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RABBI JACOB JEHUDA LEON TEMPLO,
 DESIGNER OF THE COAT OF ARMS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF
 FREEMASONS OF ENGLAND.
 (See paper on "Jewish Coats of Arms").

THE
JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF ENGLAND.



Transactions

SESSION 1894-5.



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NOTE.

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JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SOME ANGLO-JEWISH SONG WRITERS.

BY THE REV. F. L. COHEN.

As, judging from the kindness of Mr. M. D. Davis in sending me extracts from his rich store of notes on the Pre-expulsion period concerning Anglo-Jewish musicians of that time, it appears to have been thought I was to cover a wide range of centuries this evening, I must explain that my intention originally was to sketch the work of Anglo-Jewish song-writers of the present century only. I found myself very soon compelled to exclude from my view those who are happily still amongst us. And I must confess that from the artistically musical point of view I have unearthed no hitherto undiscovered treasures. On the contrary, I had some great disappointments. Even some of the illustrations I at first selected Mrs. Cohen could not bring herself to sing, so unendurably trivial were they. But most of those I came across I myself was obliged to reject on that score. Thus, for instance, the only publication of Michael Bolaffi (or Abulafia), musical director to the late Duke of Cambridge, is a sonnet for voice and piano-forte published in 1809 in memory of Haydn, who would have been altogether forgotten next year if he had had no greater claims to immortality. When, however, I came to Charles Sloman, the popular entertainer of some fifty years ago, Braham's musical conductor, and the author of "Fitful Fancies," I thought I had a valuable find. Among his songs I noticed—"The Daughter of Israel," "The Hebrew Maiden's Dream," "The Daughter of Salem," "The Maid of Judah." "Here," said I, triumphantly, "here is a man with excellent taste." But, unfortunately, the excellent taste did not extend to the music. So

having barred myself from the use of the vastly more edifying compositions of living writers, I determined to illustrate to you Braham and Nathan, the men to whom we owe the "Hebrew Melodies" already discussed this evening. I am not going to take up your time with a biography of these men. If you are interested in that, I refer you to Grove's Dictionary of Music, or the Dictionary of National Biography. Braham and Nathan I look upon as pioneers of the Emancipation, as our friend, Mr. Israel Abrahams, looks upon Daniel Mendoza, Dutch Sam, Aby Belasco, or Barney Aaron. These pugilists, who flourished, you remember, in the early decades of this century, made all English sporting men respectfully familiar with the prowess of English Jews. Braham and Nathan did the same thing in other directions—Braham, as the Edward Lloyd of his time, the unapproachable singer of oratorio, the acknowledged chief ornament of the operatic stage and concert platform, the genial wit and man of society—and Nathan, the fashionable singing master and song-writer. When any section of the population find favour in the sight of the sporting world, the opera world, and the oratorio world, they are sure to be favourably regarded by the mass of the English. But, strictly between ourselves, let us notice that while the pugilists belonged to Bevis Marks, the singers belonged to Duke's Place. John Braham (or Abrahams) was born in London about 1774, and was left an orphan at an early age. He sold pencils in the City streets until he was adopted by Myer Lyon (afterwards famous as the operatic singer Leoni) and employed as a *Meshorrer*, or singing boy, at the Great Synagogue, where Leoni was an official. Even as a child the flexibility and sweetness of Braham's voice were remarkable. Leoni soon lost his position at Duke's Place, owing, it is said, to his having sung in a public performance of the "Messiah." But one may perhaps doubt whether it was ecclesiastical reasons that concluded Leoni's and Braham's connection with the synagogue. It is so easy to throw on the ecclesiastical authority the blame for action or inaction in communal matters. If only the public would open their eyes they would recognise that it is the lay management of the synagogal body—in other words, their own representatives—who have received from themselves a mandate to do nothing, to care nothing, and to know nothing that might promote a closer union between good music and the synagogue. So it was in Leoni's time, and so, I am afraid, it

will remain for a long time to come. When Leoni fell into financial difficulties, and went abroad in hope of better fortune, Abraham Goldsmid materially befriended the young Braham and was rewarded by the signal success of the new singer, who reigned supreme from 1796 till 1831, and appeared with success even after that, till 1852. He died four years later.

Braham's voice was a marvel; its volume was prodigious; its range, including head notes, the wonderful extent of two octaves and a fifth beyond. It rang out like a trumpet even at the age of fifty-six. As a singer of Handel he was incomparable. When he visited Paris and Italy for three years, at the close of the last century, the critics acknowledged they had no tenor to approach him. As a composer he was very feeble, most of his songs being only endurable by the embellishments he delightfully introduced in singing them. After the fashion of the day, Braham himself set to music the words which fell to him and to his companion Nancy Storace to sing. When you hear some of these words, which I had trouble in persuading Mrs. Cohen to sing, you will agree that that was decidedly not the period in which a Gilbert or a Burnand flourished. Here is one of the best of them, catalogued as an "admired ballad."

BALLAD "The Winter is Past" Braham.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

The next song, "The Bewildered Maid," contains a sort of parody of Ophelia's song, and is, I imagine, a very indigestible joke. When I read it, I was bewildered; when Mrs. Cohen sang it, she was bewildered; and when you hear it, I think you will be bewildered.

BALLAD "The Bewildered Maid" Braham.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

Braham had a very conventionally Jewish appearance. He is described as "short and stout, with a long Hebrew nose, and a huge pair of black whiskers." Another observer tells us he was once at the opera when the orchestra began to play a symphony with unusual zeal and fire. At the last chord there darted on from the wings a little fat man, clad in absurdly tight garments, who ran to the footlights, and leaning as far forward as he could without falling over on to the heads of the band, placed his hand where his waist ought to have been, and

gave forth a string of most ravishing notes. At one of the Hereford Festivals, we are told, his small stature gave rise to an amusing incident. He was singing the "Bay of Biscay," and in the last verse used to secure considerable effect by falling on one knee at the words, "A Sail! A Sail!" On this occasion a barrier had been erected on the audience side of the platform; so, of course, he disappeared from view. The assembly rose as one man, thinking he had fallen down a trap door; and when he got up, received him with roars of laughter.

Braham gave us English Jews the distinction that one of us contributed to the enrichment of our country's national music. Braham frequently appeared in the character of a sailor. The song Mr. Solomon is good enough to sing was thus contributed by him to S. J. Arnold's play, "The Americans." It will ever remain a national melody, because alike of its sentiment and its stirring tunefulness; and by this patriotic air will that amiable singer be longest remembered. Many a Briton has first heard of Nelson's immortal signal through this song; and while Englishman and duty are terms that may with propriety and fairness be intimately connected, so long will this song keep green the memory of John Braham.

RECIT. & AIR . . . "The Death of Nelson" . . . Braham.
Mr. S. J. SOLOMON.

Braham was a very witty man, and ready at repartee. His wit was often Rabelaisian in flavour; but some jokes related thirty years after by his friend Nathan may be repeated. Once at a dinner in aid of some charity, Braham subscribed twenty pounds, and placed his twenty notes upon the stewards' plate. Abraham Goldsmid was also present, and subscribed twenty guineas. When after dinner Braham had sung, his health was enthusiastically drunk. On rising to return thanks, he said that that evening he must yield the palm to Mr. Goldsmid, who it would be noticed *had gone one note above him*. On another occasion, at rehearsal, another of the singers worried him with complaints about the terrible cold in the head from which he was suffering, and kept on interrupting Braham by ejaculating, "Oh! my poor nose." At last Braham turned on him and shouted, "Oh! *blow your nose*." Braham fully recognised that some of the songs he sang were trivial to excess. Once when the Duke of Sussex was dining at

his house, he sang a noble song with the perfection of artistic style. "Why, Braham," said the Duke, "don't you always sing like that?" "If I did," responded Braham, "I should not have had the honour of entertaining your Royal Highness to-night." I am afraid that some of the songs I have placed on the programme, but which Mrs. Cohen feels are too trivial for her to sing before an audience like this, must be reckoned among the pot-boilers to which Braham thus alluded. I have selected the duet which follows in order to introduce to you one of Braham's less known naval songs, the moral of which holds good in our days even more than in his. Although two sopranos sing it to night, it is intended for two tenors. Like the better known duet, "All's Well," it is taken from the very successful "English Fleet in 1342," produced in 1803, the words being by Dibdin, and the music entirely by Braham.

DUET . . . "Albion, on thy Fertile Plains" . . . Braham.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN and Miss Z. COHEN.

Isaac Nathan, the other musician we discuss, was born at Canterbury in 1792. His father was a man of considerable familiarity with Rabbinical literature, in which he took care to ground young Isaac. He intended his son to become a Chazan, as I gather that he himself was. He grounded him well in synagogal melody and Jewish ritual, both of which Isaac championed in the fairly numerous books of musical theory which he afterwards wrote. Nathan seems to have felt a warm pride in his Jewish origin and accomplishments. He was a well read man, having been sent to Cambridge to study in 1805. But music and the stage were too powerful a magnet for him, and he in time became the fashionable singing-master of his day, numbering many pupils of exalted position. He was on terms of some intimacy with persons of distinction, among them Lord Byron, very many of whose lyrics he set to music, but not so, it must be confessed, as to render them immortal as songs. Braham was a master of the noble art of self-defence. His friend Nathan was also a ready boxer. He promptly knocked down Lord Langford on account of a notorious scandal in connection with which a scurrilous caricature had been issued as early as 1820. The details of this scandal are to be found in the daily papers for October 28th, 1835. Nathan became mixed up in a political

mission. In it he expended all his resources ; and, although he was much complimented, he was overwhelmed with all the red-tape of the Circumlocution Office, and only succeeded at length in securing from Lord Melbourne's Government his printing expenses of £326, about one-eighth of his claim. Disgusted, he emigrated to Sydney in the forties. There, as at home, he lectured, taught singing, wrote operas, and even displayed his indefatigability in himself cutting the music type for a periodical he issued in 1848. His end was tragi-comic. He was run over by a tramcar and killed in January, 1864, at the age of 72. Let us rather take leave of him at the height of his fame, when he had so brilliant a success with his music to Kenney's "Sweethearts and Wives." The so-called comic song in this forms our last illustration, and is an excellent example of Nathan's style. He republished it the same year as a pianoforte theme with variations. It almost attained the dignity of a national song, and a new edition of it was called for as recently as 1883.

SONG . . . "Why are you wandering here, I pray?" . . . Nathan.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

At this late hour I shall leave it to Mr. Solomon to make the concluding remark, which will take the form of a song by a lamented Anglo-Jewish musician nearer to our own day, whose compositions are filled with the influence of the great classical song-writers who have conquered the musical world since the days when Braham and Nathan flourished,

SONG "Alice, where art thou?" . . . Joseph Ascher.
Mr. S. J. SOLOMON.

HEBREW MELODY IN THE CONCERT ROOM.

BY THE REV. F. L. COHEN.

I HAVE a pleasurable surprise in store for you. On former occasions when I have occupied this platform and other positions of a like kind, my discursive remarks have taken up the lion's share of the evening, while the tuneful utterances of my wife and her musicianly coadjutors have been what the Talmud says the boys' voices in the Temple choir of Levites were, "a melodious condiment." This evening, however, you will have a very highly-seasoned fare put before you, for this musical spice will preponderate over the heavy beefy matter which alone it is in my power to contribute to the proceedings. You see, when we had our last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Historical Society, we came to the conclusion, with all that shrewd discrimination so proper to historians, that to arrange a *conversazione* without providing extensive facilities for conversation, would be like performing the play of "Hamlet" with the Prince of Denmark left out. For pray take notice that, when I arrange a musical programme, the *morceaux* are distinctly not arranged on the common or drawing-room method as a screen for conversation. And even if they were, their intrinsic fascination and their rendering are such that he, or rather she, would be a cynic hardened to the glare of a hundred angry eyes who would venture to interpose his, or rather her, vocal contribution. Yet not unmindful shall we prove this evening of the irresistible allurements of a little chat for both sexes; and the ample interval of half an hour will be given, as a kind of digestive, between the two portions of our programme. (The preceding paper formed the second part of the programme).

In speaking of Hebrew melody destined for public performance, I might have commenced with that transcription of the cantillation to which the Law is recited in the synagogue on Sabbath mornings,

which the distinguished and friendly scholar Reuchlin included in his volume on the Accents in the year 1518. Not Reuchlin, but a certain brilliantly unintelligent Silling is responsible for having harmonised these synagogal chant-phrases in four parts, with an ingeniously ridiculous effect I do not care to reproduce. Then again, Rittangel, in his Hagadah with German translation, published at Königsberg in 1644, transcribes the striking Passover hymns, one of which you will hear this evening. I commence, however, with the transcriptions of English Jews, for, if I mistake not, the distinction lies with English Jews of having earliest cast in modern musical form, destined for public performance, and presented to the general admiration of melody-lovers, some of the sweet songs of Zion. True that Salomo de' Rossi, of Mantua, had, in addition to his many other admirable compositions, published in 1623 a collection of original vocal pieces for synagogue use. These, however, were not Hebrew melodies in character or style. And if such requirements were more fulfilled by the Jewish themes which the renowned Benedetto Marcello utilised as subjects for his beautiful Psalms published about 1725, yet these imposing compositions cannot fairly be termed Hebrew melodies. It was John Braham and Isaac Nathan, with whom rests the distinction to which I have referred, on account of their collection of "Hebrew Melodies," which first appeared in April, 1815. Of these two musicians I shall have more to say later on. But I should mention here that I incline to the opinion that Braham's share in the compilation was very small indeed, and literally a nominal one. The volume is dedicated to the short-lived Princess Charlotte of Wales, to whom Nathan had given singing-lessons. The accompaniments smack of his hand rather than of Braham's; the noble verses for the "Hebrew Melodies" were written expressly for the work by Lord Byron, a considerable number of whose other poems were set to music by Nathan; the original compositions, that is to say, melodies not synagogal, which include half of the first part, and probably all in the second, have the characteristics of Nathan's style and not those of Braham's; and to crown all, when a reprint was published in 1861, Nathan's name alone appears as composer and arranger, while that of Braham, who had died a few years before, but whose fame was still vigorously alive, is entirely omitted. From this collection I select the first number on the programme, "If

that High World," in the melody of which those of you who are in the habit of attending synagogues on the mornings of the Three Festivals will recognise the *Kaddish* chanted after the Reading of the Law. This lovely melody, while presenting few ancient characteristics, is probably an old one, brought from the Continent by some immigrant Chazan of at least a hundred years ago.

SONG "If that High World" . Arranged by I. Nathan.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

The next piece is from the same compilation as the last, and is quoted as an example of what a synagogue melody should *not* be. Some here present will perhaps remember the mariner-like rollicking manner in which Chazan Ascher and the late Mr. Keizer used to sing this melody to the hymn "Yigdal" at the close of the Evening Service on Tabernacles. I call it unsuitable and in bad taste, because it treats as a bravura solo what should be a congregational hymn. Further, there is no solemnity about it, suited to the words of the "Yigdal," either in the modern sense or according to the older Jewish attitude. It is probably of English origin, and first chanted in the Great Synagogue about a century ago. Its composer was infected with the tasteless fancy of English Chazanim of his day for the scale passages of the bravura age of long-deceased and never-to-be-revived Italian operas, in which the aria was used not to convey any musical idea or to interpret the words, but only to display the acrobatic flexibility of the singer's voice. Unfortunately, the relics of this vocal style, overabundant in bravura, but totally devoid of the traditionally Oriental characteristics of synagogal ornamentation, have not yet disappeared, and occasionally tend to make English "Chazanuth" ridiculous in the ears of Continental visitors who understand the subject. You will notice that Nathan has punningly chosen this skipping melody for the poem on "The Wild Gazelle"; and that he has with much taste introduced a contrasting theme where the words require it, precisely as some Chazanim are accustomed to do when they reach the solemn final verse of the hymn "Yigdal."

SONG "The Wild Gazelle" . Arranged by I. Nathan.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

One of these melodies transcribed by our English friends in the

stirring Waterloo days has achieved a very wide reputation, and fascinated many a distinguished musician. It is a great compliment to its beauty and tenderness that that giant among song-writers, Robert Franz, selected it for the theme of, if I mistake not, his only composition for pianoforte solo. Set to Byron's exquisite "Weep for those that wept by Babel's stream," in Braham and Nathan's collection, it is originally the very antique chant to which the Cohanim were, and to an abbreviated extent still are, accustomed to chant on Festivals the Levitical Benediction in London synagogues. It exists also in another and still more pathetic form, which you hear even in Reform Synagogues, where the traditional style is painfully conspicuous by its extreme rareness. Franz has arranged it as a "Funeral March," partly because of the character of Lord Byron's words, and partly because the general effect of old Hebrew melodies on ears trained in the modern European harmony is eminently sad and sorrowful.

PIANOFORTE SOLO . "Hebrew Melody" . Arranged by Robert Franz.
Miss Z. COHEN.

If you have ever heard the arrangement for violoncello and orchestra, in which Bruch has made "Kol Nidrei" a classical melody, I daresay you have wondered what was the phrase introduced in the middle of that arrangement, which you never heard chanted on the Evening of Atonement. You will have recognised this phrase in the pianoforte piece just played; and I suppose Bruch introduced it in his arrangement for the sake of a contrast to the sombre Kippur theme.

A few minutes ago I condemned a certain style of melody found in English synagogues. I ought, perhaps, after that to illustrate to you what I consider a more suitable style for Jewish use. This I am able to do because two such have been performed on English concert platforms, partly through my own former references to them. One of these was the ordinary Friday night tune for the same hymn as that set to the melody we have already discussed—"Yigdal," I mean. Since Leoni (to whom I have again to refer this evening) chanted this melody to Thomas Olivers fully a hundred years ago, it has been known in the English Churches by his name, and has been adopted, after an old synagogue custom, as a theme associated with the idea "The God of Abraham." As such it was chanted by a huge choir of three

thousand voices at a Festival of the Tonic Sol-fa Association, held at the Crystal Palace on July 9th, 1892. Beyond it, Mr. Alfred Gaul, the melodious composer of the cantata "Israel in the Wilderness" then sung, introduced a second Hebrew melody, the *Chazanuth* for the Sabbath Service, which is now going to be sung to you. I had myself quoted this Chazanuth, as transcribed by Mr. Hast, the estimable Chazan of the Great Synagogue; and the quotation greatly interested Mr. Gaul. Having been privileged to hear the rehearsal of his choir, I was particularly struck by the magnificent effect of this chant, as rendered by that huge assembly of singers. You are to hear this Sabbath theme as a solo, and while it is richly embellished with vocal ornament, you will observe that the ornament is always in keeping with the theme, because like the theme, it is always Oriental, and always Jewish in effect.

PRAYER—MOTIVE . "Yismach Mōsheh" . Arranged by F. L. Cohen.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

The next number is a modern composition, which I call a Hebrew melody, not merely because it is written by a Hebrew, and set to Hebrew words, but because it so happily interprets, illustrates, and blends with those Hebrew words. Even were this not so evident, no musical programme like that of this evening should omit the name and work of that eminent Jew who, having attained a position among the more advanced ranks of English musicians, has not omitted to devote some of the finest productions of his rare artistic and technical gifts to the service of the Sanctuary. Our venerable but ever-young friend, Mr. Charles Salaman, has set a high-minded example in this respect, which we trust will not be overlooked by distinguished Anglo-Jewish musicians of generations to come after his. In Mr. Salaman's "Hebrew Love Song," you will notice all the Mauresque colour suited to verses the writer of which flourished in Spain about the year 1200. You will observe, too, with what skill and taste the composer gives variety and vigour by the introduction of a short phrase more modern in character.

SONG . . "Hebrew Love Song" . Composed by Charles Salaman,
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

The next illustration I select for a reason akin to that which prompted the selection of the last. Lewandowski was a musician

whose work was not unknown to the outer world, who devoted himself to the preparation and development of that magnificent synagogal service of song which those who have visited Berlin will not readily forget. I would have given you also his Hebrew Rhapsody for the pianoforte, had not that in some degree again covered the ground of the violin and pianoforte duet you are now to hear. This duet contains eight themes, each treated with some little freedom of development, which I had better name to you, as they do not all occur in the Atonement services, and so must be unfamiliar to the mass of English Jews. You will hear in turn (i.) the Chazan's chant for the Hallel psalms when the palm-branch is waved on the Feast of Tabernacles; (ii.) the congregational chant for Psalm cxliv. at the conclusion of Sabbath; (iii.) a characteristic Atonement theme occurring in the *Kaddish*; (iv.) the familiar Passover hymn; (v.) the *Kol Nidrei*; (vi.) the old Berlin chant for the *Neilah* or Closing Service, which is far less characteristic than our own antique tune; (vii.) the chant in which the Cohanim in many Continental congregations sing their Benediction on the days when the Memorial of the Departed is recited; and (viii.) a very well-chosen example of the *Zemiroth*, or domestic hymns for the Sabbath, in the Polish style and in an old Oriental key.

VIOLIN AND PIANOFORTE DUET—

“Hebrew Melodies” Arranged by L. Lewandowski.
Miss J. LEVINE and Miss Z. COHEN.

Now I must remind you that there are concert rooms in the East End as well as in the West End of London, and that the Hebrew melodies presented before a Spitalfields audience are not quite the same as those heard in the great Hall next door. Yet being composed by Jews, in a Jewish dialect and expressing a Jewish sentiment, they fully merit our sympathetic attention. The folk-song of our Jüdisch-deutsch speaking brethren contains a rich store of beautiful and characteristic melody such as that exquisite last movement in the duet to which we have been listening. Here is one from Dalman's recent collection, in the Galician Jewish style, set to words by Schafir of Cracow, which some of you will, perhaps, be able to understand.

LAMENT “Die Stimme Jakows” Arranged by H. Jebe.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

A Historical Society should not concern itself with the past without a glimpse into the future. The hope of our long-enduring people, as of every people, lies in the cradle ; and we may well follow the sad retrospect of the last illustration with the tender hopefulness of the Lullaby with which the first part of this evening's proceedings concludes. The tune is in the style of the Lithuanian Jews ; and it has been many a time sung in that universal concert room in which each one of us has, at a remarkably early age, given a vocal performance.

CRADLE SONG . . . "Schlof Sche, Vögele" . . . Arranged by H. Jebe.
Mrs. F. L. COHEN.

THE FIRST ENGLISH JEW.

NOTES ON ANTONIO FERNANDEZ CARVAJAL, WITH SOME
BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS.

BY LUCIEN WOLF.

MATERIALS for a biography of Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, otherwise Antonio Ferdinando, "the great Jew" of the Commonwealth as Violet calls him,¹ are exceedingly scanty. The few references to him in the State papers and other contemporary documents relate almost exclusively to one decade of his life. For the rest we are left altogether to conjecture. We learn, however, from his patent of denization² that he came to England between 1630 and 1635. At that time he must have been at least fifty years of age, for when he died in 1659 he was described on his tomb-stone as "in a ripe old age."³

Early in life he had lived in Fundao,⁴ a town of Lower Beira, in Portugal, and the seat of a large and flourishing community of Marranos. Fundao was one of the industrial centres of Portugal enumerated in the political testament of the famous Luis da Cunha as having been ruined and depopulated by the Inquisition.⁵ Antonio Carvajal was probably among those of its Marrano merchants and manufacturers who were forced by the persecution to flee to Spain. A few of these refugees settled ultimately in the Canary Islands, where, under the direct protection of the King of Spain, they

¹ "Petition against the Jews" (1661), p. 7.

² See documents appended to this Paper, VII.

³ *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, Vol. I., pp. 92, 93.

⁴ Deposition in Robles case (*Transactions Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I., p. 79).

⁵ Kayserling : *Juden in Portugal*, p. 329.

farmed the royal revenues, established vineyards and exported produce.¹ Carvajal seems to have acquired some property in the Canaries,² and it was no doubt in order to save to himself the profits which were then eaten up by the English middlemen in Cadiz and London that he visited and ultimately settled in England.

This piece of enterprise made his fortune. The trade between England and Spain at this period was advancing by leaps and bounds, but the profits were all on one side. Thanks to the Inquisition and a vicious economic policy, the manufacturing industries of Spain had fallen on evil days. On the other hand England was on the threshold of her great career as a manufacturing country, and her merchants naturally turned their eyes to Spain, where bullion was plentiful and produce and raw materials tended through the cheapness of labour to almost a vanishing price. In 1605 the trade between the two countries had been organized by the establishment in London of the Society of Merchants of England trading with Spain and Portugal, and the Peninsula had been flooded with the factors of London and Bristol houses, who bought at their own prices the wools, wines, cereals, and minerals with which the country was overstocked. To the Canary Islands, however, they seldom penetrated, and the local wine growers and merchants had to carry their produce to Cadiz or Seville, where they were glad to accept whatever prices the English agents offered. The London merchant found the trade exceedingly lucrative. From a tract published in 1659,³ we learn that in the early part of the century—about the time when Carvajal settled in London—the profits of the Spanish merchants in London averaged over 100 per cent. on every transaction. We are told that for a parcel of English manufactures costing £100 in London the agents in Cadiz would obtain £125, and with this would buy ten pipes of Canary wine, which sold on the home market for £300. Deducting £90 for customs, excise, assurance and freight, a net profit of £110 remained to the English merchant. Similar profits were yielded by the imports of cochineals, another of the chief products of the Canary Islands, in

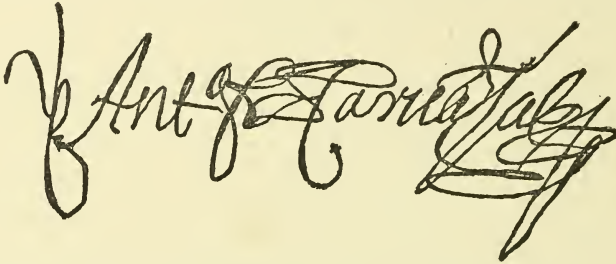
¹ *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I., pp. 77, 78, 81, 83, 84.

² Appendix V.

³ Richard Baker: *The Merchants' Humble Petition*, pp. 3, 10. This tract is full of valuable information about the trade between England and Spain.

which Carvajal and his friends dealt.¹ Under these circumstances it is not difficult to understand the motives which actuated Carvajal in settling in England.

We hear nothing of his life in London previously to 1643. In the interval he seems to have gained for himself a position of importance in the city. He had married, had established a home and warehouse in Leadenhall Street, and had brought over from Spain a troop of cousins and brothers-in-law to assist him in his daily increasing business.² He had his own ships, with which he now traded far beyond the Fortunate Islands—to the East and West Indies, Brazil, Syria, and other remote regions—while his agents were to be found in



SIGNATURE OF CARVAJAL (Bodl. MSS. Rawl. A. 12, fol. 75. See Appendix I.).

all the large mercantile centres of the Continent.³ Of his high character and perhaps some personal geniality we have evidence in the fact that, although he was already a wealthy man and an alien, whose competition must have largely interfered with the monopoly of the Society of Spanish Merchants, he excited no envy. He pretended to be a Papist and was suspected of being a Jew,⁴ and yet when in 1645 an informer denounced him and his household for not attending church under an old Act of Elizabeth, all his competitors in trade and many of the leading merchants in the City petitioned

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Vol. VI., pp. 102, 103.

² See Will in *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, I., pp. 86-88, and references to names therein mentioned in Calendars of State Papers.

³ Various Petitions in State Papers (see Calendars under Ferdinando and Carvajal, 1649-58).

⁴ Violet : *Petition*, &c., p. 4.

Parliament to protect him, and the House of Lords summoned the informer before them and quashed the proceedings.¹

A score or so of documents relating to Carvajal's mercantile transactions have been preserved among the State Papers. They throw not a little light on the nature and ramifications of his business. In March, 1643, he presented a petition to the House of Lords for payment for a cargo of three hundred barrels of gunpowder which Messrs. Trip & Co., of Amsterdam, had consigned to him, but which had been intercepted and seized by the Earl of Warwick "for Parliament service."² A year later he petitioned the Peers for an order for the restoration of a picture of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, which had been saved near Arundel Castle out of a ship going from Dunkirk to Spain, and which it appears belonged to Francisco Lopez Franco, a Spanish merchant, from whom he (Carvajal) was in the habit of receiving large consignments of bullion.³ In 1646 he figured in a lawsuit, the papers of which reveal other remunerative branches of his business. A vessel containing a large cargo of cochineal and silver had been seized by Parliament for an infraction of the navigation laws, and Carvajal had made an advance of money to Government on the cochineal. At the same time, acting on behalf of a Rouen correspondent named Diaz, he figured as a claimant for other portions of the cargo.⁴ In 1649 he was one of the five merchants in the City of London to whom the Council of State gave the army contract for corn.⁵ In the following year, when war broke out with Portugal, his goods and ships were specially exempted from seizure by a warrant of the Council of State.⁶ This privilege involved him in not a little litigation. More than one information was laid against him, charging him with colouring the goods of other Portuguese merchants in London; but none of them seems to have been established to the satisfaction of the Courts. Carvajal continued to prosper, and in 1651 we find Thomas Violet, in his pamphlet on the "Advancement of Merchandise" advising the Government to confer with him on the question of the transport of bullion.⁷ His trade in bullion appears to have been very con-

¹ Appendix II.

³ Appendix I.

⁵ *Cal. S.P., Dom.* (1649-50), p. 255.

⁶ Appendix III.

² *Ibid.*, I.

⁴ *Ibid.* IV.

⁷ Page 27.

siderable. He imported it at the rate of £100,000 a year,¹ making returns to his foreign correspondents in British manufactures.²

In July, 1655, he and his two sons were endenized,³ and the fact was considered of so much importance that Thurloe noted it down in his memoranda of the meeting of the Council of State at which the grant was made.⁴ Carvajal was thus the first English Jew of whom we have any record. This grant was very nearly ruining Carvajal. War broke out with Spain, and as a British subject his goods were liable to seizure by the Spanish authorities. At that moment he happened to have a large accumulation of property in the Canary Islands, and it became necessary to rescue it. He laid his difficulties before Cromwell, and a plan was agreed upon which seems to have succeeded. A vessel named the *Seafortune*, of Dover, was chartered, re-christened, and manned by a Dutch crew. This vessel was then sent to the Canaries, where Carvajal's factor, acting under instructions from London, shipped all the goods and provided them with bills of lading addressed to two Amsterdam merchants, John Lopez Chillon and Philip van Hulten. Meanwhile the British men-of-war received instructions to assist the ship in its voyage to London.⁵

It is very evident from this incident that Carvajal's influence with the Parliamentary Government was due to circumstances other than his wealth and his eminence as a London merchant. What these circumstances were I was fortunate enough to discover five years ago. Carvajal was, in fact, one of those Jewish political intelligencers whose services to the Commonwealth are vaguely referred to by Gilbert Burnet, Thomas Burton, and other writers of the time. The wide ramifications of his commercial transactions, and his relations with other Crypto-Jews all over the world, placed him in an unrivalled position to obtain news of movements of the enemies of the Commonwealth. From the favour he enjoyed at the hands of the Parliamentary Government as early as 1644, it seems probable that his intelligencing services covered the whole period of the Puritan *régime*, and that in the wars with Holland, Portugal and Spain, he was one of

¹ Appendix I., fourth and fifth petitions.

² Appendix IV.

³ *Ibid.* VII.

⁴ *Thurloe State Papers*, Vol. III., p. 688.

⁵ Appendix V.

the chief sources of the information which gave victory to the British arms. No doubt many of his letters of intelligence were destroyed, and of others only copies, without any indications of their origin or destination, were kept. However, two of his original letters of intelligence have been preserved, and by their means I have been enabled to trace a series of fourteen despatches, which in their original form were addressed to him by a spy in his employ, and transmitted by him to Thurloe. The nature of these despatches, and the evidence establishing their connection with Carvajal, I have already discussed at length in a paper on Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers.¹ It would seem from them that when in 1656 Charles II. and representatives of the King of Spain were concerting plans at Brussels for an invasion of England, Thurloe applied to Carvajal for a trusty spy to proceed to the Royalists' encampments at Flushing and Ghent. The man selected was the husband of one of Carvajal's servants. His name was probably Somers, but he passed also under the names of Butler and Goldburgh. At the same time Carvajal sent to Flanders one of his relatives, Alonzo de Fonseca Meza, who was probably bound on the same errand. Only the despatches from Somers, *alias* Butler, have been preserved, but they are full of valuable information with regard to the number of the Royalists' levies, the nature of their equipments, the vessels engaged to transport them, the moneys received and expected from adherents at home and abroad, the spies despatched to England, the relations between Charles and Spain, and many other matters of vital importance to the Parliamentary Government. There can be little doubt that when in 1657 the Commonwealth frigates saved England from a renewal of the civil war by the seizure of the Royalist shipping at Ostend, the information obtained by Carvajal through the medium of his spies was a factor of considerable importance in the success of that enterprise.

Meanwhile the country had been agitated by another great question in which Carvajal had played an important part—the question of the re-admission of the Jews to England. Since the expulsion by Edward I. in 1290, Jews had frequently visited and even resided for long periods in the country; and there is reason to believe that some-

¹ Wolf: *Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers*. (Reprinted from the *Jewish Chronicle*.) London, 1891.

thing in the nature of a secret communal organization had existed among them.¹ However that may be, it is certain that soon after Carvajal's arrival Jewish divine service was regularly held in London. How far this was directly due to his personal initiative is shown by the fact that the first Rabbi of the secret Synagogue established in Creechurch Lane was his cousin Moses Israel Athias. In public Carvajal and his friends followed the practice of the secret Jews in Spain and Portugal, passing as Roman Catholics and regularly attending mass at the Spanish Ambassador's Chapel.² In this condition they remained throughout the agitation, which commenced in 1643, for the revocation of Edward I.'s banishment of the Jews, and when in October, 1655, Menasseh ben Israel arrived in England on his historic mission to Cromwell, they still, and very wisely, made no sign of their true religious identity. None the less they must have watched the progress of his negotiations with profound interest, especially from the moment that the outbreak of the war with Spain rendered such of them as were Spanish subjects liable to have their goods confiscated. The first result of Menasseh's mission, although unsatisfactory from the point of view of the Rabbi, proved a considerable gain to the Marranos. It had been decided by the Council of State that Jews were free to settle in England; and this alone would have enabled them at a convenient opportunity to discard their character of ordinary Spaniards or Portuguese. Still nothing had been determined as to the conditions upon which Jews might live in the land; and as *quâ* Jews they would be neither aliens nor natives, there was always a chance that Parliament would impose upon them restrictions and disabilities which would render their right of residence a barren privilege. It was very evident from the temper of the Council of State and from the Conference consulted by Cromwell that no further concessions were to be expected from those bodies. But some action was urgently necessary, and in their dilemma the Marranos probably turned to their wealthy and influential chief Antonio Carvajal. Now, it is important to ob-

¹ *Publications of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, Vol. I., pp. 53-79 ("The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History," by Lucien Wolf). See also "Crypto-Jews under the Commonwealth," by the same writer in *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I., pp. 55-88.

² Violet: *Petition*, &c., p. 4.

serve, that he alone in the secret community had nothing to gain or lose by whatever solution of the Jewish question might have been resolved upon, for his denization had already invested him with all the privileges of a British subject. None the less he seems to have actively interested himself in the movement. Violet says that he told him that "the Jews were to advance one million of money to have liberty to bring in two thousand Jewish merchants and their families to be naturalised."¹ This is probably only Violet's exaggerated way of saying that Carvajal was favourable to the Resettlement.² At any rate it is certain that he associated himself with Menasseh and petitioned the Protector for permission for the Jews to hold divine service in their private houses. This was granted. Then in the same way Carvajal joined Menasseh and the other Marranos in asking permission to acquire a burial ground, and again the Protector yielded to their wishes. One further privilege yet remained to be secured: the freedom to trade on an equality with other merchants. Before this could be negotiated however the storm which the Marranos had foreseen broke. One of their number, Antonio Rodrigues Robles, was denounced as a Spaniard and Papist, and the confiscation of his property was demanded. Robles at once declared that he was a Jew, and this defence was held good by the Council of State. Carvajal and several of his followers, who had testified in favour of Robles before the Council, seized the opportunity to throw off their disguise, and in the following February, Carvajal, in association with his friend Simon de Cáceras, leased a piece of land in Mile End for the purposes of a Jewish cemetery.³

Menasseh ben Israel, disappointed at his failure to obtain the unconditional readmission of his co-religionists to England, returned to Holland, where he died in November, 1657. The question of the right of the Jews to trade was still unsettled. It is certain, however, that it was decided in Cromwell's lifetime. On this head the most

¹ Violet: *Petition, &c.*, p. 7.

² The author of a contemporary pamphlet, *The Great Trapanner of England*, says that Violet was "an abominable liar."

³ These transactions have been fully dealt with by the present writer in a paper on "The Resettlement of the Jews in England" (reprinted from the *Jew. Chron.*), London, 1888; and in Vol. I., *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, pp. 55-88.

convincing testimony is afforded by an official petition presented by the Corporation of the City of London to Charles II. immediately on his restoration in 1660.¹ This document, which is a prayer for the expulsion of the Jews, positively states that Cromwell granted "ye admission of Jews to a free cohabitation and trade in these dominions." Who obtained this privilege? It is obvious that only one man could have done so. That man was Antonio Fernandez Carvajal. Indeed a much disputed passage in Burton's Diary declares, under date of 4th February, 1658, that "the Jews, those able and general intelligencers, whose intercourse with the Continent Cromwell had before turned to a profitable account, he now conciliated by a seasonable benefaction to their principal agent resident in England." I regard this passage, for reasons I have already stated,² as referring to the privileges spoken of in the Corporation petition of 1660, and I cannot think that, in view of its context, anyone can doubt that the "principal agent" of the Jews, to whom these privileges were given, was any other than Antonio Carvajal.

However that may be, we are on surer ground in claiming Carvajal as the founder of the Anglo-Jewish Community. He was certainly chief of the Marrano Congregation which met in Creechurch Lane before and after the resettlement agitation. He was also the chief mover in the purchase of the Mile End cemetery.³ This was practical work in the early organisation of our community, with which Menasseh ben Israel had nothing to do.

Carvajal died in November, 1659, leaving a widow and two young sons.⁴ One of his sons became a broker of the City of London,⁵ and both died in middle age, apparently unmarried.⁶

Of Carvajal's personal character we know little. He was not a garrulous man, he wrote no books, and the few letters of his which have been preserved are practical matter-of-fact business documents,

¹ *Jew. Chron.* Nov. 15, 1889.

² *Jew. Chron.*, Jan. 26, 1894; article on "Resettlement Day."

³ *Jew. Chron.*, Nov. 26 and Dec. 3, 1880; paper by Mr. Israel Davis.

⁴ Carvajal's Will. *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I., pp. 86-88. MSS. of Emanuel Mendez da Costa, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 29, 868, fols. 15 and 16.

⁵ MSS. of the City of London, Rep. CI., p. 206.

⁶ First Burial Register Span. and Port. Synagogue. Carreiras III. and VIII.

singularly free from subjectivity. None of his actions at law ever tempted him into autobiography. He had, however, no weakness in the direction of "whispering humbleness." From one of his petitions to the Council of State, it appears that he was in the habit of riding a horse, and of carrying side arms.¹ His nature was choleric even in old age, for in 1658, when he had a dispute with the Commissioners of Customs over a cargo of logwood which had been seized by them, he collected a number of his friends, secured the Customs surveyor on board one of his ships, broke open the Government warehouses, and carried off his merchandise. When he died, a special committee of the Council of State, which had originally been presided over by Richard Cromwell, was enquiring into this highhanded proceeding.² For the rest, his epitaph³ bears testimony to his hospitality, his generosity to the poor, his truthfulness, and his high sense of honour. Epitaphs, of course, are not always reliable, but there is a touch of poetic justice in the accident which has preserved the copy of this inscription in the Leipzig Rathsbibliothek after the destruction of the tomb on which it was originally inscribed, and during nearly two centuries and a half of complete oblivion. If there is any exaggeration in it, it seems to me that Carvajal has deserved it.

¹ *Cal. S.P., Dom.* (1650), p. 248.

² Appendix VI., last document.

³ *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, Vol. I., pp. 92-93.

APPENDIX.

I.—VARIOUS PETITIONS.

(HOUSE OF LORDS MSS.)

To the Right Hono^{ble} the Lords now assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of Anthony Fernandez Caruajal in the behalfe of
Pieter Trip and Company Marchants of Amsterdam

Sheweth,

That the said Pieter Trip and Comp^s in the yeare past 1642 did lade att Amsterdam aboard an English ship whereof Richard Wilde was Master 300 barrills of powder & consigned them to be deliuered to his fact^r of Douer Dauid hempsen, but before the deliuerie of them the Right Hono^{ble} the Earle of Warwicke tooke the said powder and 39 barrills more w^{ch} were consigned unto Van Tienen and Pieters of Douer for the Parliam^t seruice, as by vertue of a warrant from the Committee for the safety of the Kingdome doth appeare bearinge date the 17th of Januarie 1642 thereupon there was an order passed, both the howses of Parliament bearing date the 13th of Januari 1643 for the paym^t of twoo thousand pound to seuerall Merchants mentioned in the said order for armes and amunitions, whereof there was Allotted vnto the said Dauid Hempson for the said Poudre the somme of one thousand three hundred foure score and nine pounds eighteen shillings For as much that the said Dauid Hempson was neither is but a facter in trust for the ppriators and that he hath receaued 450^{lb} in part of Payment thereof and hath in no wise made good the said money to the right propriat^{rs} and Contrary to the trust reposed in him hath transferred the receipt of those moneys vnto one Adriaen Hendrix and others, thereby to deceaue the ppriators W^{ch} vnderstanding the said propriat^{rs} have sent from beyond the seas a Letter of Attorney to y^e Petition^r and Pieter Fountaine or either of them for the recouerie and receipt of the said moneys.

The p^mises Considered the Pet^r humblie prayeth y^r Lopp^s to referre the hearinge hereof vnto the Comittee of the nauie and they to report vnto y^r Lopp^s as they shall conceaue to be just thereby that a new order may passe both howses of Parliam^t, that the true Propriator maye haue his owne, And that in the meane time S^r Gilbert Gerrard Barronet, treasurer

of the Army, be ordered not to make any further payment vnto the said David Hempson or his assignes, vntill it shall be further ordered from both Howses of Parliament.

And y^r Pet^r shall pray etc.

ANT^o FERNANDEZ CARUAJALL.

Endorsed

14 Mar. 1643.

Anth^o Fernandez Caruaial.

Referred by Order.

To the Right Hono^{ble} the Lords assembled in Parliament.

The humble Peticoñ of Ant^o Fernandes Caruajal of London Marchant

Humble sheweth

That the ship the S^t Jacques of Dunkercq whereof Pieter de Vos was Master was of late going from Dunkerke to Spaine for her safety forced neere Arundel Castel, and moste parte of her goods saued and by order of the House of Comons restored againe to the proprietaries paijnge 3500^{lb} for saluidge w^{ch} accordingly hath been paid

For as much your Petition^{rs} principall Francisco Lopez Franco ijfeo one of the king of Spaines Contractors (who sends yeerly great quantity of bullion into this kingdome) had in the said ship a great picture of S^t Urcule w^{ch} the eleuen thousand virgins w^{ch} said Picture is in y^r Lorpp^s Custodie

It is humble prayed that y^r Lorpp^s will be faorable pleased to order that the said Picture may be restored and ship out to be sent for Spaine

And your Peti^{re} shall

Euer praye etc

ANTONIO FERNANDES CARVAJALL.

Endorsed

24 Martij 1644

Antonio Fernandes.

To the right ho^{ble} the Lords in Parliam^t assembled.

The humble peticon of Anthony Ferna^{das} Caruahall

Sheweth

That y^e Petificioñer hath bene long molested and troubled by one T Gore on y^e behalfe of S^r Will^m Curteyne for certeine Premios of Assurances proceeding of Policies pretended to be made by y^e pet^r and by Daniell Fairefaque for the pet^r. And although it hath bene set forth by the pet^{rs} learned Councell to y^e Comission^r appointed for y^e heareing of causes of Assurances that they have noe Jurisdiccon nor power to proceed in this cause in regard the said Policies are not entred and Recorded wthin y^e Office of Assurances according to y^e Statute of the 43th Eliz.

12th And also that the Assurer bore noe Adventure by y^e said Policies, and therefore noe Premio due. And diuers other Reasons shewed in the peticon^{rs} defence. Nevertheles y^e said Comission^{rs} haue decreed and sentenced the pet^r and the said Fairefaques to pay the said Premios and will not admitt of any appellacon on the peticoners behalfe (though prescribed by y^e said Statute) but haue subscribed Warrante of Execucon for y^e said Premios.

The Peticioñcer having no other Remedie Humbly prayeth yo^r honors for releife by heareinge of y^e Pet^{rs} Counsell, and by y^e consideracon of y^e said Statute, w^{ch} is the sole rule of the said Comission^{rs} proceedings And to Order that in the interim the Execucoñs awarded may be suspended. And the pet^r will either giue securitie or depositt the money where yo^r Lo^{pp}s shall appoint And humbly submitt to yo^r Lo^{pp}s finall determinacon herein

And the Pet^r &c.

ANT^o FERNANDEZ CARUAJAL.

Endorsed

2 Mar 1649

Anth. Farna^{du}s Caruahall.

(BODLEIAN RAWL. MS. A. 12, FOL. 75.)

To His Highnes Oliuer Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging.

The Humble Peticion of Antonio Fernandez, Carvajal, Merchant.

Sheweth

That the Peticioner hath formerly imported great store of plate and Bullion to this Cittye and would now perswade and encourage his correspondents to send more in regard of the present Peace and hopes of safetie, But the Peticioner is fearfull, That the speech of the People, of Letters of marque to be graunted againt Spanish Goods will bee a great hinderance, together with the weekly pamphlets, which flye about in Print expressing that there are such letters of Marque graunted, which though it bee not true, yet will hinder and discourage men to aduenture without some assurance or safe Conduct.

