4:22

¹⁸⁷ Isaiah 54 Although Cardoso puts the sentence in italics, the phrase does not seem to be a direct quote and instead summarizes the main point of the short chapter, namely that Israel is God's chosen nation.

¹⁸⁸ Psalm 79:4

destroyed widow, disconsolate, and her children exiled makes to the Lord this complaint saying, *The Lord has forsaken me, My Lord has forgotten me.*¹⁸⁹ But this is a trick of the nations, they judge by the abjection of the perpetual reprobation of the Jews, it being a temporary punishment in order to purify their sins. *Pay no attention to his appearance; man sees only what is visible, but the Lord sees into the heart.*¹⁹⁰ God himself responded for us, showing that he never repudiated his wife, saying *Where is the bill of divorce of your mother whom I dismissed? And which of My creditors was it to whom I sold you off? You were only sold off for your sins, and your mother dismissed for your crimes. Why, when I came, was no one there, why when I called, would none respond? Is my arm, then, too short to rescue, have I not the power to save? With a mere rebuke I dry up the sea etc.*¹⁹¹ Here it clearly shows that the Lord did not give a card of rebuke¹⁹² to his people, nor can any other nation show that he sold them Israel to any other nation, nor that any other nation is his creditor, but for Israel's sins he spilled them among the other peoples to expiate their faults and to give penance for as many transgressions as they have committed. *But your iniquities have been a barrier between you and your God, your sins have made Him turn His face away and refuse to hear you,*¹⁹³ Our sins and those favors and graces that the Lord exalted us with departed, but he never took away the love that he has for his Congregation and for his wife, as it says in the Song, *vast floods cannot quench love,*¹⁹⁴ neither the sins of the people nor its calamities will turn out the love, water meaning the sins, according to that in Job, *who drinks wrongdoing like water!*,¹⁹⁵ and it also means [10] penance, contrition, and tears with which they wash their faults. The Lord responds tenderly and with the love

¹⁸⁹ Isaiah 49:14

¹⁹⁰ 1 Samuel 16:7

¹⁹¹ Isaiah 50:1-2

¹⁹² The card of rebuke or of repudiation was given to the wife from the husband as a signal of divorce.

¹⁹³ Isaiah 59:2

¹⁹⁴ Song of Songs 8:7

¹⁹⁵ Job 15:16

intrinsic of a father to the tears of Zion and to its disconsolation, that as a widow, alone, and sad, imagines herself left by the hand of the Lord, *Can a woman forget her baby, or disown the child of her womb? Though she might forget, I never could forget you. See, I have engraved you on the palms of My hands.*¹⁹⁶ With what greater exaggeration could he enrich the love that he had for his wife and to never part from her, comparable to the love a mother has for her child, it cannot be forgotten, and if by some impossibility this she did forget, God will never forget Israel his beloved.

The Lord well foresaw with his Divine presence this objection of the peoples, and the contempt in which they held Israel, telling [Israel] that they were no longer his people, but repudiated from his hand, and discarded from his grace they are scattered and confronted by all, and the answer came, saying, *Where is the bill of divorce of your mother whom I dismissed?*¹⁹⁷ none can show the bill of divorce that I gave to my wife, Israel, none can show this debit that I have sold to them, instead they were punished for their crimes in a long captivity, until, purged with calamities and afflictions, they turn in penitence and are redeemed by the Lord, that here says, *Is my arm, then, too short to rescue, have I not the power to save?*¹⁹⁸ and in another part, *No, the Lord's arm is not too short to save, or His ear too dull to hear; but your iniquities have been a barrier etc.*¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, in the Prophet Jeremiah it seems to infer this repudiation and divorce of the Lord with his wife, saying, *Because Rebel Israel had committed adultery, I cast her off and handed her a bill of divorce; yet her sister, Faithless Judah, was not afraid – she too went and whored. She committed adultery with stone and with wood.*²⁰⁰ but in this chapter the Prophet speaks of the ten Tribes titled with the name of Israel, and the other two

¹⁹⁶ Isaiah 49:15-16

¹⁹⁷ See n, 93.

¹⁹⁸ See n, 93.

¹⁹⁹ Isaiah 59:1-2 The original edition lacks a citation to this quote.

²⁰⁰ Jeremiah 3:8-9

with the name of Judah, and to the ten Tribes the Lord gave the bill of divorce, with the terms that they would not return to enjoy another time their own King as they had before, rather that together at the time of redemption the two sticks of Judah and Ephraim will be joined, and a Prince of Judah of the House of David will reign over all, as it says in Ezekiel, *My servant David shall be a ruler among them.*²⁰¹ The Lord goes, reprimanding the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which are those that now wander, scattered, and he tells them that they can take notice of the other ten tribes which were captives of King Shalmaneser of the Assyrians²⁰² for worshipping idols and leaving the true God, the Lord cut off their kingship and gave them the card of repudiation, and although Judah also idolized stone and wood²⁰³ and he threatened them with rigor, he did not say that he will reject them, nor will he give them a bill of divorce, and although, as we have said, he gave the bill to the ten Tribes that are trapped in remote parts of the Orient, it was a divorce [11] in terms of the King,²⁰⁴ but not in terms of the grace and favor of being his people. Before he promises them goods and prosperity if they turn to him in penitence, to this he exhorts them. ¹² *Go, make this proclamation toward the north, and say: Turn back, O Rebel Israel – declares the Lord. I will not look on you in anger, for I am compassionate – declares the Lord; I do not bear a grudge for all time. Only recognize your sin; for you have transgressed against the Lord your God. Turn back, rebellious children, I will medicate your stubbornness:*²⁰⁵ and he promises them redemption, and that the House of Israel and of Judah

²⁰¹ Ezekiel 34:24

²⁰² King Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.E) “Shalmaneser V,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 18.

²⁰³ 2 Kings 17 tells the history of the Israelites capture by the Assyrians due to Israel’s sins against God, mainly the worship of other gods: “¹⁶ And they forsook all the commandments of the Lord their God, and made for themselves molten images of two calves; and they made an Ashe’rah, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Ba’al...¹⁹ Judah also did not keep the commandments of the Lord their God, but walked in the customs which Israel had introduced” (17:16,19).

²⁰⁴ The Israelites are taken out of Israel and away from the royal house of David where they continued to worship false idols. “When he had torn Israel from the house of David they made Jerobo’am the son of Nebat king. And Jerobo’am drove Israel from following the Lord and mde them commit great sin” (2 Kings 17:21).

²⁰⁵ Jeremiah 3:12-14 Cardoso substituted his own ending to verse fourteen with “yo medicaré vuestras porsias.”

will walk together, and in that time they will call Jerusalem the Seat of the Lord, and all the peoples will walk toward the city in the name of the Lord.

From the Prophet Hosea they try to prove that the Jews are no longer the Lord's people²⁰⁶ when he commanded him to take the adulteress.²⁰⁷ And bringing forth from him one son, [God] commanded [Hosea] to name him [Hebrew letters] *Lo ami*, which means 'not my people,' and I will not be (God) to you,²⁰⁸ and of the daughter she bore he commanded they name her [Hebrew letters] *Lo ruhama*, which means 'not pitied' because I will no more pity the House of Israel, to forgive them at all.²⁰⁹ And it seems below that figure and example that Israel is no longer his nation. But the following verse of the second Chapter then responds, saying, *The number of the people of Israel shall be like that of the sands of the sea; and instead of being told, 'You are Not-My-People,' they shall be called Children-of-the-Living-God.*²¹⁰ This prophecy treats the sons of Israel of the ten Tribes; after being punished with exile for many years, pardoning their sins, they will be congregated with Judah. In the third chapter it says, *For the Israelites shall go a long time without king and without officials, without sacrifice and without cult pillars, and without ephod and teraphim. Afterward, the Israelites will turn back and will seek the Lord their God and David their king – and they will thrill over the Lord and over His bounty in the days to come.*²¹¹

²⁰⁶ Hosea 1 In order to demonstrate God's love for Israel despite all of Israel's sins, God commands Hosea to marry a prostitute; Hosea chooses Gomer: "2 ...the Lord said to Hosea, 'Go, take to yourself a wife of harlotry and have children on harlotry, for the land commits great harlotry by forsaking the Lord.' " It is unclear whether the children she has after marrying Hosea are Hosea's or are the products of her continued prostitution.

²⁰⁷ In the Ferrara Biblia, 'adulteress' is not used to describe Gomer, rather *la mujer de fornicaciones*, the prostitute. Cardoso's use of the word 'adulteress' adds to the assumption that Gomer continues to prostitute herself even after Hosea marries her.

²⁰⁸ Hosea 1:9 *Lo ami* is actually the third child of Gomer; he is preceded by a brother, Jezreel ('God sows'), and his sister, *Lo ruhama*.

²⁰⁹ Hosea 1:6 Cardoso takes the words verbatim from the Ferrara Bible.

²¹⁰ Hosea 2:1

²¹¹ Hosea 3:4-5

They continue against this election with that which Amos says, *The hour of doom has come for My people Israel; I will not pardon them again.*²¹² But this is not reprobation, just punishment, because in the following chapter the Lord himself consoles his people, saying, *without destroying it I will destroy the house of Jacob,*²¹³ and says more, *I will restore my people, Israel,*²¹⁴ *In that day I will set up again the fallen booth of David etc.*²¹⁵ The same Amos also says, *Fallen, not to rise again, is Maiden Israel; abandoned on her soil with none to lift her up,*²¹⁶ this also they understand as the ten Tribes, that they will not lift themselves in order to have their own King, but rather a king of the House of David, because Judah alone will reign, as Ezekiel says in chapter 37,²¹⁷ and in the Psalm, *He rejected the clan of Joseph; He did not choose the tribe of Ephraim; He did chose the tribe of Judah;*²¹⁸ *He chose David, His servant,*²¹⁹ and the same Prophet in the last chapter says that he will not destroy the House of Jacob, and that he will turn his people from captivity, and they will eternally enjoy the Sacred Land.²²⁰

*I take no pleasure in you, and I will accept no offering from you,*²²¹ he says through Malachi. Further on the Prophet speaks of the Priests of that time as sinners, and he says in chapter three that in the future he will purge them like [12] gold and silver, and they will offer to

²¹² Amos 8:2

²¹³ Amos 9:8 Cardoso summarizes verse eight: “I will wipe it off / The face of the earth! / But, I will not wholly wipe out / The House of Jacob.” FB: “y haré destruir a ella de sobre fazes de la tierra, empero no destuyendo destruiré a casa de Yahacob.”

²¹⁴ Amos 9:14

²¹⁵ Amos 9:11

²¹⁶ Amos 5:2 The text’s citation mistakenly places the quote from Amos 1.