The Peticioner therefore humbly prayeth that your Highnes would bee pleased to declare and order. That whatsoeuer plate and Bullion shall bee laden in English Shipps to bee brought for Douer or London may come safe and secure from any seizure or other trouble: And that all and euery the subjects of this Commonwealth may bee forbidden to make any stoppe or seizure of any Bullion Consigned for these parts as aforesayd upon any pretence or title whatsoeuer.

And the Peticioner, etc.

ANT^o FR. CARUAJAL.

[Endorsed:—] The peticion of Antonio Fernandez about inportinge plate.

(DOMESTIC STATE PAPERS. VOL. CXXIV. 20. 1655-6.)

To his Highnes Oliver Lord Protector of y^e Comon Wealthe of England Scotland & Ireland &c.

The humble Peticoⁿ of Ant^o Fernandez Caravajall of London Merchant. Sheweth

That yo^r Pet^r hath imported into This Comon Wealthe in Spanish mony and Barres of silver within the space of two yeares To y^e vallew of Two Hundred Thousand pounds. Out of all which hee hath not transported any. Though allowed by Act of Parliament for two thirds.

But see it is That yo^r Peticoⁿ hath now an Occasion (for himself and Company) to transporte seaven thousand pounds in spanish mony and Barrs for the East Indias in a ship that is to her direct Returne from thence to England. And yo^r Peticoⁿ wilbe obliged within six monthes after to bring to yo^r Highness Mint full the one halfe of what hee transportes. And to pay what Custome yo^r Highness shall think meete. In all which yo^r Peticoⁿ submits to yo^r Highnes grave and prudent Judgement.

White Hall. * Jan. 26, 1655. This petition and petitioner is referred by his Hines to the considera^on and order of His Privy Council.

NATH^l, BACON,

Intr^r.

Ant^o Fernandez Caravajall.

ent. 5 Febr. 1655.

II.—PROSECUTED AS A RECUSANT.

(HOUSE OF LORDS MSS.)

Die Jovis 16^o Januar. 1644.

Uppon the reading of the Peticon of the English merchants this day in the House complayning that one Willm Sherman psocuts the Lawe ag^t one Anthony Farnandes, and other Strangers, for not coming to Church, contrary to the 19th Article of Peace betweene y^e Crownes of England and Spaine w^{ch} may bee very p^rjudiciall to the English merchant trading in the Domyions of Spaine It is ordered by the lords in Parl^t assembled That the sd Willm Sherman shall appeare before their lopps forthwith after sight hereof to shewe cause whie hee prosecutes the said Suite And that the said 19th Article shall bee brought before their lopps at the appearance of the said Sherman.

JO: BROWNE, Cleric.
Parliamentor.

Endorsed

16 Januar 1644.

Anth. Farnandes.

* Sept. in Calendar.

III.—GOODS EXEMPTED FROM SEIZURE.

(STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC. 1650. Page 67.)

Die Mercurij, 4 Septemb^{er} 1650.

Lord President, S^r Sam Harrington, Ald. Pennington, Col. Stapeley, M^r Scot,
Coll. Jones, M^r Bond, Lo. Com^r Lisle, Col. Purefoy.

That Don Antonio Fernandes de Caravajal shall not bee molested in his trade exchange or traffique or have anie of his goods seized by virtue of anie Warrant given out from this Council to anie of this nation for the seizing of anie of the goods of the subjects of the King of Portugall within this nation. And a Warrant is to be given unto him to that purpose.

IV.—THE CASE OF THE SHIP CLARE.

(HOUSE OF LORDS MSS.)

To the right hono^{ble} the Lords and Comons assembled in Parliament.

The humble peticon of Anthony Fernandes Carua Jall subject to the King of Spaine.

Sheweth

That of the Cochaneel and silver that came in the shipp Clare to Southamp-ton wth was seized by an Order of both houses of Parliament of the Seaven & twentieth of August 1642 there was Eleaven chests of the said Cochaneel and Six thousand nine hundred pieces of eight which Marcos de la Rombide brought for accompt of Saluadour and Joseph of Cadiz and by order of Ant^o Dias of Roan their correspondent the said Cochaneel was deliued to the Pet^r and One thousand eight hundred twenty nine pounds advanced therevppon to the Parliam^t and retournes made to y^e said men of Cadiz in linnens as they desired in full confidence that the proceed of the said Six thousand nine hundred peeces of eight and the said One thousand eight hundred twenty and nine pounds would be repaid to the Pet^r in due time to satisfie his disbursements But about 15 moneths after the said retournes were made one Martin de Lazon a frenchman came to claime the said Cochaneel and silver by petition to y^e hon^{ble} Com^{tee} of the Nauie and wth his sinister relacons and counterfeit titles and instruments hath obtained an order to haue the publiqs faith for the value of the said Cochaneel & Rialls Insomuch as the Pet^r is enforced to employe yo^r hono^{rs} aid in this case that the said order may not take effect vntill his titles and instruments by w^{ch} he claimeth be duly examined and the Iniury to the peticon appearinge to yo^r Lordships And that the said Lazon hath no iust right nor title to the said goods.

The Peticoner for that purpose humbly prayeth yo^r hono^{rs} to cause the said Lazon to exhibit his said titles and instrum^{ts} that they may be compared wth the proofes iudicially made in Cadiz and that the Pet^r's right may be preserved accordinge to the said order of the Seaven & twentieth of

August 1642 and his damage repaired and that the said Lazon may be punished accordinge to his meritt, or that the parties may be referred to haue their tryall at law as by the order of Parliam^t of the 22th of December annexed is declared.

And the Pet^{rs} shall pray, &c.

ANT^o FERNANDEZ CARUAJALL.

Sabbathi 27^o Aug^t: 1642.

WHEREAS the Lords and Comons assembled in Parliament are informed that a shipp called the Cleare of London, is lately arived in the Port of Hampton, whereof M^r Benedict Stafford is Master from the West Indies, laden with Silur, and other Comodities of valew w^{ch} the said M^r hath brought thether w^hout consent of the Owners of the Silu^r, and other Goods, whereof part or all is already Landed and Carried to the House of M^r Legay, Marchant, Owner of the same Shipp It it this day Ordered by the Lords and Comons, That the Comittee and Deputy Luitennants of the County of Southton, shall forthwth vpon the Receipt hereof send two of their owne Company to Southton, and there, wth the Assistance of M^r Gallopp and M^r Vpton, Burgesses serving in Parliam^t for that Towne, shall call before them the said M^r Legay, Benedict Stafford and such others as shalbe best able to Informe them of the Truth of the Premisses, and of the Valewe of the Bullion, or Coyne, and the Quantitie and Quality of other Lading, and to take the Bullion or Coyne into their owne Custody, to be brought vpp to London wth a sufficient Guard *That soe it may be kept to the vse of the true Owners to be restored as soone as the Pliam^t shalbe informed to whome the same doth belong ; It apperteyning to the Honour and Justice of this High Court to see that right be don ; And that noe Subjects of any Forreyne State be wronged by the miscarriage of any of his Ma^{ties} Subiects in this Kingdome :* Touching the other Goods, it is Ordered, That the Comittee shall Certifie their opinion what is best to be don wth the same Goods, That a true Accompt may be made of them to all Parties w^{ch} shalbe iustly Interested therein ; Willing & Requiring the Maior and Sheriff or Sheriffs of the said Towne of Southton, and the County of the said Towne ; As likewise the Sheriff of the County of Southton, wth the Power of their seurall Counties, and of the said Towne, and all Justices, and Deputy Luitennants of the said Counties, and Towne, and all other his Ma^{ties} loving Subjects to be Ayding and Assisting there vnto, And for their soe doing this shalbe their sufficient warrant.

Copia vcra.

H. ELSYNGE Cler.
Parl. D. Com.

JO: BROWNE, Cleric.
Parliamentor.

Endorsed

1642

Antho. Farnandes,
Exped.

Die Jovis 22° Decembr. 1642.

It is this day ordred upon the question by the House of Comons that the Cocheneale deposited in s^r John Nuls hands bee forthwith sold and that a declaracoñ bee made of the true state of y^e buisnes.

Resolved &c.

That the pretenders to the Cocheneale siluer ginger and hides and other commodities brought in the ship clare into Southton and there seized by order of Parlyament be left to their tryall at Law.

Resolved &c.

That the mony that the Cocheneale shal bee sold for and likewise the siluer that was Coynd and the mony that the ginger and hides and other goods brought to Southampton in the Ship Clare and stayed there by order of Parlyament are sold for shall be secured by publick faieth.

Resolved etc.

That it bee referred to the Committee for aduance of monies to take Care for the sale of the said Cocheneale and to prepare a declaracoñ and to dispose of the ginger and hides as they shall thinck best either by sale at Southampton or by Causing them to bee brought vp.

H. ELSINGE Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Endorsed

1642

Copea de orden de 22 Dec^r

To the Right Hono^{ble} the Lords now assembled in Parliament.

The humble Peticoñ of Ant^o Fernandez Caruajal Marchant Stranger dwelling in London

Sheweth

That whereas one Martin delazon pretendeth to be proprietarie in 6900 peeces of Eight and 71 arroues of Cochenelle brought home in the ship the S^t Clara from S^t Domingo vnto Southampton and that the same was accordingly referred to the Judge of the Admiralty although wthout the consent of the Pet^r Who only reported that he Conceaued the said goods were the proper goods of Martin de Lazon All w^{ch} the Pet^r denieth to be true for that before the said Judge the said delazon did only produce certaine papers for that there was not before the said Judge neither before any other Court of Judicature any Legal proceedings.

And since it hath pleased the hono^{ble} Committee of the Nauie to make a reference to Certaine merchants to report what was due unto the pet^r vpon the said goods In regard great Summes of moneys was aduanced by the Pet^r vpon the said goods and retournes made to the proprietaries in Spaine vpon the account of the said goods w^{ch} report being made to the Committee of the nauie itt will then

appeare that the proceed of the said 6900 peeces of Eight and 71 Arroues of Cochenelle properly belongeth vnto the petitioner.

The Pet^r humbly prayeth y^r Lopp^s that no ordinance of Parliam^t be granted to the said Martin delazon for the 6900 peeces of Eight Cochenile or any part thereof vntill first the truth shall appeare by a legall waye of proceeding in the High Court of Chauncerie wherby the Pet^r may obtayne Comission to examine witnesses beyond the Sea of the vnjust proceedings of the said Delazon in those papers he hath produced w^{ch} the Pet^r hopes that y^r Lopp^s will be of opinion shall not binde vp the Pet^r wthout a legall waye of proceeding the question being between forraigner and forreigner & the matter meum and tuum.

Therefore the Pet^r most humbly prayeth y^r Lopp^s that no further proceedings may be done therein vntill the same hath been duly debated according to Justice and Lawe.

And y^r Pet^r according to his duty shall pray etc.

DIE MARTIS 3^o MARTIJ 1645 (query 1643, see last document of series).

Vpon Reading of the petition of Anthonio Fernandez Caruajal subject to the king of Spaine this day vnto the house, Complaining against one Martin de Lazon a french-man touching Cochenill and Siluer Landed at Southampton and seized by order of both houses of Parliament dated the 27th of August 1642 It is ordered by the Lords in parliament assembled that the said businesse is thereby referred to a triall at the common law and that all the proofes in the cause be made vse of att the hearing according to legall course.

JO: BROWNE Cleric:
Parliamentor.

Vera Coppia.

20 Septemb^r 1645.

Com^{ttee} Nauy.

In January 1644 Cap^t Martin de lazon p^sented his petition vnto the house of Commons w^{ch} is hereunto Annexed praying his propriety in 6900 \bar{p} s of $\frac{8}{8}$ and 71 Arroones of Cocheneale brought home in the S^t Clara from S^{to} Domingo vnto Southampton be examined & Justice done to him The same was accordingly referred to the Judge of the Admy^{ty} who returned the annexed report that the 6900 \bar{p} s of $\frac{8}{8}$ & 71 arroones of Cocheneale were the proper goods of Martin delazon On the whole it is the opinion of this Com^{ttee} that the house be moued to passe an ordinance vnto the said delazon giuing him the publicke faith of the kingdome for the paym^t of the said 6900 \bar{p} s of $\frac{8}{8}$ w^{ch} att 4^{ss} 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ make 1451^{ls} 17^{ss} 6 But in regard Ant^o Fernandez Caruajal aduanced money to the Parliament Vpon the Cucheneale & made returnes to persons in Spaine on the acc^t of the same that no determination be att p^sent given therein vntill the Acc^t be audited & perfected.

Endorsed
Anth. Fernandez.

To The Right Hono^{ble} the Committee of the Nauie.

The humble petition of Anthony Fernandez.
Sheweth

That in obedience to an order of the 5th of august of the Hon^{ble} Committee M^r Wright Cap^t Cranley M^r Kiluert M^r Bland and M^r Cason did meete to geither and on the behalfe of Martin delazon their was only p^rsented the said order and the new pcuracon dated the 25th of June last and thereby Lason p^rsented that the Referee should make Report that he was the propriator of the 11 Chest of Cochonell and 6900 peeces of 8 in question and though the Pet^r did produce severall leters from Saluador and Joseph to the consideracion of the said Referees and did alsoe p^rsent an accompt unto them for the Cocheneel aforsaid and the Returnes made thereof to the said Saluador and Joseph whereby it appears that there is much money due unto the peticoner yett in regard the said order hath limited the said Referees to consider of the said order and papers annexed they would not Receiue nor peruse the said accompt nor make Report thereof nor without other order would certify the peticoners answer nor more then that the new procuracon is sufficient to take an accompt of the said peticoner and being the said Lason by the said procuracon is now enabled to take an accompt of the said Cochoneel and Rials and hath often offered to satisfy and allow in the first place whatsoever would be found due unto the peticoner for Returnes made or otherwise concerning this Busines.

The peticoner humbly praeth this Hon^{ble} Committee to order the said Refrees or any three of them to Consider of His Just defence, and to Receiue and peruse the peticoners said accompt and to make Report what they finde due therevpon, and alsoe to order that the peticoner may bee fully satisfied all his engadgem^{ts} and Disbursements with the interest in the first place and before that lason haue any part thereof assigned or applied to him.

Comitte Nauy

4th Septemb^r 1645.

As to the part of the peticon which praith the the Referees or any three of them may heare the peticoners Just defence &c. the Committee Conceiue it very Reasonable and doe Refere the same accordingly.

GILES GREENE.

To the right Hono^{ble} the house of Peeres.

The humble peticon of Cap^t Martin de Lazon French Merchand
Most humblie sheweth

That after a long suite of aboue 2 yeares and more in the Com^{mittie} of the Navie and Co^{rt} of Admiraltie against Antonio Fernandez Carvaial, the 9th of Feb. 1645 this hono^{ble} house haueing acknowledged yo^r pet^r to be right owner of 71 Ar- robes of Fine Coachenille, and of 6900 p^r of 8 Rials a peece double plate, which goode hee brought into this Kingdome, in the Shipp the St. Clare w^{ch} was referred to the Committee of the Navie to bring in an Ordinance that yo^r pet^r might haue the publike faith giuen him for a securitie for the value of his goode And the

Hon^{ble} Com̄ittee beeing pleased therevpon to make two Orders w^{ch} afterwards were serued vpon the said Carvaial the said Orders bearing date the 27. Ian. and 23. of March 1645. wherein hee was comanded to cleare his Accompts with yo^r pet^r, before Cap^t Richard Crandley one of the Com̄issioners for the Navie, Nathan Wright, Edmund Casson, Roger Gilbert and John Bland Merchants, beeing named and appointed by the Com̄ittee, att the request of the parties to examine and finish the Accompt, w^{ch} the said Carvaial is to giue yo^r pet^r concerning the said 71 Arrobe of Coachenille w^{ch} hee hath receiued, But contrary to these Orders, the said Carvail hath malitiouslie and vnder false pretences, peticoned this Hono^{ble} house, and in the absence of yo^r pet^r who was not heard att all, this beeing the 27th of Aprill 1646 after that hee had serued him and giuen him coppies of the 2 Orders from the Com̄ittee of the Navie, the said Carvaial hath obtained an Order whereby the parties are sent for redresse to the Comon law, to the great p^riudice and losse of yo^r pet^r, hee not beeing able to follow it in that Court, by reason that he is alreadye soe deepeleie engaged for great sumes w^{ch} hee hath spent in the pursuite of his right, and the recoverie of his owne proper goods, whereby he hath remained a prisoner in the Fleete 21 Monethes.

Wherefore yo^r pet^r most humble beseecheth yo^r Hono^{rs} that as the Com̄ittee of the Navie hath alreadye had the hearing of this busnesse, it maie please yo^{rs} to order (to avoid the plixitie of the law) the busnes to be tried and decided there againe where yo^r pet^r will make plainely appeare, that the peticon which the said Carvail hath presented to this Hono^{ble} house, is full of falsehoods which yo^r pet^r can well iustifie.

And yo^r pet^r will ever pray &c.

Endorsed

De Lazon French
Merchand Peticon.

The ship Clare arrived at Southampton from the West Indies laden with August 1642
siluer Cucheneale Ginger Hides & other commodities.

The House beinge informed y^e ship was brought thither without y^e owners consent makes severall orders about the seizing of y^e goods at last orders y^e siluer should be brought vp & also y^e Cucheneale & this be kept till y^e owners should appeare & the rest of y^e goods to be inuentoried & laide vp in Warehouses.

Afterwards many claims beinge made vpon y^e peticon of some spanish marchants it was ordered that 20000^{lb} offered by them should be accepted in lieu of y^e goods & 30000^{lb} more the product of y^e siluer in all 50000^{lb} should be secured Decemb. 1642
to stand liable as baile vnto all sutes & claimes vntill y^e propriety were made appeare and then y^e Cucheneale & y^e reste of y^e goods were deliuered to y^e Marchants Ricalde & Riarte two Marchants of Cadiz in spaine [vnder whose names part of y^e ship lading went] sent to one Diaz of Rowan to send them some comodities vpon the Cucheneale. Diaz sends to one Fernandez Carvajal his cor-

respondent here to sell for him y^e Cucheneale. Caruajall doth so sells part & sends part.

Martin de Lazon a subject of y^e K^e of france & dwelling in france who had formerly liued & traded in spaine & had a stock in y^e West Indies returning to live in his owne country durst no more trade openly in y^e K^e of spaines dominions therefore trusts those Merchants of Cadiz to withdraw his estate from y^e Indies w^{ch} was 71 Arroues of Cucheneale valued at 2085^{lb} 12^s 6^d & 6900 pieces of 8 coming to 1450^{lb} 17^s 6^d & was brought ouer in this ship as y^e goods of Riarte & Ricalde.

De Lazon liuing in france was long before he heard of y^e ships arriuing in England wth his goods & before he could gett an acknowledgement from those of Cadiz y^t these were his goods About a yeare after he comes hither furnished wth authentick power from them of Cadiz to receive these goods bringing letters of acknowledgement from them attested vnde a publick notaries hand that he was true proprietor of them & finding y^t Caruajall had disposed of y^e Cucheneale by order of Diaz of Rouen he onely desires an Account from him, offering to allow whatsoever he could proue to have bene truly acted by him in y^e sale & disposition of y^e Cucheneale by y^e order of Diaz [for in truth he saith he can proue y^t Caruajall hath kept to y^e value of a thousand pounds of y^e Cucheneale to himselfe].

For this he applies himselfe to y^e Co^{tee} of y^e Navy as proper to decide this difference betweene merchants strangers they gaue them seuerall hearings order to seuerall referrences to certaine merchants of y^e City: the last time they added two others merchants more to y^e former number both times they Certifie de lazon to be true proprietor of y^e goods & y^t Caruajall should giue him an Account but not as proprietor but as procurator, because he had not employed Caruajall Caruajall on y^e other side alledged he was to give no Account at all to any but to Diaz

Vpon this de lazon applies himselfe to diaz at Rouen there to gett an authentick discharge of diaz his claime impleads him before the Consull & prients who vpon full hearing gaue sentence that de lazon was proprietor & y^t Diaz should account him w^{ch} he did.

Then de lazon returns & petitions the House they referr him to in court of y^e Admiralty the Judge there call all parties before him heares y^e busines then certifie that y^e Cucheneale & siluer were y^e proper goods of de lazon that Fernandez had onely received y^e Cucheneale & this by order of Diaz of Rouen & y^t therefore he alledged y^t he was to account onely to him That on y^e other side de lazon alledged y^t he desired no new account onely y^t Fernandez would Judicially or vnder his hand acknowledge y^e Account w^{ch} himselfe had sent to dias & w^{ch} diaz had given vnto de lazon by y^e sentence at Rouen [w^{ch} the Judge saith he conceived reasonable] Et certifies further y^t then they putt in their seuerall allegacions [to y^e purposes aforesaid according to y^e forme of proceeding in y^t court] vpon w^{ch} he tendered them an oath that they would answer trewly to each others articles so farr as they did know or beleeeue as so farr as by y^e law

they were bound De lazon offers to swaere Caruajall refuses & goes his way Et then his counsell gaue this reason that if he should acknoledge to haue dealt w^{ch} any french his goods would be confiscate in Spaine.

This certificate is brought to y^e Co^{tee} of y^e Nauy they order it to be reported by Mr. Holles.

This is reported to y^e House. Et vpon it De lazon is by vote declared proprietor & an ordinance ordered to be brought in for y^t purpose & to graunt him y^e publick faith.

Febr. 1643

The Co^{tee} of y^e Navy w^{ch} was ordered to prepare this ordinance goes about it & directs some Merchants of London to examine Caruajalls accounts that he might be allowed whatsoever he had laid out & Justly acted by y^e order from Diaz.

Caruajall instead of bringing his Accounts to them according to y^e directions of y^e Co^{tee} of y^e Nauy petitions y^e House of Lords he may be left to y^e Common Law w^{ch} y^e Lords order & send downe.

An other petition it seems was read in this house full of falshoods & indeed a scandall vpon the Member y^t made y^e report by order of y^e Co^{tee} of y^e Nauy for he saies that whilest it depended before y^e Co^{tee} of y^e Nauy who conceiued it Just the pet^r should be first satisfied & had referred y^e examination of y^e Account to Merchants depending this reference vpon misinformation & by color of a report this vote was procured w^{ch} is most false as appears by y^e above sayd relation. then in y^t petition he further saith he aduanced money vpon y^e Rialls of eight w^{ch} he neuer so much as pretnded to before in three yeares agitation of this busines in seuerall places at y^e Co^{tee} y^e Admiralty & at Rouen. Notwithstanding the House ordered it there beinge no body there y^t was acquainted w^{ch} y^e busines to informe y^e House of y^e truth Et how this poore stranger de lazon hath bene kept three yeares from his owne from so much as being declared but proprietor of his owne goods by y^e power of Fernandes who is a great rich merchant Et y^e other brought to extreame want & spent to his shirt by following of this sute that he hath bene cast into prison for debt contracted by his expenses here & hath there laine aboue a twelve moneth w^{ch} cannot but be a grief to any mans soule y^t heares this especially of y^e Members of y^e House who must answer it to god, that any poore creature should perish by their act: for this House first seized vpon this mans goods & hauing suffered him to prosecute his right before them & their Co^{tee} so many not onely mounths but yeares a poore man y^t vnderstands not one word of English, nor y^e formalities of o^r Courts, to sent this man to law to recouer his owne [as it plainly appears to be] & in their possession, must needs be his vndoing & much reflect vpon y^e Justice of y^e House, & this too contrary to their owne order formerly made in this busines w^{ch} is as little for their honor.

It is sayd y^t Caruajall hath since procured other ltrcs from y^e Merchants of Cadis, disauowing all they had before written & acknoledged concerning de lazon & transferring some right to him W^{ch} how fitt to be giuen credit to lett any one Judge since in three yeares sute there was no word of any such thng & certainly

he would haue produced it rather then haue vsed so many shifts and delayes as he hath done : besides those merchants of Cadiz being growne very poore as it is sayd they are, it is hapily no difficult thing to gaine them to play such a trick especially if they should be terrified wth being said to hold correspondency & trade wth a subject of y^e K^s of France wth they would feare might be penal to them : so as admitt Carvajall should now haue such letters it would not make me haue euer a whitt y^e better opinion of his claime.

DIE MARTIS 3^o MARTIJ 1643.

Vppon Reading of the petition of Antonio Fernandez Carvajall subject to the King of spaine this day in the House Complaining against one Martin de Lazon a frenchman touching Cochanceele and Siluer Landed att Southampton and seized by order of both houses of Parliament dated the 27th of August 1642 It is ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled that the said busines is thereby Referred to a triall att the Comon Lawe and that all the proofes in the cause be made vse of att the hearing according to legall Course,

JO. BROWNE, Cleric
Parlamentore.

V.—CARVAJAL'S PROPERTY IN THE CANARIES.

(STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC. VOL. CII. 37. 1655.)

To his Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland.

The humble Petition of Anthony Fer^{des} Caravajall Mercht, and free Denison of this Commonwealth.

Sheweth

That the Pet^r hath the greatest part of his Estate in the Canary Islelands, and for the recovery of it hath hyred the Shipp Sea Fortuue of Dover, Mr. Foppa, vvessel by ch^{re} parted dated the 24th of August last, and hath fitted and furnished the shipp with some Hollanders in confidence that his Factor there will both procure lading for the said shipp and p^evaile that she may not bee seised nor embargoed as belonging to English subjects, and for the more safety of the shipp and lading, hath given order to his Factor at Can^a to consigne by bill of lading the said goods to John Lopes Chillon, or to Phelipe vanhulten merchts of Amsterdam, meerey to saue and defend the shipp and goods from seysure by any of y^e king of Spaines men of warre, or any other in her way homewards but the truth is that all the lading in her comes for the Pet^r Acco^t and is ordered to come directly for London, and the Pet^r hopes that yo^r Highnesse will approve of his purpose & endeavours and give order to the men of warre of this commonwealth to bee ayding and assisting to the shipp in her voyadge homewards, and the rather, for that since yo^r Highnesse was pleased to

make him a denison of this commonwealthe he hath declined his obedience to the king of Spaine which the late Spanish Ambassador hath taken notice of, and therefore can not expect in case of seisure, any better measure than as a subject of this Commonwealth and therefore

The Pet^r doth humbly implore yo^r highnes Protection, and to admitt of this his manifestation of his endeavours to bring home his returnes, and that yo^r Highnes will order that the said shipp and Goods may come safe to this Port wthout interruption by any of this Commonwealth.

And the Pet^r shall pray &c.

ANT^o F. CARVAJALL.

White Hall

9th 1655

His Highness pleaseth to refer this petition to the consideracon and order of the Councill.

NATH^l BACON.

Intr^e

Endorsed

Antonio Carvaiall.

Re 19 Nov. 1655.

ref. 18 Dec. 1655.

(I. 77. 1656. P. 267.)

Tuesday 22nd July 1656.

On Considera^on of the humble peti^on of Anthonio Fernandes Carvaill, merchant and free Denisen of England, complayning, that the pet^r in December last, haveing freighted the Irish March^t, an English ship, from London to y^e Canaries, where fifty three pipes of Canary, and six hundred seaventy seven West Indya Hides were put aboard for his accompt, and brought back in the sayd ship to the sayd port of London; And y^t the said ship, and goode being enterd in the Custome House, and y^e Customes for y^e same paid, were, in port, seized by one Web, and Comp^e upon Letters of Marque. Ordered by his Highness the Lord Protecto^r and y^e Counsell that it be referred to y^e Judges of the Adm^{ty} Court, or either of them to take consideracon of the sayd peti^on, as also of the humble peti^on of Richard Web, and par^{ers} of London marchante, and to give order for the release of the said ship, and goode (in respect of their pishable nature) and delivring the same into the possion of the said Antho. Fernandes Carvaill, if they shall see cause, the said Anthonio Ferdnandes Carvaill first givinge sufficient security before them, wth respect to the value, to stand to, and abide such decree, or order as that Court shall make touching the same.

App^r in
pson
de M^r Fernan-
dez wth the
petition of
M^r Web.
sealed up 22th

inserted by
ord^r of 24

VI.—CARVAJAL'S RAID ON THE CUSTOMS.

(1658. STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC. Vol. 182, No. 68, fol. 68.)

Timothy Whiting, Pet.

Read 19 Aug. 1658.

To his Highnes, Oliver Lord Protector of y^e Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland &c., the Dominions and hereunto belonging—And to y^e Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of his Privy Councill.

The Petition of Timothy Whiting one of y^e Surveye^{rs} of the Landwayt^{rs} for the Customes; in the Port of London.

Humbly Sheweth

That your petitioner had lately Seazed a parcell of Logwods, alias Blockwoods, being about 100 Tunns of y^e growth of y^e Westindies, imported from y^e Canarys into England, in a Hollands Bottom (contrary to severall knowne Lawes of this Nation) it being of y^e valew of 15000^{ls} or thereabouts.

Your petⁿ in pursuance of his Seazure (by Sufferance obteyned from yo^r Highnes Commiss^{rs} for y^e Customes) did put y^e same into your Highnes possession; placing it in warehouses belonging to your Highnes—And, to y^e end, your Highnes might bee secured in your Reveneue, and y^e said Logwood Legally condemned your pet^r did exhibit an Informacon in your Highnes Court of Excheq^r, (about y^e 12th of July last) against y^e same.

That (according to y^e tenour of y^e aforesd Sufferance). The sayd Goods were not to bee delivered, but by order in writing, under two or more of y^e aforesaid Commiss^{rs} hands. Nevertheless, One Antonio Ferdinando Caravajal, combining with Samuel Swinock, Merch^t, Anthony Tailor, a Solicito^r, Edward Mitton, Merch^t, Norton a packer, Emanuel deffonseca a Jew, . . . Colquit a Proctor, . . . Bellamy a Wind Cooper, and diverse other persons, (unknown to yo^r petⁿ) to procure y^e possession of y^e sayd Logwoods, by force and violence, (for y^t end) did first cause yo^r petⁿ to bee arrested in an Action at Common Law, to which yo^r pe^r was forced to put in bale; And did alsoe cause yo^r pet^r by colour of a processe out of y^e Admiralty, (upon a feyned pretence) to bee arrested, and his person deteyned prisoner for y^e space of two or three days, in obscure places (part of which time, none of his ffreinds could come to him nor heare of him, nor your petⁿ permitted to send to them) and in y^e meane time, riotously and violently, brake open y^e sayd warehouses, and carryed away all y^e sayd Logwood.

In tender Consideration Whereof; and . . . y^e goods seized, are in truth, of farre greater valew then they were apprayzed at, and if they had continued in y^e warehouses, would (when condemned) have been farre more beneficiall to yo^r Highnes then now they can probably bee, and for y^t yo^r petⁿ hath acted nothing, but, according to y^e trust in him reposed by yo^r Highnes; and if such high Actings and misdemeanours of y^e sayd Ferdinando, and his Complices, shall goe unpunisht, it wilbee a great discouragement to y^e officers of

y^o Highnes, in discharge of Their Dutys and, an emboldning to Merchants and others (as alrede it is) to withdraw their Customes, and Duty, and to committ y^e like outrages for y^e time to come.

May it therefore please y^o Highnes, y^t y^e sayd fferdinando, and y^e aforesayd Confederates, may bee called before y^o Highnes and Councill, and ordered y^t y^e sayd Logwood bee restored into y^e warehouses from whence it hath been Riotously taken, there to remaine, till due processe of Law shalbee had

y^t they may receave such condigne punishment, as

. . . itioner shall ever pray, &c.

Endorsed

Cap. Tim Whiteinge

refr. 19 Aug. 1658.

refr. 26 Aug. 1658.

Fol. 69, I.

Anno Vicesimo tertio Reginae Elizabethae.

Cap. IX.

Logwood & Blockwood shall not be used in Dying of Cloth &c.

Whereas of late years there hath been brought into this Realme of England, from beyond y^e Seas a Certaine Kinde of Ware or Stuffe, called Logwood, alias Blockwood, wherewith divers Dyers, Clothiers, Hatmakers & others have, & doe, dye dayly divers Broad Clothes, Kersies, Wools, Pennistons, bayes, Cottons, hose yarne, hats, caps, Flannels, Woodmals, muckadoes, Rushes, Buffins, tuftmuckadoes & other things.

Forasmuch as y^e Colours made with y^e said stuffs called Logwood, alias Blockwood, is false & deceitfull and the Clothes and other things therewith dyed, are not onely sold & uttered to y^e great Deceit of y^e Queens Loving Subjects within this her Realme of England But also beyond y^e Seas, to y^e great discredit and slander, as well of y^e Merchants as of y^e Dyers of this Realme.

For Reformacon whereof be it ordained, enacted & established by y^e Queen our Sovraigne Lady, & by y^e assent of y^e lords spirituall & temporall, & the Comons in this p^rsent Parlam^t assembled and by y^e Authority of y^e same, That all such logwood alias Blockwood in whose hands soever y^e same shalbe found after y^e Feast of S^t Michael y^e Archangell next ensueing shalbe Forfeited, and openly burned by ye Corporates or of two Justices of y^e Peace of the County where it shalbe found, And that from and after twenty dayes after y^e end of this session of Parliam^t no pson of what degree soever he be, shall dye or cause to be dyed any Cloth, wooll or any other of y^e p^rmisses above menconed or any other thing whatsoever, with any of y^e said ware or stuffe called logwood, alias Blockwood, upon paine that y^e Dyer of every such thing soe dyed shall forfeit the value of the things soe dyed the one moyety to y^e use of the Queens M^{tie} her heires & successors and the other moiety to him that will sue for y^e same, By

action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or informacon in any Court of Record, in which suite no essoyn, ptecon, wager of law, nor writ of priviledge for y^e Defd^t shalbe admitted or allowed, and the party offending being therefore convicted to remaine in prison without Baile or Maineprize till hee have satisfied y^e same value.

ENDORSED.

The Statute
as to Logwood.

The Statute
against Logwood
alias Blokwood.

Page 43: Power to Seize
prohibbited Comoditys.

Page 37: Officers required to make
due Seizure.

Page 45: Power given to attach cary away
and putt into safe Custodie.

Page 103: All Maiors, Baylys, Sherrifes, Admiralls, Vice Admiralls,
Cap^{ts} of Ships, all Coll. Cap^t and other officers of the Army and
trayned Bands to assist in Suppressing all Royotts & other
force &c.—

Imported against the Act of Navigation
Page 125.

Page 127. Ports mayd lawfull onely such wher the goods cann
onely bee—or most usually shipped for transportation.

Fol. 69, II.

To prove y ^e Seazure	{ Thomas Thinn ^e . John Glascock. Nath. Hunton. Rich ^d Swallow. Thomas Bayly.
prove imported from y ^e Canarys in a Hollands Bottom	{ Thomas Thinne. Rich ^d Swallow. Nath. Hunton.
Sufferances for Landing & housing	produced.
put into Warehouses belonging to his Highnes	{ Charles Heron. W ^m Baytes. Thomas Bayly. John Glascock.
Information Exhibited	Walt ^r Lancky.
Eighty Tunns Logwood app rd at 1800 ^s	{ Walter Lancky. Charles Heron.
Not to be del ^d but by order under two of y ^e Com ^{rs} hands	} Sufferances produced.

An Action at Common Law y ^e 20 th July in 1000 ^{id} .	Coppy of ye Action.
Processe out of y ^e Adm ^{ty} of 10000 ^{id} Dated y ^e 16 th July. Taken prisoner ye 22 th of y ^e same.	} processe Produced.
Warehouse Doore broke open and Logwood taken away y ^e 22 th July last.	{ Ephraim Payne. Thomas Thinne. W ^m Bates. Jurden.
kept close prisoner in obscure places.	{ Tho ^s Burton. Ephraim Payn. Rapha Harford. Thomas Theobalds. Rich ^d White &c.
Not being Suffered to send to any of his ffreinds.	{ Mr Wilhenbrook & his Wife. Rich ^d Swallow.
Antonio Ferdinando Carvajall owning y ^e Act & present at breaking open y ^e warehouse Doores, & carrying y ^e wood away, & Mitton, Norton, Tennant, Taylor & others abetting y ^e Action.	{ Ephra ^m Payne. Thomas Thinne. W ^m Bates.
Condition and Practises of Sam ^l Swinock, Norton, & Bellamy.	} Thomas Crosse.
Acts committed since to y ^e prejudice of His Highnes Revenew Antonio Rodrigues Robles, act 12 th Aug ^t at Customhouse key. Stamfords Act at Ralphs key. Mr. Alsops act at Chest ^r key y ^e 26 th July 1658.	{ Sams. W ^m Kerby. Arnold. Rich ^d Fuller. W ^m Bates.
Antonio Rodrigues Robles Action & Arrest of Whiteing 12 th August in one John Stantons name in 5000 ^{id} Action & takeing him off y ^e key from y ^e Duty of his place.	{ W ^m Kerby. Sams. Burton &c. Action produced.
Antonio Ferdinando Carvajall—arrest of Whiting at Customhouse y ^e 17 th instant by a Cominus upon a plea of Trespas in 8000 ^{id} .	} Coppy of y ^e Writt.

Fol. 69, III.

To prove y ^e Seazure.	{ Thos. Thinn. Jo: Glascock. Nath: Hunton. Tho: Baly.
Prove imported from the Canaris in a hollands Bottom.	{ Thos: Thinn. Rich: Swallow. Nath: Hunton.
Sufference.	Produced.

Putt into warehouseis belonging to his Highnes.	{ Charles Herne. S. Bailes. Tho: Baley.
An Information exhibited.	Walter Lankey.
No suñ appriisd att £4800.	{ Walter Lankey. Charles Herne.
Not to be delivered but by order under two of the Com ^{rs} hands.	} Sufferance produced.
An action att Comon Law the 20 th July 1658.	Copie of the Action.
Proces out of the Admiralty of £10000. Taken Prisoners 22 nd July.	} Proces Produced.
The Warehouse dores Broke open & Logwood taken away 22 nd July.	{ Ephraim Paine. Tho: Thinne. Bailes. Jurden.
As to being kept close Priss ^{ers} in obscure places.	{ Tho: Burton. Ephraim Paine. Harford. Theoballs. White &c.
As to the nott suffering Whiteing ther then prisoner to send to anie of his friends.	{ Mr Withinbrooke & his wife. Rich: Swallow.
As to Antonio Ferdinando Carrajall owneing the Act and being present att the breaking open the Warehouse dores & carrying the Wood away & Mittons & Nortons & Will Tennante & Anthony Taylors and others abeting the action.	{ Ephra Paine. Thos. Thinn. Bailes.
As to the condition and practises of Sam ^t Swinnoke—Norton & Bellamy.	} Tho. Crosse.
As to the acts since comitted to the prejudice of his Highnesis Revenew : Antonio Rodrigues Robles, act 12 th August att Customehouse key :—Stamfords act att Ralphs key : July 1658 Allsops act att Chesters key the 26 th July 1658.	{ Sams. Kerbey. Rich: Fuller. Bailes.
As to Antonio Rodrigues Robles action & arrest of Whiteing, 12 th Aug st in one Jo : Stantons name in £5000 and takeing him off y ^e key from the dutie of his place.	{ W ^m Kerbey. Sams. Burton & action produced.
As to Antonio Ferdinando Carrajalls arrest : of Whiteing att Customehouse the 17 th instant by a Cominus upon a plea of Trespas in £8000 Action.	} Copie of the Writt: Thos. Thinn.

Endorsed.

Witnesses.

Fol. 94, IV.

London.
1658.

WILLIAM BATES aged fifty years or thereabouts & a noone Tender at y^e Custom-house maketh Oath y^t hee being at his Duty at Chest^r key did (by y^e Dyrection of Capt. Timothy Whiting one of y^e Surveoy^{rs} of y^e Landwayt^{rs}) take care to see y^e Logwood (seazed by y^e sayd Whiting) put into such Warehouses at Chest^r key as by y^e tenour of a Sufferance to him y^e sayd Whiting graunted by y^e Wor^{shipp} y^e Com^{rs} for y^e Customes should bee found safe & convenient And accordingly a Warehouse was taken of M^r Alsop Jun^r y^e Wharfing^r of y^t key by M^r Charles Heron his Highnes Warehous keeps (at a Certaine weekly Rent) on his Highnes behalfe into which y^e said Logwood claymed by M^r Ferdinando was put, in y^e presence of this Deponant ; part on y^e 16th of July, part on y^e 17th & 20th Days, which warehouse being filled this Deponant put severall Locks on y^e Doores thereof on his Highnes behalfe, & by dyrection of y^e sayd Captⁿ Whiting kept y^e keys of y^e same in his owne Custody

That on y^e 21st of July being thanksgiving day this Depon^t did by order of y^e sayd Capt. Whiting goe downe to y^e key to see y^t y^e warehouse was safe, for y^t this Depon^t heard one M^r Sam^l Swinock threaten to breake open y^e warehouse & take y^e wood away by fforce.

That on y^e 22nd of y^t same Moneth in y^e afternoone this Deponent being at y^e sayd key upon his Duty one M^r Gurden come to him this Deponent and asked him, who had y^e Charge of y^e warehouse of Wood aforesayd, this Deponent Answered that hee had y^e keys thereof ffor y^e State, whereupon y^e sayd Jurden told this Deponent y^t M^r Ferdinando had brought a Smith with an Iron sledge & broke open y^e Doores thereof whereupon this Deponent went to y^e sayd Warehouse & demanded of M^r Ferdinando his Authority for breaking open y^e States Warehouse to which M^r fferdinando replyed hee had ord^{rs} from y^e State but showed this Deponent none. This Deponent further sayth y^t there were such a Company of people & Carts about y^e warehouse y^t this Deponent could not come neare thereto, M^r Ferdinando being accompanied in this Action, with one M^r Mitton a merchant, M^r Anthony Taylor, M^r Norton a packer, & M^r William Tennant an officer to y^e Sheriffe of London & diverse other officers of ye Sheriffs & oth^r psons & port^{rs} (unknown to this Deponent) abetting this Action. Neverthelesse this Deponent demanded of M^r Ferdinando whith^r hee would owne this Action who replyed hee would, And y^e sayd M^r Ferdinando did forbidd any of y^e states Officers to touch y^e aforesayd Wood, see they carted it all away by force & violence never demanding y^e keys of this Deponent. This Deponent further sayth y^t at y^e same time this Action was performed y^e sayd Cap^t Whiting was in prison deteyned by him the aforesayd Ferdinando as this Deponent hath heard & further sayth not

Sworne y^e 24 Day of August 1658
Before me: Rⁱ. TOMLYNS,
BATES his affidavitt.

Fol. 69, V.

London, 1658.

THOMAS BAYLEY aged 37 years or thereabouts & one of y^e weighing porters for y^e Customes maketh Oath y^t hee y^e said Thomas Bayly on or about y^e 15th Day of July last was on board y^e ship where certaine of y^e Logwood pretended to belong to Antonio Ferdinando Carvajall was weighing to bee shipt for at which time Cap^t Timothy Whiting one of y^e Surveyors of y^e Landwayt^s came on board y^e said ship & seized y^e said Logwood in y^e name of his Highnes The Lord Protector (y^e said Goods having been seized before by y^e said Whiting but escaped out of y^e Custody of His Highnes).

2^{dy}.—Hee further deposeth y^t on or about y^e 22th July last (Hee y^e said Bayly being againe on board y^e vessell aforesayd to weigh more of y^e said Logwood to bee shipt out as afore). The said Whiting comeing in a payre of Oares towards y^e said ship (haveing only one M^r Harford an officer for y^e Customes in his boate with him) One M^r Sam^l Swinock a Merchant being on board y^e said ship (with one Jⁿ Jobbey Diverse Seamen & oth^{rs} called to y^e said Whiting to come on board, at which y^e said Whiting caused his boate to stand off, But One Thomas Clerke (Servant to y^e said M^r Ferdinando) lying by y^e ships edge with a payre of Oares, tooke in y^e said Swinock, Abbey & John Bellamy a Coop^r, & boarded y^e boate of y^e said Whiting, & brought him as a prison^r on board y^e said ship, where, y^e said Whiting did againe Seaze y^e said Wood, but could have noe ayd or Assistance; but y^e said Whiting was Deteyned prison^r on board y^e said vessell, for about two houres, being about six of y^e Clock in y^e evening, at which time, One Emanuel de ffonseca (comeing on board) whispered to y^e Clerke & Abbey & they immediatly layd hands on & violently hawled y^e said Cap^t Whiting to y^e ships side, & with y^e assistance of Diverse oth^r psons & Seamen, lifted up him y^e said Whiting, as if they would throw him over y^e ship headlong; upon which, this Deponent sayth; y^t y^e said Whiting sayd—Gentlemen fforbeare, y^e have offered violence enough, I will goe with y^u: Neverthelesse, they continued their violence Whereupon, this Deponent (ffearing they would mischeife y^e said Whiting) rushed in amongst them & by perswasive words, bore them off y^e said Capt Whiting, soe hee went downe y^e said ships side of himselfe (being accompanied with y^e psons aforesaid) into their Boate—and they carried him towards y^e Borough of Southwarke.

Sworne y^e 24th Day of August 1658

Before me: R^I. TOMLYNS.

THOS BAYLYS affidavitt.

CAL. S. P. DOM. 1658-59, p. 120.

Aug. 26, 1658.—Council Day's proceedings. Tim Whiting's petition read and evidence heard on both sides. Whole matter referred to a Committee under chairmanship of Lord Richard Cromwell.

VII.—PATENT OF DENIZATION.

(PATENT ROLL. 1655. PART 4.)

Oliver Lord Protector &c. To the Commission^r of our Great Seale of England greetinge, wee will and comand you that under our said great Seale of England you cause our Ires to be made for the patents in forme following Oliver Lord Protector of the Comon wealthe of England Scotland and Ireland and the dominions thereto belonging To all to whom theis p^rsents shall come Greeting whereas Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall a Stranger borne in the parts beyond the Seas haveing as wee are informed for the space of twentie yeares and upwards been an Inhabitant in this nacon and beinge willinge and desirous to plant himselfe and his posteritie in this Comonwealthe to live peaceably and quietly und the Lawes and Government thereof hath humbly besought us for our Ires patents of denizacon to himselfe and his two sons Alonso Jorge Carvaieill and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall Know yee therefore the wee beinge well perswaded of the good affecon of the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvaiall unto this Comonwealth and the present Government thereof have given and granted and by theis p^rsents for us and our Successo^rs doe give and grannt unto him the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall and unto Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayell his sonnes and to every of them respectively by what other name or surnames or addicons of names or Surnames degrees or places they or any of them now are or late were or have been called or knowne That the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall and every of them respectively at all tyme and tymes from and after the date of theis presents duringe their severall and respective naturall lives shalbe and shalbe adjudged reputed and taken to bee in all and every respect Condicon and degree and to all intents Construccoⁿs and purposes whatsoever as the naturall people of this Comonwealthe and as persons borne within the same And that the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall and every of them respectively shall from tyme to tyme henceforthe have full power and authoritie to sue implead prosecute maintain advow justifie and defend all and all manner of Accoⁿs suites and Causes and all other lawful thinges whatsoever as fully Liberally and freely as if they the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall every or any of them respectively had beene borne or were borne within this Comonwealthe and as any other person or persons being naturally borne within this Comonwealth by their being borne within the same may or might lawfully in any wise sue impleade prosecute advow maintaine or doe. And further wee doe by theis presents for us and our Successo^rs grant to the said Fernando Carvayall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall and every of them respectively That they and every of them respectively shall and may from and after the date hereof during their

severall and respective naturall lives bee and shalbe enabled to all intents Construccoens and purposes to have hold and enjoye any lands tenem^s and hereditaments whatsoever within this Comon wealthe by way of purchase or giuft of any person or persons and the same to use and enjoye and to give sell alien or otherwise dispose thereof to any person or persons whatsoever at their and every of their owne Libertie and pleasure as freely quietly lawfully and peaceably as any of the naturall people of this Comonwealthe borne within the same may or might lawfully doe. And alsoe that they the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvaiall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall and every of them respectively shall and may from hence forth quietly and peaceably have and enjoye all and all manner of lawful Liberties franchizes and priviledges within this Comonwealthe as if they the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall or any of them respectively had been borne within the same or as any of the naturall people thereof by their beinge borne within the same doe or may lawfully enjoye And this without the vexacoⁿ molestacoⁿ impediment challenge or Calumny of any person or persons whatsoever any Statute Act ordinance provision custome or other thinge whatsoever at any time heretofore enacted made ordayned or provided or any other matter cause or thinge whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstandinge provided alwayes that they the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall and every of them respectively shall heereafter keepe and yeild obedience to all and singular Lawes ordinances Acts Statutes and proclamacons of this Comon wealthe already made and ordained and which shall hereafter be made and ordained accordinge to the forme and effect of the same And that they the said Anthonio Ferdinando Carvayall Alonso Jorge Carvayall and Joseph Ferdinando Carvayall and every of them respectively shall from tyme to tyme duly answere and pay to us and our Successo^rs all such subsidies customes and other duties for their wares goods and marchandizes as aliens and stranngers doe or ought to answere and pay Any thinge in theis presents contayned to the Contrary notwithstandinge In witness whereof &c. witness &c. And theis our lres patents shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. Given under our privy Seale at Whitehall the seventeenth day of August in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fiftie and five

By privy Seale.

IBN EZRA IN ENGLAND.

BY DR. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

ABRAHAM BEN MEIR IBN EZRA is one of the Jewish scholars that visited this island in the twelfth century. His name is not met with in commercial records (Sh'taroth), or in any other annals of the business transactions of contemporary Jews. He might have said in the words of the prophet, with a little variation, "I have not borrowed nor lent money, and yet will my people remember me for many generations." It is a rich legacy that Ibn Ezra left—even an *embarras de richesse*. It is difficult to assign to each of his numerous writings its exact date, place, and purpose; but however interesting the discussion and solution of these problems may be, they do not concern us here, as we have only to deal at present with a visit paid by this famous scholar to England, and with the works that he produced while he stayed in this country.

As to the life of Ibn Ezra, I have written what I had to say in a paper read before the Jews' College Literary Society, in the year 1872, and published by the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge in one of the Sabbath Readings.¹ A short biography of Ibn Ezra also precedes my *Translation of Ibn Ezra's Commentary on Isaiah*. But there is one point that is not yet cleared up. When did Ibn Ezra come to England? What kind of public or private reception was arranged for him? When did he leave England? I am sorry to say that I am perfectly ignorant on these matters; the Jewish annals seem to have passed over these questions with silence—perhaps a just retribution to this scholar. History herein pays him measure for measure; for the study of geography and history were not treated by Ibn Ezra with due respect, and in the curriculum of studies recommended

¹ It is to be regretted that these publications were discontinued, and it is to be hoped that they will be resumed under the auspices of the successor of the Association.

by him they occupy an inferior position.¹ According to his own statements, he was in Rome in 1140; he was in Lucca in 1145; in the years which follow he visited various places in Italy, and wrote Grammars and Commentaries, without giving place and date of the compositions. From Italy he went to France; the earliest work written there is the *Commentary on Exodus*, 1153, the latest is the *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, written in the year 1157.² In the month of Tammuz, 1158, he was in London, and began to write the *Yesod Mora*. This is the first mention of Ibn Ezra's stay in London, but it is within the bounds of possibility that this was not his first visit. Negative evidence is inconclusive. At all events the *Yesod Mora* is the first work known to us as produced by Ibn Ezra in England, for the benefit of a pious patron residing in this country.

Let us now hear what Ibn Ezra has to say about this book, and in it. The title is—

I.—YESOD MORA VESOD TORAH.³

“The foundation of the fear of God and the essence of the Torah.” Ibn Ezra wrote for a Maecenas who had studied under his direction other works composed by the same author.⁴ Ibn Ezra “took the

¹ Comp. *Yesod Mora*, ch. i. : “The knowledge of the names of the towns in Palestine, the history of the Judges and the Kings, the building of the first Temple, that of the future Temple, or the prophecies that have already been fulfilled, can only be acquired by hard work and is of little benefit.”

² See *Essays on Ibn Ezra* by M. Friedländer, p. 195.

³ This title is mentioned in the superscription; but I doubt whether it is Ibn Ezra's choice. The title is probably taken from the following sentence that occurs in the first chapter : “The knowledge of Hebrew Grammar enables us to understand *יסוד התורה וסוד הכוונה* ‘The foundation of the Law and the essence (lit. secret) of the fear of God.’” Although the two terms *סוד* and *יסוד* are employed here as synonyms, the originator of the title thought it necessary to interchange them so as to apply *סוד* to Torah in accordance with the use of the word by Ibn Ezra in his Commentaries. The correct title is probably that given in MS. Poc. 296, viz. *ספר המצוות* “On the Divine Commandments.” Comp. end of ch. i : “And now I will continue to speak on the Commandments,” and again in ch. ii : “I took the trouble to write for him a book on the Commandments (*ספר במצוות*).”

⁴ This statement suggests either that Ibn Ezra had already been staying in England for some months, or that he came to England together with his disciple.

trouble to write a book for him, on the divine precepts, because he had found him to be a truthful and God-fearing man above many." The name of this pupil is not mentioned here,¹ but the fact that Ibn Ezra had written other books for his pupil, which the latter studied in the presence of Ibn Ezra, suggests the name of Joseph of Maudville, the same who states in a postscript to Ibn Ezra's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*: "I, Joseph, son of Rabbi Jacob of Maudville, copied it from the original autograph of the author, and added such remarks as I heard him make *viva voce*, when I was with him." Here Ibn Ezra calls his pupil *nadibh*, "generous," and in one of his poems he attributes "generosity" (*nidh'bhath ruah*) to this same Rabbi Joseph. The book "was commenced in London, in the island Angleterre, in the month of Tammuz, and finished, after four weeks, in the month of Ab, 4918 (1158)."² Although it is not said that the book was finished in London, this was probably the case, as, according to Ibn Ezra's own statement, he was in London five months later, in the month of Tebeth, 4919, if this statement is not altogether a fiction.

The *Yesod Mora* is not quoted in any of the works of Ibn Ezra. On the other hand it contains references to the Commentaries on Exodus (short edition), Leviticus, Psalms, and Daniel. The following is an abstract of the contents of the book:—

In the Preface Ibn Ezra reminds the reader that man is distinguished from the rest of the creation by his intellect, by the spirit that comes

¹ In several MSS. the dedicatory poem has the following additional line:

אודה בהשלימי לאל ולידידו יוסף בנו יעקב על מתנת ידו

"When I finish it I shall give thanks to God, and to his beloved, Joseph son of Jacob, for his support."

² A postscript to the book runs thus (see *Orient*, XI, p. 301): "I, Abraham, the Sefardi, son of Meir, called Ibn Ezra, commenced to write this book in London, in the island Angleterre; and it was finished in the month of Ab, after four weeks, in the year 4919." In the book itself the name of London is not given, nor is the date mentioned. But when the author says: "Between Jerusalem and this island there is a difference of four hours as regards the time of sunrise," he probably meant between Jerusalem and England. He does not state on what authority he assumed a difference of four hours. The difference in degrees of longitude is only 35°, causing a difference of two hours twenty minutes. On the shortest day the number given by Ibn Ezra may approximately be right, if we take into account the difference in the length of the day. Another explanation is given below, p. 67, note ¹.

from God and returns again to him when man has faithfully fulfilled his mission, viz., to study the works of his Master, and to live in accordance with his precepts. The acquisition of knowledge, of whatever kind, is a step upwards towards the knowledge of the Most High. The author then proceeds, in the first chapter, to recommend certain branches of learning as auxiliary knowledge, as means for an end, but which must not be treated as the aim of man's life. Such are the study of Masora and Grammar, the Bible, Talmud, Casuistry and Midrash. When studying these things we must never lose sight of our principal aim, "to obtain a knowledge of the works and the will of the Creator;" and in order to attain this end, we must add to the above studies Natural Philosophy, Logic, Mathematics, Astronomy, and Psychology.

Logic, Ibn Ezra says in the next chapter, enables us to define and to arrange things properly by correct classification; and in the study of the Torah logic leads us to distinguish correctly between general principles and those individual precepts that emanate from them, and between the real precept and the fence round it. Incidentally¹ he censures the authors of *Azharoth*, who enumerate the 613 precepts without being guided by these logical rules—counting identical precepts each separately, and general principles side by side with the detailed precepts contained in the former.

The importance of these general principles shows itself in many ways. If they collide with certain individual precepts the latter are set aside. Only in three cases is the neglect of a positive precept (מצוות עשה) visited with *kareth*, and one of these is the neglect of a positive general principle (ch. iii.).²

¹ So it seems; but it is possible that the rejection of such compositions as the *Azharoth* (a rhymed enumeration of the 613 precepts) is an essential point in this work of Ibn Ezra. He may have been asked by his pupil to write for him a kind of *Azharoth*; but Ibn Ezra refuses to do so, exhorting his pupil to remember the general principles and to have constantly the chief aim of man's perfection before him; he might then dispense with a minute study of the individual precepts.

² Neglect of positive commandments is threatened with *kareth* only in the case of circumcision and the Passover offering. Ibn Ezra seems to consider the term ארוך "cursed be" as identical with *kareth*, and explains Deut. xxvii. 26 to refer to him who neglects to conceive *in his heart* the earnest resolve to be loyal to the Torah.

The general principles are easily distinguished from the rest, which are dependent on time, place, and circumstances (ch. iv.), whilst the former are in force everywhere, at every time and under all circumstances. They are implanted in man's heart; and the psalmist's praise of "the commandments¹ of the Lord, which are upright, making the heart glad" (Ps. xix. 8), applies especially to them (ch. v.). The precepts are in part fully explained in the Torah, partly they are only indicated there, and are described in the Oral Law; there are also precepts which originated altogether in post-biblical times (ch. vi.): all these may be divided into such as concern our actions, such as concern our words, and such as concern our thoughts or our heart (אמונת הלב). The latter must accompany every performance of a precept; without them the practice of the precept (מצוה) is meaningless. The source of all the general principles is the fear of the Lord, which inspires us with the desire to abstain from that which is prohibited and to do that which is commanded. From another point of view Ibn Ezra considers loyalty to the words, "the Lord thy God thou shalt fear" (Deut. vi. 13), as the source of man's obedience to the divine prohibitions (מצות לא תעשה), and the first step towards his perfection, whilst man's obedience to the positive precepts (מצוה עשה), which are comprehended in the words "and him thou shalt serve" (ibid.), leads him gradually towards the highest degree of man's perfection, *i.e.*, the love of God and the cleaving to him (דבקות בשם יתברך). When this degree is reached, man's soul will in his lifetime "be filled with the fulness of joys in his presence," and will hereafter enjoy the "pleasures for evermore at the right hand of God" (Ps. xvi. 11). Although man's physical constitution greatly influences his moral disposition, strict obedience to the divine precepts minimises that influence, and his perfection does not depend on a predestined order of things, but on his own free will, in accordance with the Talmudical saying, "Everything is in the hands of heaven, except the fear of the Lord" (ch. vii.).

How the single precepts affect man's moral faculty is not clear in every case; but in many instances the reason for the precept is stated in

¹ The Hebrew term is פקודים, and according to Ibn Ezra the word is derived from פקר "to entrust" (comp. פקרון "trust"), and signifies the things entrusted to the heart.

the Law. But whether the reason of the precept is clear to us or not, strict obedience is demanded in every case, the divine commandments being "just statutes and commandments" making the "people wise and reasonable" (Deut. iv. 6, 8) (ch. viii.).

There exists, according to Ibn Ezra, a certain analogy¹ between the Kosmos and some of the divine precepts (ch. ix.). Such analogy suggests a thorough study of the Kosmos, a study that leads to a knowledge and love of God. But in order to attain this end, it is necessary for man to abandon earthly pleasures, and to devote himself exclusively to the service of God, everyone according to his faculties (ch. x.).

Some mystical relations are pointed out in the eleventh chapter between the properties of the four letters of the divine name, the Tetragrammaton,² and various mathematical and astronomical problems. "He whose soul is filled with the knowledge of mathematics and astronomy advances greatly towards a knowledge of the divine Being, secures for himself eternal existence, becomes like the angels³ who minister unto God, and sings praises to him together with the angels" (ch. xii.).

Not long after the *Yesod Mora*, Ibn Ezra is said to have written in England another essay, *The Letter of Sabbath*:

IGGERETH HA-SHABBATH.

The personification of the Sabbath is frequently met with in Hebrew literature. In the well-known hymn of the Friday evening service, beginning לְכֵה דְוִי' לַשַּׁבָּת, Sabbath is welcomed as a bride; in the *zemiroth*, Sabbath is introduced as a queen; in the Sabbath morning service, Sabbath is the author of Psalm xcii., for "the seventh day

¹ Ibn Ezra frequently refers to that analogy in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. Comp. *Comm. on Exodus* xxv. 40, xxvi. 18, xxviii. 8.

² Comp. *Sepher hashshem*; and *Comm. on Exodus* iii. 15.

³ It seems that Ibn Ezra thought of the ideal reconstruction of the Kosmos in the scholar's mind, and compared this construction with that of the real Kosmos by the angels. These spiritual beings, created, according to Ibn Ezra, for the purpose of forming and ruling the universe, are to some extent the forces that act in nature, and are in their combined action identical with the Demiourgos of Philo. In Hebrew they are called *elohim*, which term, by way of metonymy, signifies also "God."

praises and sings 'a psalm, a song of the day of Sabbath.'" In the same way Ibn Ezra introduces here Sabbath as the writer of a letter. In this letter, which is addressed to Ibn Ezra, Sabbath presents herself as the crown of the religion of the distinguished people, which occupies the fourth place in the Decalogue, and is "the sign of an everlasting covenant between God and his children." She is proud that she brings the blessing of rest to all who sanctify the seventh day, and feels satisfied with the way she has hitherto been honoured. But she bitterly complains that a change has recently taken place in the conduct of Ibn Ezra, and that is the chief object of her letter. Ibn Ezra, who has in his younger days always been a strict observer of the Sabbath, has become lax in his old age; for he allows books to remain in his house in which the profanation of the eve of the Sabbath is suggested, and does not at once write letters to all congregations and show them the error of that suggestion.

Ibn Ezra tells us that one Friday evening (the 14th of Tebeth, 4919), when he happened to be in England, "in one of the cities of the island called 'the corner of the earth' (Angleterre), and forming part of the seventh zone," he had a dream, in which a letter from Sabbath was brought to him. His attention was called to books which were left by his pupils in his house, and which contained a heterodox interpretation of Genesis i. 5. He soon found the corpus delicti; it was a note on Genesis i. 5, which verse was explained to mean that when there had been evening and also morning, one day had passed; and that the night was counted with the preceding day. The first day must consequently have commenced in the morning and ended the next morning. It being admitted by all commentators, says Ibn Ezra, that the object of the biblical account of the creation is to explain the institution of Sabbath, the suggestion would not be unreasonable, that the beginning and end of the Sabbath should be determined in accordance with this account.¹ Ibn Ezra's indignation

¹ If the Commentary referred to were that of Rashbam, it would not have been necessary for Ibn Ezra to show the inference that readers might draw as regards the observance of the Sabbath; it is clearly stated in the Commentary itself: "And it was evening and it was morning (*i. e.* dawn commenced), and thus one of the six days referred to in the decalogue ended." If Ibn Ezra had seen this Commentary, he would have quoted these words. *See* below.

would almost have induced him to destroy the book at once, even on the Sabbath, in order to prevent others from being misled by it. Reason, however, conquered passion, and Ibn Ezra contented himself with a solemn vow to write on the subject immediately after the Sabbath, and with the utterance of a curse against any one who would accept that explanation, or would read it aloud, or would copy it and add it to a commentary on the Torah.

Whose Commentary was it that was thus condemned by Ibn Ezra? If the author's name was known to Ibn Ezra, why does he not mention it? Did he purposely withhold the name, because he feared lest the wrong comment should be, to some extent, sanctioned by the great authority of the commentator? Or did he perhaps avoid offending an author that was generally respected? Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, VI., page 447, note 8) believes that the Commentary of Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (רשב"ם), on the Pentateuch was meant, and, in fact, the impugned remark on Genesis i. 5 is found in that Commentary. If this view is correct, we can well understand the fear of Ibn Ezra that the force of his own arguments might be counter-balanced by the piety and learning of Rashbam. But why does Ibn Ezra employ the plural form "books" (ספרים), "commentaries" (פירושי התורה)? and why are the disciples introduced as having brought them into the house of their master? Furthermore, the various ways in which Genesis i. 5 was explained by different authors were not unknown to Ibn Ezra. In his commentary on Exodus xvi. 22, as well as in his remark on Genesis i. 5, he criticises the impugned interpretation of Genesis i. 5. The shock which he says he received at the sight of it must have been caused rather by the circumstances connected with the copy found in his house than with its contents. It seems that the disciples had brought to their master for revision copies of explanations of biblical passages, in which the master found, to his great surprise, the very interpretation of Genesis i. 5 which he had always opposed. The Commentary of Rashbam could not have shocked him greatly, as a few lines' more reading would have convinced him of this Rabbi's loyalty to the traditional interpretation of the Biblical precepts. He says distinctly (on Genesis i. 14), "The time from one appearance of the stars (צאת הכוכבים) to the next is

called one day,"¹ so that no one could honestly charge him with heterodox views concerning the beginning of the Sabbath. But for the disciples who, in spite of their master's strong opposition, copied the interpretation quoted above, it might prove dangerous as regards the right observance of the Sabbath. Hence the indignation of Ibn Ezra.

The account of the dream, and the resolve of Ibn Ezra to write the "letter" (אגרת) concerning the Sabbath, seems to have been written some time after the event, and somewhere far from England. If the letter were written in England he would not have said, "in one of the towns of the island called Angleterre," but "in one of the towns of this island," and would probably have named the place; nor would he have further described the island as situated in the seventh zone.²

I doubt whether the whole account of the dream, which is intended as a poetical introduction to the three essays on the beginning of the year, of the month, and of the day, was written by Ibn Ezra himself. Some of the ideas contained therein seem to be foreign to the spirit of Ibn Ezra. This scholar does not at all lay stress on the use of wine for *kiddush* and *habhdalah*,³ as is done in this introduction. Ibn Ezra does not believe that the Sabbath is a day of rest for the dead more than any other day; his idea of the future life of our soul is entirely different.⁴ The three essays themselves are by no means new; they are a modified and expanded form of notes occurring in Ibn Ezra's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*.⁵ Ibn Ezra himself may have recast them, but it is also possible that one of his pupils wrote them in

¹ It is difficult to see how this dictum can be reconciled with the quoted interpretation of "And it was evening," etc. We must either assume that the Rabbi only intended to define the *length* of the day as consisting of twenty-four hours, and did not intend to fix the *beginning* of the day; and this explanation is supported by the fact that the important sentence, "The night is counted with the preceding day," quoted by Ibn Ezra, is absent from the Commentary ascribed to Rashbam. Or we must assume that this Commentary is a compilation of notes from various books, and was not written by Rashbam, or that one of the two contradictory explanations was interpolated.

² Note especially the phrase: 'וּנְאֻמֵי הַיְיָ בַעִיר אֶהְיֶה מִעֵרֵי הָאָרֶץ וּנְגִי.

³ Comp. *Yesod Mora*, ch. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Introd. and ch. x.

⁵ See Comm. of Ibn Ezra on Exodus xii. 2, and on Genesis i. 5.

the name of the master ; and the principal object of these essays may have been the same as described in the Introduction, viz., to refute, in the fullest possible way, the above-mentioned heterodox interpretation of Genesis i. 5. The title given to the three essays is *Iggereth h'ishshabbath*, in a double sense of the word *Iggereth*, as the author states. First, it signifies a *collection* (from אגר "to collect") of arguments for the right observance of the Sabbath, and secondly, it reminds the reader of "the letter of Sabbath" that gave the impulse to these essays. From this statement we might infer that the original sense of the title was "a collection of arguments concerning the Sabbath," and that the term *iggereth* suggested the idea of "the letter of Sabbath."¹

The three essays are preceded by a few preliminary remarks on the connection that exists between the course of the sun and the various seasons of the day and the year.

Ibn Ezra then proceeds, in the first essay, to show that the year of the Torah (שנת התורה) begins in the spring, in the month *Abib*, which is "the first of the months of the year." An exception is made with regard to the year of release (שמיטה) and with that of jubilee (ויבל), which commence in the autumn in the month of Tishri. In the second essay the beginning of the month is explained as depending on the first reappearance of the moon after the conjunction. The year is called in Hebrew *shanah*, because in every year the course of the sun through the ecliptic is repeated without any change, whilst the light of the moon is renewed every month, and a month is therefore called in Hebrew *'hodesh*, "renewal." If the term "month" is applied to the twelfth part of a solar year the name is borrowed from the lunar month, which is almost equal in length ; in the same way we give the name "year" to twelve revolutions of the moon, because the period of twelve revolutions of the moon is nearly equal to a solar year. The Jewish Calendar is based on a combination of both systems, on account of the month *Abib*, which is to be the first month and must be in the spring. Taking the length of the solar year to be 365 days

¹ The title *Iggereth* was suggested in the letter of Sabbath ; comp. "Why do you not at once vow that you would write letters in defence of our faith" ? In this postscript Ibn Ezra seems altogether to ignore the poetical introduction ; and the second explanation of the title is probably a later interpolation.

5 hours 55 m. $45\frac{2}{3}\frac{5}{7}$ s., and the length of a month to be 29 days $12\frac{7}{10}\frac{3}{10}$ hours, 19 solar years are equal to 235 lunar months.

In the third essay Ibn Ezra approaches the chief question, the beginning of the day. The annual course of the sun, the ecliptic, is divided into four parts; the four points of division are the two points of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator, and the two points midway between the former. Similarly is the day circle of the sun divided into four parts by its two points of intersection with the horizon, and two points of intersection with the meridian, midway between the former. The four points in the ecliptic mark the beginnings (תקופות)¹ of the seasons of the year—spring, summer, autumn, and winter; and the points of division in the day circle of the sun mark the beginnings of the four seasons of the day—sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight. Just as each of the four beginnings of the seasons of the year has found its advocates for its selection as the beginning of the year,² so also has each of the four moments of the day found its supporters that fixed it as the beginning of the day.³ As the autumn has been fixed by the *Torah* as the beginning of the year of rest (שבת), so is the evening, which corresponds in its properties to the autumn, the beginning of the *day* of rest.

¹ There are two kinds of *t'kufoth*, those of R. Samuel, and those of R. Ada; the former are based on the theory that the length of a year is $365\frac{1}{4}$ days; according to R. Ada 19 solar years are equal to 235 lunar months. Incidentally Ibn Ezra blames those that still continue to notice the *t'kufoth* of R. Samuel, and especially those who superstitiously ascribe to them certain influences.

² The Greeks (יונים) count the years from the spring, the Persians from the summer, the Chaldees from the autumn, and the Christians from the winter. (*Igg. ha-shabbath*, ch. i.)

³ R. Abraham, son of R. Hiyya ha-nasi, in his *Sefer ha-'ibbur* (I. ch. ix.), says that the Christians count the days from the morning, and support their theory by pointing to passages in the Bible in which the day is mentioned before the night, and especially to the fact that light was first created. Also Ibn Ezra seems to ascribe this view to the Christians; for he fears "Lest we become a mockery in the eyes of the Christians" (by adopting the impugned explanation of Genesis i. 5, and yet beginning Sabbath in the evening). Discussions on the subject must frequently have taken place between Jews and Christians. "Astronomers start from midnight or midday, when the sun passes through the meridian; Christians begin the day with sunrise, and we begin with sunset." (*Ibid.*, ch. x.)

Ibn Ezra then proceeds to criticise the various biblical passages that have been adduced in support of the theory that Sabbath begins in the morning, such as Exodus xvi. 23-25.¹ Chief among these passages is Genesis i. 1-5, which, according to Ibn Ezra, is the source of the dissension about the beginning of the Sabbath. His opponents hold that "the light" was the first object of the creation, and explain the passage thus: In the beginning, when God created heaven and earth, the earth was not in existence (*tohu va-bohu*) and darkness was (*i.e.*, there was no light), &c. Consequently day came first in the creation, and then followed night. Ibn Ezra rejects this interpretation, and explains the first paragraph of Genesis thus: In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth (*i.e.*, the whole universe); but the earth was not as we see it at present; it was *tohu va-bhohu*, empty, without living beings; and *darkness* was there, etc.; darkness consequently preceded the creation of light, and night was before the day. This interpretation of Genesis i. 1-5 fully agrees in sense and in expression with the latest (French) recension of Ibn Ezra's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, extant on the first seventeen chapters of Genesis.² It is remarkable that in the *Iggereth hashshabbath* references occur to the commentaries on Isaiah and Daniel, but the *Commentary on the Pentateuch* is never quoted. The reason for this circumstance is probably this: the arguments given in the earlier recensions were not considered satisfactory by those for whom they were chiefly intended, and the new recension was still fragmentary and unpublished. In the present letter Ibn Ezra sought, by fresh arguments, to defend the traditional law of Sabbath from the attacks of the heterodox, the מִינִי³ who rejected the theory that the day began in the evening.

It seems that our author has not yet exhausted all his store

¹ Other passages are found in *Sefer ha-'ibbur*, l. c.

² See *Essays on Ibn Ezra*, by M. Friedländer, p. 160, and Appendix, p. 10, sqq.

³ Ibn Ezra designates by this term a Jewish sect, that observed the Sabbath from morning to morning; we do not know whether there were such Jews in England or France in the time of Ibn Ezra. Dr. Gaster called my attention to the fact mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela that they existed among the Jews of Cyprus. (*Travels of Benjamin of Tudela*, I. p. 25 (Hebrew) and 57 (English), ed. A. Asher, and note 119, vol. II., p. 56).

of arguments, for he adds, in conclusion, "This letter has been finished in haste," and thereby implies that in case of emergency he might produce further arguments. He does not give any reason for the haste, nor does he tell us in how far there was *periculum in morâ*.

A story-book in Judæo-German (מעשה בוך) contains an account of Ibn Ezra's dream, but substitutes "Arnon" or "Aragon" for "Angleterre."

Besides these two compositions, Ibn Ezra does not seem to have produced any further work in England; but the result of his teaching may be noticed in the literary attempts of his pupil Joseph ben Jacob of Maudville (ממורדיל), who wrote notes on the Sidra, ויהי,¹ and added some explanatory remarks to Ibn Ezra's Commentaries on Exodus and on the Minor Prophets.²

Ibn Ezra continued to live after the date mentioned in the *Iggereth hashshabbath* about ten years; but the question where he lived these years, and where he died, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. In the year 1161 Ibn Ezra was in Narbonne, where he calculated the nativity of a child.³ There is no trace that he returned after that to England, but there is a story⁴ that he died in England, surrounded by *shedim* in the form of black dogs. A traveller coming from England brought the story to Moses Tachau, of Vienna. Moses Tachau, an ardent opponent of Ibn Ezra's writings, was only too glad to hear stories of this kind about Ibn Ezra, and the traveller probably knew it; and, according to the rule לְשָׂקֵר יִרְחִיק עֲרוֹתָו, the name of England was connected with the story.

Ibn Ezra died seventy-five years old, and the words "Abram was seventy-five years old when he left Haran" (*i.e.*, the troubles of this world) were applied to him, according to some writers, by himself, when he felt the approach of death.⁵ Others ascribe to him the

¹ *Essays on Ibn Ezra*, etc., p. 204, and Appendix, p. 65.

² *Essays on Ibn Ezra*, etc., p. 155, note 2, and p. 166.

³ See Steinschneider, *Shene ha-meoroth*, p. 4.

⁴ See *Ozar Nechmad*, vol. III., 97.

⁵ See *Anecdota Ozoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. I., part 4; *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, edited by Dr. A. Neubauer, p. 131.

following words, uttered before his death, and containing sentiments which are more congenial to the spirit of Ibn Ezra : “ My soul rejoices in the rock of my strength ; in his might he bestowed benefits on me according to my righteousness ; in his kindness he has taught me his ways, and kept me alive till I knew the object of my longing ; and if my flesh and my heart is spent, the Lord remains my rock and my strength.”



APPENDIX.

The following treatise is the above-mentioned "Letter of the Sabbath," edited according to the following MSS.: Brit. Mus. Add. 27038 (ed. S. D. Luzzatto, Kerem Chemed iv, p. 159), and four MSS. of the Bodl. Library, viz., Poe. 280 B.; Opp. 757 and 520; Mich. 185. In the notes these are referred to by the letters L, P, O, Op. and M.

אגרת השבת אל החכם רא"בע

ויהי בשנת ארבעת אלפים ותשע מאות ותשע עשרה בחצי ליל שבת¹ בארבעה עשר לחדש טבת ואני אברהם ספרדי² הנקרא³ אבן עזרא הייתי בעיר אחת מערי האי⁴ הנקרא קצה הארץ שהוא בגבול השביעי מגבולות הארץ הנושבת • ואני הייתי ישן ושנתי ערבה לי • וארא⁵ בחלום והנה עומד לנגדי כמראה גבר ובידו אגרת התומה⁶ • ויען ויאמר אלי קח זאת האגרת ששלחה אליך השבת : ואקוד ואשתחווה לה' ואברך את השם אשר נתנה לנו⁷ • אשר כבדני זה הכבוד • ואתפשנה בשתי ידי • וידי נטפו מר • ואקראנה ותהי⁸ בפי כדבש למתוק • אך בקראי הטורים⁹ האחרונים¹⁰ הם לבי בקרבי • וכמעט¹¹ יצאה¹² נפשי • ואשאל את העומד לנגדי מה פשעי מה הטאתי ? כי מיום¹³ שידעתי השם הנכבד¹⁴ אשר בראני¹⁵ • ולמדתי מצותיו • לעולם אהבתי את השבת • ובטרם בואה הייתי יוצא לקראתה בכל לב • גם הייתי בצאתה משלח אותה בשמחה ובישירים • ומי בכל עבדיה כמוני¹⁶ נאמן ? ומדוע שלחה אלי זאת האגרת ? והיא זאת¹⁷ :

¹ שנה בחצי הלילה בליל שבת L.

² הספרדי אברהם P.

³ Omits, L.

⁴ Omits, O.

⁵ ואראה L.

⁶ Omits, P.

⁷ אשר נ' לבו omit, O, Op. and M.

⁸ ותהי בראשית L.

⁹ הדברים O.

¹⁰ Omit, O. and Op.

¹¹ L, וכמעט קט

¹² תצא L.

¹³ מהיום L.

¹⁴ O, הנכבד והנורא

¹⁵ בראנו L.

¹⁶ M. and O, כמשה

¹⁷ M, והיא O, and Op.; וזאת היא

רביעית בעשרת הדברים *
 ברית עולם לכל דורים¹ ודורים *
 וכן כחוב בראשית הספרים² *
 למען אהיה מופת לדורים⁴ *
 ומרגוע לעם שִׁכְנֵי קברים *
 וששים בי זקנים⁶ עם נערים *
 ובי לא יספרו על מות ישרים *
 והגרים אשר הם בשערים *
 כסוסים כחמורים כשורים⁷ *
 וגם מבדיל חשובים כנזירים⁸ *
 ביומי נפתחו מאה שערים *
 מצא הפיץ¹⁰ ומדבר¹¹ דברים *
 שמרתני מאד מימי נעורים *
 אשר באו אלי ביתך ספרים¹⁴ *
 ואיך¹⁶ תחשה ולא תדור נדרים *
 ותשלחם אֵלַי כל העֲבָרִים ;

אני שבת * עטרת דת יקרים
 ובין השם ובין בניו אני אות
 ובי כל מעשיו בלה אלהים
 ולא ירד ביום שבת אזי³ מן
 אני ענג לחיים על אדמה⁵
 אני חֲדָוֹת זכרים גם נקבות
 ולא יתאבלו בי האבלים
 והשקט ימצאו עבד ואמה
 ינחון כל בהמות הם ביד איש
 וכל משביל בינו הוא מקדש
 בכל יום ימצאו שערי תבונה
 מִקְבֵּר מעשות דרך וכן מן⁹
 שמרתך בכל ימים¹² * למען
 בזקנתך¹³ שגנה נמצאה בך
 ושם כתוב לחלל יום¹⁵ שביעי *
 להבר אגרות דרך אמונה

ויען¹⁷ ויאמר אלי ציר השבת * הגד הוגד לה אשר¹⁸ הביאו תלמידך אתמול
 אל ביתך ספרים פירושי התורה * ושם כתוב לחלל את¹⁹ השבת * ואתה תאזור
 מתנדך בעבור כבוד השבת להלחם²⁰ מלחמת התורה עם אויבי השבת * ולא
 תשא פני איש : ואיך ותתפעם רוחי עלי * ונפשי נבהלה מאד * ואקום וחמתי
 בערה בי : ואלבש בגדי²¹ * וארחץ ידי * ואוציא חוצה הספרים אל אור הלכנה *
 והנה שם כתוב פירוש ויהי ערב ויהי בקר * והוא אומר כאשר²² היה²³ בקר

¹ הדורות, M. ² כל ספרים, M., O. and Op. ³ אֵז, Op.

⁴ להורים, Op.; להרים, O. and M. ⁵ האדמה, O. and Op.

⁶ שישים בזקנים, O.

⁷ בסוסים כחמורים ובשורים, Op.; בסוסים כחמורים ושורים, O. and M.

⁸ חשובים כנזירים, O.; בחשובים כנזירים, O. and M.

⁹ ורבר, L. ¹⁰ הפיץ, O. ¹¹ וכן מ..., P. ¹² ובין, Op.; ועמו, O. and M.

¹³ בזקנד, M.; בזקנדך, O. ¹⁴ מאשם, M. ¹⁵ ליל, L. ¹⁶ ואילך, O.

¹⁷ ויגש, O. ¹⁸ את אשר, L. ¹⁹ את ליל, L. ²⁰ במלאכת, O. and M.

²¹ ויגש, O. ²² כי, Omit, O. and M. ²³ עלה, O.

²⁴ Omits, Op.

יום שני עלה יום אחד שלם • כי הלילה הולך אחר היום : וכמעט קט¹ קרעתי בגרי • ונג קרעתי זה הפירוש • כי אמרתי טוב לחלל שבת אחת² • ולא יחללו ישראל שבתות הרבה • אם יראו זה הפירוש הרע • גם נהיה כלנו ללעג³ וקלם בעיני הגוים⁴ • ואתאפק בעבור כבוד השבת : ואדר⁵ נדר אם אתן שנת לעיני אחר צאת יום הקדש עד אכתוב אגרת ארוכה לבאר מתי ראשית יום התורה • להרים מכשול ולהסיר פח ומוקש : כי כל ישראל הפרושים גם כל הצדוקים עמהם יודעים • כי לא נכתבה פרשת בראשית מעשה ה' בכל יום רק בעבור שידעו שומרי התורה איך ישמרו השבת • שישבתו כאשר⁶ שבת הש"ת⁷ לספור ימי השבועה⁸ • והנה אם היה סוף יום השישי בקר⁹ יום שביעי היה¹⁰ לנו לשמור הלילה הבא : והנה זה הפירוש מתעה כל¹¹ ישראל • במזרח ובמערב גם הקרובים גם הרחוקים • גם החיים גם המתים • והמאמין בפירוש הקשה הזה ינקום ה' נקמת השבת ממנו • והקורא אותו בקול גדול תדבק לישנו לחכו • גם הסופר הכותב אותו בפירוש התורה זרועו יבוש תיבש ועין ימינו כהה תכהה (ולכל בני ישראל תהיה אור¹²) : וזאת היא תחלת האגרת :

אין מחלוקת בין משכילי חקות¹³ השמים כי שתיים עגלות¹⁴ הנה : הן הן המסכות העליונות שמוצק האחת מוצק הארץ • והן מתחברות בשתיים נקודות • ומשם מתפרדות עד נטות האחת לימין גם לשמאל • כפי שתי המישיות ששית הגלגל • והנה התנועה האחת שהיא כוללת כל תנועות הגלגלים • היא המזרחית • שהשינים עשר מזלות עולים בכ"ד שעות וקרוב מזה המספר יעלו גם שבעת המשרתים • והתנועה השנית היא המערבית גם היא כוללת כל תנועות הגלגלים • כי סדני גלגל המשרתים נמשלים¹⁵ אל סדני גלגל המזלות • והשמש לבדה שומרת קו המזלות • לא תטה ימין ושמאל • והיא תקיף כל המזלות בש"ס ימים וחמש שעות וחלקי שעה והיא שנת החמה • והיא השנה באמת • כי הימים ישובו פעם שנית כאשר היו בשנה הראשונה • על כן נקראת שנה • ובעבור נטות השמש

¹ קט, Op.; וגם, O. and M.

² אחד, O.

³ לעג, M.

⁴ הערלים, L.

⁵ ואתן, L.

⁶ שישבתו כאשר, L.

⁷ השם הנכבד והנורא; L.; השם הנכבד, O. and M.

⁸ The words *השבועה ימי* are out of place here; their proper place is after *בכל יום* in the preceding line.

⁹ ער, Op.

¹⁰ יש, L.

¹¹ O. מרעה לכל.

¹² Added in M.; O. has besides *שפטרני*.

¹³ שבילי, M.

¹⁴ P. עגלות גדולות.

¹⁵ P.—The right reading is perhaps *משלים*.

לצפון¹ ולדרום. התחלקה השנה לארבע תקופות. שהם קור וחום וקיץ וחרף (ברא' ח' כ"ב); כי ימי הזרע הם הצי השנה. בהיות השמש במזלות הדרומיים. וימי הקציר בהיותה בצפוניים: והחל בימי הקר. ותחלת זאת התקופה בהיות השמש בסוף נטותה לדרום. או יחלו הימים להאריך². ויחלו הלילות להתקצר. ואלה ימי התקופה קרים ולחים. ובהיות השמש בנקודת המחברת. או ישתוה היום והלילה בכל הארץ. וימי זאת התקופה חמים ולחים. ומתחלתה יחלו הימים להאריך³. כי השמש נוטה לפאת צפון. וסוף התקופה בסוף נטותה לצפון. ומשם תחל התקופה האחרת. והשמש יורדת מפאת צפון. או יחלו הימים להתקצר והלילות להאריך. ואלה הימים שהם ימי הקיץ חמים ויבשים. ובהיות השמש בנקודת המחברת השנית. או ישתוה היום עם הלילה. ויחלו שיתקצרו הימים ויאריכו הלילות. וימי זאת התקופה קרים ויבשים. ובעבור היות תקופות הקיץ והחרף יבשות. אמר הכתוב (זכריה י"ד ח') בקיץ ובחרף יהיה. כי באלה הזמנים יחסרו הנהרות. חוץ מיאור מצרים. כי הוא יוצא ממעינות הרי הלכנה בפאת דרום: והנה תקופות השנה תלויות בשמש. גם ככה תקופת היום: והנה האמת כי אין כח במשרתים לשנות מעשיה. כי אם להוסיף או לגרוע בחום או בקור. כי מעשה השמש במעשה⁴ כל. בעבור היותה הבריאה הגדולה. גם בעבור היותה קרובה אל הארץ. גם היא מושלת ביום: ובעבור היות השנה בנויה מהרשים. והחדש תלוי בלבנה שהוא המאור הקטן⁵. על כן חלקתי זאת האגרת לשלשה שערים. הראשון בראשית שנת התורה. השני בראשית חדש התורה. השלישי בראשית יום התורה:

השער הראשון

אמרו חכמי קדם כי שנת החמה בתוספת חלק מק"ך על רביעית היום הנוספת על הימים השלמים. וחכמי פרס אמרו כי התוספת חלק מקט"ז ביום. וחכמי כשדים אמרו כי התוספת חלק מק"ע ביום. וחכמי יון אמרו כי החסרון

¹ See Ibn Ezra, *Comm. on Gen.* viii. 22.

² That is, the days begin to increase.

³ That is, the days begin to be longer than the nights.

⁴ Whatever may be the effect of the moon or of any of the planets (מישרתים), it is due to the influence of the sun.—כמעשה—P.

⁵ There does not seem to be any logical connection between this sentence and the next which is introduced by "therefore." I suspect that the original words were והחדש תלוי בימים. Comp. Talm. Bab., *Rosh Hashshana*, 5a.

מרביעית היום חקק משלש מאות ביום * והאחרונים אמרו * והם רבים * כי החסרון חלק מק"ו ביום * ויש אומרים חלק מק"י ביום * ואלה המוסיפים גם הגורעים קרובים אל האמת * כי שנת המוסיפים היא מנקודת הגלגל שמוצקו קרוב ממוצק הארץ * וזאת השנה קרובה ממחברת כוכב העליון אל מחברתו פעם שנית * והנכון להיות התוספת חלק מק"ן * וזאת היא שנת משפטי המזלות * ושנת הגורעים מנקודת מחברת העגולות הגדולות * או כפי מרחק השמש * וזאת היא שיצטרכו אליה כל האדם * והחסרון קרוב מחלק ק"ל ביום * ובאה המחלוקת בעבור תנועת כוכבי גלגל המזלות * כי הקדמונים אמרו כי התנועה מעלה אחת במאה שנה * והאחרונים אמרו בששים ושש שנים * ויש אומרים בשבעים שנה ; וכלי הנסיון עשויים בדרך קרובה * כי לא יוכלו לחלק המעלות על שנים¹ במעשה ידי אדם ; ויש אומרים כי בשתי נקודות המחברת שתי עגולות קטנות * על כן התמונה פעם עולה פעם יורדת * והנה אין יודע באמת שנת החמה ; ועתה אשוב לחפש על שנת התורה * אמר יהודה הפרסי כי שנות ישראל היו שנות החמה * בעבור שמצא המועדים בימים ידועים * כי הפסח באביב שערים * ושבעות בקציר * וסכות באסיף ; והנה מה יעשה * כי משה לא פירש כמה היא השנה * ומה יעשה במלת חרש * כי מה יתחדש בשמש ? והעמים בעבור היות שנותם שנות השמש * ומצאו בשנה תמימה י"ב חדשי הלבנה * חלקו ימות השנה על י"ב להיות זה המספר קרוב מחדש הלבנה * ועלה חרש אחד שלשים * וחדש אחד ל"א * גם אמר יהודה הפרסי כי שנות נח היו שנות החמה * בעבור שמצא בשנת שש מאות שנה לחיי נח (ברא' ז' י"א) בא המבול * ואחר כך אומר באחת ושש מאות שנה (שם ח' י"ג) * על כן במספר החדש תוספת עשרה ימים כי זה המספר קרוב לתוספת שנת החמה על שנת הלבנה * וזה המספר סותר דבריו * כי הנה הוא מודה כי החדש הוא ללבנה, ועוד אמר כי מצא' מנוח התבה אחר המשה חדשים * וכתוב שהיו חמישים ומאת יום (שם ז' כ"ד) * והוצרך הגאון לשום תחלת שני נח מתשרי * ואין צרך * כי גם בהדשי שנת החמה יהיה המספר רב מהכתוב בשני ימים, ואלו היה נח מחשב שנת החמה לא ייטיב ולא ירע * על כן נחפש שנת החמה ממשה או מפי הקדושים המעתיקים * והנה נחל מהם * הנה מצאנו (ערובין נ"ו) תקופת שמואל בלי תוספת או חסרון

¹ *I.e.*, it is impossible to determine by mathematical or astronomical instruments the exact part of a degree the equinoctial points pass in one year ; or read "על שנים", "to divide a degree into exactly equal parts," instead of "על שנים".