²¹⁷ Ezekiel 37 The Lord commands Ezekiel to join two sticks in one hand; on one of the sticks is written “Of Judah and Israelites associated with him,” and on the other stick “Of Joseph...and all the House of Israel associated with him” (37:16). The Lord commands Ezekiel to combine the sticks in one hand and prophesy, “I will make them a single nation in the land...and one king shall be king of them all” (37:22). Earlier in the chapter God commands Ezekiel to prophesy breath back into dry bones, and he succeeds; therefore, what Ezekiel prophesies comes true.

²¹⁸ Psalm 78:67-68

²¹⁹ Psalm 78:70

²²⁰ Amos 9:11-15

²²¹ Malachi 1:10

the Lord sacrifices in justice, and the Lord will be pleased by Judah's sacrifice and Jerusalem's, as in the days before and in the old years.²²²

The Psalm *The heavens proclaim Him and all peoples see His glory*:²²³ they should understand then this of a new nation, and not born as Israel was, and another Psalm with the same intent says, *May this be written down for a coming generation, that people yet to be created may praise the Lord*.²²⁴ But here one verse is different from the other in the original Hebrew because it does not have the word 'sky' in the first verse, nor does it say Israel will be born in the future tense, but that it was born in the past, [Hebrew letters] *Nolad* which means was born, and according to the true Hebrew it faithfully says, *They will come and they will proclaim his righteousness to the nation born, that he made*, and the other verse also says, *and the growing nation will praise the Lord*, because [Hebrew letters] *Nibra* is past tense, and not future.

In Deuteronomy, *All these curses shall befall you; they shall pursue you and overtake you, until you are wiped out, and you will be devastated as an example and as a story in all the nations*,²²⁵ and in another chapter, *I will hide My countenance from them*,²²⁶ *and I will sweep misfortunes on them, use up My arrows on them*,²²⁷ *I might have reduced them to naught, made their memory cease among men*.²²⁸ In Jeremiah, *Even if Moses and Samuel were to intercede with Me, I would not be won over to that people. dismiss them from My presence, and let them go*

²²² Malachi 3:3-4 “³ He shall act like a smelter and purger of silver; and he shall purify the descendants of Levi and refine them like gold and silver, so that they shall present offerings in righteousness. ⁴ Then the offerings of Judah and Jerusalem shall be pleasing to the Lord as in the days of yore and in the years of old.” FB: “³ Y asentarse a, purificarán y alimpián plata, y alimpiarán hijos de Levi, y purificarán a ellos como oro y como plata, y serán a Adonay allegantes presente con justedad. ⁴ Y asaborarse a a Adonay presente de Yehudah y Yerusalaim, como días de simepre y como años antiguos.”

²²³ Psalm 97:6 Cardoso, or the printer, mistakenly cites the verse from Psalm 21.

²²⁴ Psalm 102:19 Either Cardoso or the printer mistakenly cited the verse from Psalm 101.

²²⁵ Deuteronomy 28:45 Cardoso quotes directly from verse 45 all the way up until 'you are wiped out;' the rest of the quote in italics seems to summarize the chapter in its description of the destruction of Israel among other nations.

²²⁶ Deuteronomy 32:20

²²⁷ Deuteronomy 32:23

²²⁸ Deuteronomy 32:26

*forth,*²²⁹ and in chapter 23, *I will utterly forget you and I will cast you away from My presence, together with the city that I gave to you and your fathers,*²³⁰ and in 26, *I will make this house like Shiloh, and I will make this city a curse for all the nations of earth.*²³¹

But to these and other places the Lord responds and cures the curses, saying in the same place, *When all these things befall you – the blessing and the curse that I have set before you – and you take them to heart amidst the various nations to which the Lord your God has banished you, and you return to the Lord your God, and you and your children heed His command with all your heart and soul, just as I enjoin upon you this day, then the Lord your God will restore your fortunes and take you back in love. He will bring you together again from all the peoples where the Lord your God has scattered you;*²³² *You, however, will again heed the Lord and obey all His commandments that I enjoin upon you this day.*²³³ That is a general answer to all the objections that they can put to us, as none of the answers exclude Israel from being his nation, nor affirm that he will take another in Israel's place, but only that he will punish them with exiles, persecutions, and deaths, but at the end returning, the Lord will return to them, and he will redeem them, *and will inflict all those curses upon the enemies and foes who persecuted you.*²³⁴ And he promises them the best goods and grace as in the beginning, and that there will be plentitude and great miracles, *it shall no more be said, 'As the Lord lives who brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt,' but rather, 'out of all the lands to which He had banished them.'* *For I will bring them back to their land, which I gave to their fathers.*²³⁵ It is notable that all the chapter of afflictions, of deaths, of destructions, and also of consolation, and happiness,

²²⁹ Jeremiah 15:1

²³⁰ Jeremiah 23:39

²³¹ Jeremiah 26:6

²³² Deuteronomy 30:1-3

²³³ Deuteronomy 30:8 The text mistakenly identifies the verses as coming from chapter 28.

²³⁴ Deuteronomy 30:7

²³⁵ Jeremiah 16:14-15

that in this way the Lord is accustomed to threaten and destroy his people through his Prophets, and later together console, and animate, and enrich his people that were hardly [13] injured, when he gives together the medicine and the remedy.

Beyond those places [just mentioned], with two seemingly strong reasons the nations prove the reprobation of Israel, and being the destroyed people rather than the chosen. The first, that God does not make miracles with them, nor those signs and prodigious wonders that he made when they were in his grace: destroying their enemies, opening the sea to them, stopping the sun for them, getting water from stone for them, and raining Manna from the sky for them, sustaining them with his powerful hand, giving them Princes to govern them, priests to bless them, Prophets to announce the future to them, lands to give them abundance, cities to inhabit. But now it is the opposite, exiled from their land they walk wandering through the world without a King, without a Prince, nor priest, nor Prophet, without their own city, nor a palm tree on their own land, poor, miserable, and afflicted, frightened of a trembling leaf,²³⁶ with a scared heart their lives hang before them, and frightened of the day and of the night, they do not believe in their lives, nor are they sure of their home, as it says in the Scripture, and despised by all, they are the opprobrium and the affront of all the nations.²³⁷

But if they truly considered [the situation] they will find that in this baseness and general contempt of the Jews the Lord makes more miracles with them, and continues to do so, than in the old times, as much in life as in sustenance; because, what greater marvel than to see a lamb, a

²³⁶ Leviticus 26:36 "...the sound of a driven leaf shall put them to flight. Fleeing as though from the sword, they shall fall though none pursues." FB: "...y perseguirá a ellos boz de hoja empuxada, y fuirán de espada y caerán, y no persiguién."

²³⁷ Deuteronomy 28:1-14 tells how the Lord provided for Israel in abundance; verses 15-68 tell of the afflictions and misery Israel suffers for disobeying God's Law. The language Cardoso uses reflects the language found in the scripture: "⁶⁵...the Lord will give you there a trembling heart, and failing eyes, and a languishing soul; ⁶⁶ your life shall hang in doubt before you; night and day you shall be in dread, and have no assurance of your life." FB: "...y dará Adonay a ti allí corazón estremeado, y afinamiento de ojos, y dolor de alma. ⁶⁶ Y serán tus vidas colgadas a ti de escuenta, y espavorescete as de noche y de día, y no creerás en tus vidas."

sheep (as the Sages say) among seventy wolves without them shredding it and gorging on it. So is the nation of Israel among the 70 nations of the world:²³⁸ the carnivorous wolves or rampant lions want to tear them and swallow them whole, and God, as their true Pastor, does not consent that they destroy them: many Kings and Monarchs sought to destroy them and extinguish their name with tyranny, oppression, and death, and they have been unable to accomplish their desire: there is no nation that has not unsheathed its sword against them and stained it in their angry blood, even though they were their same relatives of Edom, Moab, and Ishmael.²³⁹ They could not finish them, for this reason David said, *Many are my persecutors and foes; I have not swerved from Your decrees,*²⁴⁰ where the word [Hebrew letters] *Rabim* (many) encloses in the four letters the four Monarchies and Reigns that pursued Israel. The (R) are the Romans, the (B) the Babylonians, the (I) Iavan or Iones who are the Greeks, the (M) the Mede and Persians, all of these sought to exterminate them with their cruel sentences and decrees, but I was not deterred from your will because it was always firm in the Law, nor could they drown it in the many waters of exiles and persecutions. The fragile cane and the humble junco in the waters with the tempests and winds bringing them down, and they bend, but passing through the fury of the storm, they return to straighten themselves and lift themselves; the tall cedars remain fallen, and the pines [14] risen: like the Monarchies, the magnificent cedars of the nations, they fell while the humble juncos remained on their feet. The Hebrews are the reefs²⁴¹ against which the Princes break their furious ships, they are the sands of the sea not only for their number as God said to Abraham, and their great multitude, but also because of the swollen waves of the seas, and the

²³⁸ *Pesiq. Rab.* 9.2. B. Aubert, *The Shepherd-Flock Motif in the Miletus Discourse: (Acts 20:17-38) Against Its Historical Background.*

²³⁹ Edom – the elder of Rebekah and Isaac’s twins, Esau and Jacob. Esau (Edom) took his descendants and founded the nation of Edom. The story of Jacob and Esau begins in Genesis 25. Moab – the son of Lot and his eldest daughter and the father of the Moabites, a kingdom neighboring Israel. Ishmael – the son of Abraham and the slave woman Hagar.

²⁴⁰ Psalm 119:157

²⁴¹ Cardoso uses the word *escollo* – ‘reef’ or ‘obstacle,’ ‘danger.’

persecutions of the tyrants of the sand, and the humility of the Jews destroys them, and they break.

With great propriety and elegance, the Psalmist describes this violence and rigor of the peoples with Israel together with the hand of the Lord that frees them, they said, *Let us wipe them out as a nation; Israel's name will be mentioned no more,*²⁴² and in another part, *Let us break the cords of their yoke, shake off their ropes from us,* but later it says, *He who is enthroned in heaven laughs; the Lord mocks at them,*²⁴³ as the Lord mocks their perverse intentions.

Another Psalm paints to life the desires that the nations have of swallowing Israel, and the Lions of shredding the lamb, and how Divine piety saves us from their teeth. *Were it not for the Lord, who was on our side, let Israel now declare, were it not for the Lord, who was on our side when men assailed us, they would have swallowed us alive in their burning rage against us; the waters would have carried us off, the torrent would have swept over us; over us would have swept the seething waters. Blessed is the Lord, who did not let us be ripped apart by their teeth. We are like a bird escaped from the fowler's trap; the trap broke and we escaped. Our help is the name of the Lord, maker of heaven and earth.*²⁴⁴

What greater wonder than to see a people persevere among nations for two thousand years with his name and with his Law when the other nations barely have memory. Where are the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Tyrians, the Phoenicians,²⁴⁵ and the Carthaginians, where are the Lacedaemonians,²⁴⁶ the Athenians, the Assyrians, the Greeks, the Romans? All have either been extinguished or their name has perished and transferred to other peoples without name,

²⁴² Psalm 83:5

²⁴³ Psalm 2:3, 2:4 In verse four, the Lord is laughing at the futility of the nations “conspiring” against Israel.

²⁴⁴ Psalm 124 quoted in its entirety. The text mistakenly identifies the quote as Psalm 114.

²⁴⁵ Phoenicia is the Greek name for the region called Canaan, and can be used to refer to the people living in the region of Canaan before the emergence of the Israelites. For more information on the Phoenicians and their connection to the Israelites, see “Phoenicia, Phoenicians,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16.

²⁴⁶ Lacedaemon was a region in Greece that included Sparta and its surrounding area.

without King, and without the old Laws. Only in the Jews does his name endure, his Law, his succession, without moving on to other rites. Even though various Princes wanted to end their memory, God promised them this, *I will make an end of all the nations, but I will not make an end of you,*²⁴⁷ and in another part, *Israel was holy to the Lord, the first fruits of His harvest. All who ate of it were held guilty; disaster befell them, declares the Lord,*²⁴⁸ and in chapter 30 of the same prophet it says, *Assuredly, all who wanted to devour you shall be devoured, and every one of your foes shall go into captivity; those who despoiled you shall be despoiled, and all who pillaged you I will give up to pillage.*²⁴⁹

The mysterious bush²⁵⁰ burns without being burnt in that Sacred vision of Moses on the mountain of Sinai;²⁵¹ it is a symbol portraying the people of Israel embraced by persecutions and in the fire of captivity, and yet never consumed, always preserved by the Divinity which protects them. Amon,²⁵² Antiochus,²⁵³ and the other tyrants thought of finishing Israel once and for all and of extinguishing their name, but they were vain thoughts; they were the ones consumed, and Israel was conserved, unscathed [15] and safe. In that admirable vision there was the spiny Bush, the fire that seared, and the Divinity that defended. The Bush is the Jews, the fire the captivity, the voice that spoke into the middle is the Lord, who in the middle of the afflictions and calamities protects us and defends us and does not permit the Bush to consume itself, and it

²⁴⁷ Jeremiah 30:11, 46:28

²⁴⁸ Jeremiah 2:3

²⁴⁹ Jeremiah 30:16

²⁵⁰ Cardoso uses the word *sarça* for 'bush.' According to the Real Academia Española, *sarça* is *zarza* in modern Spanish, and it refers to a specific type of bush: a blackberry bush. The Ferrara Bible also names the bush the *çarça* while English translations are to 'bush.' In the 1611 dictionary put together by Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, the word *zarza* refers to a spiny bush (*mata espinosa*). For the entry, see Covarrubias, "Zarza."

²⁵¹ Exodus 3:2-4:17

²⁵² Amon, king of Judah from 642 – 640 B.C.E. when he was assassinated for reasons not specified in the Bible. ("Amon" *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 2). II Kings 21:19-26 and II Chronicles 33:20-25 recount his short reign.

²⁵³ Antiochus IV Epiphanes r. 175 – 164 B.C.E. In the year 168, Antiochus violently repressed an uprising in Jerusalem, killing and enslaving thousands of Jews. In 167, decrees passed giving Jews an ultimatum: either stop observing Judaism or be executed ("Antiochus IV Epiphanes," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 2).

burns. According to this symbol, *I will not make an end of you*,²⁵⁴ explaining the bird hunt in Abraham's marvelous vision, the volatile animal and the birds of prey wanted to snatch the turtledove and the dove, symbol of Israel, which the cruel and thirsty Eagles, vultures, and red kites want to destroy, sucking their blood and drinking the life. And note that God does not appear in the high beech trees, nor in the raised larches,²⁵⁵ nor in the leafy banana trees, but in the humble Bush, indicating that the Divinity does not rest in the grandiosity and the lofty, but rather in the low and humble which are the seat of virtue and of holiness, and for the same reason he gave his Holy Law in low, small, and spiny Mount Sinai, which the Bush also stands for. Because of the Law they lead their lives in hard work and afflictions, and not for delights and vices, and as it is a thorny plant, the thistles, the points, and the spines stand for the continuation of the captivity that the Hebrews are in, but God is still with them, *Have no fear, my servant Jacob*,²⁵⁶ with him one is in anguish and in oppression, in order to liberate him intact, and preserve him from the ruins, preserving always his people and his name.

In terms of the sustenance, what greater miracle than to sustain a people in the midst of their enemies and oppressed without heritage nor roots, and God fed them like the crows feed their children, thrown from the nest and exiled from their parents the dew of the sky sustains them, as it says in the Psalm, *to the raven's brood what they cry for*,²⁵⁷ and first it says in Job, *Who provides food for the raven when his young cry out to God?*²⁵⁸ In this way the Jews, banished from their lands to opposing nations that all mistreat them nor allow them to have possessions, and in many not even a means of employment in which to pass their life, and the

²⁵⁴ See n, 148. The text cites the quote as coming from Genesis 16.

²⁵⁵ Larches are coniferous trees with deciduous needles. They grow in colder climates in the northern hemisphere, such as in the Pacific Northwest of North America and in England ("Larch (*Larix*)").

²⁵⁶ Jeremiah 46:27

²⁵⁷ Psalm 147:9

²⁵⁸ Job 38:41

Lord sustains them from the dew of the sky, and from his grace it has been close to two thousand years, with singular Providence, not being among them mendicant priests like you see in other nations,²⁵⁹ nor do they walk asking for alms from strangers, they help each other and support each other. As God sustained them in the Desert for forty years by giving them Manna from the sky, so now he sustains them in the world through many centuries of years with the Manna of his Providence, making it so that they find grace in the peoples in making themselves valuable to them, or, in deals and business looking to them for occasions for the commodities of life. All of this is an effect of those Divine words, *Yet, even then, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them so as to destroy them utterly.*²⁶⁰ And this is what the Emperor Frederick III said, that the Hebrews had in their Bible a *simia*, and that with reason they should write with letters of gold because that Hebrew word [Hebrew letters] *af* [16] (that they also interpret) means *simia* in Yiddish,²⁶¹ as they understand it. They were happy with that prophecy that favors them so much: that God does not despise them, not even in the land of their enemies, as Cornelius a Lapide cites about this chapter.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ Mendicant friars of the Dominican and Franciscan orders walked from community to community preaching against the Jews, in Italy as well as all over Europe. The friars in Italy, where Jews were allowed to live, used usury as their primary weapon against the Jews: Jews were accused of sucking the blood/life out of Christians through their usurious practices and of partaking in ritual murder. Successful speakers, such as Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) and Bernardino da Feltre (1439-1494), actually incited violence and/or expulsions from the community in which the friar was preaching; the political powers in the locality sometimes restricted the friars access to the community unless they agreed not to be so aggressive in their sermon in an attempt to avoid violence. For more information on the impact of the mendicant friars, and for specific accounts of the results of such sermons, see R. Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 21-29.

Cardoso seems to be referring to the Hebrew Nation when he states that there are no mendicant friars “among them as in other nations.” Cardoso cites the lack of priests as advantageous; he rejects the practice of the mendicant orders, a Christian practice, and explains to his audience that the Hebrew Nation is better off without the wandering priests.

²⁶⁰ Leviticus 26:44

²⁶¹ *Simia* – Yiddish for ‘then,’ ‘despite all of this.’ *Af* – Hebrew for ‘yet,’ ‘for all that.’ Cardoso is saying for all that God may punish the Jews, His prophecy of their future beneficence will still come true.

²⁶² Cornelius a Lapide (b. 1566? – 1637) – Jesuit commentator; wrote a commentary on the entire Bible, minus Psalms and the book of Job.

The second reason with which people prove the reprobation of Israel is the long captivity of one thousand, six hundred years which are made up of three general captivities, one in Egypt, one in Babylon, and the present one of the Romans. Captivity in Egypt lasted two hundred and ten years and was either occasioned by the selling of Joseph or for other sins,²⁶³ and afterwards they were redeemed; the captivity in Babylon happened due to the sin of idolatry, for the kings adored many idols as did the nation in the first House, and it lasted seventy years, at the end of which they were liberated and brought to the Holy land;²⁶⁴ the third captivity was that of the Romans, but not for idolatry as there was none during the second Temple. It is necessary to say that their having been placed in a long captivity of many centuries of years is necessitated by another greater and more grave sin than that of idolatry: they have a longer captivity and wander exiled and reproved by the Lord for the sin they call Deicide, for the death of Xpo [Christ]. This argument is the Achilles' heel and the principal weapon with which the foreigners as well as the converts from Judaism to other laws wound and oppugn the Hebrews. They use the Lira, the Burg,²⁶⁵ and many other means in order to convince the Jews and affirm that they are no longer the chosen ones, but rather the peoples have another calling, and they were newly elected in Israel's place, lost to them for some abominable wickedness and sin that they committed.

²⁶³ One of the patriarch Jacob's twelve sons, Joseph, has the ability to interpret prophetic dreams, and he dreams that he will rise above his brothers in rank and power. In addition, he becomes Jacob's most loved son. Out of greed, for money, jealousy, for Jacob's favoritism, and fear, that Joseph really will rise in power, Joseph's brothers sell him as a slave to Ishmaelites returning to Egypt. In Egypt Joseph's prophetic dreams come true, and he makes a name and a high-ranking position for himself as advisor to Pharaoh. His story begins in Genesis 37 with a prophetic dream and continues to the end of Genesis 50 with Jacob bringing the rest of the family down into Egypt and joining Joseph there. The last verse of Genesis tells of Joseph's death.

²⁶⁴ In 586, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (605-562 BCE) conquered Jerusalem, destroyed the temple, took captive a large portion of the population of Judah, and Judah became a province under Nebuchadnezzar ("Nebuchadnezzar" *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 15).

²⁶⁵ Lira – Italian money; burg – a medieval town, a fortress (OED). I am not sure exactly what Cardoso means here when he refers to the lira and burg, but perhaps he is referring to the fact that the Jews had been economically oppressed and physically at risk for much of their exile. Cardoso could also be referring to the strategy of the Christians of withholding access to their city and deny them opportunity to make money. For instance the ghetto in Rome was established specifically to encourage Jews to convert to Catholicism. See Stow, "New Fashioned from the Old."

But this argument that they judge so effective and so intractable does not have any real force because it need be proved only once that the Hebrews wandered exiled and scattered through the world before the death of Christ, and the destruction of the second House will certainly bring them together. The captivity is not for that reason [Deicide], but rather for the transgression of the Law, as the Prophets announced to everyone.