רביעית יום' והיתה בימיו קרובה אל האמת¹. ועשה השבון עולה לתלמידים' כאשר עשה כברייתא². שלא חשב ע"ג חלקים שהם נוספים על שתי שלשיות שעה בחדש הלבנה' גם כתוב שתי תקופת הן' תקופת רב אדא בצנעא' ותקופת שמואל בפרהסיא³; וטעם שהיתה בצניעות' בעבור משפטי המזלות' אם ידעו חכמיהם תקופת האמת; והנה היום אין תקופת שמואל נכונה' והצל בכל יום בכל מקום לעד נאמן למשכיל' ועוד כתוב (ר"ה כ"א) כי חזית דמשכא תקופת טבת עד שיתסר בניסן' עברה לה היא שעתא ולא תיחוש לה' והנה בשנה שעברה היתה תקופת ניסן בחשבון שמואל בכ"ה⁴ מניסן' והנה עברנו על דברי חכמינו' הלילה חלילה' רק עשינו החג במועדו; על כן תקופת רב אדא ישרה ממנו' כי לא תעבור תקופת ניסן המספר הנזכר' ואין צרך היום לחשבון המועדים לדעת התקופה' ועוד כי השבון מכחיש העבור' כי ישאר לפי חשבון בכל מחזור שעה גם תפ"ה חלקים' ואין ראוי שישאר חלק אחד' כי לא יהיה מחזור שלם' גם כל חכמי הנסיון מודים כי י"ט שנות החמה הם במספר רל"ה חרשי הלבנה' ע"כ השבעה עבורים' והנה התחבר היום מן היתרון קרוב מחדש והצי⁵. אולי יודיעונו אוהבי תקופת שמואל מה נעשה מהם' ועוד כי חלק הארבע תקופות בחלקים שוים' וככה הם בגלגל השמש' ואיננו כן כנגד גלגל המזלות' בעבור שמהלך השמש משתנה כפי היותה קרובה או רחוקה ממקום הגבהות' והנה הולכת מרגע השתוות היום עם הלילה' שהיא תחלת התקופה' עד היותה בסוף צפון' שהוא ראש המזל המתהפך' [ו] אז יהיה סוף [התקופה ו] היום הארוך' יותר מצ"ד יום ושעות רבות' וקרוב מזה המספר התקופה השנית' והנה השנים הנשארים הם כמו קע"ו ימים' וזה אמת בראיות גמורות; והנה מה תועלת יש לסופרים תקופת שמואל? ואלו היתה מחלקתו נכונה מה תועיל

¹ The difference between the Tekufa of Samuel and that of R. Ada was in the time of Samuel only about three days less than in the days of I. E., but he says that the Tekufah of Samuel was then almost accurate, probably out of regard for the authority of Samuel.

² See *Boraitha* of Samuel, ch. v.

³ See *Sefer ha-Ibbur* of R. Abraham b. Hiyya, III. 5.

⁴ A similar statement with regard to the year 4899, but less accurate, is contained in the reply of Ibn Ezra to a question of R. David Narboni. See *Shene Ha-meoroth*, by M. Steinschneider.

⁵ Should probably be *יותר מהצי הרש*. In a cycle of nineteen years there is a difference of $1\frac{4\frac{5}{10}}{1080}$ h. between our calendar and the solar year (of $365\frac{1}{4}$ d.). In 4902 A.M. the difference amounted to $15\text{d. } 13\frac{3\frac{3}{10}}{1080}$ h.

לאנשי זה האי לדעת שעת התקופה? כי היא על ירושלים כי השמש זורחת עליהם לפני שתזרח על זה האי כארבע שעות ישרות¹ וקדמונינו מודים בדבר זה שאמרו (שם ב') מחדתא ומעתיקא ולדידן ולדידהו ועוד נחשוב כי התקופה על האי הזה והנה היתה תקופת ניסן בתחילת הלילה והנה תקופת תמוז תהיה אחר שבע שעות ומחצה ואין הלילה באי הזה רק שבע שעות והנה התקופה תהיה אחר זרוח השמש וכל האומר כי התקופה על השעות המעוותות שהם י"ב ביום גם בלילה תקוה לכסיל ממנו כי איך יתכן להיות קשת מרתה בגלגל המישור ק"ה מעלות כקשת מרתה רנ"ה מעלות על כן חושבים המחשבים בעבור שיעלו בכל מקום ששה מזלות בכל יום כי המזל עולה בשתי שעות וזה כזב ותהו כי לעולם לא יעלה מזל מן המזלות בכל הארץ בשתי שעות אפילו במקום הקו השווה שהיום והלילה שוים לעולם ואף כי בכל מקום שיש לו מרחק רב מהקו והנה מזל טלה באי הזה עולה בפחות המישית משעה ישרה ומזל אריה עולה בשלש שעות פחות כמעט ומכיר צורת הנלגל יראה זה בעינו גם בלבנה בהיותה בראש החדש במזל מאזנים גם כל אדם יוכל לראות הדמיון בענול הנחשת כשהוא כדור וכאשר איננו כדור ועל כן כל פתי שידע תקופת שמואל ושמות המזלות והנ"ל שצ"ם מהשב בלבו שהוא מחשב בתקופות ומזלות והוא לא שמע שמעות החכמה אף כי יריח ריחה או יטעם טעמה והנה התורה לא הצריכתנו לדעת מתי היא התקופה ויומה אף כי שעתה ושאלה היתה לפני הרב האי² למה נהגו ישראל הדרים במערב להשמר שלא ישתו מים בשעת התקופה והשיב כי נחוש בעלמא הוא בעבור שהיא תחלת השנה או תחילת רביעיתה לא ירצו לשנות מים שימצאו חנם על כן יאכלו בה כל מתוק להיות שנתם מתוקה ואני אומר מתוקה שנת העובד ה' הבוטח בו לבדו והנה היודעים תקופת האמת לא אמרו כי תזיק לאוכל ולשותה ודבר הניפוח³ הם שיחות הזקנות :

¹ See *supra* p. 49, note ². According to Ibn Ezra's *Comm. on Gen.* xxxii. 32, the sun rises in Lucca in Italy three hours later than in Jerusalem. The mistake perhaps arose from the fact that Ibn Ezra assumed Jerusalem to be the middle of the Continent, and therefore six hours distant from the extreme west of Spain; he reckons Italy to be midway, three hours distant from Jerusalem, and London, which is more western, is said to be four hours distant. *Comp. Yesod Mora*, ch. i.

² ת' הגאונים of R. Jacob Musafiah, No. 14.

³ Compare *Abudraham*, p. 123.

ועתה אדבר¹ על תחלת השנה. ואומר בתחלה כי כל עגול אין לו ראשית. רק כרצון איש ואיש. אכן ראשית שנת כל אדם מרגע הולדו. ובשוב השמש אל הנקודה הראשונה שהיתה שם בתחלה תעלה לו שנה תמימה. וראשית תקון מהלך השמש ממוקם הגבהות. וראשית תקון המשרת (ים) מרגע מחברתו עם השמש. כי אז יהיה המשרת בגבהות גלגלו הקטן. גם הלבנה תהיה בגבהות גלגל המוצק. ואלה הראשיות אינן צריכות לכל אדם. על כן אמרו חכמי התולדות כי האמת להיות ראשית השנה מנקודת המחברת אינן משם תחל השמש להיות קרובה אל הארץ הנושבת. וזו היא תקופת רב אדא. רק היא על המהלך האמצעי. ותקונה קרוב. וזאת היא ראשית שנת יודעי בינה לעתים לדעת המעשים. גם זאת תחלת שנת היונים הראשונים. וזאת (היא) היא תקופת ניסן. והפרסים יהלו שנתם מתקופת תמוז. והכשדים מתקופת תשרי. והנצרים מתקופת טבת. רק השבוש בא להם בעבור כי ניספך שנת ההמה בהשבונם איננו נכון; וכאשר נחפש לדעת שנת התורה. מצאנו כתוב (שמות י"ב ב') החדש הזה לכם ראש חדשים. והוא ראשון לחדשי השנה. וכתוב (שם י"ג ד') היום אתם יוצאים בחדש האביב. וכן (דברים ט"ז א') שמר את חדש האביב. והטעם כי חשבון ישראל בחדשי הלבנה. והנה החדש שימצא אביב בארץ ישראל הוא ראשון לחדשי השנה. וראש החדש ראשית השנה. עברה התקופה או לא עברה. רק שיש לבית דין לשמר שיעשה הפסח והאביב נמצא. בעבור תנופת העמר. וברב השנים דבק האביב בתקופה. ויש פעמים שירחק מעט בעבור רב הגשמים. או שתהיה שנת בצרת. והנה תחלת שנת ישראל על פי בית דין. כאשר הוא כתוב (דה"ב' ל' ב') ויועין המלך חזקיהו. והנדה עִבְרַה השנה לעצת בית דין. והפסח שעשה היה בחדש הראשון. והשם הנכבד קבלו בראיות ברורות. רק שנגזרה קטנה. שלא עבר ביום שעבר לפני החדש. וזהו עבר ניסן בניסן ולא הודו לו (משנה פסחים ד' ט') וכאשר יבא חדש לבנה פעם אחרת בימי האביב בארץ ישראל. אז תעלה שנה אחת. בין שתהיה השנה י"ב חדש או י"ג. על כן לא קראו בלשון הקדש חדש האביב ניסן. רק ראשון. וככה כל החדשים. על כן לא תמצא בכ"ד ספרים שמות החדשים הנודעים היום. שתחילתם ניסן. רק בספרי בני הגולה. והנה ראשית שנת ישראל. איננה מיום התקופה. רק מיום ראש חדש הלבנה. ואהר שידענו כי זה ראשון. נעשה המועדים בחדש השביעי ממנו. כי אם היה הפסח בימי אביב שעורים. יבא חג שבועות בקציר וסכות באסוף.

¹ אבאר, I.

ועוד מצאנו כתוב בסכות תקופת השנה (שם ל"ג כ"ב) · וכתוב (שמות כ"ג ט"ז) בצאת השנה · והנה יום צאת השנה שעברה תכנס השנה הבאה · ומצאנו כתוב (דברי' ל"א י') כי צוה ה' מצות הקהל לקרא כל התורה בחג הסכות בשנת השמיטה · וכתוב (שם י"ב) למען ילמדו · ואיננו נכון להיות זה אהר הצי השנה · ואל יקשה בעיניך מלת מקץ שבע שנים (שם) · כי הנה כמהו (ירמ' ל"ד י"ד) מקץ שבע ענים תשלחו איש את אחיו¹ · כי שנים קצוות יש לכל דבר · והנה יש לו ראשית וסוף · והיתה תחלת ענת השמיטה בתשרי שהוא החדש השביעי · בעבור כי אז יחל הצי השנה שהזריעה תהיה בו · וככה כתוב בשנת השמיטה לא תזרעו (ויק' כ"ה ד') · ועוד (שם כ"ב) וזרעתם את השנה השמינית · ואפרש לך ועשת את התבואה לשלש השנים (שם כ"א) · דע כי רגע נשאר ביום התורה חשוב כמו יום · וביום השמיני ימול בשר ערלתו (שם י"ב ג') והנה הנולד ביום ששי לפני בוא יום השבת חצי שעה · הוא נמול בקר יום הששי · והנה לא עלו לו מעת לעת שבעה ימים שלמים · וככה יום בשנה חשוב שנה · והנה יש מי שיספור אותה · ויש מניחה על השלימה · והנה כתוב (במד' י"ד ל"ד) תשא את עונותיכם ארבעים שנה · וזה המעשה היה בשנת השנית · וה' לא יעניש לפני העון · על כן מספר הארבעים הוא שלא עברו את הירדן עד בעשור לחדש הראשון (יהו' ד' י"ט) בשנת מ"א · והפך זה אכלו את המן ארבעים שנה (שמות ט"ז לה") ובמקרא הי"ז היא שנת י"ח גם י"ט (מ"א י"ד כ"א; ט"ו א'; ט"ו כ"ה) · ובשנת י"א ובשנת י"ב (מ"ב ח' כ"ה; ט' כ"ט) ואחזיהו מלך בשנת י"ז ליהושפט והוא מלך שנתים (יו"א כ"ב נ"ב) ומלך אחריו יהורם בשנת י"ח ליהושפט (מ"ב ג' א') וככה רבים · והנה ועשת את התבואה (שם) דבק עם השנה השמינית · כאלו הוא כתוב וזרעתם את השנה השמינית ואכלתם מן התבואה ישן עד בוא תבואתה · ותספיק לכם עד בוא השנה חתישית · וכמוה מיום הראשון עד יום השביעי (שמות י"ב ט"ו) איננו דבק עם הקרוב אליו · רק עם כל אוכל המין וגו' הרחוק · וככה וירא ישראל את מצרים מת על שפת הים (שם ל' י"ד) וירא ישראל על שפת הים את מצרים מת · כי ירדו במצולות כמו אבן (שם ט"ז ה') · וכתוב תבלעמו ארץ (שם י"ב) · וככה לבא מפניך במצור (דברי' כ' י"ט) דבק עם ואותו לא תכרות · ורבים ככה · והיובל הוא שבע שבתות שנים · ותחלת היובל מיום הכפורים · וכן כתוב (ויק' כ"ה ט') ביום הכפורים תעבירו שופר בכל ארצכם · וקדשתם את שנת החמישים שנה · והנה תחלת

¹ עברו, L.

שנת השמטה כתחלת שנת היובל. ואל תשתומם בעבור שלא החקה השנה מיום הזכרון. כי אם חשבנוהו שהיה ראש חדש ניסן ביום תקופת האמת צריכה התקופה השלישית באמת להוסיף כעשרת¹ ימים. בעבור תוספת מהלך שנת החמה על שנת הלבנה. גם בעבור היות מהלך החמה מתמהמה. על כן היתה ראשית השנה ביום הכפורים או בסכות: ודע כי אין ללבנה שנה. כי היא תקיף כל המזלות בכ"ז ימים ושלישית יום. ובעבור כי י"ב חדשי הלבנה קרובים מיסנה תמימה. נקראת שנת לבנה. ובה יחשבו הישמעאלים. על כן יבאו מועדיהם פעם בקיץ פעם בחרף. ושנות ישראל תהיינה שוות בכל י"ט שנה לישנות החמה באמת. והוא חשבון ישראל לברו הוא האמת. ודע כי אין בחשבון הכשריים אדר שני כי חדשיהם אינם חדשי הלבנה. רק חלקים י"ב בשנת החמה. וכתוב בחדש הראשון הוא חדש ניסן (אסת' ג' ז') פירושו ככה. כן היה בשנה ההיא. כי בשנת העבור יהיה חשבון החדש הראשון באייר². על כן אין נכון לתרגם בראשון בניסן. רק בעבור שיבינו אנשי הדור:

השער השני

בראשית החדש

מוצאנו אור השמש וכל הכוכבים עומד(ים) לעד. לא יוסיף ולא יגרע בעצמו: רק כנגד מראה העין: בעבור היות הנראה במקום רחוק או קרוב. גם בעבור הישתנות האויר בראשית היום או בהציו. ואין אור מתחדש כי אם ללבנה לברא. על כן אין חדש באמת כי אם חדש הלבנה; והנה נבקש מתי ראשיתו. והנה אמרו כל חכמי המזלות שתחלת החדש מרגע התחברות הלבנה עם החמה בחלק אחד. וזהו שקראוהו קדמונינו המולד. וחכמינו חשבוהו במהלך האמצעי. וככה עשו כל חכמי המזלות. ואח"כ תקנוהו וככה אמרו ז"ל פעמים שבא בארוכה ופעמים שבא בקצרה (ר"ה כ"ה א'). ובעבור כי המתחברות שחים. צריכות שתיהן לדעת מתי היא כל אחת בארוכה או בקצרה. כי יש פעמים שתהינה שתיהן בארוכה או שתיהן בקצרה. או החמה בארוכה והלבנה בקצרה. והפך הדבר; גם יש ארוכה וקצרה מעט. גם הרבה. עד שתגיע הארוכה הרבה גם הקצרה הרבה י"ג שעות. והנה יהיה בין מולד השבוענו פעמים ובין מולד האמת אלה השעות לפנים או לאחור. על כן טעה הגאון³ שאמר כי ראה רגע

¹ According to I. E. spring and summer are together about 189 days.

² The MSS. have אדר which is probably a corruption of אייר. The second Adar in a leap year would be Nisan, and Iyar would be "the first month."

³ See *Bikkure ha-'uttim*, 5589, p. 29, note 23.

קדרות השמש בכנדאד לא היה בעת המולד. על כן אמר כי השבון הקדמונים לא היה בדרקוק יפה. רק השבונם הוא הנכון. והוא טעה ארבע טעיות. האחת כי היה ראוי שידע דרך הארוכה והקצרה. כאשר יעשו חכמי המזלות. כי אין מחלוקת בין מולד ישראל למולד השבון הגוים במהלך האמצעי. עד שידע מתי הוא המולד האמתי; והטעות השנית כי השבון המולד על ירושלים. ובינה ובין בנדאד במרחק האורך שתי שלישיות שעה; והטעות השלישית כי צריך הוא לדעת השתנות המראה באורך. בעבור כי הקדרות למראה העין; והטעות הרביעית השתנות המראה כפי המרחב; ויש מעברים בדרונו. בעבור שידעו השבון אי"ב תש"צג הושבים כי עמדו על סוד העבור. ויסתכלו המרחק שיש בין המולד ובין תחלת הלילה ויאמרו לנוצרים מתי תראה הלבנה. וכאשר יראו כי יש פעמים ביניהם פחות ממש שעות במקומם. יחשבו כי המולד עשוי על מקום כל מחשב; והנה יש פעמים שהלבנה נראית בתחלת הלילה. ופעמים יהיה בין המולד ובין הערב ז' וח' שעות ולא יראו הלבנה. והם הושבים כי השבון העבור טעות. הלילה חלילה. רק הם הטועים. שהם חכמים בעיניהם. כי אין כח במשיכיל לדעת מתי תראה הלבנה עד עשותו כאשר אפרש: שידע מתי רנע המולד ולא ישליך ללילה י"ב שעות. רק יחל לספור מתחלת הלילה עד רנע המולד כך וכך שעות. וידע מקום המחברות בחלק מעלת המול ויראה אם מהלך השמש בארוכה או בקצרה. וכמה מהלך הלבנה. ויוסיף או יגרע עד שידע רנע מולד האמת על ירושלים ויראה כמה מרחק זה המולד מתחלת הלילה שעות וחלקי שעה. ויוסיף עליהם שעות מרחק אורך מקומו אם הוא מערבי לירושלים. או יחסר אם הוא מזרחי. וידע כמה מהלך השמש בשעות המרחק במהלך יומו: ויוסיפהו על מקום השמש ברנע מולד האמת. וככה יעשה במקום מולד הלבנה כפי מהלכה; ואח"כ יכנס בלוח מעלות המזלות בארצו ויקח המעלות שימצא לנכח מקום השמש, גם יעשה ככה במעלות נכח הלבנה ויחסור המעט מהרב. או ימצא קשת היתרון וידע מקום ראש התלי וזנבו. לדעת מרחב הלבנה. לתקן זאת הקשת; ואח"כ יתקן אותה כפי תקון השתוות המראה באורך גם ברוחב. או תהיה לו קשת המראה באמת. או ידע מתי תראה הלבנה בכל מקום איזה חרש שירצה; והיודע אלה הדברים יוכל להבין סוד נולד קדם הצות (ר"ה כ' ב'). והארכתי להזכיר כל זה בעבור שבקש ממני אחד ממשכילי הדור שאפרש לו סוד נולד קדם הצות על רגל אחת. ובעבור שהחרשתי חרה לו. ואני נתתי לו עצת אמת. שיתענה לפני השם הנכבד אשר כל יוכל. לברא לו לב טהור ולתת בקרבו רוח חרשה לשפך עליו רוח חכמה; עד שיבין כל החכמות מלבו מבלי

למוד ימים ושנים. אשר לא עשה כן לכל איש מיום שברא אדם על הארץ. אולי ישמע ה' תפלתו. ויחדש לו זה הפלא והאות והמופת. להיותו שני לאתון בלעם. והנה איננו נכון להיות ראשית החדש מהמולד במהלך האמצעי או ממולד האמת. כי לא ידע זה כל אדם; לכן ראשית החדש הוא בהתחדש אור הלבנה למראה העין. וככה כתוב במשנה. והנה כאשר הוא החדש הראשון ידוע לעיני כל משכיל וסכל בהמצא אביב השעורים ככה ראש החדש למראה כל אדם:

השער השלישי

בראשית היום

כאשר יש לתנועה המערבית ארבע תקופות בשנה. ככה יש לתנועה המזרחית. והנה מהבקר עד חצי היום חם ולח. כתקופת החום שהשמש עולה לפאת צפון. וככה עתה עולה לחצי השמים; ובחצי האחר יורדת. כנגד תקופת הקיץ; ומערב עד חצי הלילה כתקופת החרף. והרביעית כתקופת הקור. והנכון להיות תחלת היום שהיא כללת כל האדם אחד מאלה הארבע נקודות. והנה חכמי המזלות החלו מחצי היום עד חצי היום אחר כ"ד שעות. וזהו יום שלם בחשבונם. והוא אמת לצרכם. בעבור שני דברים. לא יבינום רק חכמי המדות. ובעבור כי הצל בחצי כל יום קצר. ואין נטותו רק מעט. ויש פעמים שלא תוכל עין האדם לדעת זה. גם בכלי הצל. גם בכלי הנחשת אין יכלת בחכם לדעת רגע חצי היום. על כן הוצרכו קדמונינו לאמור כי תפלת המנחה שהיא בצהריים. אחר חצי שעה. כי אז תראה העין שהשמש נטתה לצד מערב. על כן ראוי להיות זאת ראשית היום רחוקה מן האמת. אף כי חצי הלילה. כי כל אדם לא יוכל לדעת זה. ועוד חפשתי ומצאתי כי חדש ניסן ראשון לתקון המועדים. בעבור כי בו יצאו אבותינו ממצרים. רק ראשית השנה לשמיטה וליובל באמת מתשרי. שפירושו בלשון כשדים כמו ושריו למבנא (עזרא ה' ב). והנה הערב דומה לתקופת החרף שהיא בתשרי. ועוד מצאתי כל הקדמונים מחשבים המולד מתחלת הלילה. ועוד מצאתי בדברי חכמינו (זבחים ד' ז) כי היטלים נאכלים לשני ימים ולילה אחד. ואלו היתה תחלת היום הבקר. לא יתכן להיות היום השלישי רק אחר שני לילות. וחפשתי עוד ומצאתי כי מקרה לילה או יום. או הנגע בכל אשר יטמא לו. אמר הכתוב (ויק' כ"ב ו') וטמאה¹ עד הערב. שהוא סוף היום. כי אלו היה תחלת היום מהבקר היה ראוי שיטהר

¹ L, יטמא.

מקרה לילה בסוף היום • שהוא לפנות בקר • ועוד מצאתי מפורש בראשון המועדים שנתנו ה' לישראל לפני השבת: בארבעה עשר יום לחדש בערב (שמות י"ב י"ח) • ואח"כ כתוב שבעת ימים (שם י"ט) • והנה יום ט"ו מהערב שהוא יום הראשון • וכתוב אשר תזבח בערב ביום הראשון לבקר (דבר' ט"ז ר') • וידוע כי בחצי הלילה היתה מכת בכורות • והנה כתוב (במר' ח' ט"ז) ביום הכותי כל בכור • ובמקרא (מ"ב ז' ט') היום הזה יום בשורה הוא וחכינו עד אור הבקר • ועוד מצאתי (ויק' כ"ג ל"ב) ביום הכפורים מערב עד ערב תשבתו שבתכם • וכתוב בעצם היום הזה (שם כ"ט ל') כרת על העושה בו מלאכה או האוכל • ואין הפרש להיות זה בלילה או ביום • כי תחלת עצם היום מהערב • והנה עדים נאמנים כי ראשית היום מהערב • וככה הם כל המועדים והשבת • כי כלם הם מועדי ה' מקראי קדש • רק השבת לבדה נקראת שבת לה' • ששבת ה' במעשה בראשית; ובעבור היות השנה גם היום תלויים בשמש • כי השתים תנועות דומות זו לזו • על כן היתה השנה השביעית דומה לשבת • על כן כתוב בה שבת לה' (שם כ"ה ב') • וכאשר היא תחלת שנת השמיטה בימי תקופת החרף • ככה ראשית יום השבת בתקופת היום הרומה לחרף • שתחלתה הערב • ואל תשתומם בעבור שכתוב שבתון שבת קדש¹ לה' מחר (שמות ט"ז כ"ג) • ולא הזכיר זה מהערב; ועתה אפרש לך הפרשה לדחות הטוען • דע כי ה' לא צוה בשבת הראשונה שלא ירד המן לא תעשה כל מלאכה • עד יום מעמד סיני • כי בעבור שצוה משה עמר לנלגלת (שם ט"ו) • וצוה אל יותר ממנו עד בקר (שם י"ט) • והנה לקטו ביום הששי שני העמר והגידו למשה (שם כ"ב) • והוא השיב הוא אשר דבר ה' (שם כ"ג) • והטעם כבר דבר לי ה' זה לפני רדת המן • והוא והיה ביום הששי וגו' (שם ה') • ואמר להם למה טעם משנה • כי שבתון שבת קדש שה' ישבות מחר; ולא גלה להם זה הסוד; ולא מה יעשו בעורף שצוה שיניחוהו; ובקר יום שבת אמר להם כי שבת היום לה' (שם כ"ה) • שהשם לא יוריד המן • היום לא תמצאוהו • אל תצאו ללקט • וזה הפירוש הזכרתיו כנגד המינים שאינם מאמינים בדברי אבותינו שהשבת מערב עד ערב • ופירוש האמת מה שהעתיקו • כי במרה נתנה השבת • והזכיר הכתוב [מחר] ולא זה הלילה • כי דבר הכתוב על ההוה ברוב • כי ביום עושים הכל מלאכה; והנה פי' שבת קדש שישבתו • וככה עשו • וישבתו העם ביום השביעי (שם ל'); ובירמיה (י"ז כ"ב) כתוב לקדש את יום השבת לבלתי עשות בה מלאכה; והזכיר מחר שהוא היום • כי דבר על ההוה • כמו יצא ארם לפעלו ולעברתו עדי ערב (תהל' ק"ד כ"ג) •

וכמו בשר בשדה טרפה לא תאכלו (שמות כ"ב ל') • כי הוא הדין לנטרף בבית •
 וככה מקרה לילה (דבר' כ"ג י"א) • ונפל שמה (או) שור או חמור (שמות כ"א ל"ג) •
 ורבים בתורה כאלה • ועתה אחפש במעשה בראשית • ואחל להשיב על האומר
 כי הלילה הולך אחר היום • אלו היה כן • למה לא אמר הכתוב מפורש מבקר עד
 בקר יום אחד • או מאור עד בקר? ולמה הכנים באמצע ויהי ערב? והנה
 משמע הכתוב (ברא' א' ה') ויהי ערב ויהי בקר כי מערב עד בקר הוא יום
 אחד • הפך מה שדבר בראשונה ויקרא אלהים לאור יום (שם) • ואשר הביא זה
 המפרש בצרה הזאת • בעבור שחשבו רבים כי בראשית ברא אלהים כאלו כתוב
 בראשית בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ הָאֶרֶץ הִיְתָה תְהוֹ וּבְהוֹ • שהיתה
 נעדרת • והטעם שאיננה • והחשך הערר האור • והטעם איננו • וזה הפירוש איננו
 נכון כלל • כי מה צרך היה לו להזכיר השמים • שלא פירש אם היו תהו כמו
 הארץ? ועוד מדרך הלשון מה הטעם לתוספת הו"ו ואין כמו זאת הו"וין
 הנוספים בפועלים כמו ביום השלישי וישא אברהם את עינו (שם כ"ב ד') • ויעזב
 את עבדיו (שמות ט' כ"א) • כי הם כפא רפה בלשון ישמעאל • שמתכונת לשונם
 כלשון הקרש • ובשמות אין ו"ו נוסף • ועוד כי לפי הפירוש הזה לא יהיו הרוח
 והמים נבראים • וכתוב בספר תהלות (קמ"ח ה') על שניהם כי הוא צוה
 ונבראו גם החשך נברא • וכן כתוב (ישע' מ"ה ז') יוצר אור ובורא חשך • והאמת
 כי הכתוב הזכיר השמים והארץ כי הכל כדור אחד • והשמים שם כמו הקו
 הסובב • והארץ כמו המוצק באמצע • והנה הארץ היתה במים מכל צד • וכן
 כתוב (תהל' ק"ד ט') בל ישובון לכסות הארץ • והרוח סביב המים • ואלה
 הארבעה מוסדים שהם השמים והארץ והרוח והמים • כי השמים כנגד האש;
 וככה (איוב כ"ח כ"ה) לעשות לרוח משקל • ומים תכן במדה • כי הוא לקצות
 הארץ יביט תחת כל השמים יראה; וככה (ישע' מ' י"ב) מי מדד בשעלו מים
 ושמים בזרת תכן וכל בשליש עפר הארץ מי תכן את רוח ה'; וככה
 (משל' ל' ד') מי עלה שמים וירד • והשלשה אחרי שמים; וככה (קהלת א' ה')
 וזרח השמש כנגד השמים • והארץ לעולם עמדת • סובב סובב הולך הרוח • כל
 הנחלים הולכים אל הים • ואחר שהקו שהוא השמים • והמוצק שהוא הארץ •
 נבראים • הנה כל אשר בתוכם נברא כמוהם • ופירוש היתה תהו ובהו • שלא
 היה בה ארם ובהמה • כאשר פירש ירמיה (ד' כ"ג) ראיתי את הארץ והנה תהו
 ובהו • ופירש הטעם אח"כ ראיתי והנה אין אדם ובהמה • וכן (ישע' ל' ל"ו) כאור
 שבעת הימים • פירוש שבעתים • כמו (שמות ג' י"ד) אשר אהיה פרוש אהיה וכבר
 פירשתי יסוד שבעתים (פ' על ישע' ל' כ"ו) וקדמונינו רמזוהו (עיינ רשי' ברא' א' י"ד)

שאמרו ברביעי נתלו המאורות * ומה נכבדה מלת נתלו למבין! והנה דברי ירמיהו מכחישים דברי האומרים כי תהו ובהו שאין שם ארץ * והנה החשך היה לפני האור * וככה כתוב * והתנועה הגדולה כוללת זמן החשך והאור * והיא נקראת יום * שהוא יום שלם * כ"ד שעות * ואין טענה בעבור שהקדים להזכיר ויקרא אלהים לאור יום לפני הלילה * כי כן משפט הלשון כאשר יזכיר שני דברים יתחיל מן האחרון * כמו (יהוש' כ"ד ד') ואתן ליצחק את יעקב ואת עשו ואתן לעשו * וככה (תהל' ע"ד ט"ז) לך יום אף לך לילה * והזכיר המאור הקטן שהוא מושל בלילה לפני הגדול שהוא נכבד ממנו גם אין לטעון שאמר הכתוב (ישע' מ' י"ב) יוצר אור ובורא חשך * כי הקדימו לפי שיש לו יתרון מן החשך * אע"פ שהחשך היה לפני האור * כמו (ברא' כ"ה ט') יצחק וישמעאל בניו * וכן שמה קברו את אברהם ואת שרה אשתו (שם מ"ט ל"א) * והוא קבר אותה * והנה בעבור שהזכיר ויקרא אלהים לאור יום * הוצרך הכתוב לאמור איך תספר יום התורה * כי פירוש יום על שני דרכים * על כן אמר כי אלה שתי הראשיות שהם ערב ובקר כולל אותם יום התורה * כי פירוש ערב הזמן שהצורות מתערבות ואינם נפרשות למראה העין * כמו (תהל' ק"ו ל"ה) ויתערבו בגוים; ובקר זמן שהצורות נבדלות ונכרות ומבוקרות * כמו (ויק' י"ג ל"ז) לא יבקר הכהן * כבקרת רועה עדרו (יהו' ל"ד י"ב) והנה מלת יום כוללת אלו השנים הזמנים * שתנועה אחת כוללת שניהם * וכמהו (ברא' ה' ב') זכר ונקבה בראם ויקרא את שמם אדם * וכתוב (שם ג' כ"א) ויעש לאדם ולאשתו כתנות עור וילבישם * והנה התבאר גם במעשה בראשית כי היום מערב עד ערב * וככה אמר המשורר (תה' נ"ה י"ח) ערב ובקר וצהרים * ולא אמר בקר וצהרים וערב * והזכיר השלישה רגעים שהאדם חייב להתפלל בהם * כי הרגע השני בני אדם ישנים * וזהו חצות לילה אקום להודות לך (שם קי"ט ס"ב) * ובדניאל כתוב (ח' י"ד) ויאמר אלי עד ערב בקר * והוא חסר ויז' * כמו (חבק' ג' י"א) שמש ירח עמד זבולה * והעד ומראה הערב והבקר (דניאל ח' כ"ו) והנה זה יום שלם * והטעם אלפים יום שהיו ישראל בצרה בימי יון * כאשר פירשתי במקומו; על כן אמר המלאך ומראה הערב והבקר אשר נאמר אמת הוא * ופירושו אין צרך לפרש כי כן הם ימים שלמים כאשר נאמר לך *
 נשלמה בחפזון זאת האגרת * הודאה לאשר לו התפארת; והנה נתבאר באגרת הזאת שקראתיה אגרת השבת * שהיא אגרת כל תשובותיה [ו] על שם האגרת שראיתי בחלומי * מתי ראשית היום * גם ראשית החדש * גם ראשית השנה; והשם הנכבד שהוא ראשון בלי ראשית * ואחרון בלי אחרית * הוא יקרב קין אחרית הימים * להשיבנו כימי עולם וכשנים קדמוניות * אמן!

THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS OF ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF THEIR EXPULSION IN 1290.

BY B. LIONEL ABRAHAMS.

I CANNOT pretend that the remarks with which I intend to trouble you this evening will be very instructive or at all interesting. I wish to do two things : first, to direct your thoughts to the consideration of the nature, the extent, and the defects, of the information that is obtainable concerning the condition of the Jews of mediæval England ; and, secondly, to put before you certain information on the subject, which is not particularly interesting in itself, but which has the merit, such as it is, of having never before been published, and of being, as I shall show you, our only important source of knowledge concerning the Jewish communities of which the members were expelled from England in 1290.

We are accustomed, and, no doubt, rightly, to regard the Middle Ages as the great religious ages of European history. The period from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries is certainly the greatest and most impressive in the history of the Catholic Church. Within that period the political and religious power of the Church rose to the highest point that it ever reached, and there were created all the most magnificent expressions of Christian religious feeling, in literature, in art, and in institutions. The Judaism of that period, the Judaism which, scattered throughout Catholic Europe, refused stedfastly to allow itself to be influenced in any degree by Catholicism, or to regard its fundamental beliefs as anything but superstition, and which retained undiminished and unaltered its own beliefs and hopes and superstitions, must

have been a religion exercising a power over the minds of men which we in these days of easy-going religion can scarcely understand, and the age during which it endured must have been one of the greatest episodes in the career of the Jewish race. We naturally ask what manner of men the Jews of this age were ; what kind of life they lived ; by what means they preserved throughout the proselytising and persecuting Middle Ages the purity of their race and the integrity of their beliefs ? To some of these questions we have an answer, to others I believe that at present we have none.

Of course, there is no lack of illustration of the great vital fact of mediæval Jewish history—the fact that the Judaism of the Middle Ages was to its adherents a religion to die for. Indeed, the abundant records of persecution and martyrdom, by which it is proved, are the most important of all the documents concerning mediæval Jewish history that have come down to us. We know also fairly well what was the nature of the religion which inspired the Jewish martyrs of the Middle Ages with the courage to die in its defence. The history of theological doctrines, of Biblical interpretation, and of the growth of ceremonial and ritual, can all be traced in the remains of mediæval Jewish literature. The political relations, also, between the Jews and their masters can be discovered from the study of the decrees of the Church and of temporal rulers. But all these things do not enable us to realise in imagination the every-day life of the Jews of the Middle Ages. For that, we need something more. We need to be told about the details of life inside the Ghetto, about the organisation of the Jewish communities, the occupations of their members, the classes into which they were divided, the relations between classes within the communities and between the communities and their non-Jewish neighbours. One would have to be a Hebrew scholar to say whether information of this kind is likely ever to be laid before the world. Certainly that account of Jewish history, which is the latest and is said to be the best, that by Graetz, furnishes it most scantily. It tells us of the persecutions that the Jews suffered and of the books that they wrote. But the Jews were not always being persecuted or writing books or reading them. Perhaps a new historian may one day arise to give us some idea of what were the daily lives and thoughts of those inhabitants of mediæval Ghettos, to whose endurance and tenacity is due the main-

tenance of Judaism to the present day, and of whose histories we are at once so proud and so ignorant.¹

Meanwhile as we, who are here this evening, are particularly interested in the Jews of England, and as I happen to be in possession of certain official information concerning them, I have put together in a form in which it can be very briefly presented to you the little that is known concerning the generation of them which was expelled from this country. You will see, by the time I have finished, how little I am able to add to your knowledge of Anglo-Jewish History, but you will, I hope, agree with me that any addition at all to our scanty knowledge of the earlier period of that history is worth making.

I may assume, I suppose, that the general outlines of the history of the mediæval Jews of England is well known, and that you are familiar with the facts that the first Jews came to England shortly after the Norman Conquest; that they were protected by the kings of England, and were indeed wholly dependent on them; that at first all of them, and always a certain proportion of them, lived as money-lenders; that large numbers of them were massacred periodically, as for example by the Crusaders, by the members of the Baronial party in the Barons' Wars, and by various other less distinguished assailants; that their pursuit of the occupation of money-lending began in 1269 to be interfered with by legislation, and was for a time altogether prohibited in 1275; and that in 1290 they were expelled from England. All this happened within the space of about two centuries.

As you are of course aware, everything, or almost everything, that is knowable concerning the first of these two centuries is collected in Mr. Joseph Jacobs's book called *The Jews of Angevin England*. That book contains a large number of documents that illustrate the business transactions of the Jews, and their relations with the king, with his treasury, and with his officers of various kinds, and a few passages from contemporary historians which illustrate the social relations between Jews and Christians: it also contains accounts of martyrdoms and massacres, and information about the very scanty works of Anglo-Jewish literature. Concerning the legal position in which the Jew

¹ This paper was written before the appearance of Mr. Israel Abrahams' epoch-making work on "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages." There is comparatively little in that book concerning English Jews.

found himself when dealing with the constituted authority of the land, or with his debtors, we cannot reasonably desire more information than we have, and we are able to calculate with fair confidence the amount of the fines, ameracements and tallages that the King derived each year from the Jews in return for the protection that he extended to them. But what the Jews were at home we do not know. In the whole of Mr. Jacobs's collection you will, I think, find very few passages of personal individual interest, which enable you to realise what a mediæval English Jew was in the moments when he was not lending money, making payments to the king's exchequer, or being plundered and massacred.

Now the information concerning the last generation of the English Jews before the Expulsion, is confined, though more closely, within the same limits as that concerning the period with which Mr. Jacobs's book deals. Personal interest is absolutely wanting. Of the religious feeling of that generation, we have absolutely no expression. Their chief literary products were a treatise on the subject of synagogue ritual, and a handbook of grammar. Beyond these works, not a single one of their utterances remains on record. The information which we have is, like a great part of the information for the earlier period with which Mr. Jacobs's book deals, very largely statistical in its nature, and derived from official sources. The chief facts can be laid before you in five minutes. We know, to begin with, the number of the Jews who were expelled from England. It was 16,000. We have a fairly complete list of the towns in which they had been residing before the Expulsion. They were seventeen in number, and included most of the important towns in England. The number of towns had at one time been larger than it was at the time of the Expulsion. But from some the Jews had been driven out in consequence of the animosity of the inhabitants (for this reason the Jews of Bury St. Edmunds and Leicester, among others, had been compelled to move elsewhere); from other towns, such as Windsor and Winchelsea, they had been sent away by order of the King, who wished that no Jews should live anywhere except in a place where there was a staff of officers to supervise them; from other towns the King had deported them at the request of his mother, who disliked Jews, and induced her son to free from their presence all the towns of her domain, [for this last reason the Jews of Marlborough were

compelled, a few years before the Expulsion, to move to Devizes, those of Gloucester to Bristol, those of Worcester to Hereford, and those of Cambridge to Huntingdon]. Thus, in the few years before the Expulsion, all the Jews of England lived in seventeen towns, and in them they carried on business partly as wholesale dealers in corn and wool, the two chief articles of English merchandise of the time, and partly as money-lenders. The lending of money on interest was not forbidden during the last ten years before the Jews were expelled from England, though it had been for a few years since 1275. But all efforts to prevent it had been made in vain, as the Jews seem to have persistently defied the law at the time of prohibition, and to have found some means of lending money and of getting interest on it; and thus the prohibition was removed, and the practice was allowed under certain restrictions. The restrictions were severe enough to make the greater part of the Jews with money take to the other two occupations that I have just mentioned, the trade in corn and the trade in wool. The Jews were wholesale traders; but the way in which they carried on their trade is not quite clear. They seem to have made agreements with producers that there should be supplied to them so many quarters of corn, or so many sacks of wool, at a fixed price at some future time, and they deposited the price with the producer, receiving a bond in acknowledgment. But from the extant bonds, it does not appear how this future time was chosen. Sometimes the bond was allowed to run on for years, and the produce was not even then delivered. We may reasonably conjecture that during all this time the Jews received interest on the money that they had deposited, and, therefore, that some of the so-called Jewish wool and corn merchants of the thirteenth century were really money-lenders in disguise. Whether the Jewish trade in produce was genuine or not, considerably more than half the capital of the Jews was ostensibly interested in it. This fact we know because the lists of all the bonds and obligations on account of money and produce owing, at the time of the Expulsion, to the Jews of eleven of the seventeen towns of England in which Jews resided, are still extant.* The total value on record is about £9,100, made up as follows: Money, about £4,000; corn, about £2,700; and wool, about £2,400. This total represents all the trading capital of the Jews of the towns to which the lists refer, for,

* See Appendix.

seeing that the Jews had to leave the shores of England within three months after the publication of the decree of expulsion, they cannot in times of slow payment and slow travelling have recalled any but the most trifling proportion of their capital in time to take it away with them. The small amount of the capital belonging to a community of traders numbering 16,000 persons, scarcely any of whom possessed any landed property of any kind, except the houses in which they lived, is very remarkable, even when we remember that the lists of bonds of the Jews of London, York, Stamford, Ipswich, Colchester and Bedford are lost. Of course, we can only conjecture what was the amount of property belonging to the Jews of these six towns. Probably we shall be making a very liberal estimate if we put it down at £6,000, and this would bring the trading capital of the Jews of England at the time of their expulsion to about £15,000. These figures, especially when compared with what we know of the wealth of the Jewry and the revenue derived from it in the twelfth and the earlier part of the thirteenth centuries, show to how great an extent the Jews had been impoverished by the persecutions that they had suffered in the baronial wars, by the extortions that had been practised by John and Henry III., and by the anti-usury legislation of Edward I. A comparison of the figures that we possess for the period before the Barons' wars with those for the period after the Barons' wars will show clearly how remarkable a change for the worse had taken place in the circumstances of the Jews. In the twelfth century the Jews of England, numbering, according to Mr. Joseph Jacobs's estimate, about 2,000 persons¹, had yielded to the Exchequer a steady revenue of £3,000 a year, which had risen considerably in the early part of the thirteenth century. At the time of the Expulsion the number of Jews in England was many times as great as in the twelfth century; yet we might feel sure, even if no records on the subject were at our service, that out of the profits of a trading capital of £15,000 it was impossible for £3,000 a year to be paid to the Treasury. We have, however, extant Exchequer records²

¹ I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this estimate. It seems unlikely that the numbers of a community should increase from 2,000 to 16,000 in less than two centuries, especially in a period of ill-treatment and occasional massacre.

² Public Record Office: *Q.R. Exchequer of Receipts—Jews, 5-18 Edward I.*

which show the exact amount of revenue which Edward I. was able to squeeze out of the Jews during his reign. It was less than £700 a year. And, if we omit from the calculation the accounts for the two years before the passing of the most severe legislation against usury in 1275, the average yearly revenue yielded by the Jews for the rest of the reign comes to a good deal less than £700. Obviously, a trading community, the members of which possessed on an average a capital of £1 a head, and which yielded altogether to the treasury of its absolute lord and master less than 1s. a head each year, must have been, even in days when money was of thirty times its present value, in a state of very moderate prosperity. But even this small capital was very unequally distributed. The £9,100 that was held by the Jews of eleven of the seventeen Jewish towns of England was in the hands of about 260 persons, and two-thirds of it was held by 82 persons belonging to 18 families. In nearly every one of the English Ghettos we are able, with the help supplied by our lists of bonds, to trace the existence of a little plutocracy clearly separated from the rest of the trading and money-lending classes. Thus, in Hereford, there were 41 Jewish creditors, but nearly two-thirds of all the money owing to them was owing to two persons, father and son, and a large number of the relations of these two were creditors for smaller amounts. In Norwich, again, one family held two-thirds of all the property belonging to the Jews of the city, and similarly in Oxford, one family held more than half of all the property belonging to Jews. It is clear that the Jews who were expelled from England consisted of three classes; one a small class of comparatively well-to-do money-lenders and traders forming the chief families of each local congregation; the second class, somewhat larger, but still forming a minority, of money-lenders and traders of moderate means, who carried on the same kind of business as the members of the richer families, but on a much smaller scale; and, thirdly, a large majority composed of persons who did not lend money, and of whom we can say with confidence that it was because they did not have it to lend.