Strabo, the celebrated geographer and historian in the time of Augustus Caesar, writes about Cyrene, the City of Africa,²⁶⁶ *There are four types of men in the city of Cyrene: citizens, farmers, foreigners, and the fourth is Jews, and one finds these four hierarchies in all cities. It would not be easy to find a place in all the earth where, at one time having received this nation, it does not persevere. Because Egypt, Cyrene, and many other Provinces have admitted his Religion, they maintain great Congregations of Indians that have grown with time and live with his same laws.*²⁶⁷ Josephus also refers to Strabo when, talking about his nation, he says that they filled the roundness of the earth,²⁶⁸ and Philo, in the book he wrote as ambassador to the Emperor Gaius Caligula, introduces King Agrippa of the Jews, telling the Emperor that Jerusalem is not only the Metropolis of Judea but also of the many Provinces where Jews live in colonies of Hebrews. As colonies they transferred themselves to places such as Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, [17] Pamphylia, Bithynia, and the Pontus; and in Europe, to Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the islands of Euboea,²⁶⁹ Cyprus, Crete, and along the Euphrates, and in sum all the fertile and abundant Cities are inhabited by Jews in Asia, Africa,

²⁶⁶ Cyrene was a central trading region situated in modern-day northern Libya. From 430 B.C.E. onwards, the region became part of the Greek civilization; in 74 B.C.E. Cyrene became a Roman province. Given its central location in the Mediterranean, Cyrene remained part of the politics between Greece and Egypt, and then Rome and Egypt until its decline in 365 C.E. after a major earthquake and tidal wave. "Archaeological Site of Cyrene." *UNESCO*.

²⁶⁷ Strabo quoted in Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiii 115-118

²⁶⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiv 287-288

²⁶⁹ Greece's second largest island after Crete.

and Europe, as much in the maritime as in the terrestrial, or on islands.²⁷⁰ In the book against Flaccus of Egypt,²⁷¹ he says the Jews do not fit in one sole province; due to the multitude of the people they live in many [provinces] and rich cities, and in many provinces and islands of Asia and Europe, recognizing as the Head the Holy City. The same says that in Egypt there were one million Jews in the time of Gaius Caligula before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Strabo, speaking of Alexandria, says that the Hebrews had streets signaling where they could live with charters and had Governors of their own nation with absolute jurisdictional power, as if it was its own Republic;²⁷² this is the reason why the profane Authors do not hit upon saying succinctly the original land and the ancient house of the Hebrew nation, because they see it [the Hebrew nation] nearby in all the provinces in the world. Clearchus²⁷³ says that the Hebrews have their origin in India, Justinus²⁷⁴ in Damascus, Stefano Bizancio²⁷⁵ that they are the descendants of the Solymos de Lycia, and Tacitus²⁷⁶ and Josephus also refer to this opinion. Manetho that their lineage is in Arabia, Strabo says in Egypt, Tacitus in Candia.

From the time of Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed the Holy City and burned the Temple, the Hebrews wander scattered among the nations, and according to some Spanish authors in their histories of Spain,²⁷⁷ he carried them with him, and they built in Spain some cities and populations, such as Toledo, Escalona, Maqueda, Iepes, Noves, the hill of the Eagle, Tembleque, and Guardia in memory of some cities that they had in the Holy Land, like Ascalon, Maquedá, Iope & etc., and the word Toledo derives from [Hebrew letters] *Toledot* which means

²⁷⁰ Cardoso closely follows Philo's description of the dispersion of the Jews among all the colonies, taken from Philo, *The Embassy to Gaius*, 281-282.

²⁷¹ See Horst and Philo, *Philo's Flaccus*

²⁷² Strabo quoted in Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiv 117

²⁷³ Clearco quoted in Josephus, *Against Apion*, I 177-182

²⁷⁴ In the margin, Cardoso cites Justinio Lib. 36.

²⁷⁵ Stefano de Urb

²⁷⁶ Tacitus

²⁷⁷ Josephus, *Against Apion*, i 131, *Antiquities*, x 146, 181-183; Strabo Lib. 16.

generations, meaning the generations of Jews that came together to found it [Toledo] in the time of Asvero. At the time of the Kings of Persia they were in all the one hundred and seventy-seven provinces of the Empire that stretched from India to Europe to the meridian in Ethiopia, and liberated by Darius they did not turn from those kings but stayed four hundred and some thousand [years?] as is written in the words of Ezra.²⁷⁸ That freedom from captivity was not true redemption, instead it was a calling, as the Sages call it, but those few that returned to the second House lacked those five excellent principals which illuminated the first house: the Ark, the Oil for the unction, the fire from the sky, Urim and Thummim, and the Prophecy.

The ten Tribes that Shalmaneser captured in the time of King Hisquiau before the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar were transferred over the provinces of Media in the Tartary, or, Scythia.

[18] Pompey Magnus was the first of the Romans that subjected Jerusalem before founding his Empire; he made it his province and carried many Jews to Rome. In the time of Augustus Caesar from Palestine came five hundred Legates [Legados] to deal with the Emperor in several important business functions, and Josephus²⁷⁹ says that they found in Rome eight thousand Jews, sent ahead and established nearby, to accompany them and serve them, and they all lived on the other part of the Tiber, the place Marcial calls the Jewish Transtiberian. And King Antiochus sent two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia in order to assure himself of the Lydians and to preside over his Reign.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ "...the pro-Jewish royal Hellenistic decrees cited in Josphus, Aristeas and other Jewish works are of a piece with the pro-Jewish decrees ascribed to Persian kings in the biblical book of Ezra, and that both sets of documents are spurious" (Marcus 746).

²⁷⁹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xvii

²⁸⁰ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii 147-153 Antiochus III sent Jews to pacify revolts in Phrygia and Lydia. Quoting from a letter sent by Antiochus, Josephus records, "I determined to transport two thousand Jewish families with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the fortresses and most important places. For I am convinced that they will be loyal guardians of our interests because of their piety to God."

This clearly proves that the Hebrews do not wander exiled and scattered through the world for that death that occurred in Jerusalem in the time of Tiberius as they say, because many centuries before this they were spilled over the nations, and another cause of this scattering and captivity was for not having kept the Holy Law that the Lord gave them on Sinai, as the Prophets say, and singularly the Lord ponders it through Jeremiah, and in his own words he responds denouncing the destruction of the Holy City and the exile and captivity of his children, saying, *And when you announce all these things to that people, and they ask you, 'Why has the Lord decreed upon us all this fearful evil? What is the iniquity and what the sin that we have committed against the Lord our God?' say to them, 'Because your fathers deserted Me – declares the Lord – and followed other gods and served them and worshiped them; they deserted Me and did not keep My Instruction. And you have acted worse than you fathers, every one of you following the willfulness of his evil heart and paying no heed to Me. Therefore I will hurl you out of this land to a land that neither you nor your fathers have known, and there you will serve other gods, day and night; for I will show you no mercy,*²⁸¹ and much earlier in the Law the Lord had prophesized the causes of this exile and destruction of our lands, saying, *if you spurn my statutes, and if your soul abhors my ordinances, so that you will not do all my commandments, but break my covenant, I will set my face against you, and you shall be smitten before your enemies; those who hate you shall rule over you, and you shall flee when none pursues you. And I will bring a sword upon you, that shall execute vengeance, and my soul will abhor you. And I will lay your cities to waste, and will make your sanctuaries desolate. And I will scatter you among the nations, and I will unsheathe the sword after you and the sound of a driven leaf shall put them to flight, and you shall have no power to stand before your enemies.*

²⁸¹ Jeremiah 16:10-13

*And you shall perish among the nations, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up etc.,*²⁸² and in Deuteronomy in the blessings and curses he repeats the same and announces to the living what we are now passing through with these heavy and grave words, *But if you will not obey the voice of the Lord your God or be careful to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command you this day, then all these curses shall come upon you and overtake you. You shall build a house, and you shall not dwell in it; you shall plant a vineyard, and you shall not know the fruit of it. The Lord will bring to you, and your king whom you set over you, to a nation that neither you nor your fathers have known; and there you shall serve other gods, of wood and stone. And you shall become a horror, a proverb, and a byword, [19] among all the peoples where the Lord will lead you away. You shall beget sons and daughters, but they shall not be yours; for they shall go into captivity. And the Lord will scatter you among all the peoples. And among these nations you shall find no ease but the Lord will give you there a trembling heart, and failing eyes, and a languishing soul; your life shall hang in doubt before you; night and day you shall be in dread, and have no assurance of your life. In the morning you shall say, 'Would it were evening!' and at evening you shall say, 'Would it were morning!'*²⁸³ Every sickness also, and every affliction which is not recorded in the book of this law, the Lord will bring upon you, until you are destroyed;²⁸⁴ because you did not serve the Lord your God with joyfulness and gladness of heart, by reason of abundance of all things.²⁸⁵ And he will bring upon you again all the diseases of Egypt, which you were afraid of; and they shall cleave to you;²⁸⁶ If you are not careful to do all the words of this law which are written in this book etc.²⁸⁷ Where they clearly

²⁸² Leviticus 26:15-38

²⁸³ Deuteronomy 28:15-67

²⁸⁴ Deuteronomy 28:61

²⁸⁵ Deuteronomy 28:47

²⁸⁶ Deuteronomy 28:60

²⁸⁷ Deuteronomy 28:58

show the cause for such a long captivity, of knowing what we do not do, and our fathers kept the Holy Law that the Lord gave to us on Sinai, not observing his commandments and judgments as we are obligated to, and having followed the desires of our heart even though it says later in chapter thirty that if they turn in penitence in the lands of captivity and listen to the voice of the Lord and to his commandments, then he will throw from them their captivity, and he will gather them from all the nations where he scattered them, even though his pushing comes from the heavens, from there the Lord will gather them, and he will carry them to the land that their parents inherited.

From all of these places and reasons one infers that the Lord never completely renounced his nation, rather he covered his love, nor did he substitute another in their place by leaving the son in exchange for strangers. With luck the father, even though the son gravely sins, castigates him, banishes him, and throws him from his sight, but does not repudiate him nor renounce him but only for some time parts from him, and then later collects him, and with the love of a father caresses him and returns him to his first state. Absalom, beloved son of David, violently killed his brother Amnon who had committed a detested act with their sister Tamar,²⁸⁸ so his father exiled him from his sight for some years, but afterward the entreaties of Joab and the prayer of the wise Tekoa turned him to receive him as a beloved son who reduced him tenderly, and with paternal love he gathered him to him. Even after ambition and the fault of disobedience to God and to his father grew, wanting to usurp the Reign, the life, and committing adultery with his wives, and pursuing through the desert those he engendered, with all this gravity of sins his father still loved him as a son and trusted him tenderly, so that they would have saved his life in battle.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ 2 Samuel 13

²⁸⁹ 2 Samuel 14-19

In this way are the Hebrews, being the adopted and sworn nation of the Lord, caressed with many praises and loves, as it says, *whoever touches you touches the pupil of his own eye.*²⁹⁰ With all the sins they committed and commit against his Divine Majesty, he castigates them like a father, but he does not reject them; he exiles them without renouncing them, the punishment being temporary and the love perpetual, punishments of love, and the immense affection with which he embraces his children, and he desires [20] to reduce them to his grace, which they achieve through penitence.