You may perhaps think that in deducing this conclusion from the information furnished by the official register of the Jewish bonds I am speaking more confidently than I should, and that from a mere list of certain Jews who had money owing to them we cannot discover into

what classes the communities were divided whether nor the poor class was a large one. But the lists are thoroughly to be depended on as complete records of Jewish transactions for the towns to which they refer, seeing that no business transaction, involving the use of credit, in which a Jew was concerned, was valid unless an agreement was entered into by means of a bond, such as would certainly be entered in the lists as we have them. Book credit was, of course, unknown in the Middle Ages; bonds took its place, and the possession of a list of the bonds belonging to a community of mediæval traders gives us the same information concerning it as we should have concerning a modern community if we possessed all the accounts of all the houses of business to which any of its members belonged; and thus the fact that the names of Jewish creditors on our lists are so few, shows that Jewish capitalists, even small capitalists, made up only a small minority of the members of the Jewish community in England in 1290. Moreover, the same fact is proved by another piece of quite independent evidence. You are, perhaps, aware that the House for Jewish Converts in London, the institution concerning which Mr. Trice Martin discoursed to this Society last year, derived a portion of its income from a poll tax of 3d. a head payable by all the Jews, and presumably the Jewesses, of England. The accounts for several years of the House for Converts are preserved, and they show that the number of persons who paid poll tax in 1280 was 1,179; in the next year, 1,153; in the next 1,133; in the next 1,151; and for subsequent years the number seems to have been even lower. Now we may take it for granted that the tax was collected from everyone whose means enabled him to pay it; and the fact that only about 1,200 Jews out of 16,000 could pay a tax, which would be equal at the present time to about 7s. 6d. a year, is fresh proof that the great majority of the Jews of England were in the thirteenth century, as they are in the nineteenth century, very poor indeed.

Of the rich class which formed a minority of the Jews of England we know a little; and what we know I have put before you this evening. But of the poor who made up the great majority we know nothing. They are absolute strangers to us. Towards the poor Englishmen of those times we have a certain fellow-feeling. We meet them in Chaucer; we hear in *Piers the Plowman* their complaints

of the sorrow and injustice that are in the world in which they live. But it is not so with the Jews in England of the poorer classes in the Middle Ages. We do not even know how they managed to gain a livelihood. The existence of the Guilds prevented them from following any trade or handicraft in towns, and it is doubtful whether they were ever allowed to live anywhere except in the towns. Some of them were no doubt servants in the houses of the rich, some, as we know, were pawnbrokers, some, though this is unlikely, may have belonged to the humblest class of day-labourers ; but how the great majority contrived to maintain themselves we have absolutely no means of discovering. Our sources of information are exhausted, and, when we go beyond the question of how the living was made, then we are equally ignorant with regard to the rich and the poor. As soon as we ask for more than the mere details that are afforded by the records of business and legal transactions, such as I have dealt with this evening, we find that our authorities are dumb. If there had been one among the English Jews of the latter half of the thirteenth century who was able to set forth in literary form any incidents of his own life or of the lives of his brethren, we might have been able to form an idea of how their sufferings, and the faith that enabled them to endure them, affected their daily action and speech. But there was none such. The literary power which enables a member of one generation to transmit to generations to come the living image of his contemporaries is not a Jewish gift, and, in consequence, though the cruel sufferings of the Jews who were expelled from England lend to Anglo-Jewish History the most dramatic of the few dramatic episodes that it possesses, yet the sufferers are to us mere shadows, and not even the most patriotic or the most imaginative of the Jews of to-day can enter for a moment into their thoughts or their feelings.

APPENDIX.

The Lists which follow have been compiled from the following manuscripts :—

I.—IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

Exchequer : Queen's Remembrancer's Miscellanea :—

- Jews, 557-9.* List of houses held in 1230 on fee or for a term of years by the Jews of the following towns or counties :—Bedford, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Colchester, Exeter, Hereford, Ipswich, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Stamford, Wiltshire, Winchester, York.
- „ 557-10 List of the chests of deeds brought to the Exchequer at Westminster by the Sheriffs of the following towns or counties :—London, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Kent, Wiltshire, Devonshire, Southampton, Norfolk, Suffolk, Nottingham, Hereford, Oxford, Lincoln, Essex, Gloucester, Bedford, York, Worcester, Warwick.
- „ 557-11. List of houses similar to 557-9 above.
- „ 557-13. List of bonds belonging to Jews of Exeter.
- „ 557-14. „ „ „ Cambridge.
- „ 557-15. „ „ „ Bristol.
- „ 557-16. „ „ „ Hereford.
- „ 557-17. „ „ „ Canterbury.
- „ 557-18. „ „ „ Lincoln.

* The following writ is included in Q.R. 557-9 :—“ Edwardus, dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, et dux Aquitaniæ, vicecomiti Eboracensi salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod archam Cyrographariorum Judaeorum Eboraci sub salvo et securo conductu cariari facias usque Westmonasterium, ita quod eam habeas ibidem in quindena S. Martini Thesaurario et Baronibus de seaccario nostro liberandam, ad faciendum inde quod per eosdem duximus ordinandum : et scire facias Cyrographariis Christianis archæ prædictæ quod tunc sint ibi cum eadem archa, deferentes secum omnes obligationes et instrumenta quæ sunt in custodia sua extra archam prædictam sub nominibus quorumcumque Christianorum et Judaeorum confecta : et tu ipse in propria persona tua interim diligenter inquiras quas domos et quæ tenementa Judaei Eboracenses quos nuper simul aliis Judaicis Angliæ regnum nostrum exire præcepimus habuerunt in balliva tua tam in feodo quam ad terminum, et quantum tenementa illa quæ tenuerunt in feodo valeant per annum in omnibus exitibus suis, salvo servicis capitalium dominorum, et quæ servicia inde debentur eisdem dominis et quantum tenementa quæ tenerunt ad terminum valeant per annum ultra præstationem annuam quam solverunt pro eisdem, et si judei prædicti pro tenementis sic ad terminum receptis solverunt premanibus vel de anno in annum, et quantum restat adhuc venturum de terminis antedictis : Et omnes domos et tenementa prædicta in manum nostram capi facias, et ea ad locandum dimittas, prout ad commodum nostrum melius fuerit faciendum : et tunc scire facias eisdem Baronibus quas terras et quæ tenementa ceperis in manum nostram occasione prædicta, et valorem eorundem et qualiter ea dimiseris : et interim per totam ballivam nostram (quæ tuam ?) publice proclamari facias quod omnes illi qui in eadem balliva tua aliqui habent de bonis et cattallis prædictorum Judeorum sine nomine depositi (sic) sive quocunque alio modo, illud habeant ibidem ad diem prædictum præfatis Thesaurario et Baronibus ad opus nostrum liberandum sub poena vitæ et membrorum necnon amissionis omnium quæ tenent in regno nostro si super concealamento huiusmodi bonorum eos in posterum convinci contingit : Et habeas ibi tecum hoc breve. *Teste Magistro W. de Marchia, Thesaurario nostro, apud Westmonasterium iij die Octobris, anno regni nostri xviij.*”

Jews, 557- ¹⁹ .	List of bonds belonging to Jews of	Norwich.
” 557- ²⁰ .	”	”
” 557- ²¹ .	”	”
” 557- ²² .	”	”
” 557- ²³ .	”	”

II.—IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. 826, part 5, transcript 4. Copy of the grants made in 1291, to 85 recipients, of houses formerly held by Jews, which had fallen into the King's hands at the Expulsion.

The lists below contain the names of all owners of bonds, houses, and lands mentioned in any of the manuscripts. A summary of all the information concerning bonds for money, corn or wool, which is contained in the second and in the last eleven of the Public Record Office Manuscripts (Q.R. 557-¹⁰ and 557-¹³⁻²³) is given by the side of the name of the person to whom each entry refers. The information concerning houses and lands, which is derived from Q.R. 557-⁹ and 557-¹¹, and from the Lansdowne Transcript in the British Museum, is given in the form of footnotes to the names of the persons referred to in each entry.

BEDFORD.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|
| 1. Cok, son of Benedict | .. | .. | .. |
| 2. Pictavus | .. | .. | .. |

The list of the bonds of the Jews of Bedford is lost. The *archa* was duly delivered at the Exchequer at Westminster, as recorded in Q.R. 557-¹⁰:—Johannes de Pabeham vicecomes, Johannes Brodewe unus cyrographariorum archæ cyrographarum judeorum de novis debitis Bedefordie venerunt et protulerunt unam archam de novis debitis sigillatam sub sigillis prædicti vicecomitis [*qu. et?*] Johannis Culebere Burgensis Bedefordie. Et prædictus Johannes protulit unam pixidem cum duabus cartis sigillatam sub sigillis prædictorum vicecomitis et Johannis: et prædicta pixis et una clavis dictæ archæ ponuntur in prædicta Puchetta inter alias claves. Et Robertus de Stivington alter Cyrographarius est mortuus.

OTHER PROPERTY.

- Had the third part of one message in the High Street, of the yearly value of 6s. (Q.R. 557-⁹ and ¹¹, and Lansdowne.)
- Had two messages in the High Street, of the yearly value of 13s. 4d., for which he paid to the king, in the ferm of Bedford, 12½d. a year, and to the Prior of Newnham 2s. 3½d. a year.

At the time of the expulsion, Pictavus had long since died. He had left two sons, Jacob and Benedict, who for a time remained in joint possession of the two messages without distinguishing the share that belonged to each. Benedict was compelled to undergo baptism in the Isle of Ely, and for more than twelve years Jacob held the two messages. Then Jacob was hanged for felony, and the messages escheated to the king, who granted one of them to the Prior of Newnham. (Q.R. 557-⁹ and ¹¹, and Lansdowne.)

BRISTOL.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557-115.		
1. Josce of Caerleon	£0 7 0		
2. Aaron, son of Josce of Caerleon ..	10 0 0		
3. Isaac, son of Josce of Caerleon.. ..	..	20 qrs.= £6 13 4	
4. Hak of Caerleon and Cok de Strygyl..	1 17 0	20 qrs.= 6 13 4	
5. Cok de Strygyl	2 0 0	10 qrs.= 3 6 8	
6. Cok de Strygyl and Sara, widow ..	4 6 8		
7. Salomon, son of Hagyn	2 0 0	60 qrs.= 20 0 0	
8. Sarah, daughter of Bennynt .. .. .	..	12 qrs.= 4 0 0	
9. Sarah	1 17 0		
10. Jacob, son of Jacob .. .. .	..	18 bshl.= 0 9 0	
11. Sampson de Wynton .. .. .	..	10 qrs.= 4 0 0	
12. Cok of Chepstow	0 10 0		
13. Isaac	4 10 0		
14. Benedict of Winchester, who was hanged			
15. Hake le Pretre, who was hanged ..			
16. Moses de Kent, hanged outside Bristol Castle			
17. Cressaunt, who was hanged			
	£27 7 8	£45 2 4	

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ¹ Had a tenement in the street by the Castle, of the annual value of 6s. 8d., for which he paid to the King 40d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11.)
- ² Had a tenement in Winch Street of the yearly value of 20s. 3³/₄d., for which he paid to the King 6d. a year, and to the land tax 3³/₄d. a year, and formerly had another tenement in Winchester of the yearly value of 6s, which he gave to Cress, his son, and which Cress sold to William Mactedon. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11.)
- ³ Had a house in Winch Street worth 10s. a year, which, if repaired, would be worth 13s. 4d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11.)
- ⁴ Had two plots of land of the yearly value of 25s., on which buildings were, in accordance with the King's writ, erected by Peter de la Mar, Constable of the town, and for which he paid to the King, on account of a certain charge called Langavel, 3³/₄d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11.)
- ⁵ Had a house and vacant piece of land of the annual value of 8s. (they would, however, be worth more if put in proper condition), for which he paid to John de Leygrave 40d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11.)
- ⁶ Had a small piece of land of the yearly value of 6d. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11.)

CAMBRIDGE AND HUNTINGDON.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557-14.		
1. Josce, son of Saulot .. .. .	..	30 qrs. = £10 0 0	1 sack = £6 13 4
2. Aaron, son of Vives	£22 0 0		
3. Moses, son of Deulecress	84 13 4	½ qr. = 0 3 4	
4. Joccus, son of Deulesaut	69 6 8		
5. Manser, of Huntingdon .. .. .	..	..	10 sacks = 80 0 0
6. Seleme, son of Bonenfaunt	2 0 0		
7. Sampson, son of Isaac	10 0 0		
	£188 0 0	£10 3 4	£86 13 4

OTHER PROPERTY.

¹ Had a message of the yearly value of 20s., for which he paid to the Prior of Bernewett 6s. 8d. a year. (Q.R. 557-₃ and ₁₁, and Lansdowne.)

CANTERBURY.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	From Q.R. 557-17.		
1. Aaron, son of Cresse of Winchester	42 qrs. = £11 16 8	
2. Aaron, son of Cresse of Winchester, and Hagin his brother	120 qrs. = 40 0 0	
3. Hagin, son of Cresse	62 qrs. = 15 0 0	
4. Elias, son of Hagin	35 qrs. = 10 8 4	
5. Cok, son of Benedict of Winchester	137 qrs. = 34 0 0	
6. Cok of Winchester, and Hagin, son of Popeline	20 qrs. = 4 0 0	
7. Aaron, son of Benedict of Winchester Belaset, daughter of Benedict	18 qrs. = 5 14 8 8 qrs. = 2 8 0	
9. Aaron of Winchester	194 qrs. } = 56 0 0 wheat }	
10. Vives of Winchester	86 qrs. = 28 3 4	
11. Moses le Petyt, son of Master Aaron	316 qrs. = 93 10 0	
12. Josce Gilbert, son of Aaron	10 qrs. = 3 6 8	
13. Leoneo, son of Master Elias	270 qrs. = 84 16 0	
14. Josce, son of Ursellus	104 qrs. = 42 0 0	2 sacks = £5 6 8
15. Aaron, son of Peytevyne	89 qrs. = 24 6 8	
Carried forward		£455 10 4	£5 6 8

CANTERBURY—*continued.*

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	From Q.R. 557-17.		
Brought forward	£455 10 4	£5 6 8
16. Bele de Stamford of Canterbury	120 qrs.= 32 0 0	
17. Popeline, widow of Abraham Pervas of Bedford	14 qrs.= 4 0 0	
18. Moses, son of Salle	124 qrs.= 37 13 4	
19. Sampson le Chapeleyn			
20. Isaac Top			
21. Abba de Dogestrete			
22. Sarra la Petite			
23. Sarra la Bele			
24. Mowyn			
25. Cok Hagin			
26. Community of the Jews of Canterbury		£529 3 8	£5 6 8

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ⁴ Had a house of the value of 30s. a year, for which he paid to the Nuns of St. Sepulchre 6s. 6*d.*, and to the heirs of Jacob de Porta 4s. 6*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁰ His widow, Joye, had a house in Canterbury of the value of 12s. a year, for which she paid to Christina de Verdur 6s. a year; and another of the value of 18s. 4*d.* a year, for which she paid to the heirs of Cecily de Handlo 5s. a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ¹¹ Had a house of the value of 20s. ½*d.* a year, for which he paid to the heirs of Jacob de Porta 6s. 8½*d.* a year; and a messuage by the King's Exchange of the value of 19s. 8*d.* a year, for which he paid to John de Harders 4s. a year, and to the heirs of Margery Poldre 3s. 8*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ¹³ Had a house of the value of 25s. 1*d.* a year, for which he paid to Thomas Chicch, 5s. a year, to William le Dopere de Stureye 4s. a year, and to Thomas Durant 1*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁶ Had a piece of land of the yearly value of 8s. 10*d.*, for which he paid to Margery Poldre 4s. 8*d.* a year, and to John de Hardres 3s. 2*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²⁰ Had a tenement of the yearly value of 4s. 10*d.*, for which he paid to the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury 2s. 10*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²¹ Had three adjoining tenements, of which the yearly value was one mark together with six hens and one cock, and for which he paid to Alderman De Westgate 2s. 8*d.* a year, and to the heirs of William Cokyn six hens and one cock. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²² Had a house of the yearly value of 4s. 6*d.*, for which she paid to John de Standon 12*d.* a year, and to Lettice, who was wife of Daniel, 6*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²³ Had a house of the yearly value of 7s. 7*d.*, for which she paid to the Prior of the Church of Canterbury 2s. 6*d.* a year, and to Peter Duraunt 1*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²⁴ Had a small piece of land of the yearly value of 17*d.* which he shared with Peter Duraunt, and for which he paid to the heirs of Thomas de Normanville 18*d.* a year, and to Mowyn 3*d.* (*sic.*) (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²⁵ Had a part of a house and some land, the annual value of the two being £1. 10s.; he paid to Richard le Joene on account of them 1s. 5*d.* (Lansdowne.)
- ²⁶ A Synagogue of the value of 11s. 8*d.* a year, for which the community paid Margery Poldre 4s. 2*d.* a year, and Richard le Joene 10*d.* a year; also a piece of land of the annual value of 6*d.* (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)

COLCHESTER.

1. Sancte	The list of the bonds of the Jews of Colchester is
2. Jocus, son of Samuel	lost. The chest in which the bonds were kept was duly
3. Arminus	delivered to the Exchequer at Westminster, as recorded
4. Elias	in Q.R. 557-10: Henricus Grapmel vicecomes per Ham-
5. Dulcia	onem le Parker clericum suum et Walterus Galigal et
6. Pigge, son of Dulcia	Johannes Martyn Cirographarii Archæ Judeorum de
7. Bacok	Colcestre venerunt et protulerunt unum forsarium de
8. Simon	novis debitis Judeorum de Colcestre sub sigillis Radulfi
9. Hake	de Boxstide quondam vicecomitis, Rogeri Baynard
10. Community of the Jews	militis, et Oliveri de Colcestre: quod quidem forsarium
	ponitur in quadam magna Archa in fontaria Regis. Et
	duæ claves dicti forsarii ponuntur in prædicta Pucheta
	inter alias claves. Protulerunt etiam unam pixidem
	signatam sigillis prædictorum Cirographariorum et
	ponitur in Pucheta inter claves.

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ¹ Had a tenement with three shops and one story of the yearly value of 22s. 1½*d.*, for which he paid to the Prior of S. Botolf, Colchester, 1s. 2½*d.* a year; also a tenement, which was formerly the synagogue of the Jews, with one shop adjoining, of the yearly value of 7s., for which he paid yearly three suits to the King's hundred, the value whereof is not calculated. He also received yearly 2s. as rent of a tenement which formerly belonged to William Pape. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ² Had a house near the said Synagogue of the yearly value of 6s. 2*d.*, for which he paid to Oliver, son of Elias, of Colchester, 1s. 2*d.* a year.* (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ³ Had a house of the yearly value of 5s. 6*d.*, for which he paid to Emma de Leycestr' 6*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁴ Had a shop in the market of the yearly value of 6s., for which he paid to Elyas Daniel 3s. a year, and which he let to Robert de Elmham, merchant, for a term of 12 years (of which one year had passed when the Jews departed from England), receiving beforehand payment for the whole term. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁵ and ⁶ Had a stall with one story, of the yearly value of 7s. a year, for which they paid to Master William Waryn 2s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁷ Had a house of the yearly value of 4s. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁸ Had a house in Stockwell Street of the yearly value of 16*d.*, for which he paid to St. Martin's Church, Colchester, 4*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁹ Had a house of the yearly value of 42*d.*, for which he paid to Master William Waryn 42*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁰ Had a synagogue of the yearly value of 7s. (Lansdowne.)

* Perhaps this Jocus may be the same as No. 60 in the Lincoln list.

EXETER.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557-13.		
1. Deulecress, Chaplain	£75 16 4		
2. Lumbard, son of Deulecress	1 0 0		
3. Lumbard, son of Solomon	14 0 0		
4. Tercia, widow of Lumbard	16 10 0		
5. Copin, son of Lumbard	6 6 8		
6. Symme, son of Lumbard, and Joce fil' Isaac .. .. .	..	60 qrs.= £20 0 0	
7. Samuel, son of Moses	7 13 4		
8. Amité, widow of Samuel, son of Moses	198 0 0	60 qrs.= 20 0 0	
9. Dyaye, son of Samuel, son of Moses ..	4 0 0		
10. Jacob, son of Samuel	10 0 0		
11. Moses, son of Samuel	10 0 0		
12. Moses, son of Josce	5 0 0		
13. Isaac, son of Moses	89 13 4		
14. Cok, son of Moses	0 15 4	22 qrs.= 7 6 8	
15. Cok	1 0 8		
16. Aaron, son of Josce	7 10 0		
17. Isaac, son of Josce	1 2 10	20 qrs.= 6 13 4	
18. Leonin, son of Josce	0 7 0		
19. Aaron of Caerleon	27 6 0		
20. Salomon, son of Aaron	20 0 0		
21. Isaac, son of Solomon	20 0 0		
22. Salaman, son of Salaman	26 0 0		
23. Isaac	1 3 6	20 qrs.= 6 13 4	
24. Isaac de Campeden	4 13 0		
25. Abraham, son of Isaac	1 12 6		
26. Abraham	4 0 0	190 qrs.= 63 6 8	
27. Abraham, son of Miles	4 4 0		
28. Jacob, son of Peter	0 6 8		
29. Jacob, son of Perez .. .. .	..	20 qrs.= 6 13 4	
30. Jacob Crispin	114 13 4		
31. Abraham and Cok	2 13 0	20 qrs.= 6 13 4	
32. Amitecote and Abraham	0 8 0		
33. "A certain Jew"	13 16 8		
34. Duntere .. .. .	..	30 qrs.= 10 0 0	
35. Antere and Leo	3 0 0		
36. Ivote, daughter of Benedict Bateman	2 0 0		
37. Jacob Copin	357 10 0		
38. Ursellus, son of Manser	6 0 0		
39. Comitissa	0 2 0	100 qrs.= 33 6 8	
	£1,058 4 2	£180 13 4	

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ²⁹ Had a house, *in summo vico civitatis*, which she bought from Johanna, daughter of Adam le Eseryveyn, and held on condition of paying to the said Johanna and her heirs the sum of 11s. yearly. (Q.R. 557-2.)

HEREFORD.

	BONDS.					
	MONEY.		CORN.		WOOL.	
	From Q.R. 557 ^{ms} .					
1. Aaron, son of Elias le Blund	£879	10 4	720½	qrs.= £240	3 4	
2. Bonenfaunt of London, son of Aaron of Hereford	123	4 0	194½	qrs.=	64 18 8	16 sacks=£160 0 0
3. Belia, daughter of Aaron	7	4 0				
4. Bonamy, son of Aaron	5	0 0				
5. Josse, son of Aaron of Caerleon	2	13 4				
6. Elias, son of Aaron	18	10 0				
7. Sarah of Hereford, daughter of Elias of Gloucester	20	6 8	10	qrs.=	3 6 8	
8. Henne, daughter of Elias	4	13 4				
9. Bona, daughter of Elias	15	2 0				
10. Benedict, son of Elias	18	7 4				
11. Elias, son of Benedict	4	6 8				
12. Cuntessa, daughter of Benedict	3	6 8				
13. Hagin, son of Elias	35	13 4	1	qr. =	0 6 8	
14. Josse, son of Elias le Blund of London	9	0 0				
15. Josse, son of Maunser	86	6 8	82	qrs.=	27 6 8	
16. Maunsellus, son of Josse of Worcester	16	13 4				
17. Cok, son of Maunsellus	3	13 4				
18. Isaac of Worcester	2	0 0				
19. Elyas, son of Isaac	18	6 8				
20. Aaron, son of Isaac of Worcester	19	4 8				
21. Sampson, son of Isaac of Worcester ..	25	16 0				
22. Moses, son of Isaac						
23. Joye, son of Isaac	3	6 8				
24. Mirable, daughter of Isaac	18	6 8	1	qr. =	0 6 8	
25. Moses, son of Abraham	3	5 0				
26. Cuntessa, daughter of Moses	8	6 8				
27. Ursellus, son of Hagin of Gloucester..	1	10 0	100	qrs.=	33 6 8	8 0 0
28. Jacob, son of Sadekyn of Hereford ..	6	0 0				
29. Hagin, son of Jacob of Gloucester	5	6 8				
30. Hagin, son of Bella of Gloucester			15	qrs.=	5 0 0	
31. Gente, daughter of Hagin	2	0 0				
32. Hagin, son of Hagin	15	6 8				
33. Hagin de Weobley of Hereford	27	5 4	70	qrs.=	23 6 8	
34. Isaac, son of Hagin de Weobley	3	6 8	60	qrs.=	20 0 0	
35. Isaac, l'Evesque of London						8 sacks= 1 13
36. Benedict l'Evesque			60	qrs.=	20 0 0	
37. David, son of Assel			30	qrs.=	10 0 0	
38. Abraham Chaplain	5	6 8				
39. Elias, son of Jacob	1	0 0				
40. Bonenfaunt, son of Elias, and Isaac, son of Jose	60	0 0				
41. Jose, son of Maunser, and Benedict l'Evesque.. .. .			30	qrs.=	10 0 0	
42. Cok de Hereford						
43. Elias de Ardre						
44. Crispin						
45. Community of the Jews of Hereford..						
	£1,479	5 4	£458	0 0		£169 13 4

HEREFORD—*continued.*

HOUSES AND LANDS HELD IN FEE OR FOR A TERM OF YEARS.

- ¹ Had a tenement with buildings in which he lived of the annual value of 20s. a year, and for which he paid to the ferm of Hereford 2s. a year, and a tenement of the annual value of 3s. for which he paid to the ferm of Hereford 2s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ² Had two shops of the annual value of 4s. a year, for which he paid to the ferm of Hereford 1s. a year, and to the Prior of St. Gutilac 1s. a year, two shops with a story built over them of the value of 4s. a year, and a tenement which he held for a term of four years, having paid in full beforehand. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹² Had a messuage with buildings and one shop adjoining of the value of 12s. a year, for which he paid to the ferm of the town of Hereford 1s. 6d. a year, and to John, the Goldsmith, 2d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ³³ Had a house of the yearly value of 6s., for which he paid to 1s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ⁴² Had a house with two shops of the yearly value of 15s. 8d., for which he paid to the chief lords of the fee 10s. 8d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ⁴³ Had a house of the yearly value of 4s., for which he paid to the lord of the fee 2s. a year, and another house, in bad condition, which had been pledged to him for 30s. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ⁴⁴ Had formerly a house in Hereford, which, when he was hanged for felony, fell into the King's hand as an escheat. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁴⁵ Had a Synagogue, which with a shop adjacent was of the yearly value of 4s., and for which the community paid to the ferm of Hereford 1s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)

IPSWICH.

- | | | | | |
|---------------------|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Moses of Suffolk | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 2. Vives of Suffolk | .. | .. | .. | .. |

The list of the Ipswich bonds is lost. The *archa* was deposited at Westminster, as recorded in Q.R. 557-10;—*Idem* Willelmus* vicecomes per predictum Robertum clericum suum et Hugo Gangy unus Cirrographariorum *archae* Sudburie venerunt et protulerunt l. *archam* parvam de veteribus debitis sub sigillis Ricardi de Belhus quondam vicecomitis, Johannis de Oldebourgh, et Johannis Carbonel militum; et i. parvam *Archam* de novis debitis sub sigillis eorundem Ricardi, Johannis, et Johannis. Et quatuor *claves* dictarum *Archarum* ponuntur in supradicta Pucheta etc. Et Thomas de Sturhull, unus Cirrographariorum non venit. Ideo etc. Et dictae *Archae* ponuntur in quadam magna *Archa* inter alia minuta in fontaria regis. Et praedictus Hugo Gangy protulit duo scripta, et ponuntur in quadam pixide signata sigillis praedicti Hugonis et ponitur in quadam Pucheta inter alias *claves*.

OTHER PROPERTY.

¹ See Nottingham list, No. 13.

² See Nottingham list, No. 12.

* Willelmus de Belham was sheriff of the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

LINCOLN.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557-..		
1. Solomon, son of Deulecress of London	£26 6 8	100 qrs.=£31 13 ^d 4	22 sacks=£163 6 8
2. Belaset of Wallingford, daughter of Solomon	4 13 4	..	..
3. Manser, son of Solomon .. .. .	..	..	5 sacks= 33 13 4
4. Isaac, son of Manser	6 13 4	20 qrs.= 5 0 0	7 sacks= 50 13 4
5. Samuel, son of Manser	9 6 8	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ sack = 5 0 0
6. Deulecress, son of Solomon of Norwich	..	..	1 sack = 6 13 4
7. Elias, son of Deulecress .. .. .	..	..	4 sacks= 32 0 0
8. Hagin, son of Deulecress .. .. .	..	..	13 sacks=106 13 4
9. Jacob, son of Hagin, alias Cok fiz' Hagin	80 0 0	..	..
10. Deulecress, son of Jacob of London ..	..	..	3 sacks= 20 0 0
11. Benedict, son of Jacob .. .. .	..	10 qrs.= 2 10 0	..
12. Meyr, son of Elias .. .. .	..	..	$1\frac{1}{2}$ sacks= 15 0 0
13. Aaron, son of Elias .. .. .	..	90 qrs.= 23 13 4	1 sack = 8 0 0
14. Abraham, son of Elias .. .. .	..	..	1 sack = 6 13 4
15. Jacob, son of Abraham	4 0 0	..	..
16. Bonne, daughter of Manser .. .. .	..	3 qrs.= 1 0 0	..
17. Meyr, son of Bonne	25 0 0	2 qrs.= 0 12 0	$12\frac{1}{2}$ sacks=107 0 0
18. Avegaye, daughter of Bonne .. .. .	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ sack = 4 0 0
19. Abraham, son of Dyay	8 13 4	162 qrs.= 49 16 8	$7\frac{1}{2}$ sacks= 63 6 8
20. Dyay, son of Dyay	9 6 8	20 qrs.= 6 13 4	$13\frac{1}{2}$ sacks=110 13 4
21. Avigaye, wife of Dyay, the preceding	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ sack = 3 6 8
22. Jacob, son of Sampson Levi	6 13 4	100 qrs.= 30 0 0	3 sacks= 56 0 0
23. Cressy, son of Jacob Levi	8 0 0	..	1 sack = 6 13 4
24. Ursellus, son of Sampson Levi	10 0 0	64 qrs.= 18 13 4	3 sacks = 23 13 4
25. Sampson, son of Ursellus .. .. .	..	16 qrs.= 5 6 8	..
26. Samson Levi .. .. .	..	..	1 sack = 8 0 0
27. Abraham Levi	1 5 0	..	..
28. Elias, son of Benedict Gubbay .. .. .	..	106 qrs.= 28 3 4	$14\frac{1}{2}$ sacks=100 0 0
29. Josce Gubbay .. .. .	..	..	1 sack = 8 0 0
30. Josce, son of Samuel of London	5 0 0	..	6 sacks= 44 14 8
31. Josce, son of Peter .. .. .	..	6 qrs.= 2 0 0	1 sack = 8 0 0
32. Josce, son of Bonefy .. .. .	..	88 qrs.= 29 6 8	$\frac{1}{2}$ sack = 4 0 0
33. Leon, son of Josce .. .. .	..	4 qrs.= 1 6 8	1 sack = 6 13 4
34. Floria, daughter of Josce .. .. .	..	10 qrs.= 3 6 8	5 sacks= 40 0 0
35. Breton, son of Josce .. .. .	..	28 qrs.= 9 6 8	2 sacks= 16 0 0
36. Benedict, son of Josce	2 0 0	..	2 sacks= 16 0 0
37. Bon, son of Josce .. .. .	..	..	1 sack = 6 13 4
38. Benedict, son of Sampson .. .. .	..	20 qrs.= 5 0 0	$4\frac{1}{2}$ sacks= 34 0 0
39. Master Benedict of London .. .. .	..	132 qrs.= 41 18 8	..
Carried forward	£206 18 4	£300 7 4	£1,114 8 0

LINCOLN—continued.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557 ^o .		
Brought forward	£206 18 4	£300 7 4	£1,114 8 0
40. Leon, son of Benedict	4 0 0	..	1½ sacks = 10 13 4
41. Milca, fil Benedict .. ..	..	..	1 sack = 5 6 8
42. Lely, fil' Milca .. ..	..	..	½ sack & } = 5 14 8 8 stone }
43. Hen, son of Benedict .. ..	..	..	½ sack = 3 6 8
44. Hagin, son of Benedict	196 13 4	82 qrs. = 27 6 8	6 sacks = 46 13 4
45. Moses le Evesk	3 0 0	..	..
46. Isaac, son of Moses .. ..	..	..	2 sacks = 14 3 4
47. Moses, son of Isaac of London .. ..	..	..	19 sacks = 144 0 0
48. Miles, son of Isaac .. ..	..	52 qrs. = 17 6 8	..
49. Jacob, son of Isaac de Brauncegate	8 3 4	570½ qrs. = 155 3 4	21 sacks = 162 6 8
50. Isaac, son of Isaac de Brauncegate .. ..	..	..	1 sack = 8 0 0
51. Moses, son of Gamaliel .. ..	..	..	2 sacks = 13 6 8
52. Manser of Bradeworth .. ..	..	80 qrs. } = 26 13 4 wheat } 80 qrs. } = 20 0 0 barley } 80 qrs. } = 8 0 0 oats }	5 sacks = 33 6 8
53. Manser, son of Samuel	5 0 0	30 qrs. = 10 0 0	2 sacks = 10 13 4
54. Bonamy, son of Bonamy .. ..	..	6 qrs. = 0 12 0	..
55. Peytevin .. ..	..	12 qrs. = 3 0 0	..
56. Joye of Canterbury .. ..	..	30 qrs. = 10 0 0	..
57. Trina, daughter of Dulcia of York .. ..	..	..	1 sack = 6 13 4
58. Rose .. ..	..	80 qrs. = 20 0 0	..
59. Jacob de Hedon .. ..	..	10 qrs. = 3 0 0	2 sacks = 16 13 4
60. Jocens of Colchester .. ..	..	..	..
61. Mansell de Tykehill .. ..	..	..	..
62. Benedict de Gannok .. ..	..	..	..
63. Benedict le Comte .. ..	..	..	..
64. Judas .. ..	..	..	..
65. Diabella .. ..	..	..	..
66. Hagin Calf .. ..	..	..	..
67. Community of the Jews of Lincoln .. ..	..	..	..
	£423 15 0	£601 9 4	£1,595 6 0

OTHER PROPERTY.

¹ Had two small houses in Brauncegate of the annual value of 6s., for which he paid to the King 1d. a year. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, and Lansdowne.) Also houses of the value of 12s. a year. (Lansdowne.)

² Had a house of the clear annual value of 19s. 6d. (Lansdowne.) (Perhaps this Belaset is the same as No. 1 in the Stamford list.)

LINCOLN—*continued.*

- ²² Had a message of the value of 16s. a year, for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year and to the Prior of Torke's 1 mark a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²⁴ Had a message of the value of 8s. a year, for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year, and to Osbert le Lung 1*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²⁵ Had a message (namely, a small cottage) of the value of 2s. a year, for which he paid to the King 1*d.* and to John Stoyl 4s. a year (*sic*). (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ²⁶ Had a message, a very good house, with a copse, and six shops, of the yearly value of 20s., for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year, and to the Mother Church of Lincoln 2s. a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ³⁴ Had a message of the value of 30s. a year in St. Martin's parish (*optima domus cum duabus shopis et pulcro exitu*), occupied by William le Belliget, for which she paid to the King 1*d.* a year; also a message of the value of 6s. a year, for which she paid to the King 1*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ³⁵ Had three messages of the value of 40s. a year, in which he lived, and for which he paid to the King 3*d.* and to the Mother Church of St. Mary's, Lincoln, 21s. 4*d.* a year; also a message in Brauncegate, with two shops and tenement, well built, of the yearly value of 5s. a year, for which he paid to the King 1*d.* and to St. Lazarus' Hospital 15s. a year (*sic*). (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁴⁴ Had a message in St. Martin's parish, *mediocris domus*, of the annual value of 6s. (Lansdowne), for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year and to Adam Ack 9s. (*sic*); also a message, which was held by Gersy, Jew, of the annual value of 1 mark; also a plot of land, in which his kithen was built, and for which he paid a yearly rental to the Prior and Brethren of S. Katharine without Lincoln. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11.)
- ⁴⁹ Had a message in Brauncegate, a good house, well built, of the yearly value of one mark, for which he paid the King 1*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁵² Had a message in Brauncegate, a good house, well built, of the yearly value of one mark, for which he paid the King 1*d.* a year, and another message in Brauncegate, in which John de Norwich lived, of the value of 10s. a year, for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year and to the Prioress of Hegning 1 pound of cummin. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁵⁸ See Canterbury list, No. 10. *Footnote.*
- ⁶⁰ Had tenements in Brauncegate, good houses, well built, with two chambers, of the yearly value of 12s., for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year, and to Alice, wife of Nich' de O-tre, 3s. 7*d.* (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11.) (Perhaps this Joeeus may be the same as No. 2 on the Colchester list.)
- ⁶¹ Had a small cottage, in bad repair, of the yearly value of 3s., for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11.)
- ⁶² Had two high houses, well built and roofed with tiles, of the annual value of 20s., for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11.)
- ⁶³ Had a message of the value of 18*d.* a year, and a vacant plot belonging to it of the value of 12*d.* a year, for which he paid to the King 1*d.* a year, to Osbert le Lung 1*d.* a year, to William de Hepham 5s. a year (*sic*), and to the Prior of Drax 2s. a year (*sic*). (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁶⁴ Had good houses, with one shop and two well-built chambers, in the bailiwick of Lincoln, of the yearly value of 13s. 4*d.* (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11.)
- ⁶⁵ Had a tenement of the yearly value of 8s. (Q.R. 557-₉ and 11.)
- ⁶⁶ Had houses yielding 12*d.* of rent, also a small piece of land. (Lansdowne)
- ⁶⁷ See York list, No. 6. *Footnote.*

LONDON.

1. Leo, son of Cresse, son of Elias ..
2. Abraham Motonn, and Benedict, son of Mayer
3. Heirs of Elias, son of Moses
4. Muriel, daughter of Cresse, son of Gente
5. Aaron, son of Slemme
6. Benedict, son of Jacobus Clericus ..
7. Thippa, wife of Isaac of Southwark ..
8. Jorvin Sakerel
9. Elias le Evesk
10. Benedict, son of Hagin and Rose Anteman
11. Sara Diei
12. Moses, son of Master Elias
13. Auntere, widow of Vives, son of Master Moses
14. Manser, son of Aaron
15. Elias Baggard
16. Moses Crespin
17. Jacob, son of Bonamy of York
18. Gamaliel of Exeter, and Bateman, son of Cresse
19. Sarah of Oxford
20. Community of Jews of London ..

No list of the bonds in the London *archa* is preserved. The bonds were brought to Westminster, in accordance with the orders contained in the writ quoted above, and the list must have been lost. The delivery of the bonds at the Exchequer is recorded as follows (Q. R., 557-10):—Vicecomes Londinii et Radulfus le Blunt et Willelmus de Betoyme Cirographarii Londinii tulerunt unam archam novam de novis debitis Judeorum, et unam pocketam cum quiloque pixidibus et uno scripto extra pixidem cum duabus clavibus sub sigillis predictorum vicecomitis et cyrographariorum : et praeterea Rogerus Crok liberavit unam pixidem cum quodam scripto obligatorio in eadem.

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ¹ Had houses and appurtenances valued at four marks. (Lansdowne.)
- ² Had houses valued at £2. 6s. 8d. (Lansdowne.)
- ³ Had a piece of land valued at half mark. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁴ Had houses valued at £2. 10s. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁵ Had houses valued at £2. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁶ Had houses valued at £1. 6s. 6d. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁷ Had houses and appurtenances valued at 6s. 8d. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁸ Had houses and appurtenances valued at £3. 18s. 9d. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁹ Had houses, tenements and appurtenances valued at £6. 17s. 4d. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁰ Had houses valued at £1. 2s. 8d. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹¹ Had houses and tenements valued at £2. 18s. 8d. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹² Had houses valued at four marks. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹³ Had houses and appurtenances valued at £12. 17s. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁴ Had houses and appurtenances valued at £6. 13s. 4d. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁵ Had houses and appurtenances, value not stated. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁶ Had houses and appurtenances valued at £3. 19s. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁷ Had houses and appurtenances valued at £3. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁸ Had houses and tenements valued at £2. 10s. (Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁹ Had houses of the value of £7 a year. (Lansdowne.)
- ²⁰ Had lands and houses valued at 8s. 8d. (Lansdowne.) Also a cemetery valued at 40s. (Lansdowne.)

NORTHAMPTON.

1. Moses, son of Jacob
2. Pietavinus, son of Sampson
3. Gente, who was wife of Sadekyn
4. Sara of London
5. Benedict de Cellario
6. Community of Jews of Northampton..

The list of Northampton bonds has been lost. The delivery of the *archa* at Westminster is recorded in Q.R. 557-10:—Vicecomes venit per Robertum de Lathiebur', clericum suum, et tulit unam Archa novam de novis debilis et aliam veterem, etc. Et Philippus de Hotton et Johannes le Megre Cirographarii non venerunt. Ideo, etc., nec claves, etc. Et praedicta archa nova sigillata fuit sub sigillis vicecomitis Roberti filii Walteri et Willelmi Butemleyn militum et vetus archa sigillata fuit sub sigillis Abbatis Sancti Jacobi Northamptone et Roberti filii Henrici Burgensis Northamptone. Et postea venit praedictus Johannes le Megre unus Cirographariorum et protulit duas claves dietae novae Arcae et ponuntur in quadam puchetta inter alias claves.

OTHER PROPERTY.

- 1 Had a messuage on "le Cornrowe" of Northampton of the yearly value of 27s. 8d., for which he paid to Philip le Chaumpyn, 4d. a year and to the reeveship of Northampton 8d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- 2 Had a messuage in the Sheepmarket (bona domus cum alsiamenis omnibus necessariis competentibus et bene edificatis) of the yearly value of 21s. 2d., for which he paid to the reeveship of Northampton 2s. a year, to Ralph de Selveston 12d. a year, and to John Gange 2d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- 3 Had a cottage in very bad repair, with a small yard, together of the yearly value of 6s., for which she paid to the heirs of John de Thorp 4s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- 4 Had a house with one story and a cellar, in good condition, of the yearly value of one mark, for which she paid to the abbot of St. James Without Northampton, 6s. 8d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- 5 Had a tenement which he had bought for a term of seven years, of which three years had elapsed when the Jews departed from England. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11.)
- 6 Had five houses, five cottages, with cartilages belonging to three, a piece of land that was used as a cemetery, an annual rent of 4s. from houses in the town of Stamford towards the upkeep of the cemetery, and a synagogue. The annual value of the buildings was £1. 0s. 9d. and 1 lb. of eumin, less 1s. 5d. paid to the Prior and Monastery of St. Andrew's, Northampton, 8d. paid to the reeveship of Northampton, 2s. and 1 lb. of eumin paid to the Abbot of St. James Without Northampton, and 8d. paid to Thomas de Sartus. The value of the cemetery was half a mark a year, and this sum was paid to the Prior of St. Andrews. The stones of the wall round the cemetery were worth 30s. for carting away. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, and Lansdowne.)

NORWICH.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	From Q.R. 557-10.		
1. Deulecress, son of Abraham of York..	..	10 qrs.= £3 6 8	1 sack = £5 0 0
2. Isaac, son of Deulecress	£8 13 4	470 qrs.=156 13 4	26 sacks=170 0 0
3. Pateman, the doctor, son of Deulecress	3 6 8	..	..
4. Abraham, son of Ursellus of York ..	..	56 qrs.= 17 0 0	3 sacks= 18 6 8
5. Cress, son of Abraham of York ..	..	12 qrs.= 2 13 4	2 sacks= 13 6 8
6. Isaac, son of Abraham of Rising ..	..	50 qrs.= 10 16 8	5 sacks= 33 6 8
7. Josec, son of Ursellus of York ..	..	..	2 sacks= 11 13 4
8. Elias, son of Elias of Canterbury ..	..	60 qrs.= 17 10 0	..
9. Cress, son of Sampson, of York ..	..	69 qrs.= 13 6 8	9 sacks= 60 0 0
10. Isaac, son of Samuel, the Chaplain ..	..	30 qrs.= 10 0 0	..
11. Belia, widow of Jacob .. .. .	..	232 qrs.= 76 16 8	..
12. Jacob de Clare .. .. .	..	26 qrs.= 6 10 0	..
13. Gente of Gloucester, Jewess .. ..	..	..	..
14. Isaac de Gernemuth .. .. .	..	..	..
15. Jocus, son of Deulecress .. .. .	..	..	..
16. Miles Kat .. .. .	..	..	..
17. Anonymous	8 0 0	..	..
18. Community of Jews .. .. .	..	..	..
	£20 0 0	£314 13 4	£311 13 4

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ² Had a messuage of the value of 17s. 5d. a year, for which he paid to John de Wylton 9s. 4d. a year, and to the land tax 1d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ⁴ Had a messuage of the value of 6s. 10d., for which he paid to Roger de Tudenham ½d. a year, to John Bate ½d., to Jacob de Winton ½d., towards the King's land tax 1d. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ⁸ Had a messuage of the value of 7s. 4½d. a year, for which he paid to John Chese 1s. 4d. a year, for the land tax ½d. a year, and to Adam de Testes 4d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁰ Had a messuage of the value of 2s. 6d. a year, for which he paid to Jacob Nade 6d. a year, and to the sheriff for the King's land tax 2s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹³ Had a messuage of the yearly value of 5s. 1½d., for which she paid to the land tax ½d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁴ Had a messuage of the value of 7s. 8d. a year, for which he paid to Henry le Meler 1s. 4d. a year, to Henry Sparewe 1s. 4d. a year, and to the land tax 4d. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁵ Had a house of the value of 9s. 8½d. a year, for which he paid to the land tax ½d. a year, and to the Nuns of Carhowe 3s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁶ Had a house of the yearly value of 8s. 1½d., for which he paid to Robert de Byry, lorimer, 1½d. a year, and to St. Giles' Hospital 2s. a year. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁸ Had a synagogue of the yearly value of 5s. for which they paid 4d. to the land tax. (Q.R. 557-9 and 11, Lansdowne.)

NOTTINGHAM.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	From Q.R. 557-20.		
1. Bateman, son of Cress, of Stamford ..	£13 4 0	10 qrs.= £2 10 0	
2. Pictavinus, son of Bateman	2 0 0		
3. Ursellus, son of Bateman	4 0 0	..	£13 6 8
4. Hagin, son of Bateman	36 13 0	50 qrs.= 12 0 0	3 sacks= 23 6 8
5. Moses de Clare, of Suffolk	63 14 0		
6. Isaac, son of Moses, of Suffolk	20 0 0		
7. Gente, son of Moses, of Suffolk	80 0 0		
8. Cresse, son of Gente	5 0 0		
9. Isaac de Provincia	10 3 4		
10. Floria, daughter of Isaac de Provincia	3 6 8		
11. Moses, gendre of Isaac de Provincia ..	..	20 qrs.= 5 0 0	
12. Moses, son of Moses of Suffolk	22 13 4		
13. Vives de Suffolk	26 13 4		
14. Abraham, son of Belia .. ..	..	30 qrs.= 10 0 0	
15. Abraham Rowell .. ..	..	6 qrs.= 2 0 0	
16. Cress', son of Jacob	2 13 4		
17. Josce, son of Phille	12 0 0		
18. Bonamico, son of Bunne	20 0 0		
19. Leo, son of Maunsellus	120 6 8		
20. Deudo Crispin	8 6 8	? qrs.= 2 10 0	
21. Community of the Jews at Nottingham			
	£450 14 4	£34 0 0	£33 13 4

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ² Pictavinus and Elias his son had a messuage of the value of 7s. 1d. a year, for which they paid to the chief lords of the fee 4s. 1d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ⁵ Had a messuage in Ipswich of the value of 5s. 2d. a year, for which he paid to Simon, son of Simon, 12d., and to Walter Michael 2d.; and a messuage in Nottingham of the value of 6s. 1d. a year, for which he paid to the chief lords of the fee 2s. 1d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ¹³ Had a messuage in Ipswich of the value of 10s. a year, for which he paid to Robert de Wylshaw 12d. a year, and a yard in the suburb of Ipswich of the value of 6d. a year, for which he paid to John de la Bere ½d. year. (Q.R. 557-^o, Lansdowne.)
- ²¹ Had a synagogue of the annual value of 3s. 11d., for which the community paid to the ferm of Nottingham 1s. 4d., and to the chief lords of the fee (who were unknown to the Jurors before whom the information concerning the property of the expelled Jews was furnished), 1d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)

OXFORD.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	From Q.R. 557-21.		
1. Bonefey, son of Lumbard of Cricklade		395 qrs.= £131 5 0	12 sacks= £100 13 4
2. Vives le Petit, son of Bonefey		80 qrs.= 25 0 0	
3. Miles, son of Bonefey de Crikelade ..		24 qrs.= 8 0 0	2 sacks= 10 0 0
4. Simon of Cricklade	£1 6 0		
5. Leo, son of Manser		20 qrs.= 6 13 4	
6. Manser, son of Leo		8 qrs.= 2 13 4	
7. Margalicia widow of Vives of Gloucester		40 qrs.= 13 6 8	2 sacks= 13 6 8
8. Vives, Jew of Gloucester, living at Oxford		33 qrs.= 11 0 0	
9. Vives le Chapelyn			1 sack = 6 13 4
10. Josce of Newbury	23 11 4	24 qrs.= 8 0 0	
11. Isaac le Gendre Lumbard		130 qrs.= 37 10 0	2 sacks= 20 0 0
12. Simon de la Haye		20 qrs.= 6 13 4	
13. Isaac, son of Salaman		80 qrs.= 26 13 4	
14. Isaac, son of Aaron of Worcester ..		15 qrs.= 5 0 0	
15. Rose la Veuve		20 qrs.= 3 6 8	
16. No name	5 4 0		
17. Floria la Vedue			
18. Sarah, who was wife of Benedict le Eveske			
19. Samuel de Berkhamptede			
20. Avegaye, daughter of Benedict of Winchester			
21. Pya, who was wife of Benedict de Caus			
22. Benedict de la Cornere			
23. Moses, son of Jacob of London ..			
24. Community of the Jews of Oxford ..			
	£30 1 4	£285 1 8	£150 13 4

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ¹ Had a message with shop adjoining of the value of 26s. 8d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ⁷ Had a message and shop of the annual value of 25s. 5d., for which she paid to John the Goldsmith 1s. 3d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁷ Had a message in St. Aldate's parish of the yearly value of 16s., for which she paid to St. Bartholomew's Hospital without Oxford 18d. a year, and to Thomas de Henscheye 12d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁸ Had a message with a hall and four shops in St. Aldate's parish, of the yearly value of 4 marks, for which she paid to the Converts of London, by assignment of the king, 10s. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁹ Had a house in St. Aldate's parish of the yearly value of 9s. 7³/₄d., for which he paid to the ferm of the borough of Oxford 4¹/₄d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ²⁰ Had a house of the value of 10s. 7³/₄d. a year, for which she paid to the ferm of the borough of Oxford 4¹/₄d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ²¹ Had a message near to the last mentioned, and one shop under the same roof in St. Aldate's parish, of the yearly value of 27s., for which she paid to the Abbot of Abingdon 12d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ²² Had a message with a cellar in St. Aldate's parish of the yearly value of 24s., for which he paid to the heirs of Walter Feteplac 3s. 4d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ²³ Had a message, with shop adjoining, near the Synagogue in St. Aldate's parish, of which the yearly value was 18s. 9d. a year, and for which he paid to the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide's 17s. 2d. a year, and to John the Goldsmith, of Oxford, 1s. 3d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ²⁴ Had a Synagogue in the parish of St. Aldate's of the yearly value of 18s. 9d., for which they paid to the Prior and Monastery of St. Frideswide, 2d. a year, and to John the Goldsmith 1s. 3d. a year. (Q.R. 557-^o and ¹¹.)

SOUTHAMPTON.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557-2.		
1. Vives, son of Aaron of London	100 qrs.= £25 0 0	
2. Sleme, widow of Vives, son of Aaron of London	190 qrs.= 63 6 8	
3. Lumbard, son of Deulegard of Winchester	90 qrs.= 30 0 0	2 sacks= £10 0 0
4. Hannah, daughter of Lumbard	24 qrs.= 8 0 0	
5. Sweetman, son of Licoricia of Winchester	6 sacks= 40 0 0
6. Abraham, son of Cressant	18 qrs.= 3 12 0	
7. Abraham Cokerel			
8. Joceus			
9. Jacob, son of Cokerel			
10. Lumbard, son of Bella			
11. Cok, son of Lumbard			
12. Duteman			
13. Beycot			
14. Floria			
15. Samme (subsequently converted) ..			
16. Cressant			
17. Community of the Jews at Winchester			
		£129 18 8	£50 0 0

OTHER PROPERTY.

- ⁵ Had a house in Winchester of the yearly value of 12s. 6d., and one pair of gloves, for which he paid to Robert Poceril and John Moraunt annually 6d. and one pair of gloves. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁶ Had a house in Winchester of the yearly value of 10s. 2d., for which he paid to the ferm of Winchester 2d. a year, and a tenement of the yearly value of 3s., for which he paid to the ferm of Winchester 2d. a year. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ⁷ Had a house in Winchester of the value of 11s. 3d. a year, for which he paid to the Abbot of Hyde 1s. 3d. a year, and also held, together with Joceus, a small house with a yard of the value of 4s. 3d. a year, for which he paid to the Abbot of Hyde 1s. 3d. a year. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ⁸ See the preceding name.
- ⁹ Had a tenement in Winchester with *scola* of the annual value of 16s. 6d. a year, for which he paid to the Abbot of Hyde 2s. 6d. a year for land tax. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁰ Had an old house in Winchester of the value of 18d. a year, for which he paid to the King 6d. a year. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹¹ Had a house in Winchester of the annual value of 42d. a year, for which he paid to the ferm of Winchester 21d. a year. (Q.R. 357^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹² Had a small house in Winchester of the value of 2s. 6d. a year, for which he paid to the Brotherhood of Ecklende 2s. a year for land tax. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹³ and ¹⁴ Had a house in Winchester of the annual value of 7s. a year, for which they paid "to the King, to the ferm of Winchester," 4s. a year. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁵ Had a house in Winchester, for which he paid to the parson of St. Martin's Church 4s. a year. (Q.R. 557^o and 11.)
- ¹⁶ Had a house in Winchester of the yearly value of 15s. 5d., for which he paid to the heirs of John Charice 2s. and to the Prior of St. Swithin's 5d. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ¹⁷ Had land of the yearly value of 2s. 6d., which was held from the Prior of St. Swithin's at a rent of 2s. (Q.R. 557^o and 11, Lansdowne.) Also a stone of the value of 4s., on which the Jews washed corpses before burial, (Q.R. 557^o and 11.)

STAMFORD.

1. Belaset	It seems doubtful whether there was an <i>archa</i> at
2. Reyne, who was wife of David	Stamford for the bonds of the Jews who lived there.
3. Tony, son of Meyr	There is no record of the existence of one.

- ¹ Had a messuage in St. Michael's parish, of the yearly value of 3s. 6d., for which she paid to Roger de Offinton 6d. a year, and another messuage in St. John's parish, of the yearly value of 6s., for which she paid to Emma, who was wife of Bartholomew le Cordwaner 3s. 6d. a year. (Q.R. 557-⁹ and ¹¹, Lansdowne.) Perhaps this Belaset is the same as No. 2 in the Lincoln list.
- ² Had a house in the parish of All Saints, of the yearly value of 2s. for which she paid to Gilbert de Cesterton 18s. a year (*sic*)* (Q.R. 557-⁹ and ¹¹, Lansdowne.)
- ³ Had a story in All Saints' Parish of the yearly value of 2s. for which he paid to the King 1d. a year. (Q.R. 557-⁹ and ¹¹.)

WARWICK.

There seems to have been in existence in 1290 a chest supposed to contain bonds belonging to Jews of Warwickshire. The manuscript Q.R. 557-¹⁰ ends with the following entry:—Warrwicus—Arch' cirographorum de veteribus debitis. The only other references to Jews living in Warwickshire before 1290 with which I am acquainted are to be found in the name list given in Mr. Jacobs' *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 345-369.

WILTSHIRE.

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557.		
1. Salaman, son of Simon of Marlborough, known as Cok le Riche	£14 0 0	196 qrs.=	£65 6 8
2. Simon, son of Salaman of Marlborough	9 0 0		
3. Jacob, son of Salaman of Marlborough	23 10 0		
4. Lumbard, son of Salaman of Marlborough	4 0 0		
5. Colette, daughter of Salaman	11 10 7½	30 qrs.=	10 0 0
6. Jospin, son of Salaman of Marlborough .. .. .	..	20 qrs.=	6 13 4
7. Henne, daughter of Jospin	8 13 4		
8. Josce, son of Salaman [see 557- ¹¹] of Marlborough	6 0 0		
9. Josce, son of Josce	1 0 0		
10. Elyas, son of Josce	7 0 0		
11. Lumbard, son of Josce	2 0 0	10 qrs.=	2 0 0
Carried forward	£86 13 11½		£84 0 0

* As the clear value to the King of this property, when confiscated, is given at 2s. a year, the yearly value of the house was no doubt 20s. (not 2s. as stated), the value of the Jewess' interest, after payment of the rent of 18s., being 2s. a year.

WILTSHIRE—*continued.*

	BONDS.		
	MONEY.	CORN.	WOOL.
	All from Q.R. 557.		
Brought forward	£86 13 11½	£84 0 0	
12. Isaac of Fairfax, son of Benjamin ..	8 0 0		
13. Eune, daughter of Vives of Marlborough	6 13 4		
14. Sadekyn, son of Abraham of Marlborough	6 13 4		
15. Salomon, son of Abraham Badecock ..	4 0 0		
16. Henne, daughter of Hagin	0 18 0		
17. Benedict of Chippenham	4 0 0		
18. Isaac, son of Deudo of Calne	19 3 4		
19. Salomon, son of Michael of Dorset ..	2 0 0		
20. Lumbard of Cricklade	2 0 0		
21. Lumbard, son of Abraham of Kent ..	1 0 0		
22. J. de Newbyr'	22 6 8	4 qrs. = 1 6 8	
23. Sweteman, son of David of Oxford ..	140 0 0		
24. Benedict, son of Elias of Chippenham	2 0 0		
25. Anonymous	3 18 0		
26. Cok	0 13 1		
	£309 19 8½	£85 6 8	

OTHER PROPERTY.

- * Had a tenement in Devizes of the value of 4s. a year, which he bought from William Chyverel for a term of six years for half a mark, paying to the said William 4s. a year. At the time when the Jews were ordered to depart from England 3½ years of the six had elapsed. (Q.R. 557- and 11.)
- 26 Had a tenement in Devizes of the value of 4s. 8d. a year, for which he paid to the chief lord of the fee 8d. a year; and he had had for a term of 15 years another house of the value of 13s. 5d. a year, for which he paid to the chief lord of the fee 1½d. a year, and when the Jews were ordered to depart from England, five years of the term had elapsed, and he sold his rights for the other 10 years to Henry Lay, cobbler, from whom he bought the house.* (Q.R. 557- and 11.)

WORCESTER.

Although the Jewish community of Worcester had ceased to exist some years before the expulsion,† a chest supposed to contain the bonds of the Jews who had formerly lived in the city was presented at the Exchequer at Westminster at the same time as the chests in which the extant bonds were kept. No list of the contents is preserved, and perhaps the chest was empty. The record of its delivery is contained in Q.R. 557-10:—Adam de la Hollilomae et Johannes de Lodewoe venerunt die Mercurii proxima ante festum Sancti Edmundi Regis et Martiris pro Willelmo Recolf et Waltero Ceynterell ballivis civitatis Wygornie; et tulerunt unam Archem de veteribus debitis sub sigillo prioris Wygornie et sigillis aliorum quorum nomina ignorant; et nullam clavem secum tulerunt: et dicunt quod Payn Burgenis et Johannes Alisaundre qui fuerunt Cirographarii predictae archae et clerici eorum mortui sunt.

* These houses are described as the property of Cok the Jew. Cok referred to may be No. 26, to whom I have assigned them; or it may be No. 1, Salaman, son of Simon, "known as Cok le Riche" (see above); or No. 1 and No. 26 may be the same person.

† Judaei Wigorn' usque ad villam nostram Hereford . . . cum archis cyrographorum suorum et cum omnibus bonis suis transferantur.—*Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, p. 188, note. Members of Jewish families of Worcester are mentioned as owners of bonds kept in the Hereford and Oxford *Archae*. *Vide Supra*.

YORK.

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bonamicus 2. Cok, son of Aaron 3. Sarah, widow of Benedict 4. Joceus, son of Benedict 5. Moses, son of Bonefey 6. Moses le Veil 7. Community of Jews of York 	<p>The list of the bonds of the Jews of York is lost. The <i>archa</i> in which the bonds were kept was duly deposited at the Exchequer at Westminster, as recorded in Q.R. 557-10 :—Vicecomes venit per Henricum Barthelemeum, clericum suum, et tulit unam archam de veteribus debitis, sigillatam sigillis Abbatis de Eboraco et Johannis de Litegrene tuac vicecomitis et aliorum quorum nomina ignorat : et aliam archam de novis debitis signatam sigillis Johannis de Segate, Ivonis Delton' militum, et Gervasii de Clipton' vicecomitis. Et Johannes le Dessus' et Thomas de Benyngboigh Cirographarii non venerunt. Ideo, etc. Et nec claves dietarum archarum miserunt.</p>
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- ¹ Had a messuage in Conystrete, of the yearly value of 4 marks, in which he lived, and for which he paid to the ferm of York for house tax $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a year, to the heirs of John Paynel 2s., to John de Selby 1d., and to John de Stoketon 1d. Also another tenement in Conystrete of the yearly value of 4 marks 12 shillings, formerly the property of Joceus of Kent and afterwards occupied by Joceus the son of Bonamicus, for which Bonamicus paid to the King 2d. a year for house tax, and to Thomas Baudewyn 1s. 4d. a year ; also a messuage in Metsgate Street of the yearly value of 33s. 4d., in which Benectus, his son, lived, and for which Bonamicus paid to the King 2d. a year for house-tax, to the Hospital of St. Leonard of York 2s. a year, and to the heirs of Thomas Fayrefax 4s. 6d. a year ; also a yearly rent of 4s. and 1 lb. of pepper, which he held in fee of John Basy, issuing from a house of the said John in Feltergayte Street. (Q.R. 557-3 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ² Had a messuage in Conystrete of which all the cellars and the ground beneath the house towards Conystrete belonged to Laurence de Bonthun and his heirs. The yearly value of the tenement above the cellars was 40s., and Cok paid to the King for house-tax 2 $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a year, and to Laurence de Bonthun 6s. 8d. a year. (Q.R. 557-3 and 11, Lansdowne.)
- ³ and ⁴ Had a tenement of the yearly value of 5 marks, for which they paid to the King for house-tax 2d. a year, and to Laurence de Bonthun 2s. a year. They let the tenement to Agnes la Gra for a term of ten years, of which eight had elapsed at Whitsuntide, 18 Edward I. (Q.R. 557-3 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁵ Had a messuage in Metsgate Street of the yearly value of 40s., for which he paid to the King 2d. a year for house-tax, and to the Hospital of St. Leonard of York 2s. a year. (Q.R. 557-3 and 11, and Lansdowne.)
- ⁶ Had houses in York, value not stated. (Lansdowne.)
- ⁷ Had, in common with the Jews of Lincoln, a plot of land called le Jeubury, which they used as a cemetery. Also a house and land adjoining. The yearly value of the house and land was 20s., and the community paid 11d. for house tax to the King (a year), 2s. a year to the Vicars of St. Peter's Church, York, and 1d. a year to the Prior of Holy Trinity, York. (Q.R. 557-3 and 11, and Lansdowne.)

A RAMBLE IN EAST ANGLIA.



BY THE REV. HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A.

I.—DISUSED JEWISH CEMETERIES.

NOT content with the monotony of an English seaside resort on the East Coast, I determined upon varying my summer holiday by visiting a few inland towns in the neighbourhood, chief among these being such as have some special interest for the Jew. The first town I visited was Ipswich. I could not help thinking of my first visit to Ipswich many years before, when, on a mission at the request of relatives, I was entrusted with the delicate task of helping to dissuade from his sad purpose a young co-religionist, once a devout and conforming member of our faith, who had suddenly resolved upon conversion. Several leading Jewish clergymen had at different times been asked to travel down from London for the same purpose, but all to no avail. Whether conviction or affection played the leading part in this case, I will not stop to enquire : suffice it to say, it ultimately proved to be another instance of *cherchez la femme*. But this *en passant*.

On entering Ipswich, the ordinary tourist would most likely turn his immediate attention to such relics as are associated with the name of Cardinal Wolsey, who was born in Ipswich, with Gainsborough, who lived there and drew some of his finest landscapes from localities in the neighbourhood, or he would seek out the spots in which several scenes of Dickens' "Piekwick" are laid. He might be attracted to Sparrow's house in the old Butter Market, now called "The Ancient House," dated 1567, said to have been one of the hiding-places of King Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester, but now occupied by Messrs. Pawsey, Booksellers and Newsagents. I do not know

whether it was the thought of the sorrowful episode to which I referred in my opening remarks, or whether it was an accident that attuned my mind on entering Ipswich to gloomy, or at least solemn associations, for the first place I resolved to visit was the Jewish burial-ground. Not the one in use, but a disused one. In the course of conversation in a railway carriage some weeks before with a resident of Ipswich, I was informed by him that there was an old Jewish burial-ground, quite out of sight, unknown to the majority of the residents, and rather difficult for a stranger to discover without a guide. To my cost I soon found out that this latter description was by no means exaggerated, for I asked residents and officials as to the locality of the cemetery, but none were able to afford any clue, until it struck me to make enquiries at an antiquarian bookseller's, which I noticed on passing had been established for over a century. Here I obtained the necessary information which brought me to the shop of Mr. Raphael, a native of Ipswich (his father, a Jew, had lived about fifty years in the same place), and he immediately, and with great courtesy, accompanied me to the disused cemetery of which I had been told, and of which he alone had the key. It is situate in St. Clement's parish, in an out-of-the-way corner of the town, apparently in a very poor and wretched part. In John Wodderspoon's Memorials of the Ancient Town of Ipswich (1850), of the 14 parishes mentioned by name on page 62, St. Clement was the second highest in 1801, having had a population of 1,584, while in 1841 it was the highest in point of population, viz., 5,793.

Approaching the Jewish disused cemetery at Ipswich, I observed part of the outer wall almost falling to pieces; while on entering I was pained to see this small God's Acre, once hallowed by the warm tears of loving relatives and friends, overgrown with long weeds, and made the dustbin of rubbish shot across the wall. My cicerone, on perceiving my sorrow and surprise, informed me that it was much worse some years ago, before he took charge of it, when the gates were open, and a camping ground made of it. As it is, the Mortuary House which was once attached to the cemetery was suffered to fall into such a state of neglect, that it was eventually claimed and is retained by a neighbour as his own property. The ground contains at present 33 tombstones, and there are evidently more graves than

this number indicates. I will say, as regards the tombstones, that they are not in so bad a condition ; they stand erect, many having been raised of late years. Some are quite legible, others totally or partially defaced ; and there are some, as far as I deciphered them, about 90 years old. It may interest some of my hearers to learn that some of the inscriptions are punctuated, some are only in Hebrew, others in Hebrew and English. There are two or three stones referring to a family Hyam of Bury, Levi of Harwich, and some to the memory of Colechester people. The inscription on the first stone in the fourth row from the top, counting from the right hand as you enter, contains an extraordinary orthographical error, as in the phrase "Rachel weeping for her children," the Hebrew word for "weeping" is spelt *מבכה* with a *ק*, instead of *מבכה* with a *כ*. It struck me as peculiar that, according to the inscription on a certain tombstone, the burial of the deceased took place on the First Day of Passover. The design, too, on the tombstone of a Levite is rather interesting : it consists of three symbols, the ewer and basin, and in the centre, what appeared to me, the Ark with staves.

On taking my leave, I could not help reflecting, that, if this condition of things be allowed to continue much longer, it will not be many years before we shall scarcely be able to recognise from the face of the stones, whether this disused cemetery at Ipswich is a Jewish burial ground or not. For the moment I will content myself with asking, can the state of affairs which I have depicted in connection with this disused cemetery be a source of pride or pleasure to the Anglo-Jewish community, and should the preservation of such sacred spots be left to the chance pity or piety of one or two individuals, none too wealthy, perchance even poor, belonging to the Jewish or the general community ?

What is the age of this disused cemetery at Ipswich ? From the title-deeds, which were thought to be no longer in existence, but which I discovered in the possession of the Misses Levi, of Lacey Street, co-religionists, and which I have here this evening, we learn that the cemetery is just 99 years old, and that the lease being for 999 years from 1796 has just 900 years more to run. There are in all 10 deeds that I have seen referring to this enclosure, the earliest, which I have also here, dating back to September, 1764.

The one in which we are most directly interested, and which is endorsed thus (*vide* Appendix I.) :—

Mr. Benjamin Blasby	}	Dated 1796.
to		Lease for
the Society of Jews.		999 years,

contains the names of the signatories to the contract, and introduces us to the leading men of the small Ipswich community of the day. It begins as follows :—

“This *Indenture*, made the 6th day of May, in the 36th year of our Sovereign Lord George the Third . . . in the year of our Lord, 1796, between Benjamin Blasby, of Ipswich, in the County of Suffolk, Bricklayer, and Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyem Hyems, Ansell Ansell, of Ipswich aforesaid, Artificers and Jews, Levi Alexander and Samuel Levi, of Colchester, in the County of Essex, Artificer, Trustees for and on behalf of the Society or Meeting of Jews, at Ipswich aforesaid, of the other part, *Witnesseth*, that in consideration of the sum of £28 of lawful money of Great Britain, in hand well and truly paid by the said Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi,” etc. (*vide* Appendix II.).

This indenture is duly sealed and signed by the parties to the deed, and it may be of interest to know that Israel Abraham, one of the signatories, was grandfather to the Misses Levi, who hold the deeds at the present time.

Of those mentioned in the said document, despite the fact that many of the inscriptions on the tombstones of the cemetery are no longer legible, we are still able to trace the following names (*vide* Appendix III.) :—

Lazarus Levi, No. 5, Row VI., died 5592, aged 86 years.

Israel Abraham, No. 3, Row VII., died 5602, aged 86 years.

Ansell Ansell, No. 2, Row VII., died 5594-5, aged 77 years.

Levi Alexander, No. 3, Row III., died 5571, aged 63 years.

Though not strictly within the limits of my paper, as regards the history of the Jews of Ipswich themselves in more recent times, it is strange how few are the references to their existence in the town a hundred years ago. I find in Clarke's History of Ipswich (1830) on pages 319 and 320, a reference to Jews, which it may not be uninteresting to quote, and which, considering the comparative scarcity of the work, it is as well to preserve. He writes : “In Rope-lane, near this

spot (*i.e.*, the House of Correction), on the 18th of August, 1792, the foundation of a building was laid for the purpose of a Jewish Synagogue, and which has been, ever since, appropriated to that purpose. It was built by the late Mr. John Gooding, and is now the property of a branch of his family, to whom a yearly rent of from eight to ten pounds is paid. It is a small structure, not calculated to hold more than a hundred persons, and is not kept in very excellent repair. The Jews are not numerous in Ipswich, and do not increase either in wealth or numbers, few or none of them having been engaged in the higher walks of mercantile transactions; and we believe there are not more than 50 persons of that persuasion in the town. In the early part of the French Revolution, the Jews were unjustly suspected of being favourable to Republican opinions; and on the 14th of September, 1793, a tablet was put up in the chapel, exhibiting in the Hebrew language, a form of prayer for the King and Royal Family, evincing their attachment to their sovereign, and their anxiety to be considered as peaceable and loyal subjects of the realm. But so strong was the prejudice against them, that they were frequently insulted and maltreated in their progress to and from their place of worship; and they at this time appealed to the magistrates for constables to protect them from the illiberal and disgraceful behaviour of the rabble."

On page 320 we read; "In December, 1808, two couples were married in Ipswich, according to the Jewish ceremonies, in the presence of almost all the Jews in the town and neighbourhood, and many other of the inhabitants. The following is the manner in which it was performed: The priest first gives a blessing over a glass of wine, and reads the marriage ceremony; the bridegroom then puts a ring on the bride's finger, saying in Hebrew, 'Behold, with this ring I consecrate thee, according to the rites of Moses and of Israel;' the Reader then reads over the certificate, and pronounces some prayers and benedictions; the bridegroom and bride drink part of the wine, after which the bridegroom throws the glass on the ground, and stamps it to pieces. After the ceremony, there was an elegant dinner, and a ball in the evening. In this year 1808, died in this town Sarah Lyons, a Jewess, in possession of all her faculties at the advanced age of a hundred and five years. She had also a son and a daughter who both lived to be upwards of 90 years old, and all of them resided in St. Peter's Parish."

Taking it for granted that this centenarian, Sarah Lyons (or Lyon, according to the print which is here reproduced), was buried in the Jewish Cemetery of Ipswich, her tombstone would be that marked on the plan which I have prepared (*vide* Appendix III.) No. 7 in Row I., or No. 6 in Row III., for the year of her death, 1808, corresponds to 5568,



MRS. SARAH LYON, AGED 104 YEARS.

which is the date תקכח on the former tombstone, that of a female, the word אשה, "woman" being yet legible. No. 6 in Row III. might answer, as far as the name *Sarah* is concerned, the writing though in a bad condition being clear enough to be deciphered as אשה שרה, *Sarah* being the equivalent of שרה. Considering, however, that the former grave is that of a person who died but twelve years from the

purchase of the cemetery, and is situated in the first row against the wall, I incline to the belief that this obliterated tombstone is the one erected to the memory of this remarkably longlived personage, Sarah Lyon.

The next town I visited was Bury St. Edmunds. For obvious reasons, I defer to the second part of my paper my remarks on an object of great historical interest, especially to us Jews, existing in the town of Bury, and pass on to the experiences I gained, on my brief tour through East Anglia, of disused Jewish burial-grounds. I refer to those I visited in the city of Norwich. These seem to be quite forgotten, and the name of Norwich does not even figure in a valuable Tabulated Report of Disused Cemeteries, to which I shall refer later on, compiled in 1893. I repeat that I confined myself to the *disused* Jewish cemeteries, which were yet to be traced in the city. After a deal of enquiry, I ultimately obtained a clue to the existence of two such burial-places, but it turned out that only one was recognisable. One had, indeed, existed in Horns Lane, Burr Street, but all that was shown of it was the little yard or garden at the rear of a small house, No. 34. From a neighbour I obtained the information that about eight or ten years ago, some bones and skulls were turned up on this spot, and to the best of his belief were put back again into the same place. As an additional proof, he showed me a lump of oak, which came from this quondam Jewish burial-ground, and which he had laid by. It almost baffles conjecture to determine what this relic originally represented. It was after much cross-questioning and driving about that I was able to find the whereabouts of, and gain admission to, the other disused cemetery of Norwich, which I was told was situated near St. Martin at Oak Church. It seemed at one time a hopeless task for one not acquainted with the bye-ways of this city to reach it at all, and after having found it out, the problem was—find the key. It was supposed to be in the hands of a Christian workman, who took charge of the place more through pity than for payment, and I succeeded in hunting up the workman's son, who, for a drive in my conveyance as a deposit and a small consideration, which I afterwards gave him, proved, though of rough exterior, an excellent guide in my perambulations through this not unimportant Jewish burial-ground. The old cemetery is situate in a turning in Quaker's Lane. There are

about a dozen stones standing, two of the graves having the grass cut, the expense of which, 15s. a year, I was informed had been defrayed by two ladies, who, as relatives, were once in the habit of visiting the two graves, and whose names I need not here publish. I was told by the son of Plunket, the carpenter, that his father had charge of the place for the last 24 years, and that for the last eight years he had received no remuneration whatsoever, save the privilege of allowing his animal to graze on part of the enclosure. From the authorities of the Norwich Hebrew Congregation, however, I subsequently learnt that they had paid or were paying 10s. per annum to have the small cemetery kept in proper order. Whether it is kept in proper repair is another question.

The stones, which I hurriedly deciphered, were erected to the memory of the following persons :—

Eliza, wife of Joel Fox, called *פרנס דקהלתנו* “Warden of our Synagogue,” who died 5609, aged 49 years.

Louise, wife of Anthony White.

Aley, wife of Mosiac Bandon.

Lewis Bandon, d. 5614.

Harris Nathan, d. 5613.

Esther, wife of David Cohen, of Yarmouth, d. 5604.

Barnet Craucour, died Sep. 25th, 5595, aged 58.

The last-named is described as the founder of the Jews' Synagogue in Norwich : almost the whole of the Hebrew inscription on his tombstone is eaten away. The name Joel Fox, referred to in the above-mentioned inscription as Warden of the Synagogue, occurs on a tablet affixed to the wall of the narrow vestibule of the present Norwich Synagogue. He is spoken of as having laid the first stone of the Synagogue on April 12th, 1848.¹

¹ This Synagogue was Erected
5608.

The first stone was laid by

JOEL FOX, Esq.,

April 12th, 1848,

In the presence of the other Trustees,

Myer Levine, Esq.,

Moses Kisch, Esq.,

Maurice Joseph, Esq., and

Congregation.

John Bunn, *Architect*.

Speaking of the Norwich Synagogue, it may be as well incidentally to call attention to a rather interesting object hanging against the western wall, viz., a board in antique frame containing in Hebrew the formula recited in the Selichoth, beginning **אל מלך יושב** and ending with "The Thirteen Attributes of God." From the signature appended we learn that it was written by one Jacob Hamburger, Reader of the congregation at Lynn, and presented to the said congregation in the year 5547, *i.e.*, 1787.¹

It is scarcely within the right of anyone reading a paper before a Historical Society, to rely upon anything but the bare statement of facts, in his desire to call the attention of the community to what seems to him an act of culpable neglect on its part. Rhetorical displays are out of place, and are more suited to other assemblies and other occasions; but I cannot help asking whether, amid all the interest which the Anglo-Jewish community evinces in the matter of synagogues and schools, those sacred spots which at times command, perhaps, more solemn associations than even these—whether it is right that they should be allowed to fall into decay and be brought to desecration, and that there should not be sufficient public spirit among the well-to-do congregations or individuals of Great Britain to subscribe enough to maintain such places in at least decent repair? Rather than leave the disused Jewish cemeteries amongst us in the state in which some of them are found, though I do not view the alternative with favour, I hold it would be a more sacred act to hand them over to the municipal authorities, that they might deal with them as they should deem best, to convert them into a source of pleasure to the living, rather than to allow them to remain an indignity to both the living and the dead.

On this subject a most interesting report was drawn up by my friend, Mr. Lewis Emanuel, the zealous Solicitor and Secretary of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews, to whom it was referred by a resolution of the Board, dated November 18th, 1891, to consider and report as to the care of disused Synagogues and Jewish burial-grounds in the United Kingdom. I have also in my possession

לזכרון בהיכל ה' מתנה נתונה מאתי לק"ק לין י"ץ 1
בשנת זה זכ"י וז"ה ש"מ"י לפ"ק

ה"ק יעקב המבורגר ש"ץ דק"ק ה'ניל

from the same source—and it must have caused the compiler a considerable amount of loving labour—a Tabulated Report¹ as to the Provincial Jewish Cemeteries which are disused, or likely to become so. But, with the exception of promises for the maintenance of these places in proper order, to the extent of £30 a year (which, by the way, is barely half the sum required), nothing sufficiently thorough-going has been done, once for all to wipe away this reproach from the Anglo-Jewish community.

To take but one example. We have spoken of Ipswich. I notice in that Tabulated Report, dated January, 1893, that, as regards Ipswich, the cemetery was last repaired in 1887; and to say nothing of the cemetery itself, as I found it last summer, it is a sad commentary on the recent condition of the wall which enclosed it, when I remark, that I presume it was in consequence of my visit about a year ago that, nearly two months ago, I was communicated with, and appealed to in reference to this cemetery, as the wall had been blown down by the gale, and further inroads threatened this sacred spot. I am glad to hear that, during the last couple of weeks, certain repairs are being carried out in connection with this ground. I take Ipswich and Norwich as fair specimens of the careless and haphazard manner in which our disused burial-grounds have hitherto been dealt with, and I am convinced that the entire question calls for immediate attention. I would express the desire that the Report of the Board of Deputies on the subject were more widely circulated and known; and that if we are not to have a separate and independent Society for Preserving the Burial-places and Memorials of the Dead,² specially referring to Disused Cemeteries, this Board will see fit to regard itself as the proper body to deal efficiently with so important a communal question. But it should not be forgotten that for this purpose, an obligation rests with the members of the com-

¹ London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews. Tabulated Report by the Solicitor and Secretary as to Provincial Jewish Cemeteries which are Disused or are likely to become so. Dated January 13th, 1893.

² As regards Tombstones, I would suggest to the United Synagogue and the Communities throughout Great Britain, the advisability of making it imperative upon those who shall be considered responsible, to deposit among the archives of the Congregation a copy of the inscription on the Tombstone prior to its being "set."

munity themselves, who should be imbued with sufficient public spirit to provide the necessary funds for this branch of the Board's operations. It seems to me that it is pre-eminently the duty of a Jewish Historical Society, to rouse public opinion in a matter of such importance, affecting the fair name of the entire Jewish community of Great Britain.

II.—MOYSE'S HALL, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

In opening the second part of my paper, I must remark that I wish to bring under your notice two objects of special interest to us English Jews, with one of which you are doubtless somewhat acquainted through the valuable volume edited by Mr. Joseph Jacobs, a Vice-President of this Society, the other (as far as I know) not quite so familiar to my hearers. Both, however, are connected with the presence of our ancestors in this country in the pre-expulsion period. I have now to do, not with disused cemeteries, but with historic edifices or their remains.

The town of Bury St. Edmunds, or as it was formerly called, Edmunsbury (from Edmund, last of the Kings of East Anglia), presents many points of interest to the general visitor. Chief among these are the Abbey Gate, the principal entrance to the monastery; the Norman Tower, erected about 1090, as the principal entrance to the Cemetery of St. Edmund; and the enclosure, which contains the site of the famous High Altar, at which Cardinal Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, on November 20th, 1214, met the twenty-five barons, who decided to enforce the observance of the Magna Charta.

But, undoubtedly for the Jewish antiquarian, *Moyse's Hall* has a peculiar attraction transcending all such associations. Externally it presents no longer the appearance it has in the engraving contained in Mr. Jacobs' "Jews of Angevin England," prepared from a sketch in the British Museum taken one hundred years ago: though, considering all circumstances, it is in a remarkable state of preservation. Here we undoubtedly have a bit of Old Jewry—one of the very few remains in architecture of the pre-expulsion period. It is generally regarded as a fine specimen of a building of the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century, and one of the most interesting in the town. Local tradition has stamped it as the "Jews' House," or the "Jews' Synagogue," it

having been known, we are told, among its original possessors, as "the Synagogue of Moses," Moyses's, *i.e.*, Moses Hall. I was particularly struck with the remarkable appearance of the interior, access to which I obtained through the kindness of Mr. Vale Richardson, Jeweller, in Abbeygate Street, who has possession of the key. I must confess that, on two occasions, several hours very soon slipped away in my enthusiastic admiration of this substantially built structure of mediæval English Jewry with its arches and vaulted roof. What a pity, I thought, that this, one out of only three "Jews' Houses," yet extant, should be allowed to be cut up, and perhaps disfigured, beyond recognition! Why had we Jews no Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, as our fellow-citizens have? For, as it is, one portion of Moyses's Hall is already being used by the Great Eastern Railway as a Parcel Receiving and Enquiry Office, and it seems somewhat incongruous to observe a black board, with an inscription to that effect, attached to the front. Another part of the original building is an annex of the Castle Hotel, to the left of the Great Eastern office, which, by the way, has a cellar in two parts, one vaulted the other plain; and there is no question that the forge which adjoins the building stands on part of the original site of Moses Hall.

It is the stone arches, common to the different portions, which place it beyond a doubt that the various parts are parts of one original structure, though it should be observed that the western arch-ribs (as seen in the part occupied by the Great Eastern) are semi-circular, while in the other portions they are pointed. In what I shall call Moses Hall proper, *i.e.*, the part within the present entrance on the south side of the building, there are to be seen seven complete arches supported on short pillars, having Norman capitals and bases, there being two such round pillars and two square pillars. I was strongly reminded of the plan of the old Synagogue at Worms on the Rhine, of the 11th century, with its columns and vaulted roof, to which this Moyses's Hall bears a striking resemblance. It seems quite possible that this building served the purpose of more than a mere dwelling-house, and that it was a Synagogue, or a combination of Synagogue and House of Learning. From this photograph of the interior, you will easily understand the style of the building internally.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Spanton, of Bury St. Edmunds, for the

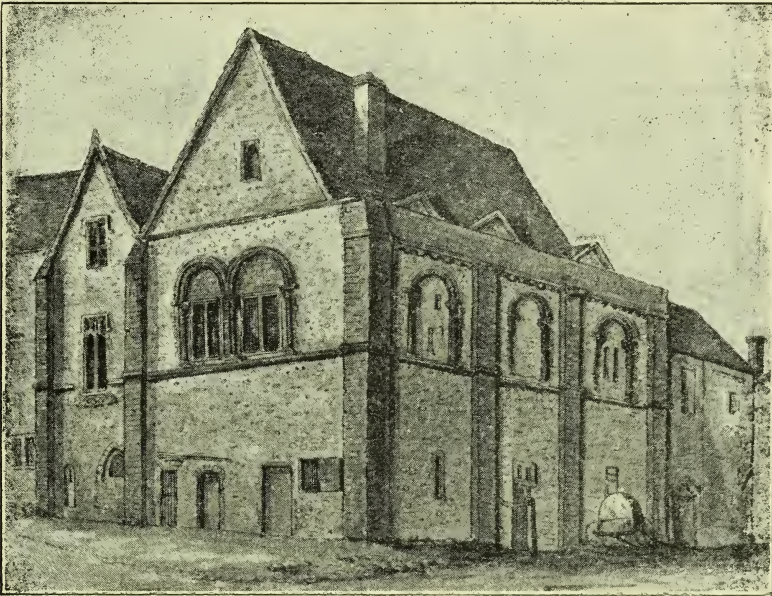
care and skill with which he has produced the several excellent views of Moyses's Hall, which I am able to show you this evening. As it stands at present, Moyses's Hall has a ground floor or basement and two upper floors, and it has doubtless undergone many changes in the



INTERIOR OF MOYSES'S HALL.
(*Present condition.*)

distribution of the internal space, owing to the successive uses to which it has been put in the course of centuries. In consequence of these alterations, it is impossible to determine, with any degree of accuracy, how the upper part originally looked. One of the latest objects which

Moyse's Hall was made to serve was that of a police-station, and even more recently a sort of store-house ; but to be accurate, it is at present (at least the major part) not made use of at all, and it is not used *now* as a police-station. It has not been employed for this purpose since November 14th, 1892, when the police took up quarters in their new building. Strange to say, the apparently modern appearance of the upper floors does not affect the antique character of the main building.



MOYSE'S HALL, SOUTH-EAST VIEW.
(From ancient Print.)

In the upper, or first floor, there still remain two good transition Norman windows, each of two lights, square-headed and plain, under a round arch ; while internally the masonry is not carried up all the way to the sill of the window, so that a bench of stone is formed on each side of it. To my imagination, this latter arrangement suggested the possibility of their having once been used as a sort of crow's-nest to look out on both

the Butter and Corn Markets, when our ancestors, having been collected together in this sacred House of Refuge, were being persecuted by a howling mob outside. The exterior of the building, too, has undergone many changes. It is doubtful whether the entrance was really, as at



MOYSE'S HALL, 1895.

present, on the south side, which faces the junction of the Corn and Butter Markets, or whether it is not more likely that it was on the east side, facing the narrower portion of the Corn Market. We know that the present East Wall is no part of the old building, but dates back to

only 1806. Both in the illustration in Mr. Jacobs' book, which I take to be the east view, and in the older original drawing which I have seen in the Athenæum at Bury, and of which I have a photograph,¹ there are several windows on this side, whereas in the present structure there is only one very small window at the extreme end, not quite half-way up the wall. The present doors on the east side, of which there are two, afford no clue as to the position of the original entrance, no more than the present entrance on the south side, adapted as it was for the purposes of a police-station. Most probably, too, there were originally no windows on the ground floor. The windows, be it also observed, in the first and second floors of that portion occupied by the Great Eastern are not original—those on the second floor being quite modern, from the design of Gilbert Scott, while that on the first floor is of the Perpendicular style. The sculpture under this window is rather interesting, representing as it does the wolf guarding the crowned head of St. Edmund. From the different views which I have obtained of the exterior of the building, it will be observed what changes have been carried out in respect of the turret, the other drawings showing none whatever, while there is a marked difference between the one in Davy's dated 1827, and the one in the view of the present building, taken specially for this lecture.

In the records of St. Edmund of East Anglia, King and Martyr, by J. R. Thompou (1891), I find in Part II., pp. 126-7, a reference to the martyrdom of the holy child Robert, to which allusion is made by Jocelin de Brakelond,² it having been alleged that the Jews dwelling in Bury St. Edmunds had crucified the child in 1179. This incident may have been one of the causes of the expulsion of the Jews from

¹ This book of original drawings and prints in the Library of the Athenæum, Bury St. Edmunds, contains, besides the pen and ink sketch to which I have referred, and of which I have a copy here, three other views of Moyses's Hall, viz. : by Davy, 1827 ; by J. Mathew, 1826 ; and by T. Higham, 1818.

² Those interested in perusing Jocelin's chronicles will find them in the original Latin (under the heading *Jocelini Cronica*) in *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, edited by Thomas Arnold, M.A., Vol. I. (London : Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1899). An English translation appears as "The Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond," in a work called *Monastic and Social Life in the 12th Century*, by T. E. Tomlins, 1814.

Bury St. Edmunds in 1190, the date assigned to that event. To follow the fate of Moyses's Hall after that event, we find the house mentioned in the will of Andreus Scarbot, 1474, as the "ten. Angnet' Regis, vocat'—Moyseshall." In 1514, we are told, it was the residence of Richard Kyng, a benefactor to the town. About 1614 it was bought by the Guildhall Feoffees, and converted into a Workhouse and House of Correction. In 1721 it was a Hospital or Workhouse for 30 boys and girls; later on, during the last century and the beginning of this century, it was used as the Town Bridewell, while about 40 years ago it was used, as we have before said, as a police-station. In 1858 it was repaired, principally by subscription, from designs of the late Gilbert Scott.

The materials to hand are insufficient to determine the limits of the Jewry in Bury St. Edmunds, if ever there was one. I have heard it said that Chequer Square and Bridewell Lane, which adjoins it, in the vicinity of the splendid Norman Tower of the Abbey, indicate the site of the ancient Jewish quarter. Considering the close connection between the Abbot and the Jews of Bury in mediæval times, and the number of synagogues which in modern times existed within almost a stone's throw from Bevis Marks, in the City of London, it may be worth noting on the authority of Samuel Tymms, F.S.A., that the Abbot of the monastery of Edmondsbury had also a palace in London, beside Christ Church, Aldgate, the site of which is indicated by the name of "Bevis Marks," which is a corruption of "Bury Marks." To those who, like myself, have been brought up in the City, and know its every nook and corner, this item of intelligence cannot but be of more than passing interest.