The long length of captivity and the exile of many centuries is to expiate our crimes and those of our fathers, even now still purging for the sin of the calf,²⁹¹ but even after punishing the Lord clearly said, *but when I make an accounting, I will bring them to account for their sins.*²⁹² There were many other places of idolatry and they committed other abominations, and long punishments are necessary for great faults, and one thousand years in the presence of God is as if it were one day. He exiled them into the world not only for expiation and punishment, because for this it is enough to exile them to one or another province, but rather he wanted the world to know of his Sacrosanct Unity that they eternally make public, and that the presence of their customs reforms Kings. Therefore we conclude that the cause of Israel's exile and of their long captivity is for no other reason than not keeping the Law that God gave to them through Moses, observing neither his precepts nor his judgments, and that they will always be his chosen nation and loved as he affirms through his Prophets: *For this to Me is like the waters of Noah: as I swore that the waters of Noah nevermore would flood the earth, so I swear that I will not be angry with you or rebuke you. For the mountains may move and the hills be shaken, but my*

²⁹⁰ Zechariah 2:12

²⁹¹ Exodus 32 In the desert the people make a golden calf to worship; in anger Moses breaks the first Ten Commandments that God gave him to present to the people.

²⁹² Exodus 32:34

loyalty shall never more move from you, nor My covenant of friendship be shaken – said the Lord, who takes you back in love,²⁹³ For He who made you will espouse you. He is called ‘God of all the Earth’ etc.,²⁹⁴ and David, You have established Your people Israel as Your very own people forever; and You, O Lord, have become their God.²⁹⁵

The peoples repair and only remember the prophecies of our calamities and contempt, as *We have become the butt of our neighbors, the scorn and derision of those around us.²⁹⁶ And You will be the opprobrium of the peoples and the example.* But they do not notice the prophecies of our consolation and grandness, as in Zephaniah, *For I will make you renowned and famous among all the peoples on earth, when I restore your fortunes before their very eyes²⁹⁷* says the Lord. And in Zechariah, *And as you were a curse among the nations, O House of Judah and House of Israel, so, when I vindicate you, you shall become a blessing. Have no fear; take courage:²⁹⁸* and as the prophecies have been certain of the evils and of the destructions, so they also verify themselves the prophecies of the bounty and happiness. God calls but a small point all of this long captivity that we suffer for so many years; after the ultimate redemption they will enjoy eternal happiness and liberty, their past captivities becoming only a minute of calamity, as the Lord says through his prophet Isaiah, *For a little while I forsook you, but with vast love I will bring you back. In slight anger I hid My face from you; but with kindness everlasting I will take you back in love.²⁹⁹* The Lord punishes slight points and with slight anger, and he awards and pities with eternal consolations. Through the Prophet Jeremiah he assures us of our happiness, making the good times as certain as the bad times, saying, *As I have brought this terrible disaster*

²⁹³ Isaiah 54:9-10

²⁹⁴ Isaiah 54:5

²⁹⁵ 1 Chronicles 17:22

²⁹⁶ Psalm 79:4

²⁹⁷ Zephaniah 3:20

²⁹⁸ Zechariah 8:13

²⁹⁹ Isaiah 54:7-8

*upon this people, so I am going to bring upon them the vast good fortune which I have promised for them.*³⁰⁰

[21] The people, seeing the lowness of the Jews and the miserable state of their dispersion without King, Priest, or government, and without those favors and graces that the Lord once shared with them, say that God passed from Judaism to the gentiles and moved from one nation to another, leaving Israel and calling to the other nations. But this is clearly a trick, and they should know God more precisely and know what he himself says through his prophets. He says that he will never forget his nation, he will put the Law in their hearts, and he loves them with a perpetual love, *eternal love I conceived for you then*;³⁰¹ he punishes them as a child, he loves Israel more than a mother loves her child, he will remember his covenant that he made with their fathers, and with all of these caresses and this tenderness he assures us of the internal and eternal love that he has for his nation. It has always been the chosen one and was never renounced, and although the peoples say that he chose their nation for his, then why would God choose Israel as the nation to call with particular providence; the people to whom he gave the new Law and for whom he wrote his Commandments, the people who saw the majesty and Grandness of the Sacrosanct, accompanied by thousands of Angels and marvelous portents, on Mount Sinai? To which people did he give Kings and Priests from his hand and gave them their own land as heritage, where is the sacred gift of prophecy that he communicated to his servants, where is the Urim and Thummim of the highest Priest, where is the Sacred Temple where they saw him send fire from the heavens to the sacrifices, where are those public marvels and miracles patent to all? To which people did he show his judgments and reveal his precepts? If he has not given these prerogatives and wonders to any strange nation, but only to Israel, then it is

³⁰⁰ Jeremiah 32:42

³⁰¹ Jeremiah 31:3 (JPS); 31:2 (FB)

an evident sign that he has not moved away from the nation or from the Law, nor will he move, and with many promises he assures us, *God is not man to be capricious, or mortal to change His mind.*³⁰² It is a strange thing that some nations want to be Israel for the blessings, in spirit, for the favors, but they do not want to be Israel during the ordeals, in the corporeal, during the persecutions; they want to take part in the promised bounty but not in the evils that we suffer, but he will not be part of Israel in the glory he who was not also part of the pain.

It is very true that as the Hebrews are the sons and first born of God, and that the Lord gave them this title as they are intensely beloved by their Creator, and therefore he also gave them greater obligations: as the most favored, they should also be the most obligated and the most grateful. But on the contrary they were not grateful for so much beneficence, they forgot their father and their God who chose them to be his, and they worshipped the gods of the peoples, bowing down before wood and stone. They killed the Prophets, they spilled innocent blood, they committed incest and one thousand other abominations, after so much wickedness they deserved a total extermination, but God, through his pity, commuted their perdition to a long captivity so that [22] they could expiate their faults and purify themselves in the crucible of their lengthy exile until they return to themselves, and from their whole heart convert to him their God and follow perfectly his Holy Law, *For in Your sight a thousand years are like yesterday that has passed.*³⁰³ And if through leaving the Law they are castigated, for observing it they will be redeemed.

And it is not a slight accomplishment to see a people scattered and separated among many nations for so many Centuries, exiled but still keeping their rites and ceremonies, and be like a Republic apart governing themselves by the Law that God gave to them, and by the Sages

³⁰² Numbers 23:19

³⁰³ Psalm 90:4

their Ministers, and Governors for intermediaries among the peoples and the Princes in whose lands we are in that God wanted to give us as consolation as explained marvelously by Jacob's prophecy: he will not throw away the rod of Judah or throw the notary from between his feet until Messiah comes. That is, he will not cast away the rod of the dominion from the Jews until the arrival of the Messiah; they will always be in charge and will govern themselves through the Sages and their rites and ceremonies, weddings, burials, festivals, and traditions, all conforming to the Law that God entrusted to us. He does not say 'crown', but 'rod' which indicates dominion, and the Sages themselves are the notaries that decree and sentence according to Scripture. It was this way during the captivity of Babylonia: they had their own Judges even though they were subjects of the Kings of Persia and Assyria, and even after the liberation of the Holy Land their Judges and Sages were subjects of the Persians or of the Romans. It is the same now among the gentiles: they have their own Governors and Deputies as if they were a separate Republic; the concession and privilege of the Princes allow them to govern themselves according to their laws and customs.

[23] Second Wonder of the Jews

One People

*And who is like Your people Israel*³⁰⁴

The Royal Prophet David and his son Solomon said in the Divine Songs, speaking of the wife, the Congregation of Israel, *Only one is my dove, My perfect one*,³⁰⁵ with these three titles

³⁰⁴ 2 Samuel 7:23 "And who is like Your people Israel, a unique nation on earth, whom God went and redeemed as His people, winning renown for Himself and doing great and marvelous deeds for them and for Your land – driving out nations and their gods before Your people, whom You redeemed for Yourself from Egypt."

FB: "Y ¿quién como tu pueblo, como Ysrael, gente una en la tierra, que anduvieron (mensageros) del Dio para redimir a él por pueblo y para poner a él nombre, y para fazer a vos la grandeza y temoridades a tu tierra delante tu pueblo que redemiste a ti de Egypto de gentes y sus dioses?"

³⁰⁵ Songs 6:9

they celebrate her as the dove, the perfect, and the one. It is a great prerogative to be the one from among all the peoples and the one to carry the sign of Unity. Two names, or two epithets, Israel gave to her God, calling him One and calling him Holy, and they themselves return to God, naming him one and holy, *For you are a people consecrated to the Lord your God,*³⁰⁶ naming them as one. *Only one is my dove, My perfect one*, he gives Israel the title of ‘one’ twice in the same verse, and on this the Prophet King pondered when he says, *There is none like You and there is no other God but you, and who is like Your people Israel, a unique nation on earth,*³⁰⁷ putting the unity of Israel after the Unity of the Lord, and the unity of Israel as the unending manifestation of Everlasting Unity. An admirer of this Hebraic unity, the great and gentile Prophet Balaam said, *There is a people that dwells apart, not reckoned among the nations.*³⁰⁸ Israel does not speak among the peoples of the world, instead Israel makes a union apart, being separate from all the peoples and chosen by the Lord from among all, the only people to venerate the One and to serve him with the occult and the precepts that he has taught them. And the Sages note that Balaam begins with that diction [Hebrew letters] *En*, that in Hebrew consists of two letters, E and Nun; and the letter [Hebrew] fifth in the Alphabet is worth five in numbers and is the only letter in the decenary that does not have a companion in order to equal ten, while all the others do, as in two and eight equal ten, three and seven, four and six, nine and one being different equal ten; only the [Hebrew] cannot equal ten except with another [Hebrew] and the same with the [other Hebrew] that amounts to fifty and does not have a companion in the number one hundred except with another of the same, in this way Israel is also one and cannot come together with any other except Israel. With this same consideration he put the letter [Hebrew] in Abraham’s name and in the name of Sarah his wife, one of the letters of

³⁰⁶ Deuteronomy 7:6

³⁰⁷ 2 Samuel 7:22-23

³⁰⁸ Numbers 23:9

his Sacred name as a signal of their intimate union and as companions of the Divine fear.

Therefore from Hebrew letters, because they enclose grand mysteries, they deduce marvelous ideas.