III.—THE NORWICH JEWRY.

When I began the second part of my paper, I remarked that there was one subject which I intended to bring before you, with which I thought my hearers were scarcely familiar. I refer to the *Jewry of Norwich* in mediæval times. I wish it to be particularly understood that I do not intend, as it would be impossible in the limited time at my command, to deal with the Jews of Norwich, but simply to give

a few topographical notes in connection with our ancestors in this ancient and most interesting city.

A consideration of the individual Jews of Norwich is so vast a subject, that any partial and imperfect treatment of it by a chatty tourist might constitute him, instead of one of the חכמי נורג'י "Wise Men of Norwich," rather one belonging to the class, the opposite of "wise." I should like to state at the outset, that the expression "The Jewry" need not imply that the Jews were not allowed to reside in other parts: in fact I have the support of so eminent an authority as the Rev. William Hudson, Hon. Secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, that the assumption is unfounded that the Jews were only allowed to live in the Jewry.

No one can be in Norwich without having his attention called to what is known as the *Musick House*, the name supposed to be a corruption of "Moses' House." It belonged originally, in the time of William Rufus, to Moses the Jew: he left it to his son, Abraham the Jew; and he to Isaac the Jew, his son, after whom it was called *Isaac's Hall*. In 1633 it was the City House of the Lord Chief Justice Coke. For this information we are indebted to the chief authority on the History of Norfolk,¹ viz., Blomefield, the first edition of whose work appeared in 1736. It will be found in Vol. IV., p. 76; while in Vol. III., p. 28, and Vol. IV., p. 184, will be found a reference to Jews "dwelling in a place called *Abraham's Hawle* (Abraham's Hall)," the passage in question referring to St. William of Norwich.

I should like to throw in by way of suggestion, whether Murrell's Yard in King Street, which is one of the oldest, if not the oldest part of the city, is not connected with Morel, a name which frequently occurs in olden times as that of a co-religionist. But these are only the dwellings of individuals: let us pass them by with this brief allusion, and betake ourselves to the Market Place, on the way to the

¹ Among other important books of reference we would mention: *The Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, by Walter Rye, Vol. I., 1877 (chapters xxv., xxvi., treat of Norwich Jews.) *The Streets and Lanes of the City of Norwich*, by John Kirkpatrick, 1889. *The Publications of the Selden Society*, Vol. V., edited by W. Hudson, 1892. *Gleanings among Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, by H. Harrod, 1857. An Index to *Norfolk Topography*, by Walter Rye, 1881, is a very useful work.

Jewry proper. We cannot do better than take Blomefield as the basis of our search after the original limits of the Jewish Quarter of Norwich in the time of the Plantagenets, though it will be necessary to take his account with a certain reserve, for he has fallen into the same error into which, it appears, even recent writers have fallen. I would state once for all that the “*Schola Judæoram*,” referred to in the early deeds, can scarcely mean anything else but “the Synagogue” (similar to our word *Shool*), and not “the School” belonging to the Jews. In interpreting the word “*Schola*” to mean “School,” Blomefield, as others, evidently thought that the word Synagogue had been omitted, and he accordingly rendered the Latin expression by “Synagogue and School,” instead of “Synagogue” alone. I do not wish to imply that a School was not attached to the Synagogue of these times; in all probability it was; but we cannot infer the fact from the expression “*Schola*” employed in the original documents.

After this explanation, let us hear what are the boundaries of the ancient Jewry before the time of Edward I., according to Blomefield, Vol. IV., pp. 225, 226. I shall then endeavour to show you that, by means of these particulars, we are able to transplant ourselves more than six or seven centuries back in point of time, and identify precisely the area in which the greater portion of our ancestors in Norwich lived and moved about.¹ “The New Synagogue and Schools of the Jews,” says Blomefield, “to which there was an entrance from *Hogg Hill*² on the east part, and another on the west, from the *Haymarket*, by the passage now into the *Star-yard*, and the whole part of the market from *Wastel-market* aforesaid [correctly speaking, this should be *Wastelgate*³: the *Wastel-market* was in quite a different direction], to the *White Lion Lane*, is called in old evidences *Judaismus*, *Vicus de*

¹ *Vide* Kirkpatrick’s Memoir, edited by W. Hudson, p. 29.

² “The place called Hoghill is a Triangular void Ground which lyes with a descent towards the West. . . . It was called the Hog market 1660, now commonly the Hoghill.”—Kirkpatrick.

³ “*Wastelgate* [this is not the street now called *Westelgate*] was so-called from Bakers there dwelling, who sold *Wastels*, which were *White Loaves* of the finest flour, as appears from the statute of Bread and Ale. 51 Hen. 3, and in the 5 Hen. 4 I find it called *Wastelgate* alias *Baxtergate*, which last name is of the same import as *Baker Street*. It is now called *Red Lion Lane*. from an Inn there having the sign of the *Red Lion*.”—Kirkpatrick. p. 15.

Judaismo, or the *Jewry* : the new *Synagogue* was built in Henry II.'s time, when the Jews removed and dwelt altogether here ; it had a burial place by it, and the *School* was at the south end of it, the house appropriated for the high priest, who was called the *Bishop* of the Jews, stood on the very place where now is Dr. Howman's house ; for in Edward I.'s time, Ursell, son of Isaac, the Bishop of the Jews at Norwich, sold it to John de Wroxham, and his executors in Edward II.'s time sold it to John Pirmund. . . . The house, now the Star, formerly belonged to Elias the Jew, and abutted east on the garden belonging to the Jews' school, and north on the entry to the Jews' synagogue. Elias, son of Elias, sold it to Jeffery de Gloucester the Jew, from whom it was seized by Edward I., and conveyed to Jeffery de Bungeye. In 1286, when King Edward I. banished all the Jews, this synagogue was destroyed, and the whole Jewry seized by the King ; but the reason we see nothing remaining of these places is, because the whole Jewry was burnt down, and then these were quite destroyed.¹

“The north side of the Jewry was bounded by White Lion Lane, as it is now called, from the sign of the White Lion there, but was anciently known by all the following names : Sadlegate in Edward the First's time, in Edward the Second's time Lorimers' Row,” and so on. For the sake of completeness, though not strictly referring to the Jewry with which we are dealing, I should add the following short passage occurring in Blomefield, IV., page 227 :—

“The lane now called Dove Lane,² from that sign there, was

¹ Cf. Blomefield, III., p. 64.

² Kirkpatrick has the following passage, pp. 48-9 : “The other (lane) south into the Market Place is now called the Dove Lane, from the sign of the Dove at a tavern which is the N.E. corner house of the lane ; antiently it was called Hold thor, 14 Edw. I, and 1 and 14 Edw. II. ; in one deed in the 18 of Edw. 1st, it is called Le Smalegale. . . . Holdtor. . . . Oldtor. . . . Holdtore, Holter, St. John's Lane. . . . Concerning the reason of which name, I am of opinion that Hold thor is Old Thor, and we find in Mr. Stowe's Survey of London, the Jews of Norwich being accused of circumcising a Christian child, A.D. 1241, certain of them were hanged and their House called the Thor was destroyed. It is not improbable therefore that the Thor was their Synagogue and stood in this lane, so called from its Tower, which being thus destroyed, they afterwards built another in the South part of the market-place, but of this I find no mention in

anciently called *Hol Tor* lane from the old tor or tower, that stood at the south-west corner of it, which was built by the Jews in William Rufus's time for their Synagogue, and continued such till Henry the Second's time, when they built their *new Synagogue*."

You will not be surprised to hear that scarcely one of the names of streets or houses contained in the account given by Blomefield 150 years ago remain at the present day: yet by a careful comparison of the details of his account with the site indicated, I have been able to place beyond doubt the ancient Jewry of Norwich, and will now give you the names of the streets which bounded the Jewry of old, as they appear in the year 1895.

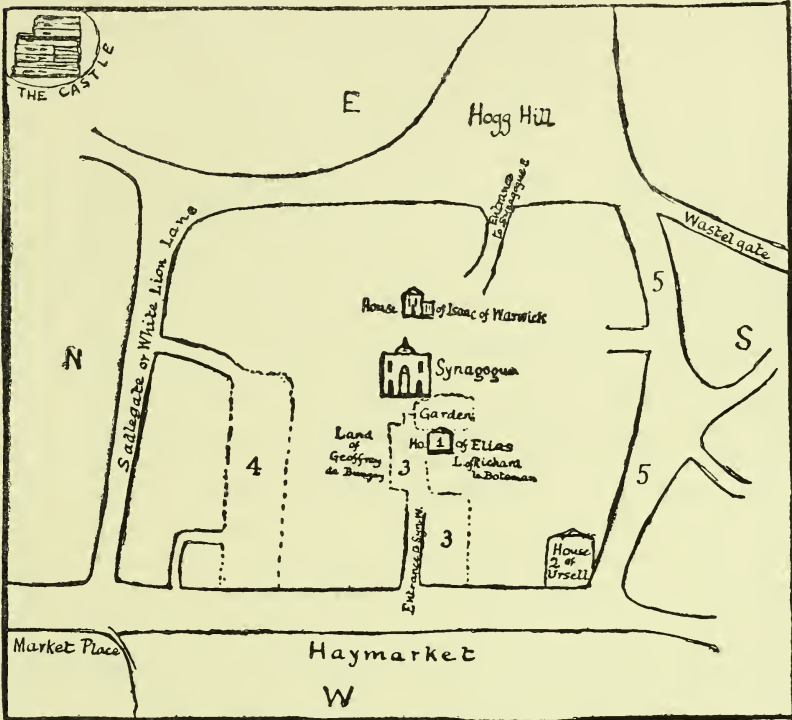
What was Hogg Hill then is now called Orford Hill. The name Haymarket still remains. The Star Yard and its Inn no longer exist in name, the entrance to the former having but recently been replaced by Green's shop in the Haymarket, while in the rear of this establishment may still be seen part of the original yard, and the old Inn in a dilapidated condition. The Wastelgate is now called Red Lion Street, and White Lion Lane has been changed into White Lion Street. The site of Dr. Howman's or Sir Thomas Browne's¹ house, which was the residence of the Rabbi, or, as Blomfield styles him, the high-priest and bishop of the Jews, is now occupied by the Savings' Bank, at the junction of Little Orford Street and the Haymarket. The house of Elias, the Jew, stood near to where Green's shop is at present. A glance at the accompanying plan which I have prepared will bring this out more clearly.

As regards Dove Lane, in which the former Synagogue stood (the

old deeds. It might be from some other ancient Tower which stood hereabouts, unless we should deduce the original much higher, and say it obtained that name from some Temple here in the Pagan Saxons time, erected to the honour of their God Thor, from whom the day of the week, which we call Thursday, was denominated." Regarding the etymology of Holtor, Mr. M. D. Davis once suggested that it might be a corruption of the Hebrew words "Ohel Torah," meaning "Tabernacle of the Law," a name supposed to have been given by the Norwich Jews to their synagogue on that spot. I am glad to be able to state that Mr. Davis has since repented of that derivation; he now takes it to mean "ancient wood or forest."

¹ Sir Thomas Browne was born October 19th, 1605, settled in Norwich, 1636, and died there October 19th, 1682.

one built in William II.'s time), this is now called Dove Street, on the side of the extensive premises of Messrs. Chamberlin, in the Market Place.



THE JEWISH QUARTER, NORWICH.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Afterwards, the Star Inn | 4 Curial's House, |
| 2 Dr. Homan's House, | now, Messrs Back & Co. |
| 3 Afterwards, the Star Yard, | 5 Now, Little Orford Street. |
| now, Green's Shop | |

I have come across a very curious and highly interesting corroboration of the fact mentioned before with regard to the manner in which the house formerly belonging to Elias, the Jew, changed hands, and came into the possession of Jeffery de Bungeye. In his Gleanings

among *Castles and Convents* of Norfolk, on page 132, Harrod reproduces a most important entry of the 22nd Edward I., which runs thus :

“ Peter de Bumpstede and Katherine his wife, conveyed to Nigel de Foxlee, merchant, the mediety of a house the said Peter had built upon land acquired of our Lord and King, some time of Elias, the son of Elias the Jew, between the entry to the Jews’ school in St. Peter Mancroft. the land of Geoffrey de Bungay, north ; Richard le Boteman, south ; the King’s Market, west, and also the piece of land to the east of it, formerly of the same Elias, extending in length from the said house to the cockey,¹ and in breadth from land which was the orchard of the Jews’ school, south, to the house of the said Geoffrey de Bungay.”

We have further references to the Norwich Jewry in what are technically called the Court Leet Rolls, which are still extant. In the Leet Roll of 128 $\frac{2}{3}$, as reproduced in the publications of the Seldou Society (Vol. V., p. 10), there is the following statement : “ They say also that John de Sculthorpe’s daughter stole by night, at Hugh de Caister’s house, a bucket and cord, and [? was going to] put them in the Jewry, and Ralph Bird and Luke de Brune met her going towards the Jewry and seized the cord and bucket out of her hands, and kept them in their possession until Hugh de Caister gave them threepence, and they said they found them in the Jewry, pawned there.” On page 28 of the same publication, we read of the fining “ of John the Pasty-maker because he has sold meat which the Jews call trefa.” We must understand that the offence was that the Christian had sold to Christians meat which the Jews did not consider fit for food according to their prescriptions. My friend, Mr. M. D. Davis (the pioneer and indefatigable explorer of this field of history amongst us) some time ago drew attention to a similar entry in the Leet Roll, which translated from the Latin runs thus : “ Leet of Conisford,² Berstreete, 1286 : The capital pledges declare that Roger of Lakenham has sold Jewish

¹ This word means “ stream,” the great “ cokeye ” ran along the back of the Jewry. In the Hebrew deeds the word appears transliterated and is reproduced thus :—שקורין קוקייה or הביב הנקרא קוקייה or simply קוקייה. Sometimes the word זרם is added.

² = Königsford, or road, the present King Street. In Shtar 63, p. 171, Volume by M. D. Davis, 1888, there is a signature מנישה מקוניפורט for Berstreete, *vide* Shtar, 46, p. 112, and 53, p. 136.

meat, namely, Tripha.”¹ In referring to Mr. Davis, I trust I may be pardoned if I make a slight digression in order to express the hope that this Society will not fail to avail itself of the vast store of materials, as yet unpublished, which he, during years of patient research, has collected. It is quite possible that, in their light, quite a different complexion will be given to points which, during the last few years, have been considered as determined and settled.

In his Volume of *Hebrew Deeds* of English Jews before 1280 (one of the publications of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition) I find several references to the *Synagogue* of the Jewry of Norwich, to such *streets* as Mancroft, Sadlegate, and to such *personages* as I have referred to, viz., Elias and Ursell. (For Synagogue, Shtar, 16, 40, 47, 56; for Ursell b. Isaac, 64, 89—called Le Eveske). Elias is mentioned in Shtar 46 and 53, and his son Elias in Shtar 63, 64, 68, and 89. Elias the elder is generally styled כוכב, “the Star”; and as the “Star Inn” to which Blomefield refers is a very ancient hostelry, the question arises: Did the Inn receive its name from Elias “the Star,” on the site of whose house this Inn was afterwards erected? Secondly, is this Elias Cochab the same as Elias fil’ Solomon (Shtar 3, 9, 10, 72), who, according to Zunz (*Z. G. u. L.*, p. 49), was learned in astronomy? If so, the alias Cochab, “Star” is not inappropriate.

After what I have said before, it would seem scarcely necessary to adduce further evidence in support of the topography of the ancient Jewry of Norwich. Yet, however little further evidence is to be derived from the fact, I do not think that I should omit to refer to some remarkable underground vaulted passages still existing within the limits we have indicated above. They are under the premises of Messrs. Back, wine merchants, of the Haymarket, the present owners of what is known locally as Curat’s House. And here permit me to take the opportunity of expressing my warm thanks to Messrs. Back, father and son, for their courtesy in allowing me to inspect these vaults on their premises, and for their general kindness in affording me the information I sought. The messuage of Messrs. Back has quite a history of its own. It has been in the family of the present owner for

¹ Mr. Davis informs me that a person named John Bibol was fined about the same time in Hereford for a similar offence.

seven generations, having previously been in the Downing family, the property having originally belonged to John Curat about the middle of the 15th century. It seems that, after the expulsion of the Jews in 1286, King Edward I. handed over the site of the Jewry to the Commonalty or Corporation of the City of Norwich, from whom John Curat bought a site, upon which he built his house about 1460. This beautiful antique house still exists, and is occupied as a dwelling-house by Mr. Back, Junr. As regards the vaulted passages beneath the business part of the premises, the kind of brick and the style of the arches have long led antiquarians to believe that the cellars are remains of the former Jewry—in other words, that they existed in the time of the old Jewry. Some even go so far as to suppose them to be the remains of the Synagogue of the Jews of Norwich before their expulsion.

I ought in fairness to say that, in the course of conversation, the Rev. Mr. Hudson, of Norwich, expressed to me his opinion that these vaulted cellars, of which there are others in Norwich, were used for domestic and not for religious purposes; he thinks them scarcely earlier than the 14th century, and as the Jews were banished at the end of the 13th century, those in question attached to Curat's house cannot be the remains of the ancient Jewry. But I have another bit of information supplied to me by my friend, Mr. Philip Edward Back, which I should also not withhold, and that is, that at the end of last year, between my first and second visit, in digging out and enlarging their cellars, the present owners came not only upon a former crypt composed of similar arches, but also found quantities of pottery, probably Norman, in the rubbish that filled up the said crypt, amongst which was an earthenware jug, the design of which will probably fix its date at about 1250. I understand that there was a further important find on the floor of this crypt, viz., a layer of charcoal some four inches in thickness. If it be not unreasonable to conjecture from this layer of charcoal that the buildings which once existed over the same were destroyed by fire, then we have just come into possession of a remarkable confirmation of Blomefield's statement which we quoted before, to the effect that the whole Jewry, including the synagogue, was burnt down and quite destroyed. But to whatever opinion we may incline, whether we believe that the crypts themselves, the remains of which we see to-day, formed part of the ancient Jewry, and that, in spite of sub-

sequent building operations, these old foundations were not demolished, or whether we hold that the crypts are a century or two later (for that is all that can be argued against the former supposition), one thing is beyond the shadow of a doubt, namely, that the site in the Haymarket of Norwich, upon which these particular vaults stand, belonged, as we hope we have shown, to the Jewish Quarter before the expulsion of the Jews in the reign of Edward I. To enable you to have a view of them I have supplied myself with a photographic illustration, which I will now pass round for your inspection.

Time will not permit me to take you on a further excursion in East Anglia, to such places as Yarmouth, King's Lynn, Colchester, and Clare, though the names and antiquities connected with them have an unbounded interest for the study of early Anglo-Jewish history.

Lord Bacon, in his "Advancement of Learning," remarks : "Antiquities are history defaced, or remnants that have escaped the shipwreck of time, . . . wrecks of history wherein the memory of things is almost lost ; or such particulars as industrious persons, with exact and scrupulous diligence can anyway collect from genealogies . . . inscriptions . . . traditions . . . fragments of private and public history, etc., by which means something is recovered from the deluge of time. . . . In this imperfect history no deficiency need be noted, it being of its own nature imperfect." I have quoted this passage for the purpose of emphasising the statement which I now make : that I advisedly did not style my paper "Jews of East Anglia," because I was fully conscious of my own imperfections to deal with so vast and intricate a subject, and because I did not wish to give the impression that I intended it as a learned lecture. I intended it simply as a fairly popular description of a few days' ramble, spent in the desire to pick up a few pebbles of information among objects of no little interest, not alone to members of a Jewish Historical Society, but to members of the Jewish people in general. Nothing was further from my thoughts than the intention to compete in this department of enquiry with such men as Mr. M. D. Davis, Mr. Joseph Jacobs and Mr. Lucien Wolf ; nevertheless, I shall be pleased if, in the attempt to do my duty, I have succeeded in touching the historic sense of my audience, and evoking a stronger interest in the preservation of the disused burial-grounds of more modern times, or of the two or three

historic edifices which are yet left to us as monuments of our presence here in mediæval times, so that they may in future be placed beyond the possibility of ultimate demolition and destruction.

Why, for example, I ask in conclusion, should there not exist sufficient public spirit among the Jews of Great Britain of to-day to purchase and thus reclaim as their property, before it be too late, the handful of unique relics of Jewish interest extant in this country of the Pre-Expulsion period?

I shall be doubly pleased if, incidentally, I have been able to afford some slight entertainment or even instruction during the better part of an hour, to the members of this society and their friends, assembled on a Sunday evening in the Hall kindly lent for the purposes of these meetings by the Maccabæans.

For kind permission to use the blocks of the illustrations occurring in this paper, we are indebted to the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, to whom we offer our best thanks.

APPENDIX I.

The endorsements on the remaining nine are as follows :—

27 Sep. 1764.
Mr. Robert King } Lease for
to } year.
Mr. John Rogers }

28 September, 1764.
Mr. Robert King } Release.
to }
Mr. John Rogers }

25 Aug. 1778.
Mr. Rogers
to
Mr. Cornwell.
Attested Copy of Mortgage.

12 March, 1788.
Mrs. Anna Rogers
to
Mr. Emerson Cornwell.
Attested Copy of Release of Equity
of Redemption.

1794.
Mr. B. Blasby } Agreement.
to }
Mr. Hyam. }

Dated 1796.
Emerson Cornwell, Esq.
to
Mr. Wm. Hammond.
Attested Copy of Lease for a year.

1796.
Messrs. Cornwell & } Attested
Alexander } Copy of
to } Bond of
Mr. Blasby. } Indemnity.

Dated 14 April, 1796.
Emerson Cornwell, Esq.
to
Mr. Benjn. Blasby, Trustee.
Attested Copy of Release and Assign-
ment.

Dated the 3rd April, 1841.
Mr. Israel Abraham & } Appointment
others } of new
to } Trustees
Harris Isaacs & others. }

APPENDIX II.

Full texts of the Indentures endorsed :—27th Sept. 1764 (A) ;
1796, Lease for 999 years (B) ; 3rd April, 1841 (C) :—

A.

This Indenture made the twenty seventh day of September in the fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain in France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, etc. And

in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty four *Between* Robert King of Ipswich in the county of Suffolk—perukemaker of the one part and John Rogers of the same place Gentleman, of the other part *Witnesseth* that he the said Robert King in consideration of five shillings of Lawful money of Great Britain to him in hand paid by the said John Rogers at or before the Ensealing heroo of the Receipt wheroof is hereby acknowledged *Hath* Bargained, Sold, Demised and to farm Letten and by these presents *Doth* bargain, Sell, Demise and to farm Lett unto the said John Rogers *All* that part or parcell of Land lately inclosed with a Brick Wall situate lying and being in the parish of St. Clement in Ipswich - - - aforesaid containing in *Length* by the Rule fifty foot and in Breadth thirty-six foot and abutt upon a Garden belonging to the Estate of John Clarke Ironmonger on the part of the West a Message or Tenement of the said Robert - - - King now unoccupied in part and a way leading thereto on the part of the East a Garden of John Gravenor Gentleman now in the occupation of Miles Rudland Surgeon on the part of the North and a way leading to the said Garden of the said John Clarke on the part of the South. *And* the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders thereof *To Have and to Hold*, the said peice (*sic*) of Inclosed Ground with the appurtenances unto the said John Rogers, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns from the Day next before the Day of the Date of these presents for and during and unto the full End and Term or one whole year from the . . . next Ensueing and fully to be compleat and Ended *Yielding and Paying* therefore unto the said Robert King, his heirs, and assigns the rent of one pepper corn if the same shall be lawfully demanded *To* the intent that by Virtue of these presents and of the Statute for transferring Uses into possession the said John Rogers may be in the actual possession of all and every the said premises and thereby be the better enabled to accept and take a Grant, Release and confirmation of the Reversion and Inheritance thereof to such uses and purposes as in such Release shall be declared Limited or appointed. *In Witness* whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto - - - interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year first above written.

ROBERT O KING.

B.

This Indenture made the Sixth day of May In the Thirty sixth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, By the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth, And in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven Hundred and Ninety six, *Between* Benjamin Blasby of Ipswich in the County of Suffolk Bricklayer of the one part and Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyem Hyems, Ansell Ansell of Ipswich aforesaid Artificers and Jews Levi Alexander and Samuel Levi of Colchester in the County of Essex Artificer Trustees for and on the Behalf of the

Society or Meetings of Jews at Ipswich aforesaid of the other part. *Witnesseth* that in consideration of the Sum of Twenty Eight pounds of Lawful Money of Great Britain in hand well and truly paid by the said Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyem Hyems, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander to the said Benjamin Blasby at or before the Sealings and delivery of these presents The Receipt whereof he the said Benjamin Blasby doth hereby acknowledge. He the said Benjamin Blasby Hath demised leased and to farm letten or and by these presents *Doth* demise lease and to farm lett unto the said Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyem Hyems, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander and their successors for the time being *All That* piece or parcel of Land Inclosed with a Brick Wall situate lying and being in the Parish of St. Clement in Ipswich aforesaid containing in length by the Rule fifty feet and in Breadth Thirty Six feet now or late in the Occupation of Simon Hyem and others all Ways Passages priviledges and Appurtenances to the same Belonging or Appertaining. *And* the Reversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders Rents Issues and profits thereof and of every part and parcel thereof *To Have and to Hold* the said piece or parcel of Land Hereditaments and premises unto the said Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyem Hyems, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander and their Successors for the

time being from the day next before the day of the date hereof for the full End and Term of Nine Hundred and ninety nine years from thence next ensuing and fully to be compleat and ended *Yielding and Paying* therefore yearly and every year during the said Term the Rent of one pepper corn upon the ffeast day of Saint Michael the Archangel if the same shall be Lawfully demanded. Nevertheless upon the Trusts and to and for the intents and purposes and subject to the powers provisoes and Declarations herein after declared of and concerning the same (that is to say) In Trust for the Benefit of the said Society of Jews at Ipswich aforesaid and to appropriate the same as a Burying place for the members of the said Society for the time being and other the purposes of the same Society as the Major part in number of the Trustees of the said Society for the time being shall direct or appoint. *Provided* always and it is herein declared and agreed that as often as the said Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyem Hyems, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander or the future Trustees of the said Society shall by death absence or otherwise be reduced to the number of three acting Trustees resident in Ipswich or the neighbourhood thereof it shall and may be Lawful to and for members of the said Society or meeting of Jews at Ipswich aforesaid for the time being at a meeting to be held for that purpose to nominate substitute and appoint any other person or persons (members of the said Society) to be Trustees in the place and stead of the said present or any succeeding or other Trustee or Trustees who shall die or go to reside out of the neighbourhood of Ipswich aforesaid. And that every such New Trustee or Trustees shall and may in all things lett and assist in the management carrying on and Execution of the

Trusts to which he or they shall be so appointed as fully and Effectually to all intents and purposes as if he or they had been Originally by these presents named a Trustee or Trustees. *And* the said Benjamin Blasby doth hereby for himself his heirs Executors Administrators and Assignes covenant promise and agree to and with the said Simon Hyem, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyem Hyems, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander and their Successors for the time being that they shall and may peaceably and quietly have hold use occupy possess and enjoy the said piece or parcel of Land with the Appurtenances and receive the Rents Issues and profits thereof during the said Term hereby demised without any Eviction Molestation or Interruption of him the said Benjamin Blasby his Heirs or Assignes or any other persons Claiming or to Claim By or from or under him them or any of them.

In Witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

BENJAMIN	○	BLASBY.			
				of	
				The X	○ Mark
SIMON	○	HYAM.		JOSEPH	LEVI.
LEVI ALEXANDER	○	LEVY.		HYAM	○ HYAM.
				SAMUEL	○ LEVI.
				The X of	○ Mark.
The of X	○	Mark		LAZARUS	LEVI.
ISRAEL		ABRAHAM			

C.

This Indenture made the third day of April in the year One thousand eight hundred and fortyone Between Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi and Hyam Hyams all of Ipswich in the county of Suffolk Artificers and Jews (surviving trustees for and on behalf of the Society or Meeting of Jews at Ipswich aforesaid and also Harris Isaacs (Rabbi of the said Society) and Samuel Samuel, Michael Levi and Moss Moses of Ipswich aforesaid Artificers and Jews Members of the said Society) of the one part and the said Michael Levi, Moses Levi, Samuel Samuel, Moss Moses, Lawrence Hyam, the said Harris Isaacs, Abraham Asher Levi, Moses Samuel, Moses Hyam, Wolf Samuel, Isaac Levi, the elder, Isaac Levi, the younger, Lewis Samuel, Samuel Samuel, the younger, Mier Levi, Simon Hyman, David Ansell and Philip Moses all of Ipswich aforesaid Artificers and Jews (Members of the said Society) of the other part Whereas by Indenture bearing date the sixth day of May One thousand seven hundred and ninetysix and made between Benjamin Blasby then of Ipswich aforesaid Bricklayer of the one part and Simon Hyam, Lazarus Levi, the said Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi and Hyam Hyams and also Ansell Ansell then of Ipswich aforesaid Artificers and Jews and Levi Alexander and Samuel Levi (therein described to be Trustees for and on behalf of the said Society or Meeting of Jews at Ipswich aforesaid) of the other part. *It is witnessed* that in consideration of the sum of thirty eight pounds

paid by the said Simon Hyam, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyam Hyams, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander to the said Benjamin Blasby He the said Benjamin Blasby did devise and lease unto the said Simon Hyam, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyam Hyams, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander and their successors for the time being *All that* piece or parcel of land inclosed with a brick wall situate lying and being in the parish of St. Clement in Ipswich aforesaid containing in length by the rule fifty feet and in breadth thirty six feet then or then late in the occupation of Simon Hyman and others and all ways paths passages privileges and appurtenances to the same belonging or appertaining To hold the said piece or parcel of Land Hereditaments and Premises unto the said Simon Hyam, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyam Hyams, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander and their successors for the time being from the date of the now reciting Indenture for the term of Nine hundred and ninety nine years thence next ensuing at a pepper corn rent Upon the Trusts and for the Intents and purposes and subject to the powers provisoes and declarations thereafter declared of the same (that is to say) In trust for the benefit of the said Society of Jews at Ipswich aforesaid and to appropriate the same as a Burying place for the Members of the said Society for the time being and other the purposes of the same Society as the major part in number of the Trustees of the said Society for the time being should direct or appoint In which said Indenture is contained a proviso whereby it is provided declared and agreed that as often as the said Simon Hyam, Lazarus Levi, Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, Hyam Hyams, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander or the future Trustees of the said Society should by death absence or otherwise be reduced to the number of three acting Trustees resident in Ipswich or the neighbourhood thereof it should be lawful for the members of the said Society or Meeting of Jews at Ipswich aforesaid for the time being at a Meeting to be held for that purpose to nominate substitute and appoint any other person or persons (Members of the said Society) to be Trustees in the place and stead of the then present or any succeeding or other Trustee or Trustees who should die or go to reside out of the neighbourhood of Ipswich aforesaid and that every such new Trustee or Trustees should in all things act and assist in the management carrying on and the execution of the Trusts to which he or they should be so appointed as fully and effectively to all intents and purposes as if he or they had been originally by the now reciting Indenture named a Trustee or Trustees *And Whereas* the said Simon Hyam, Lazarus Levi, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander have severally departed this life leaving the said Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi and Hyam Hyams them surviving *And Whereas* a Meeting of the Members of the said Society was this day held in pursuance of the power contained in the hereinbefore recited Indenture for the purpose of appointing New Trustees in the place and stead of the said several Trustees who have departed this life Now this *Indenture Witnesseth* that by virtue and in pursuance and performance of the power of authority to them reserved or given by the hereinbefore recited Inden-

ture and of every other power or authority enabling them in that behalf they the said Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi and Hyam Hyams (as such surviving Trustees as aforesaid) and also Harris Isaacs, Samuel Samuel, Michael Levi and Moss Moses (Members of the said Society and present at the said Meeting) Have nominated substituted and appointed and by these presents *Do* nominate substitute and appoint the said Michael Levi, Moses Levi, Moses Samuel, Samuel Samuel, the elder, Moss Moses, Lawrance Hyam, Harris Isaacs, Abraham Asher Levi, Wolf Samuel, Moses Hyam, Samuel Samuel, the younger, Isaac Levi, the elder, Isaac Levi, the younger, Lewis Samuel, Mier Levi, Simon Hyam, David Ansell and Philip Moses to be Trustees in the place and stead of the said Simon Hyam, Lazarus Levi, Ansell Ansell, Samuel Levi and Levi Alexander, who have severally departed this life to act with the said Israel Abraham, Joseph Levi, and Hyam Hyams in the Trusts mentioned and declared in and by the said herebefore recited Indenture. *In Witness* whereof the said parties to those presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

	ישראל ○ בר אברהם	MOSES ○ HYAM.
The Mark of X	○ JOSEPH LEVI.	SIMON ○ HYAM.
The Mark and Signature of	○ HYAM HYAM	MOSES ○ LEVY.
בן מהורר יצחק ז"ן H. ○ ISAACS	צבי הירש	ISAAC ○ LEVI.
	SAML. ○ SAMUEL.	

APPENDIX III.

JEWISH CEMETERY, ST. CLEMENT'S, IPSWICH.

Roughly speaking, the following are the particulars gathered from the inscriptions on those Tombstones which are at all legible. There are eight rows of Tombstones. Counting from the top of the Cemetery, and beginning from the right hand—

In Row I., on Stone 3, we read the words :	שנת תקנה
” ” 5, ” ”	שמואל בר משולם שנת תקסד
” ” 7, ” ”	אישה עליה אל האלהים • • • • • תקסח or תקסה
” II., ” 1, ” ”	ומשה אהרן • • • • • משה בן
	נפטרי יום ו' ע"ש'ק שושן פורים
	March 13th, 5606.
” ” 2, ” ”	Elizabeth Rebecca, daughter of Moses Levi of Ipswich.
	May 20—5609.
” ” 3, ” ”	Morris Levy, son of Lazarus Levy of London.
	Died Jany. 8th, 5610, aged 32.

In Row III., on Stone 1, we read the words :

					ויעל אליהו בסערה השמים הילד אליהו ברי אשר נפטר ביום ד' ערב פסח ונקבר למחרתו ביום ה' א' דפסה בשנת תקסו Aged 22 months.
"	"	3,	"	"	Levi Alexander, late of Colchester, D. Feb. 10th, 5571. Aged 63 years.
"	"	5.	"	"	איש נדוב הלך בתמים מעשיו היו באמונה שלמים כ' יעקב אברהם אשר בה' מאיר הלוי עם החיים וחמתים גמל חסד ואמת שנת תקעד
"	"	6,	"	"	אשה שרה בריינה בת יוסף (?) הלוי
"	IV.	"	1,	"	רחל בת שמחה בשנת קול ברמה נשמע רחל מבקה (sic) על בניה Aged 64 years.
"	"	3,	"	"	איש ישר יוחנן בר יעקב יהודא תקפד Aet. 23.
"	"	4,	"	"	Aged 83 years.
"	"	5,	"	"	Aged 76 years.
"	V.	"	2,	"	מקאלשעסטר
"	VI.	"	1,	"	יעקב ברי יצחק הלוי I. M. of Jacob Levy of Harwich, Died Aug. 6th, 1829 Aged 57 years.
"	"	3,	"	"	שנת תקצ"א
"	"	4,	"	"	Rachel, relict of Jacob Levy, late of Harwich.
"	"	5,	"	"	תקצ"א איש נדיב הלך בתמים ה"ה אליעזר ברי יצחק הלוי תקצ"ב Aged 86 years.

In Row VII., on Stone 1, we read the words :

					Joseph Hyam, beloved son of Hannah and H. Hyam of Colchester. D. 5597. Aged 45 years.
"	"	2,	"	"	אשר אנשיל ב"ה משה תקצד or תקצה 77 years old.
"	"	3,	"	"	איש וקן ושבע ימים ישראל בר' אברהם Israel Abraham. Obit 12 Feb. 5602. Aged 86 years.
"	VIII.	"	1,	"	Julia, daughter of Lawrence and Caroline Hyam of Bury. D. May 30th, 5600. Aged 5 years and one month.
"	"	2,	"	"	I. M. of Rachel, beloved daughter of Lawrence and Caroline Hyam of Bury. D. June 19—5600. Aged 3 years and 4 months.

HEBREW ELEGIES ON ENGLISH MONARCHS.

A PAPER

By ELKAN N. ADLER, M.A.

LESS than half-a-century after their restoration to England,¹ the Jews had become thoroughly English, even as chauvinistically so, as the most loyal of their fellow-citizens. It is accordingly not surprising to find that when Queen Mary died, the Jews mourned her tragic end very sincerely and very deeply. Everybody remembers the fine passage in Macaulay's *History* in which her fatal illness is described, the heroism with which she received the intimation of her danger—how she “gave orders that every lady of her bedchamber, every maid of honour, nay, every menial servant, who had not had the small-pox, should instantly leave Kensington House,” and how when she died “her virtues were celebrated in almost every parish church of the capital, and in almost every great meeting of Nonconformists.” Among these last, though the historian does not say so, the Jews were evidently included, if we are to believe the little manuscript which I have the honour to submit to your notice. This contains two elegies on the death of Queen Mary, in 1694; one on that of William III., in 1702; and one, in 1700, on that of the young Duke of Gloucester, the son of Queen Anne, and heir to the throne, failing whom the succession has passed to the reigning House of Hanover.

¹ The date assigned by I. Nieto for the return of the Jews to England is given as 5410 (1650) in the chronological table appended to his *Orden de las Oraciones de Ros-Ashanah y Kipur nuevamente traduzidas per I. Nieto*. [Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica, 1513.]

The following is the Hebrew text with the author's introduction:—

קינה מרה

אם תבעיון בעיו מי האיש הלזה :
 המחבר את ספר הקינה הזה :
 לכו חזו כי מילדי העברים זה :
 נשא את קולו באבל כבד זה :

וזה שמו אשר יקראו לו יוסף בן יעקב אֶפְנֵי דָאֵנֹן מלמד תינוקות
 היהודים בעיר המלוכה לוֹנְדֹן מן הגולה של בִּילוֹגְרָאדוּ :

קינה פשוטה מעשרה הנועות בלי יתד

1. מֶלֶךְ כֹּל הָאָרֶץ הַכֹּל יוֹצֵר

הוא ממית ומחיה צדיק דינו
 ללקוט שושנה ירד תוך גנו
 גזר אומר ותסגר מְרִים

2. מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם שָׁאֵל מִי בַחֲצֵר

נשאת חן היא האבן הראשה
 אף היא תשיב אנכי האשה
 צדקה נפשה ותמת שם מְרִים

3. מֶלֶךְ מִשְׁפֵּט אַהֲבַת כֶּרֶת נֹצֵר

נפן הוד המלכה נזר בעלה
 על זאת ירים כל איש קול ביללה
 ילבוש קדרות יום האסף מְרִים

4. מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד הוּא חֶסֶד נוֹצֵר

ישלח תנחומי מלך על אשתו
 ירום הודו תינשא מלכותו
 ובגן ערן חלקה תקח מְרִים

יקינה מרה—"A BITTER DIRGE."

If you perchance should ask,
Of whom this mournful task:
Behold an Hebrew born,
I that so sorely mourn.

And the name by which they call me is JOSEPH BEN JACOB ABENDANON, an exile from Belgrade, and presently teacher of little children in the royal city of London.

A DIRGE.

The King, whose word creation fills,
He spake, who makes alive and kills,
"A lily from my garden take,
Bring Miriam from the camp," He spake.

Groping, O Lord, in sunless night,
Who findeth favour in Thy sight?
"Miriam, Thine handmaid," she replies,
Her righteous soul gives up and dies.

The King of kings His vine cuts down,
Our Queen, her husband's fitting crown,
Wherefore we all lamenting cry
"Miriam, our Queen, must Miriam die?"

Oh King of Glory, mercy's Lord!
Comfort our king, bereft, alone,
Exalt his kingdom, raise his throne,
In Eden, Miriam! thy reward!

In an attempt to render into English the former of the two elegies, it is difficult to retain the two leading ideas of the original—the antithesis between God, the King of kings, and the earthly king, and the allusion to the Queen's Biblical namesake—Miriam—and especially to the episode of her plague and consequent seclusion from the camp of Israel. The comparison, though unflattering, especially in the ears of those unacquainted with the sweet character ascribed to Miriam by the Midrash, is not inappropriate. But it must be confessed that it savours of the Jacobin impoliteness which saw in the date and details of the Queen's death a judgment on her for her unfilial conduct to her father, James the Second.

¹ "Kinah *Mara*," an obvious pun on the Queen's name—feeble enough, I am afraid, to be not uncharacteristic of the author.

A colophon to the elegy states that the Queen died on Thursday night, the 20th Tebeth, and was buried on Tuesday, the 28th Adar. So great an interval would seem unlikely, but the accuracy of the MS. is confirmed by Macaulay, who says that she died in Christmas week, and was buried with much pomp the first week in March.

The elegy on the death of William III. is more commonplace, but the prominence the author gives to the King's justice, tolerance, and wisdom, is not unstatesmanlike. It almost seems as though the author had read Milton and profited by his reading. The Hebrew original runs thus :—

קִינָה עַל מִיתַת הַמֶּלֶךְ גּוֹלְיָאֵלְמוּשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי

1. עַל הַהֲרִים אִשָּׁא בְּכִי בַקּוֹל כְּעֵרָה וְסוֹפָה
עַל מוֹת מֶלֶךְ גָּדוֹל וְרַם לְכָל מַלְכֵי אִי־אֹרֻזָּה
שְׁמוֹ נוֹדַע בְּכָל קְצוּי עוֹלָם מִסּוֹפּוֹ עַד רֵאשׁוֹ
גְּבוּרָתוֹ וְחֲכָמָתוֹ נִתְּנָה בּוֹ מֵאֵל עוֹשׂוֹ :
2. אִישׁ מִלְחָמוֹת גַּם אִישׁ שְׁלוֹם וְדוֹבֵר אֱמֶת בְּלִבּוֹ
אִישׁ מְצַלִּיחַ בְּעֲצוֹתָיו וִירֵאת שְׂרֵי בִקְרָבוֹ
אֲשֶׁר נִפְשׁוֹ בְּכַפּוֹ שֵׁם לְהַצִּיל עַמּוֹ מִצְרֵי
הַשֵּׁם אוֹיְבָיו תַּחַת רַגְלָיו לְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת מִבְּצָרָיו :
3. הוּא לֹא שִׁקְטָ וְגַם לֹא נָח בְּלִכְתּוֹ וּשְׁכָבוֹ וּבְקוֹמוֹ
לְהִתְקַשֵּׁר עִם אוֹהָבָיו לְדְרוֹשׁ הַטּוֹב לְכָל עַמּוֹ
כָּל מַחְסָהוּ בְּאֵלֵדִים שֵׁם וּבְכָל הוּא הִיָּה אֶתוֹ
כִּי בּוֹ בְּטַח וְבוֹ סִמֵּךְ בְּכָל יְמָיו עַד בֵּא עֵתוֹ :
4. אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא לְהִתְעַנֵּג בַּחֲצֵר גַּת הַבַּיִת
עִם חֲסִידֵי הַמְּלָכִים וְלוֹ בְּרֵאשׁ חֵלֶק נִיתַן
נִפְשׁוֹ בְּטוֹב תְּלִין לְעַד וְהֵלֶךְ לִפְנֵי צַדִּיקוֹ
יְבֵא שְׁלוֹם יֵאמְרוּ לוֹ וְיִתְעַדָּן כְּפִי חִשְׁקוֹ :

5. והמלכה הנסוכה תאריך ימים בעטרה
 לראות בנים ובני בנים לשם גדול ולתפארה
 והיא תגל בכל עמה והמה ישישו עמה
 יציצו יפרחו בטוב ועל טוב יזכר שמה :

It may be rendered thus :—

AN ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM THE THIRD.

O'er hills our voice we raised in weeping sore,
 As great King William to the grave we bore,
 His glorious name throughout the world is known,
 His might and wisdom were from God alone.

Warlike, yet peaceful, truth he ever spake ;
 Godfearing, wise, the counsels he did take.
 To save his people dear, his life he gave,
 But crushed his enemies our forts to save.

Unresting, watchful, day by day they stood,
 His friends, in council for his people's good.
 With God he ever walked ; on Him his stay,
 In Him confiding, trusting, till his day.

Now he is summon'd, Paradise to grace,
 'Mid virtuous monarchs, his the foremost place,
 Whose peaceful soul goes righteousness before.
 May true delights be his for evermore !

The Queen—To glory great exalt our Queen,
 And children's children let by her be seen !
 May she with England be by joy caress'd,
 United, prospering, their mem'ry blest.

Through the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. Gaster, I have been able to consult what is apparently an autograph work of Abendanon, the author of all these Elegies. It is called *ספר שלשה שרינים*, "The Book of the Three Vine Branches." Dr. Gaster's MS. was written in Amsterdam early in 1690, but writing inside the cover shows that it came to London soon after,—"*Este libro es de Joseph Abendanon en Bde Hesvanano Londres garde Deos 5454*" (*i.e.*, 1703). The cover also contains the names of Samuel Moses Refael Farini and

Joseph Sarphati "Alhaze" and "Sulima," and "Moses Abendanon Dos La Hagasa."