Knowing well this unity of the Jews, [24] Haman, that proud advisor of Ahasuerus, or Artaxerxes,³⁰⁹ when inducing the King to destroy them, said to him, *There is a certain people, scattered and dispersed among the other peoples in all the provinces of your realm, whose laws are different from those of any other people and who do not obey the king's laws.*³¹⁰ He alerts [the King] to their unity and separateness as the people as a whole in order to make [Israel] more repulsive, but this same fact makes Israel more singular and marvelous for they are as one people, the progeny among all other peoples and are divided from all by the Law. He calls the nation one, scattered, and separated, and although they are scattered they are always one. In a nation or province like in Italy, France, or Spain, there are many nations in one, and so many people came to live in them and became mixed among them that they do not know the true and original; on the contrary, Israel is one people among many, one although scattered and separated through all parts and different, and their Law quiets all other laws. The nations divided themselves into seventy after the Tower of Babylon, according to the seventy languages into which the men then divided themselves, but the Hebrew language, singular and unchanging in the world, alone remained reserved in the family of Heber and continued after with Abraham as sacred and formed itself in the sacred people. As one of one people and chosen by the Lord, the Hebrews are not counted among the seventy nations, and for this Balaam said, *there is a people*

³⁰⁹ The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* has an entry for both Ahasuerus (“Ahasuerus” vol. 1) and Artaxerxes (“Ataxerxes vol. 2). However, in the encyclopedia’s entry on Esther, the author of the entry refers to Esther’s husband as Ahasuerus (“Esther” vol. 6).

³¹⁰ Esther 3:8

*not reckoned among the nations,*³¹¹ and as they are chosen by God, and separate from all others, it seems that they are one half among men and one half among the Angels; therefore they do not count them among the peoples. They allude to this same unity in the Passover of Succoth or from the Tabernacle with the sacrifices of the seventy bulls made in seven days according to the seventy nations of the world; the nations offered their sacrifices in the Holy City, and on the eighth day they dedicated one bull only for the nation of Israel in order to demonstrate for all the unity of this people placed apart.

From three things proceeds the unity of Israel: from the progeny, from the Law, and from the great love and brotherhood that they have for themselves. The unity of the progeny they show in that they are the descendants of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, three distinguished Patriarchs that deserved with particular favor to be chosen, and the Lord titled himself their God as many times as he repeats it in the Sacred letters. The prophet Isaiah explained this unity, *Look back to Abraham for he was only one when I called him, but I blessed him and made him many.*³¹² One called to Abraham, because he had to be the Head and the foundation of an elect people, and he [God] exalted him greatly by calling him [Abraham] his friend, a title that one does not find for any other Saint in the Scripture, and in Ezekiel it says, *Abraham was but one man, yet he was granted possession of the land.*³¹³ From the progeny of Abraham he chose Isaac and not the other sons of Hagar and Keturah, and in Isaac he chose for himself Jacob, and not Esau, and in Jacob he chooses all and in all his twelve sons, twelve Princes and Tribes of the nation of Israel.

[25] The Lord is such a friend of the union that at the beginning of the world, when there was much need for creating many men after whom many more could proceed, he created just one

³¹¹ Numbers 23:9

³¹² Isaiah 51:2

³¹³ Ezekiel 33:24

in order to make him first among all the others, and even the woman herself he formed from the man from one of his ribs so that he reduced all to one root and foundation, so that all men would have among themselves an internal love and close union as they are derived from the same body and substance. And the Lord, saying that it was not good for man to be alone and that he wanted to make for him a companion similar to him, makes the woman from the same bone and from the same body as the man in order to make them one and equal; therefore, man calls her body of my body and bone of my bones, and they will be one body. Later they divide this union and love with the two families of Seth and Cain, in virtue and in vice, putting in some the love of God and in others the love of earthly things until they turned to corruption and wickedness. The flood came that destroyed that dissolute age, leaving only Noah and his sons free from the general punishment and inundation of the Globe, but not mending themselves afterwards, they gave themselves to pride, to ambition, filling the land with idols and with superstitions until the Lord called to Abraham and made him Progenitor of a holy people, *for he was only one when I called him, but I blessed him and made him many.*³¹⁴ For being one he blesses him, and although he multiplies him, he is always one, and that is the wonder and singular property of the Unity: multiplied by itself it continues to make only one, the other numbers multiplied against themselves arrive at different sums, like two times two equals four, three times three nine, and so on with the rest, only the Unity remains always as one, as one times one is one, and the other numbers multiplied grow in grand number; just so Israel, although multiplied and scattered, is always one and perfect because the Unity is the best perfection and similarity to the Creator.

God made two Universal Fathers of the human species and of the world at diverse times, Adam and Noah, so that all men would imitate their virtues and follow their footsteps, and learned documents of the natural law, but seeing that they did not follow the first in the first age

³¹⁴ Isaiah 51:2

of the world, giving themselves up to the vices of the flesh and to robbery, nor the second in the second age of the division, turning to pride, to power, to idolatry, he wanted to raise a third father from the chosen people, to whom he could give his Law and who could know his name, *And who is like Your people Israel?*³¹⁵

The second and principal cause of the unity of Israel is the unity of the Law and the fervent devotion with which as one the Israelites received it, making them even more unified in spirit than in lineage and kinship, and they join their hearts with close ties. One was the Law that the Lord gave on Sinai, one the [26] general consensus of the recipients as when the Scripture notes, *And all the people answered as one, saying, 'All that the Lord has spoken we will do,'*³¹⁶ and this when Moses proposed the Law to them for God, if they wanted to receive it and hear it in his voice, and in chapter 24, *And all the people answered with one voice, saying, 'All the things which the Lord has commanded we will do.'*³¹⁷ Where it says in one voice and as one people it stands for the intrinsic unity of the people and the intense fervor that they had in receiving the Holy Law, and they all also said there, we will listen and we will do as the Lord said, anticipating the execution within their hearing. All received it in one voice, everyone embraced as one, everyone became one gathering in order to follow it, and from this union and conformity were born into being the sons of Israel, each one guarantor for the others and together they make a mystical body and a whole and equal compound; they are obligated to one another, and they are obligated to reprimand one another when they know that they do not follow the true path of the Law, as says the verse, *you shall not hate your kinsfolk in your heart. Reprove your kinsman but incur no guilt because of him,*³¹⁸ but human justice does not oversee the punishment

³¹⁵ 2 Samuel 7:23 See chapter two, n 1.

³¹⁶ Exodus 19:8

³¹⁷ Exodus 24:3

³¹⁸ Leviticus 19:17

of one by the others, *Concealed acts concern the Lord our God; but with overt acts, it is for us*.³¹⁹ that each one should only be punished for his sin confirms the Prophet's words, *a person shall be put to death only for his own crime*.³²⁰ But sometimes Divine Justice punishes others for the crime of one, with life, with possessions, but not in the soul as they saw in Achan;³²¹ one having robbed the language of gold, the precious blanket, and two hundred weights of silver in the city of Jericho, and afterwards the Israelites went up against the city of Hay in order to subjugate it, thirty-six died and three thousand more fled, and that with only one having committed the sin, and so for the sin of one the others were punished even if those that died had not incurred in Herem against the Divine command. God, who knows all things, would have punished them for other sins that they would have committed, as with the sin of David in telling the people, the Angel of the Lord killed seventy-five thousand men for the sin of just one man, but for chance God killed them for other particulars committed, principally in having followed Absalom's side against his father David, the verse says, *When Achan son of Zerah violated the proscription, anger struck the whole community of Israel*.³²²

The third cause of Israel's unity is the love and profound compassion with which they love each other, helping each other in the necessities and loving each other on all occasions, whether in joy or in pain, as the precept says, *Love your fellow as yourself*.³²³ Union and oneness are caused by the constancy and perseverance of the spirit, and disunion the cause of ruin and destruction, and in parting themselves from a union the forces belittle them and virtue diminishes. *Now that his boughs are broken up, he feels his guilt*, says the Lord through his

³¹⁹ Deuteronomy 29:28

³²⁰ Deuteronomy 24:16

³²¹ Joshua 1-26

³²² Joshua 22:20

³²³ Leviticus 19:18

Prophet.³²⁴ A united and whole crystal is beautiful, splendid, and transparent, but divided in parts and as dust it loses its beauty and becomes opaque; it is the same with [27] men, united they are beautiful and strong, but divided they are opaque and weak; the virtue of union was always stronger than that of being scattered; two oxen each carry little weight, but yoked together they carry a great weight. For this reason the Lord wants his people to serve him with one heart, so he says, *I will give them a single heart and a single nature to revere Me for all time, and I will put into their hearts reverence for Me, so that they do not turn away from Me.*³²⁵ God does not want half a heart, one half filled with love for him but the other filled with earthly things; rather, a whole heart, and not divided in order to follow multiple roads, for this Solomon said, *Give your mind to me, my son; let your eyes watch my ways,* and then he adds, *a harlot is a deep pit; a forbidden woman is a narrow well,*³²⁶ as if he said turn your heart to me and do not let it take part in mundane things, and if it enjoys sensuality and illicit women, then you will descend into a profound cave without the power to leave it, and so tight you will not be able to climb up. The Psalmist said, *I will praise You, O Lord, my God, with all my heart and pay honor to Your name forever;*³²⁷ *Teach me Your way, O Lord; I will walk in Your truth; let my heart be undivided in reverence for Your name.*³²⁸ David asks God that he unite his heart in order to fear him and not be diverted by the vanities of the world, in order to praise him perpetually; and to this alludes that wise gentile, Pythagoras, when in one of his occult Symbols he said, *It is important to man to be one*, meaning it is agreeable to depart from businesses and cares, and become one in virtue and in bond.

³²⁴ Hosea 10:2

³²⁵ Jeremiah 32:39-40

³²⁶ Proverbs 23:26-27

³²⁷ Psalm 86:12

³²⁸ Psalm 86:11

Two things and two symbols properly signified this unity of Israel, the Manna in the desert and the half shekel in the Holy Land. The same measurement of an omer³²⁹ served for all the Hebrews as an equal measure of Manna measured for all; he who collected more of the dew of the sky did not find more, and he that collected less was left to find the same, he equaled all with his grace, and he wanted all to be waiting day to day for the sustenance from his hand. To the poor, to the rich, to the grand and to the small he served the same amount in abundance, and the Divine grace shared equally among all, although it does not have the same effect on all given the variety of recipients: with the same help some showed themselves lukewarm in the service of God, and with the same help others showed themselves as fervent and burning in their fear of him. The rich have many temporary possessions, and the poor have little or none, the same grace influences interaction between them for their happiness, the poor will show their patience, and the rich their distribution and charity. The homer was a measurement of almost five [pounds?] per person, that he distributed equally to everyone from the sky as Manna, either compressing the greater quantity of those who gathered more, or widening the lesser of those that took less.³³⁰

The other signal, or, representation of the unity of the Hebrews was the half shekel that all the men over twenty paid all the years to the Sanctuary, or when they told the people [28] of some public cause like war or tribute or any other just thing. This coin served to buy all the sacrifices that pertained to the general population, the salt with which they salted, the wood they burned over the altar, the bread of the faces, the homer, the two loaves of Shavuot, the vermilion cow, the vestments of the Priests, and other public things, the rich as well as the poor gave, the King as well as the vassal. They instituted the victims and sacrifices for general pardoning and for giving thanks to the Lord, and he wanted all to take part equally without making any

³²⁹ Exodus 16:36 “the *Omer* is a tenth of an *ephah*.” Rabbis have interpreted the omer as a measurement of grain, specifically barley. See chapter one, n, 58 (“Omer” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15).

³³⁰ Exodus 16 God provides the people with manna for the forty years they wander in the desert.

distinction between persons, so that the thought that the proud ones gave more [than another] would not be born, before all were one in equality and in common union. All were one in this tribute, in this half shekel that they paid to the Lord and to his Holy Temple: and even though only the men of twenty years and older were obligated to pay the half shekel, everybody from the littlest ones to the women offered to him this devotion that he accepted as being part of the common service, and of all reigns and provinces of the world where there were Jews; from Asia, Africa, and Europe they sent the tribute to the Temple, and they took care to collect it in their time, and Josephus³³¹ tells that the Emperor Vespasian, after having subjugated Palestine and destroyed the Holy city, commanded that all the Jews each pay one of the two drachmas that is the half shekel to the palace, as before they were obligated to pay it to the Holy House, and this is what the Lord says through his prophet Ezekiel: if they did not walk in the paths of the Lord and in his precepts, good and just, he would give them precepts not so good and those are the decrees of the Princes and Kings which oppress the Jews, throwing tributes at them and great pensions and sometimes exile and death. And it is good to ponder the command of the Lord that they offer the half shekel, and not one, in order to understand that each Jew is one half of his companion and neighbor, and with the other half they become a whole composite in order to signify this invincible union, with which some bind and are obligated by the others, *Love your fellow as yourself*.³³²

Three times a year God commanded all Hebrews to appear in Jerusalem at the Holy Temple with their sacrifices, tenths and the first of the crops, and this communication and seeing one another made them as one. What also helped in those times was coming together three times a day to pray to the Lord of the world, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night, observing,

³³¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, vii

³³² Leviticus 19:18

as the Sages say, these three prayers of the three Patriarchs: of Abraham the morning prayer in accordance with the verse, *so early next morning Abraham rose*;³³³ for Isaac the afternoon prayer, *And Isaac went out walking in the field toward evening*,³³⁴ which explains the Chaldean for the word [Hebrew letters] *Lasuah* for ‘praying,’ and the Latin for ‘meditate’ is little different; for Jacob the night prayer from these words *and he came upon a certain place and stopped there for the night*,³³⁵ and he found the voice, they explain, and he prayed. Scripture says that Daniel prayed for these three prayers, *and three times a day he knelt down, prayed, and made confession to his God*,³³⁶ and David says, *evening, morning, and noon, I complain and moan*;³³⁷ the prayer for the morning is very appropriate for listening to, as the Psalm says, *Hear my voice, O Lord, at daybreak; at daybreak I plead before You, and wait*,³³⁸ and, importantly, it is more acceptable in the company of many, as it repeats here, *that I may praise You in a great congregation, acclaim You in a mighty throng*.³³⁹ With some appropriateness we can refer the three Passovers of the year to these three prayers of the day: the Passover of Pesach in the morning hour when the Lord began to hear the prayer of his people and he took them from servitude in Egypt; that of Shavuot for the prayer of the siesta, for the light and heat of the Law with which he illuminates and warms his people; and that of Succoth, or the Tabernacles, for the night, when the living return to their homes and rest from their fatigues, rest being the fruit and award of the previous merits: in sum, from this Spiritual union is born principally the union of the people of Israel, and the Scripture says, *the same ritual and the same rule shall apply to you and to the stranger who*

³³³ Genesis 22:3

³³⁴ Genesis 24:63

³³⁵ Genesis 28:11

³³⁶ Daniel 6:11

³³⁷ Psalm 55:18

³³⁸ Psalm 55:4

³³⁹ Psalm 35:18

resides among you,³⁴⁰ not only does the Law make all Jews one, it does so also to the pilgrims that reduce themselves to the Holy Law and observe its precepts.

In the time of Joshua,³⁴¹ it seemed to the children of Israel that the two tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh had separated themselves from the union of their brothers by raising an Altar next to the Jordan, already having possession of those lands,³⁴² and by raising on the altar sacrifices and metal idols, they parted from God and from their brotherhood. They sent to them Phinehas, son of Eleazar³⁴³ the Priest along with ten headmen from the Tribes to reprimand them gravely for this division, and they told them, *If you rebel against the Lord today, tomorrow He will be angry with the whole community of Israel.*³⁴⁴ Do not rebel against the Lord, and do not rebel against us by forging your altar beyond the altar of the Lord our God. Did not Achan the son of Zerah break faith in the matter of the devoted things, and wrath fall upon all the congregation of Israel? And did he not perish alone for his iniquity.³⁴⁵ But they certified that they had built the altar with good intentions and not to raise sacrifices and metal idols, but to be testimony among one another that all were one people and all served one God with the same cult and with the same circumstances. They accepted the excuse and quietly left them as impeding disunion mattered very much to the leaders because they could not follow God after disunion. The Lord wanted only an Altar and a Temple, where everyone comes together and adores him and serves him, one God, one people, and one Law.

³⁴⁰ Numbers 15:16

³⁴¹ The following paragraph tells of the events in Joshua 22.

³⁴² Joshua 22:4 “And now the Lord your God has given rest to your brethren, as he promised them; therefore turn and go to your home in the land where your possession lies, which Moses the servant of the Lord gave you on the other side of the Jordan.”

³⁴³ Josephus speaks at length about how Eleazar became high priest; Eleazar also sent the sages who helped Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt and freer of the Jews from slavery, transliterate Hebrew books on law to Greek. Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii 12-16

³⁴⁴ Joshua 22:18

³⁴⁵ Joshua 22:20 Cardoso does not put the quote in italics.

The politics of the State during the reign of King Jeroboam divided this union into the ten tribes of Israel and the two of Judah, disuniting the two reigns from an ambition to reign, and passing from ambition to idolatry, they adored the true God along with false gods, and for this Elijah reprimanded them, *How long will you keep hopping between two opinions? If the Lord is God, follow him; and if Baal, follow him!*³⁴⁶ But not even after killing four hundred prophets of idols and [30] the four hundred and fifty prophets that eat from the table of Jezebel,³⁴⁷ nor after other punishments that the Lord commanded of the foreign kings that persecuted them and captured them, nor after the many Prophets that admonished them and reprimanded them, they did not want to turn in penitence and unite themselves with their brothers until came Shalmaneser, king of the Assyrians, and captured the ten Tribes, carrying them to strange and separate lands from which they have never left, having been two thousand and two hundred years that they are hidden and enclosed among the mountains, paying for the sins of their fathers and their fathers' fathers, until reduced to penitence and expiated of their faults they turned another time to gather with their brothers in the house of Judah, and in this conformity the Lord commanded the Prophet Ezekiel to take two sticks and on one write Ephraim and on the other Judah and then put them together, and they would symbolize one and be put together for one reign and one people,³⁴⁸ *I will make them a single nation in the land, on the hills of Israel, and one king shall be king of them all. Never again shall they be two nations, and never again shall they be divided into two kingdoms.*³⁴⁹ *My servant David shall be king over them; there shall be*

³⁴⁶ 1 Kings 18:21

³⁴⁷ The story of Elijah against the 450 prophets of Baal takes place in 1 Kings 18. After proving that Elijah prays to the true God, he kills all the prophets of Baal.

³⁴⁸ Ezekiel 37:16-20 “¹⁶ Son of man, take a stick and write on it, ‘For Judah, and the children of Israel associated with him’; then take another stick and write upon it, ‘For Joseph (the stick of Ephraim) and all the house of Israel associated with him;’¹⁷ and join them together into one stick, that they may become one in your hand.” In the following quote Ezekiel explains the meaning of joining the two sticks to the people of Israel.

³⁴⁹ Ezekiel 37:22

*one shepherd for all of them. They shall follow My rules and faithfully obey My laws.*³⁵⁰ *And My Sanctuary abides among them forever.*³⁵¹ and even if they are separate now, unable to communicate, and without any society, they are as one people in their ancestry and in the Law, descendents of Jacob and guardians of the same Law of Sinai, with which they can always say, *And who is like Your people Israel.*³⁵²

That celebrated vision of Abraham³⁵³ of the scatterings is a living representation of the unity of Israel. God commanded him to make a sacrifice of a young cow, a goat, a ram, a turtledove, and a pigeon, and he says to part the animals down the middle, but not to part the bird, and for Abraham to scare away the birds of prey that descended over the bodies. As the Sun began to darken, there was fear and a great darkness, and God told him that his offspring would be sojourners in far-off lands for four hundred years, and afterwards he would liberate them and he would judge their oppressors and dominators. The animals stand for the Monarchies and Kings, the turtledove and pigeon denote the people of Israel, of which he did not divide for being one, and he understands it by the bird that flies and separates itself from the land, likewise the indivisible Israel flies to their God, and attaches itself to his Divinity,³⁵⁴ and the pigeon and turtledove are the same species, as Aristotle says, and this alludes to the fact that he did not say do not divide the birds, with the plural referring to the turtledove and pigeon, but in the singular: do not part the bird. The pigeon and the turtledove are symbols of Israel, according to Josiah, *Ephraim has acted like a silly dove,*³⁵⁵ and in the Songs, *O my dove, in the cranny of the rocks,*³⁵⁶

³⁵⁰ Ezekiel 37:24

³⁵¹ Ezekiel 37:26

³⁵² 2 Samuel 7:23

³⁵³ Genesis 15 The following paragraph recounts Abram's sacrifice and vision from chapter fifteen.

³⁵⁴ Associating the birds with Israel, and therefore indivisible, is Cardoso's interpretation. The verse in Genesis 15 states, "10 He brought Him all these and cut them in two, placing each half opposite the other; but he did not cut up the bird." FB: "Y tomó a él todos estos, y partió a ellos por medio, y dio cada uno su parte a encuentra su compañero, y a la páxara no partió."

³⁵⁵ Hosea 7:11

and in another part, *the song of the turtledove is heard in our land*:³⁵⁷ the Lord chose only these two birds for his sacrifice for their gentleness, quietness, and purity, they do not have talons with which to defend themselves from the other birds, nor claws, nor sharp beaks with which they can offend, and as the dove is pursued by [31] all the birds, the eagle kills it, the falcon captures it, the milano snatches it, the hawk catches it: so also are the Hebrews pursued by all the peoples, abused and unmade by all the nations, they do not have weapons nor swords with which they could offend or defend themselves against their opponents, deprived by all, and the white of the target where they fire their arrows. The pigeons and the turtledoves sigh and their song is more a sigh than music, so also the song of the Jews is tearful and their music like sobs, not being able to sing the songs of Zion in the far-off land and hanging their sonorous instruments in the sterile caves of captivity.

Jacob walked from Beer-shaba to Haran,³⁵⁸ he slept in a place of the campaign, and he took the rocks and made a pillow for sleeping, as hard work teaches virtue and fatigue prevents the necessity of the delights and gifts for the body; there he saw in his dreams that miraculous ladder that had its feet on the earth and it arrived at its point in the sky, Angels climbing up and down on it. God blessed him there, and multiplied them through the four corners of the world, east and west, north and south, they would be blessed in him, and in his offspring all the peoples of the earth, fearing, will name it House of God and the gate of heaven, dawn through the morning. Scripture says that he took the rock that he put his head on and emptied oil over it, and he named the place [Hebrew letters] *Bet-El*, which means House of God, first having said that he will take rocks (twelve there would be according to the twelve Tribes that had proceeded him) for the head of the bed, he says now, and he took the rock that he used for a pillow, and he put a

³⁵⁶ Songs 2:14

³⁵⁷ Songs 2:12

³⁵⁸ Genesis 28

statue on it. The rocks turned into one rock, the place is called House of God Bet-El, because one has to be the House of Israel, one the House of God, and those that have to come to the House of the Lord have to come united and in agreement like the one stone, they must be virtuous and fear the Lord, making one from many in order to praise him without discord, nor can the place of the Lord and the House of God house dissensions or be a place of contentions, rather come together as one as if it was one head and one solo heart that governed them, so says the Psalm, *Those who love Your teaching enjoy well-being*,³⁵⁹ as peace is the daughter of humility and of justice according to the verse, *justice and well-being kiss*.³⁶⁰

The Psalmist well pondered this unity of Israel, saying, *Jerusalem, built up, a city knit together*,³⁶¹ words that, although unclear, represent the union of its inhabitants and of those that convene in the city and its Holy Temple, and then says, *to which to which tribes would make pilgrimage, the tribes of the Lord – as was enjoined upon Israel – to praise the name of the Lord*.³⁶² It is as if he said that many of the inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem came to the city from the tribes with generations of Jacob making up many thousands of souls; the union and amity is so great that it was as if another city joined to it without distinction of spirit, rather all united and in willing concordance and in the spirit [32] of thanking the Lord. As testimony to the unity of Israel and of its religion, another Psalm sings, *How good and how pleasant it is that brothers dwell together*,³⁶³ comparing it to oil and to the fragrance that descended from the head

³⁵⁹ Psalm 119:165

³⁶⁰ Psalm 85:11

³⁶¹ Psalm 122:3

³⁶² Psalm 122:4

³⁶³ Psalm 133:1

of Aaron, or, like the dew of Hermon that descends over the mountain of Zion, the Lord commanded the blessing and life for always.³⁶⁴

With singular care the Lord chose unity for many things, putting in them the vestige of his Sacred Unity. From the days of the week he chose Saturday, from the nations he chose Israel, from the cities, Jerusalem, of the mountains, Zion, of the Tribes that of Levi, from Levi the family of Aaron, from the planets, the Sun, from the birds, the dove, from the parts of the body, the heart, and, though able to create many worlds, he created only one as the multitude of many creations could not come together; in sum, the 'one' gives being to the numbers, and the number two is a symbol of division, it separates and divides them. The Lord blessed the first day of the creation, which he did not call 'first,' but rather 'one,' he also blessed the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh day of the week, but he did not bless the second day, for he did not say it, *God saw that the light was good*,³⁶⁵ saying it through others that, by being the first to depart from the unity, that whoever separates himself from the one, from the union, from the peace and amity does not deserve his blessing. The more the lines separate themselves from the center the more they widen at the circumference, and the more they grow apart from each other. Those that throw themselves away from following the Unity of the Blessed God end up following many gods. In the desert the people made a golden calf to worship, and they say these are your gods that took you from the land of Egypt;³⁶⁶ they needed to say this your god, and not these your gods, and that the calf was one, not many, but it is the reason that he did not want to put the unity in false

³⁶⁴ Psalm 133:2-3 “² It is like the fine oil on the head, / running down into the beard, / the beard of Aaron, / that comes down over the collar of his robe; / ³ Like the dew of Hermon, / that falls on the mountains of Zion! There the Lord ordained blessing, / everlasting life.”

FB: “Como olio el bueno sobre la cabeza, descendién sobre la barba, barba de Aharon, que descende sobre cabeçón de sus vestidos. Como rocío de Hermon, que descende sobre montes de Zion, porque allí encomendó Adonay la bendición, vidas fasta siempre.”

³⁶⁵ Genesis 1:4

³⁶⁶ Exodus 32

gods claiming to be one. As they depart from the One Truth, two becomes as many as two thousand.

No other nation in the world besides Israel can say it is one, and the Lord communicates only this preeminence among everyone, *And who is like Your people Israel,*³⁶⁷ because they have only one father in terms of the body, *That one father was to us*, and only one Law in terms of the soul, *And one law will be for us*, everyone received it on Sinai, and everyone is obligated to follow it. The peoples of the world do not proceed from one father, nor do they follow one law. In terms of generations, all are mixed among each other, none can say that he is Italian, French, Spanish, German, or Greek, and the same with the other peoples, who are all mixed-up and turned around among themselves. To Italy and Spain came the Tyrians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, Arabic Egyptians, Goths, Iberians, Vandals, Carthaginians, Germans, and many others mixing themselves among each other. They cannot know their lineages, and as the peoples of the earth do not separate themselves during meals or in terms of women, they cannot have that separation and distinction that [33] the sons of Israel, set apart from all others, have. In terms of law, there are many discordant ones among them: one same law is divided into various dogmas and contrary opinions, and they must continue publishing them as they change with the times and altering them as they see fit. From the beginning they invented their human laws and institutionalized them, and various sects and oppositions were born; the human judges could not come near to the indivisibility of the truth given the multiple ways of understanding the truth, and the courts cannot reach the exact rectitude of the precepts, but they are guided by the Divine spirit that illuminates them; however, in the Divine Law all his judgments are upright and his commandments holy, *the judgments of the Lord are true, righteous altogether.*³⁶⁸ The laws of the

³⁶⁷ 2 Samuel 7:23

³⁶⁸ Psalm 19:10

world either totally perished or changed into other laws, altering them with the times; the gods of the peoples are treated similarly, either extinguished, like Baal, Baal-Pehor, Saturn, Jupiter, and other similar gods, or they move on to other variations with different names and disordering the rites, and the people also, as they did with their gods and their laws, were either extinguished or changed for not being persistent, and this is what the Psalm says, *Though all the peoples walk each in the name of its gods, we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever...*³⁶⁹ Just as those vain gods perish, so also the peoples fade away, but as the God of Israel is eternal, so the people of Israel are eternal as well as the Law they follow, being one God, one people, and one Law: and this is what the Prophet means. *For I am Lord do not change – I have not changed; and you are the children of Jacob – you have not ceased to be:*³⁷⁰ I did not change myself because I am immutable, and you also, as my people, were not finished unlike the way the other gods of the peoples end, they perish due to their mutable forms, and extinguish the inconstant peoples.

In order for those bones to receive life, as the Prophet Ezekiel saw in his portentous vision of resurrected deaths, first they united themselves and then the spirit flowed into them, *And the bones came together, bone to matching bone,*³⁷¹ says the Scripture. It says first arrived the bone to its bone, then flesh and nerves covered them, and afterwards the spirit of the Lord came, which gave them life: in order for the Divine spirit to enter our spirits, union among men is necessary, bone to its bones, cover them with flesh and skin, that first comes a union, then life. When the body has the concordance of the four humors then it is healthy and has the temperance of life; when music is in concert and the voices are proportionate, then that is harmonious and gentle, but if the body, or the music, is discomposed, and the humors, or the voices, are

³⁶⁹ Micah 4:5

³⁷⁰ Malachi 3:6

³⁷¹ Ezekiel 37:7

discordant or dissonant, then the body is unhealthy and the music tasteless. One must carry out exercise, as with the concert, in order to be strong, all must be together and the squadron closed, and if they are scattered, then they are easily defeated. One water unites with another, one air with another, fire does the same, and nature is such a friend of peace and amity that the corruption of [34] things consists in division, which is the cause that separates them and consumes them. Life, which is the thing most loved, is a union, and death, the thing most terrible, is a separation. The stone falls with a great velocity to join itself with its center that in that unity is its perfection and rest, if it violently rises then it parts itself from its center and from its nature. Animals³⁷² of the same species preserve each other in peace, they help and favor each other, the birds that migrate over many regions at intervals carry those tired from the flight, and when crossing a river the deer rearrange themselves so that those in the back have carried the burdens of the haunches of those that go first. Sometimes the flying cranes rearrange themselves in order to let the others sleep, and those that went in front pass to the back, alternating the fatigue and the work.

The Congregations and Republics should be united among themselves so that they consider themselves as members of one body and parts of one whole in order to collect themselves and help one another, in the same way we see in the parts of the body a marvelous union and agreement: if the foot trips, it is sorry as all feel the pain, all come together with what they can do to help, the leg sends humor, the liver the blood, the heart the spirits, the forehead wrinkles, the head inclines, the eyes look and cry, the hands go flying to help the foot, all feel the bad as its own, documenting with this example that they should be favored during the bad times and feel for those that are of the same law and of the same parentage, and they should sympathize with each other when they see the least and the lowest afflicted and weakened,

³⁷² Claudius Aelianus, book 5, ch. 56

considering that all depend on one another, and all are part of one composite. Excellent was the Apology, or simile, with which that wise Roman, Menenius Agrippa, composed the dangerous mutiny of the people and of the Senate, the plebe being retired to the mountain and not wanting more company from the Nobles. He gently told them that once the members of the body murmured to the stomach, telling it that it gathered food for all, cooked it, and took the best of it, and they ate, last, the leftovers on the table, and they said walk, we will depart from its company, the eyes will not see what they have to eat, the feet will not run for the meal, the hands will not cut it, the mouth will not masticate it, the request remains, and we will see that they did this in its dominion, and by not carrying provision to the stomach, all the members started to get thin, having nothing to sustain themselves with nor anyone to guide them to the meal, until disillusioned by their error, they return to unite themselves with the stomach, helping it with what they could; they understand that health consists of union and amity of individuals with others, and in disunion lies their ruin. In this manner the members of one congregation should help each other and unite with one another for advice, in abilities, and in intentions, without perturbing him with discord, advising that salt is the symbol of peace and concord, for [35] this reason it is put first on the table, and they see it as an omen of parting from the union if is spilled, and in all the sacrifices the Lord commanded them to use salt to stand for purity and incorruption, and the concord that they should be at work in their spirits and in their human actions.

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