The preface to the book gives an account of Abendanon's wanderings from Belgrade to Nicolsburg, Bohemia, and thence to Kremsyr, Prague and Amsterdam. His grandfather was Rabbi of Belgrade, and his master, R. Joseph ben R. Isaac Almosnino from Jerusalem, in whose house he lived many years, and for whom he wrote out Rabbinical Responsa (ש"ו"ת) and a work ערות ביהוסף, which was much appreciated by the learned of Constantinople, Salonica, and Jerusalem. At the siege of Belgrade, in 1688, "when the Lord overthrew the city," Almosnino lost almost all his books, and most of his own compositions were burnt. He migrated to Nicolsburg, and Abendanon went with him; and when his master died, the poor man and his wife and their only child Moses were homeless. They managed to get away to Kremsyr, and after ten months' wandering, supported by the benevolent as they went, they reached Prague, where they enjoyed hospitality and honour for four months, and were so well sped on their way that they were able to get to Amsterdam without breaking their journey. In that mighty city Abendanon finds favour in the eyes of the rich and those learned in the law, especially one man, Joseph ben Nathaniel Sarphati (from a descendant of whom the Sarphati Straat takes its name). To Sarphati he told the tit-bits and "gleich wörtelich" of his Rebbe, and his conversation would seem to have pleased his patron, to judge by the smug and comfortable and almost dainty manner in which Abendanon was able to write a book in his house. For the rest, the book does not seem to me to possess much literary merit. The composition is full of verbosity and euphuism, especially the endless preface. It abounds in Scriptural tags twisted into feeble puns or extended into pompous parables. The work dilates on the beauties of the Oral Law, and is in some sort a history of Hebrew literature. It is not altogether unscientific, for it questions the identity of Kalir with the Tannai R. Eliezer ben R. Simeon. Several anecdotes about the later ראשונים are given, and R. Moses Isserles seems to be the latest authority mentioned. The על שגינות are preceded by a formidable list of errata (על שגינות) to apparently the Amsterdam edition of Maimonides יד החוקה. These errata were written in 1673. A second copy of the על שגינות would seem to have been in the Goldsmid library, but Sir Julian

Goldsmid tells me that he has not now got it. I have to-night ascertained that it was sold with the books at St. John's Lodge some years since, and is now in the possession of Mr. Asher I. Myers.¹ Abendanon would seem to have come to London towards the end of the 17th century, and to have become a Melammed with perhaps a Cheder of his own, just as a Russian refugee, who was a Hebraist, and little more, might do in our own time. Mr. Lucien Wolf informs me that he has frequently come across the name of Abendanon in contemporary wills as the recipient of small legacies from grateful English parents.

So much for Abendanon. But curiously enough the scribe, the copyist of his poems, is, in this instance, a much more interesting personality than the author himself. The little book of "collectanea," from which I have extracted two poems, was written by Solomon, the son of Isaac da Costa Athias (עטיאיש), in London, in 1717, in the month of Adar.¹ He was then a bachelor, for he styles himself בַּהוֹר, but in another MS., very much like that from which I quote, Athias tells us that his eldest son Isaac was born on כסליו ר"ה, 1718, so that he must have been trembling on the brink of matrimony when he wrote it. Anyhow, he seems to have been a slow but careful writer with some amount of self-consciousness, for in each of our little MSS. he signs his name at least three times. His brother, Samson da Costa Athias, lived in Amsterdam, and was by way of being a poet, for he wrote a very pretty acrostic to celebrate the birth of his nephew, little Isaac da Costa. Solomon da Costa Athias, or rather Solomon da Costa, for he apparently dropped the surname Athias, preserved his taste for Hebrew literature a long time, for more than forty years after he wrote these little manuscripts, we find him, in the same neat minuscular handwriting, pen a very pretty dedicatory letter to the Trustees of the British Museum, to whom in 1759, the year of its opening, he presented a collection of three Hebrew MSS. and 180 printed books which formed the nucleus of the magnificent Hebrew Library at Bloomsbury.² These books Da Costa catalogued in Hebrew and English, and the original autographs in

¹ Mr. Myers' copy of the שלשה שרינים is also in the handwriting of Isaac da Costa Athias.

² Vide Introduction to Zedner's Catalogue and the 6d. Museum Handbook.

duplicate are bound up in one volume. Mr. Margoliouth, the last of the Catalogists, as Da Costa was the first, preserves them in his room with great care and reverence. In his Dedicatory Epistle, Da Costa tells how that his father had come to England from Amsterdam a refugee from Spain, and that for four-and-fifty years he himself had lived in this great city of London without let or hindrance, without fear or trembling. He extols England's magnificent tolerance to the Jews, and begs the nation to accept his thanksgiving offering. The books, he says, had belonged to King Charles II., and had been bought by him in his youth, and now on the 5th of Sivan, 5519, he gives them to the British nation. I gather that the donor was not a native Englishman, as he says he was only 54 years here. If born in 1705, he could hardly have had a son in 1719. Still he must have been an infant when his father brought him over from Amsterdam, for his handwriting in 1759 is too firm for an old man. He is stated to have been a merchant, and his literary tastes, though remarkably good, were not too good for a business man. I daresay he would have been eligible as a Maccabæan, but your worthy President will doubtless be able to supplement the scant information about him which I have been able to give you.

The two little manuscripts I have brought to your notice are full of tit-bits, poems, riddles, epitaphs, &c., which are of interest—especially some of the family and occasional poems about the Nietos, the Seniors, the Perez, &c., and an Attack upon Ashkenazi "Chazones," an ultra loyal Prayer for the Royal Family, and so on. They were both presented to my father by the late Dayan R. Aaron Levy—one as a Purim gift in 1853—and were bequeathed by my father to my brothers and myself. But I will not trespass any longer on your attention, especially as one of the collectanea, the *אור הררשנים* or "Speaker's Guide," by R. Jacob Zahalon, of Rome, in the course of some very shrewd and valuable hints about public speaking, lays most emphatic stress on the virtues of brevity. There seems, however, sufficient interest to Anglo-Judaism, not only in the dirges themselves, but also in the author and the copyist, to justify drawing to them the attention of this Society. And not the less so that they are further evidence of what I believe to be the fact, that it is to the Dutch King William, rather than to Cromwell, that we owe the firm resettlement of the Jews in this country.

PAUL OF BURGOS IN LONDON.



BY ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.

WHEN Edward I. expelled the Jews from England, a number of the exiles made their way to Northern Spain. Of these some must have found a home in Burgos. One of these new Anglo-Jewish settlers in Spain was, I conjecture, the ancestor of Paul of Burgos, who rose to notoriety exactly a century after his family had been driven from England. The supposition, that Paul of Burgos migrated from England, is, I admit, purely conjectural. And there was another more certain cause that may have endeared England to the subject of this short paper.

When Paul of Burgos was still a boy, for he was born in 1351, the name of the heir to the English throne was associated with that of one of the best friends that the Jews ever knew in Castile. Edward the Black Prince threw in his lot with Don Pedro the Cruel, as Churchmen called him, Don Pedro the Kind, as the Jews found him. Hence England was a word which sounded sweet in a Spanish Jew's ears at the end of the 14th century, and this sentiment added to the allurements held out by a city in which as I have supposed, his fathers had once sojourned, led this youth back to these shores.

And this visitor was no ordinary Jew. Paul of Burgos rose to fame, after the terrible Spanish persecutions of 1390, as a Bishop who had once been a Rabbi. In the fortieth year of his age he abandoned the Synagogue for the Church, and thenceforth played a reckless and prominent *rôle* as an enemy to Judaism and the Jews. The very man to whom he addressed his letter from London fell a victim to Paul's vindictiveness. Don Meir Alguadez, the Physician and Rabbi of Castile, was tortured to death at the instigation of his former colleague, correspondent and friend, Paul of Burgos. How this man rose to

eminence by starting a carriage and a retinue in order to impose on the hidalgos, how he won place and fame in the Church and wrought evil to the Synagogue, are not these things written in the Book of the Chronicles of Israel, at the hand of Professor Graetz?

Now, though it may sound paradoxical, yet if Paul of Burgos had really visited England, this paper would not have been written. The society would have suffered no great loss, I fear you will rejoin. Yet my paper is so short that it will be ended before you have time to be disappointed.

Let me explain my paradox. The visit of Paul of Burgos to England in the reign of Richard II. would have added nothing to our knowledge of the dark period between 1290 and 1650. For we knew already, from the records of the *Domus Conversorum*, that several Jewish converts were domiciled in England up to the reign of James I. The fact, however, is that Paul of Burgos did not visit England; it was Solomon Levi who came. For, when he came here he was still a very observant and orthodox Jew. He had not yet changed either his religion or his name. Hence it is a new fact of moment for students of Anglo-Jewish history to realise that before the obscure Solomon Levi had blossomed into the famous Bishop Paul of Burgos, he not only came to London, but resided for some length of time in the metropolis rather less than a century after the fatal year, 1290.

That Solomon Levi did visit London there can be no reasonable doubt. For there is extant a letter,¹ recently published by Dr. Harkavy; and in all MSS. of this letter of Solomon Levi, we are distinctly told that the writer was in London when he composed it. What does need a little argument, however, is my confident statement that the writer of this letter was still a Jew. Still, even this would need no words were it not that Graetz has argued in favour of the opposite view. Graetz, however, is clearly mistaken. Throughout his letter, Solomon Levi applies to himself just the language used in the Bible of Abraham and Joseph when they, as Hebrews, were in foreign and non-Jewish lands. Moreover, it is impossible for anyone to read the letter carefully without perceiving that the writer was

¹ See היקב 1895, p. 40 כתב ששלח דון שלמון הלוי בעודו בעיר לונדריש לה"ה על דבר שהזיר עצמו מיין נסבם • דון מאיר אלואדיש ז"ל Cf. Steinschneider Cat. of MS. in Leyden, p. 277.

not merely a Jew, but a most punctilious observer of Jewish ceremonies. Steinschneider and Geiger¹ and Harkavy are all against Graetz on this matter. Besides, there are one or two considerations of an external character which go to support the internal evidence that the writer of the Purim Letter was the Jew and not the Convert. Paul of Burgos, after his conversion, became a personage of considerable note. When he went to France in 1391, he roused something like a sensation in the University of Paris. Is it credible that the visit to England of so notorious a figure should have left absolutely no trace in contemporary English records? England was in a theological ferment, for Wyclif had stirred the national conscience to its core. The only possible reply to this would be the suggestion that Paul's visit to England fell in the few months which intervened between his conversion and his visit to France in 1391. If he came here as a comparatively unknown convert, would he not have made his way to the *Domus Conversorum*? Yet the records of that home of converted Jews are innocent of any mention of him. Finally, though he wrote in Hebrew after his conversion, yet he signed his name differently. In the letter which he, as a Christian, addressed to Orabuena he describes himself as "The former Solomon Levi, the present Paul of Burgos." In the letter that he wrote from London he styles himself simply "Solomon Levi." It seems to me that there never was a clearer case than this.

We can gather some details as to his visit. Solomon Levi paid more than a flying visit here; he remained in London for some considerable time. He came at a rather unfortunate moment. It will be remembered that the Jews did not meekly submit to their expulsion by Edward I., but within a quarter of a century after that event they attempted to regain the country they had lost. This attempt failed, and between 1358 and 1410 no Jews who came here were known as such. If they came at all they came as foreigners. Hence, if Solomon Levi came when I suppose that he did, he would find no avowed Jews here at all. This is exactly what occurred. He found himself a stranger in a strange land. His isolation seems not to have preyed on his spirits until a day came whereon isolation was intolerable to a

¹ *Ozar Nechmad*, II. 6.

mediæval Jew. That day was Purim ; the day of mirth and sociality, of wine-bibbing and of cracking of jokes, of buffooneries and mumblings, of choruses and rollicking wine songs. To be alone and sober on such a day was more than Solomon Levi could tolerate. He writes : " All this life-long day, this fit and blessed time, alas ! that I should tell the tale, my mind was clear from lack of wine, and I could say yes and no at the right places. Still could I bless Mordecai and curse Haman, while, had I imbibed my proper share of strong drink, I should have mingled my curses and my blessings on both alike. My senses retained their nicety, I knew white from blue. Alas ! for a Purim like that ! I had no friend even to send a gift to. . . . But stay. To thee my beloved, my friend, to thee I can send a gift, this letter ; with thee to inspire me I can draw wine more precious than all, till I—a singer of songs in a strange land—become drunk in the wine of the Law."

The whole of the letter is cast in this strain. It displays that combination of profound piety and playful irreverence so characteristic of the mediæval Jew. The letter itself is less remarkable than the writer. When we remember what he became, what a figure he cut in Spanish history, I think that you will agree with me that this scene picturing the future Paul of Burgos refusing to drink wine prepared by non-Jews, and spending a solitary Purim in London in the reign of Richard II., writing about the pleasures of wine without a boon companion or a bottle to cheer him—this scene, I say, is one over which it has not been a complete waste of time to linger for a few minutes this evening.

ANGLO-JEWISH COATS OF ARMS.



BY LUCIEN WOLF.

To speak of Jewish armorial bearings is scarcely accurate, for the coats of arms used by Jews are very seldom Jewish coats of arms. As a rule, the last thing Jewish applicants to Heralds' College think of is the emblazonment of any reminiscence of their family traditions or their racial origin on the escutcheons which are intended to mark their rank in Gentile social life. This is exceedingly regrettable, both from the heraldic and the Jewish standpoint. No conscientious student of the "gentle science" can view with satisfaction the accumulation of spurious heraldic material utterly devoid of historical or genealogical value; nor can any *chauvinist* Jew be otherwise than disappointed that his brethren should elect to follow the examples of Gentile *parvenus*, when a proper and intelligent use of their own historical emblems and devices might found a branch of heraldry, rivalling, in its valid claim to antiquity, some of the wildest fancies of the mediæval pursuivants. Thus, the Salomons family might have very appropriately adopted a Clavicle. Davidson might use a *Magen David* instead of the Gentile bearings which a Jewish family of that name has borrowed from its Scotch namesakes. A "sun in splendor" or a flame of fire would be a fitting crest for a Myers or a Phillips. A family named Benjamin has such a flame for a crest, whereas a Wolf would obviously be the more legitimate object. There is not a single registered case with which I am acquainted of a Cohen or a Levi who has introduced into a coat of arms the Jewish emblems of his ancient descent.

The failure of the mediæval mind to grasp the historical connection between the Jews and the people of the Bible will account for the otherwise strange inconsistency which marks the attitude of the early

Heralds towards the Israelitish people. While, on the one hand, they explicitly denied the right of the Jews to bear arms,¹ on the other they sought to prove the antiquity of the art of blazon by declaring that the patriarchs were the first gentlemen, and as such used coat armour. Thus Sylvanus Morgan, in his "Sphere of Gentry," assigns to Adam a plain shield gules (red).² It is an amusing coincidence that the leading Jewish family at the present day, the Rothschilds, derive their name from a similar escutcheon which is the basis of their coat of arms.

Unwarranted as are these fictions, they possess a far larger proportion of truth than their inventors suspected. European heraldry only became systematised in the thirteenth century; but long prior to that date the Jews had used family and tribal emblems which, but for the legal prohibition to which I have referred, might have followed the methodising course which gave a scientific coherency to the ruder and much less ancient devices of the Western nations. The antiquity of heraldic devices among the Jews is shown by several references to them in the Bible, as for example in Numbers ii. 2, where "every man of the children of Israel" is instructed to "pitch by his own standard with the ensign of his father's house." There is even a mythology of Jewish heraldry, for the Rabbis invented shields and devices for the heroes of Bible history.³ The seals of the early Hebrews were, in spite of the Law, graven with images disposed more or less armorially.⁴ In process of time the language of seal symbolism became an object of study, and Leopold Löw has expressed the opinion that the Talmudic terms *דורשי המורות* and *דורשי רשומות* refer to persons who discharged in their day the functions of heralds.⁵

At no time in their mediæval history did the Jews altogether abandon these emblems. Long before they adopted surnames from the analogies in Jacob's Blessing and other Biblical texts, they made the same analogies yield designs for family seals. Judah would stamp his *shtaroth* with a Lion, Benjamin with a Wolf, Naphtali with a Stag,

¹ Schudt: *Merkwürdigkeiten* II., p. 262.

² See also the Authorised Bible of 1611, and Fuller's "Pisgah Light."

³ Löw: *Alterthumskunde*, p. 56.

⁴ Levy: *Siegel u. Gemmen*, pp. 33-46 and pl. III.

⁵ *Alterthumskunde*, pp. 58-60.

Issachar with a Bear, and so forth. The Biblical prohibition anent graven images was compounded with by slightly smudging the image.¹ Sometimes these crests came very near simulating real coat armour. Thus among the Jewish seals still extant is one of Todros Halevi of Toledo, who flourished in the fourteenth century, consisting of a pointed quarterfoil charged with a triple towered castle and fleur de lis² (fig. 3). Another seal,³ inscribed with the name משה ארי בר מרדכי כץ, seems to show an attempt at impalement. The shield is divided into two lozenges, one charged with a female figure, the other with a palm tree, and above it is a crest in the shape of the extended hands of the Cohanim surmounted by the Crown of the Law (fig. 1).



Fig. 1.

The official seal of the late Chief Rabbi, Solomon Herschell,⁴ was distinctly heraldic, although, instead of a shield, its main feature consisted of a Scroll of the Law. On this was a perpendicular band charged with a bucket,

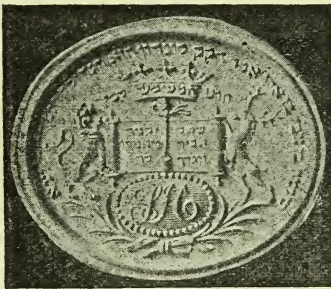


Fig. 2.

while the dexter and sinister spaces were inscribed שאל אביך ויגדך וזקניך ויאמרו לך (Deut. xxxii. 7). For supporters it had a stag and a lion rampant—an obvious reference to the Rabbi's ancestry, צבי בן ארי—and the whole was surmounted by a ducal crown naively intended to represent the Crown of the Law (fig. 2). Many examples of this sort of design—generally with the tables of the Decalogue substituted for the open *Sepher*

—are to be found on the breast-plates and mantles of Synagogue scrolls. Jewish emblems have sometimes been heraldically tricked on tombstones. Henriques de Castro, in his account of the Cemetery at Amsterdam, describes two tombstones on which the Tree of Life appears on shields ensigned with coronetted helmets elaborately

¹ Cf. Hist. MSS., Fourth Report, p. 458.

² *Cat. Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, p. 190 (British Museum Exhibs., No. 44).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 149 (No. 2,287).

⁴ *Cat. Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, p. 21 (No. 620).

mantled.¹ The armorial character of all these devices was doubtless due to the influence of Gentile heraldic art. At the same time it is interesting to note² that ages before heraldry was recognised as a system, the devices on Jewish seals displayed rude representations of supporters and crests.

At least one Jew is known to have made a study of heraldry—Jacob Jehuda Leon, surnamed Templo, who visited England in 1675, not, perhaps, for the first time.³ He was an ingenious draughtsman, and, besides other heraldic work, designed the Masonic coat now used by the English Grand Lodge, a quaint copy of which was shown at the recent Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, and is herewith reproduced.⁴ This coat is entirely composed of Jewish symbols. It is obviously an attempt to display heraldically the various forms of the Cherubim pictured to us in the second vision of Ezekiel—an Ox, a Man, a Lion, and an Eagle—and thus belongs to the highest and most mystical domain of Hebrew symbolism. Its crest is composed of the mercy seat with the attendant Cherubim in the orthodox attitude prescribed in Exodus xxv. 18-20, and its supporters represent the same mystical figures as they appear in Ezekiel i. 11, with their right and left wings respectively extended towards each other and the outer wings covering their bodies. The motto on the original coat, composed by Templo, was in Hebrew, and is given by Lawrence Dermott, the Masonic writer, who saw it in 1759, as “Kodes la Adonai.” The panel here shown has the motto in English, “Holiness to the Lord,” together with a pendant of Masonic symbols which are not mentioned in Dermott’s description. Hence it seems clear that this panel is an adapted version, and not the original of Templo’s design.⁵

¹ De Castro : *Keur van Grafsteenen*, pp. 85, 87.

² Levy, *loc. cit.*

³ “Relation of the most memorable things,” etc. (1675). Dedication to Chas. II. Templo says of his Model of the Temple that “it was graciously owned with devote affection thirty years ago and *upwards* by that serene Queen, your Majesty’s mother.”

⁴ *Cat.*, pp. 20, 21. See also the coloured plate herewith reproduced. *Ahiman Rezon*, by L. Dermott. Second edition (1764), p. xxxiv.

⁵ “Masonic Student,” writing to the *Freemason* some years ago—I do not know the exact date as my authority is a newspaper cutting—says of this coat of arms, “A learned friend of mine has a panel with the same arms, carefully



ARMS OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLISH FREEMASONS.

EARLY COPY OF A DESIGN BY RABBI JACOB TEMPLO.

(From a XVIIth Cent. panel in the possession of Mr. W. H. Rylands).

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The story that the original was found among Templo's papers and that he was the author of it is, in my opinion, very well grounded. A man of many accomplishments—theologian, controversialist, linguist, herald, and artist—he had a monomania for the study of everything relating to the Temple of Solomon and the Tabernacle of the Wilderness. He constructed gigantic models of both these edifices, which he sold in 1643 to Queen Henrietta Maria of England, and he wrote tracts about them in Spanish, Dutch, and English. To the study of the Cherubim he gave especial attention, writing two separate pamphlets—one in Latin, the other in Spanish—to explain his views with regard to them. In the Spanish tract he deals at considerable length with the various forms of the Cherubim, and he associates them with the four traditional standards of the quadrilateral Hebrew encampment by which the “tent of meeting” was surrounded in the wilderness—the Lion of Judah, the Man of Reuben, the Eagle of Dan, and the Ox of Ephraim.¹ He was also very fond of heraldic designs, and all his pamphlets were ornamented with the coats of arms of the distinguished persons to whom they were dedicated. Hence it is exceedingly likely that he was the author of the coat attributed to him by Dermott. Judging, however, from the beauty of his drawings, and especially of one exquisite little engraving of the quadriform Cherub prefixed by him to his *Tratado de los Cherubim*, the original design must have been far superior to the panel here shown. It might be worth while enquiring whether it is to be found among the muniments of the Grand Lodge of England. Another enquiry I should like to suggest in this connection. Dermott refers to “the collection of the famous and learned Hebrewist, architect and brother, Rabi Jacob Jehudah Leon,” in which the Masonic escutcheon was found. What has become of this collection? Perhaps some of our Continental correspondents will kindly try to ascertain for us.

The escutcheon of the English Grand Lodge is not the only

coloured, which came, curiously enough, from St. Albans, certainly of seventeenth century work.” This is no doubt the panel which is here copied, and which has been kindly placed at my disposal by its owner, Mr. W. H. Rylands.

¹ *Tratado de los Cherubim*, p. 25. For particulars of Templo's life, see Graetz's *Geschichte* X., pp. 24, 200, 201; Jost: *Geschichte* VIII., p. 261; מאדק (1788) IV., p. 297, Life by David Franco.

non-Jewish coat used in England in which Jewish elements are to be found. The Anglo-Israelites have expended much ingenuity in attempting to prove that the Lions in the Royal Arms were borrowed from the banner of the tribe of Judah. It is at any rate certain that they were introduced into the arms by Richard I., to commemorate his exploits in the Holy Land, but their significance was doubtless held to refer more to the exploits than to the Land. The lion which appears in the shield of the Cambridge Hebrew School has a more valid claim to Judaic extraction, seeing that it is marked with the Hebrew letter \aleph and is associated with the study of the language of Judah. Two English families named Jew, one settled in Devonshire and the other in Worcestershire, bear on a silver shield three funny little heads of Jews. Hebrew mottoes, derived from the Bible and transliterated, are not of infrequent occurrence in the English armory. The Grants of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire have a Bible for their crest and "Jehovah-jireh" for their motto. The Whethams of Kirklington write "Jehovah" under their arms, and "Hallelujah" is the motto of the Aylmer and Tuite families, the latter spelling it "Alleluiah."¹

Jews obtained grants of arms long before they acquired rights of citizenship. In a few instances such grants were merely incidental to the patents of nobility which, with curious inconsistency, were occasionally conferred on them. Jacob Batsheba Schmieleles, who, in 1622, was ennobled by the Emperor Ferdinand, under the title Bassevi Van Treuenburg, received a coat consisting of a lion and eight stars on a field azure.² It was, however, principally due to the example of the Marranos that a demand for heraldic devices arose among the Jews. Many of the Marranos were allied to the best blood in the Peninsula, and they brought with them to Holland and England escutcheons which they had borne with perfect right in their Iberian homes. Almost all the early tombstones in the Sephardi cemeteries in Amsterdam and London are ornamented with coats of arms which will be found to agree in nearly every particular with the descriptions given under the same

¹ See under these names in Burke's *General Armory*.

² Graetz: *Geschichte X.*, p. 41.

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ARMS OF LORD ROTHSCHILD.

names in the “*Nobiliarchia Portugueza*” of Antonio de Villas Boas and other heraldic works. Some of the wealthier families, such as Suasso, Mendez, Da Costa, Villareal, Alvarez, Salvador, Cardoso, d’Aguilar, and Da Silva, registered their arms at Heralds’ College soon after their settlement in this country.

When the *Yehidim* of Bevis Marks were observed to affix arms to their coaches and family china, the wealthy members of the Duke’s Place and Hambro’ Synagogues—such as Benjamin Levi, Moses Hart, Michael Adolphus, Aaron Franks, and Benjamin Isaac—made application to the Garter King for a similar privilege which was unhesitatingly granted them. Thus this “custom of the Gentiles” became fairly established among us, and there are few wealthy Jewish families to-day who do not quarter arms as bravely as though their ancestors had all been Crusaders. There is indeed a case on record of a Christianised scion of an existing Anglo-Jewish family who obtained a grant of arms on the strength of a fictitious pedigree tracing his descent from “a wandering Knight of the Middle Ages.” Another family, of perfectly respectable Jewish origin, has conjured up, on the strength of a mistaken transliteration of the Hebrew surname borne by an ancestor, a tradition of illegitimate descent from an English ducal house, a portion of whose arms it has accordingly adopted. It is satisfactory to know that these instances of unscrupulous snobbishness are not exemplified by professing Jews.

Among the arms of Marrano families duly registered in this country are those of Andrade, Bernal, Brandon, Coronel, Dias Fernandez, Lopes, Losada y Lousada, Sampayo and Ximenes. Many are not registered, such as Aguilar, Belisario, Castello, Cortissos, and Lara, but are nevertheless used by the families. The registered Sephardi arms—that is arms of families who did not acquire heraldic rights by marriages with Gentiles, but assumed escutcheons abroad or received special grants here—include the names of Basevi, Disraeli, Franco, Gideon, Medina, Mocatta, Montefiore, Ramus, Ricardo, and Sassoon. The principal charge on the Disraeli shield, which was already registered by the grandfather of Lord Beaconsfield, is a triple-towered castle. It might prove of considerable genealogical interest to ascertain what authority Benjamin d’Israeli had for this escutcheon, seeing that the Halevis of Toledo—as we have already mentioned—used a similar

device on their seals (fig. 3), and that Toledo was the home of a very distinguished Jewish family named



Fig. 3.

Israeli, which may have inter-married with the Halevis.¹ Lord Beaconsfield was entitled, under the will of Mrs. Brydges Wylliams, of Carnanton, to quarter the Mendes da Costa and Lara arms, but he never availed himself of the privilege, although he did not decline the bequest of £40,000 by which it was accompanied. Among the Ashkenazi families who have received English

grants are those of Adler, Barned, Barrow, Benjamin, Blumberg, Cohen, Davidson, De Symons, De Vahl, De Worms, Goldsmid, Hambro, Helbert, Israel, Jacobs, Jessel, Joseph, Lawson, Levin, Mayer, Merton, Meyer, Montagu, Moses, Moss, Nathan, Norden, Raphael, Rothschild, Salomons, Samuels, Saul, Schomberg, Waley and Wolff.

Besides the arms borne by Marrano families, the only escutcheons which Jews may be said to have legitimately assumed are the shields borrowed by certain Ashkenazi families from the house-signs of the Frankfort Judengasse. The most important of these is the coat used by the Rothschilds. The honours obtained by this distinguished house have made the coat a very elaborate one; but, over all its numerous charges, may yet be seen a representation of the ancient "escocheon gules" by which the Ghetto *Stamm-haus* was distinguished and from which the name of the family was derived. An interesting tradition attaches to one of the charges. It is said that Mayer Amschel Rothschild on his death-bed exhorted his five sons always to act in unison and illustrated his advice by the Persian fable of the bundle of wood which was easily broken up when the sticks were separate, but which proved indestructible as long as they were securely bound together. As an object form of this lesson, which has been so faithfully observed, a hand grasping five arrows is quartered twice on the Rothschild shield.² A similar charge appears on the escutcheon of the De Worms family, which is allied to the Rothschilds. Here a hand grasping three arrows is figured on a shield of pretence gules. The arrows represent the three

¹ Zunz: *Zur Gesch. u. Lit.*, pp. 425-28. Also *supra*, p. 155.

² Ehrentheil: *Jüd. Familien-Buch*, pp. 275, 276.



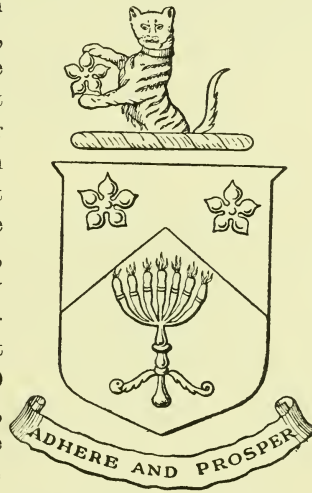
ARMS OF SIR ALBERT SASSOON, BART.

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brothers, Solomon, Gabriel, and Maurice de Worms, and the shield is adopted in right of their mother, Jeannette de Rothschild.

Traces of family history are also to be found in other armorial bearings. The motto over the Goldsmid crests, which is the Vulgate version of "מי כמכה באלים ה" records a tradition of the Maccabean descent of the family; the sugar-canes in the Lousada arms indicate the source of the wealth of that old Jamaica family; the bezant (a gold coin) in the Salomons crest reminds us that Levy Salomons, the grandfather of Sir David, was an eminent financier, and the jewel in the Jessel crest recalls the fact that Zadok Jessel, the father of the late Master of the Rolls, was an eminent dealer in precious stones. The Belisario arms are ensigned with a Knight's helmet which was granted to an ancestor of the family in recognition of his skill as an actor, but without the dignity of knighthood. The crest of the De Vahl family, a demi-lion rampant, ducally crowned and holding a sceptre erect or, indicates descent from Saul Vahl, who is reputed to have occupied the throne of Poland for one day.

The only really Jewish coat of arms with which we are acquainted is that of the Sassoon family. Even the motto is Hebrew *אמת ואמונה*, and the charges are all strictly Jewish emblems, consisting of the Lion of Judah, a palm tree, a pomegranate, and an olive branch, while the crest is a dove volant with a sprig of olive in its beak. Another escutcheon of purely Jewish extraction is that of the Massey Lopez family. It is a copy of a device carved on a marble monument in the Synagogue at Leghorn, which the ancestors of the Franco family are said to have used for several generations as their "armorial ensign." The coat was confirmed by Heralds' College in 1760 to Jacob Franco¹ whose grand-nephew, Ralph Franco, afterwards assumed the name of Lopez, and succeeded to the baronetcy granted to his uncle, Sir



ARMS OF THE MOCATTA FAMILY.

¹ Documents relating to this grant will be found in the Appendix to the present paper (Appendix I.).

Manasseh Lopez. The arms are still borne by his descendants. The Mocatta shield has a strong Jewish element in the shape of a seven-branched candlestick and the very appropriate motto "Adhere and Prosper."

Perhaps the most interesting of all Anglo-Jewish escutcheons is that of the Montefiore family. The special interest of this familiar coat of arms is due to the fact that it has a history of its own and at the same time possesses a certain historic importance. There are very few Jewish coats of arms of which the development can be traced from primitive family emblems or which indeed, have had any legitimate development at all, and there are still fewer which possess intrinsic historic interest. Both these distinctions, however, belong to the Montefiore arms.

The germs of the escutcheon are to be found on a *Parochet* which was presented to the Levantine Synagogue at Ancona just two hundred and fifty-nine years ago, and which is still in existence. The donor of this curtain was a member of the congregation, one Judah or Leone Montefiore, and the gift was worked in gold thread on red silk by his wife Rachel, *née* Olivetti. The following is the text of the not over-elegant Hebrew inscription, which covers the major portion of its richly ornamented surface :

ויסך על ארון העדות
הזאת
לעד
להוציא אור מן האולם
ויזריה אור בנגבולם
וישוב ספר על אולם
וינשאו פתחי עולם
מי זה מכריז ידו הדה
היא רחל אשת יהודה
רוכב שמים תוך עדה
אל בית ישראל ויהודה

פרח שושן ביד אריה
יפה תואר ויפה מראה

וישם את פרכת המסך
השירה
לפניו
בשמעכם קול הדופק
ויפתחו שערי היכל
ויקראו חובת היום
שאו שערים ראשיכם
אם ישאלו אחר לאמר
אמרו לבית מונטפייורי
בשנת ועת מלך משפט
היום ושלוש רב יתן

זית טורף בפי יונה
הבט יופיו איש הרואה



ARMS OF THE LATE SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.

LIBRARY
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TRANSLATION.

“And he set up the vail of the covering and covered the Ark of the Testimony.”
(Exod. xl. 21.)

This song shall be a witness of it.

When the voice of him is heard who is to bring forth the Law from the Ark,
And the doors of the Sanctuary are opened and light breaks forth from its
boundaries,

When the portion of the Law for the day is read and the Scroll returned to its
resting place,

Then lift up your heads, O ye gates! and be exalted ye portals of the Universe.

If, in after-times, it be enquired, whose handiwork is this?

Say her of the House of Montefiore—Rachel the wife of Jehudah,

In the year (that it hath thus been worked) five thousand three hundred and
ninety,

May the Almighty Judge grant life and peace to the House of Israel and Jehudah,

In the mouth of a dove a plucked olive leaf, in a lion's claw a budding lily,
Observe the beauty, ye who behold it! how exquisitely lovely is its appearance!

Emblems of the Montefiore and Olivetti families are inserted just above the last two lines, one representing a lion on a mount holding a branch of flowers in his paws and the other a dove, also on a mount, with an olive branch in its beak.¹

The first of these devices is the earliest rude form of the Montefiore escutcheon. It seems to have soon developed, for in a MS., named “Kan Zippor,” now in the Ramsgate College, written by Joseph Montefiore, a descendant of Judah Montefiore, and ancestor of Sir Moses, we find the charges tricked on a shield, in heraldic style with a second mount and a cedar added. The principal interest of this representation of the arms lies in the fact that the author gives a Scriptural significance to each of the charges. Thus, to the lion is attached the exhortation, “Be as strong as a lion to perform the will of God”; the hills are explained by the text, “I will lift up mine eyes to the hills whence cometh my help; my help cometh from the Lord which made heaven and earth”; and the cedar is interpreted by the verse, “The righteous shall flourish like a palm-tree, he shall grow like a cedar of Lebanon.”²

¹ These facts, together with a copy of the inscription, were given to me by the late Mr. Joseph Barrow Montefiore, who had obtained them from the authorities of the Ancona Synagogue.

² See Appendix II.

This coat, with certain additions and modifications, was first registered at Heralds' College on the 28th January, 1819. The grant was made to "Moses Montefiore, of New Court, St. Swithin's Lane, in the City of London and of Tenby Lodge, near Tunbridge, in the County of Kent, Esquire, Captain in the third regiment of Surrey



THE MONTEFIORE ARMS.

Early device from *Kan Zippor* by Joseph Montefiore.

Local Militia, to him and to his descendants and to the other descendants of his father, Joseph Montefiore, of the City of London, merchant, deceased." The additions introduced by the grantee were a dagger and two stars on the chief or upper part of the shield, together with the motto "Think and Thank" and the modifications consisted

in the transference of the flowers to the mounts and the substitution, in the paws of the lion—which now became the crest—of a flagstaff bearing a forked pennon inscribed “Jerusalem” in Hebrew characters. At this time Sir Moses was already married and he quartered the arms of his wife’s family—the Cohens—with his own.

As Sir Moses’s public career developed and he became successively a Knight and a Baronet, the symbols of these dignities were added to his arms. The crowning additions which completed the escutcheon and at the same time gave it the element of historic importance it now possesses were the supporters. They consist, on the dexter side, of a lion guardant, and, on the sinister, of a stag, each holding a flagstaff from which streams a banner inscribed, like the pennon in the crest, “Jerusalem” in golden Hebrew characters. They were granted in 1841 in recognition of the services rendered the previous year by Sir Moses Montefiore in his memorable mission to the East, and hence they constitute a kind of heraldic protest against the “Blood Accusation” which gave rise to the mission, and the falsity of which was so signally demonstrated by the illustrious grantee on that occasion. Nor are they altogether a mute protest. The Royal Warrant by which they were conferred—for, except in the case of Peers and Knights of Orders, supporters are not granted by the Heralds but by the Crown direct, as a special reward of some memorable exploit—recites the whole story of the Damascus outrage in terms which render it, from the point of view of the Jewish historian, a document of considerable importance. This document will be found among the appendices to this paper.¹ It is to be hoped that there will be no necessity for publishing another collection of *Christliche Zeugnisse* against the Blood Accusation, as was done ten years ago; but should the need at any time arise, the warrant for the supporters in the Montefiore coat of arms will be found not the least significant of the testimonies recorded against the infamous calumny.

It should be added that when the Montefiore baronetcy was revived in the person of Sir Francis Montefiore—the present head of the family—the supporters were allowed to go with the title. Consequently they still figure in the escutcheon.

¹ See Appendix II.

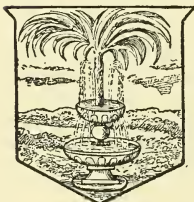
APPENDIX.

I.—THE FRANCO (MASSEY LOPEZ) GRANT.

To the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Effingham Deputy with the Royal Approbation to the Most Noble Edward Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JACOB FRANCO of the Parish of St. Catherine Coleman within the City of London, Esquire, 2d. son of Moses Franco, late of the City of Leghorn, Merchant, deceased.

That your Petitioner and his Ancestors have used for their Armorial Ensigns on a Field a Fountain proper thereout issuant a Palm Tree Vert the same as depicted in the margin hereof which Arms being represented on a Marble Monument in the Synagogue of the Jewish Nation in the City of Leghorn for your Petitioner's Family and the same being attested by persons of integrity supported by the Firm of John Dick, Esquire, His Britanick Majesty's Consul in the City and Port of Leghorn under his Hand and Consular Seal: And your Petitioner being made a free



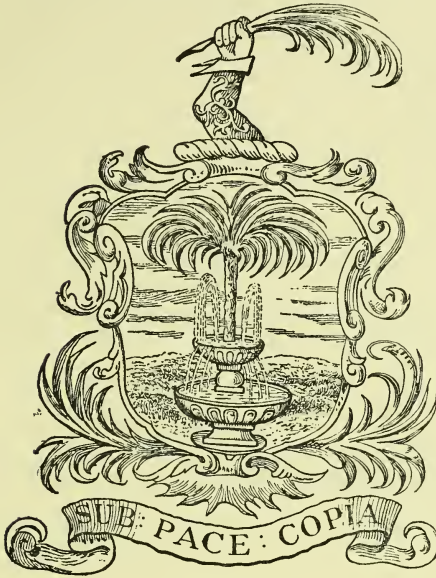
Denizen of this Kingdom and desirous with your Lordship's permission to have his Family and the said Arms registered among the Gentry of this Realm humbly prays your Lordship's Warrant to the Kings of Arms concerned that the said Arms as borne by his Ancestors with some suitable Crest and Motto may be allowed granted and confirmed to Him and his Descendents, the Descendents of his said father Moses Franco late of the City of Leghorn, deceased and also to Moses the only surviving son of his Uncle Raphael Franco and his Descendents.

AND YOUR PETITIONER shall &c.

JACOB FRANCO.

TO ALL AND SINGULAR to whom these Presents shall come Stephen Martin Esquire, Garter Principal King of Arms and Charles Townley, Esquire, Clarendoux King of Arms of the South East and West Parts of England from the River Trent Southwards Send Greeting. Whereas those Ancient Badges or Ensigns of Gentility commonly called or known by the name of Arms have heretofore been and still are continued to be conferred upon deserving persons

to distinguish them from the common sort of People who neither can or may pretend to use them without lawful authority. And whereas JACOB FRANCO of



te Parish of St. Catherine Coleman within the City of London, Esquire, second son of Moses Franco late of the City of Leghorn, Merchant, deceased, hath represented unto the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Effingham Deputy with the Royal Approbation to the Most Noble Edward Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and Hereditary Marshal of England: That his Ancestors have used for their Armorial Ensigns on a Field a Fountain proper thereout issuant a Palm Tree Vert, which being represented on a Marble Monument in the Synagogue of the Jewish Nation in the City of Leghorn aforesaid as the Arms of his Family and the same being certified by Persons of Trust and Integrity supported by the Cer-

tificate of John Dick, Esquire, His Britanick Majesty's Consul in the City and Port of Leghorn under his Hand and Consular Seal and having been made a free Denizen of this Kingdom and desirous that his Family and the said Arms may be registered among the Gentry of this Realm did therefore pray his Lordship's Warrant that the said Arms as borne by his Ancestors with some suitable Crest and Motto might be allowed granted and confirmed unto Him and his Descendents and to the Descendents of his said Father Moses Franco late of the City of Leghorn, deceased, and also to Moses the only surviving son of his Uncle Raphael Franco and his Descendents. And forasmuch as His Lordship duly considering the premises did by Warrant under his Hand and Seal bearing date the twenty seventh day of March last past order and direct Us to grant and confirm unto the said JACOB FRANCO and his Descendents and the Descendents of his father MOSES FRANCO such Arms and Crest accordingly; and also to assign unto MOSES the only surviving son of his Uncle RAPHAEL FRANCO and his Descendents the same Arms and Crest with a proper difference: KNOW YE THEREFORE THAT We the said GARTER and CLARENCEUX in pursuance of the Consent of the said Earl of Effingham and by virtue of the Letters Patent of Our several offices to each of Us respectively granted under the Great Seal of Great Britain have assigned and do by these Presents Grant a.d. Confirm unto

the said JACOB FRANCO the aforesaid Arms viz. : In a Field a Fountain thereout issuant a Palm Tree all proper And for the Crest on a Wreath of the Colours a dexter Arm couped and embowed habited purpure purfled Or the Cuff Argent and Hand proper holding therein a Palm Branch Vert together with this Motto SUB PACE COPIA as the same are in the margin hereof more plainly depicted to be borne and used for ever hereafter by Him the said JACOB FRANCO and his Descendents and by the Descendents of his said Father MOSES FRANCO late of Leghorn deceased and the same with the difference of a Cinquefoil Or to be borne and used by the said MOSES FRANCO the only surviving son of his Uncle RAPHAEL FRANCO aforesaid and his Descendents according to the ancient usage and practice of Arms without the Let or Interruption of any person or persons whatsoever : IN WITNESS whereof We the said GARTER and CLARENCEUX Kings of Arms have to these Presents subscribed Our names and affixed the Seals of Our several Offices this Tenth day of April in the thirty-third year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c., and in the year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty.

S. MARTIN LEAKE,
Principal King of Arms

CHARLES TOWNLEY,
Clarenceux King of Arms

Extracted from the Records of the College of Arms,
London, this second day of September, 1895, and
examined.

ALBERT W. WOODS,
Garter.

II.—MONTEFIORE ARMS ; WARRANT FOR SUPPORTERS.

VICTORIA R.

Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, to our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and Councillor Bernard Edward, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, and our hereditary Marshal of England, and Knight of our most noble order of the Garter, greeting : Whereas, it hath been represented unto us that our trusty and well-beloved Sir Moses Montefiore of Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane, in the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, in our County of Middlesex, and of East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate, in our County of Kent ; Knight, Fellow of the Royal Society, and late Sheriff of London and Middlesex, in consequence of information having been received from the East, that a number of Jews have been imprisoned and tortured at Damascus and at Rhodes, and that many children had been imprisoned, and almost deprived of food and several persons tortured till they died, under the plea of the Jews having assassinated a priest called Father Thomasso at Damascus ; he had, in conformity to a voluntary offer made at a general meeting of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews and

others, held on the 15th of June last, proceeded (accompanied by Lady Montefiore) to Alexandria, with the view of proving the falsity of the accusation and of advocating the cause of his unfortunate and persecuted brethren ; that he arrived at Alexandria in the beginning of August, and succeeded in obtaining from the Pasha of Egypt, Mahommed Ali, the release with honour, of the persons accused who had been confined and permission for those who had fled to return to their homes, and he then proceeded to Constantinople, where he had an audience of the Sultan, Abdoul Medjid, and obtained from His Imperial Majesty a firman proclaiming the innocence of the Jews and securing to all persons professing the Jewish Religion under the Turkish dominion equal rights with their fellow-subjects.

We, taking the premises into our Royal consideration and being desirous of giving a special mark of our Royal favour to the said Sir Moses Montefiore, in commemoration of these his unceasing exertions in behalf of his injured and persecuted brethren in the East and the Jewish nation at large, have been graciously pleased to allow him to bear supporters, although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the Peers of our Realm, the Knights of our Orders, and the Proxies of Princes of our Blood at installations except in such cases wherein, under particular circumstances, we have been pleased to grant our license for the use thereof. Know ye, therefore, that we of our princely grace and special favour, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto him, the said Sir Moses Montefiore our Royal license and permission that he may bear the following supporters to his family arms, that is to say on the dexter side a lion guardant, and on the sinister side a stag, each supporting a flag-staff, therefrom flowing a banner, the dexter inscribed Jerusalem in Hebrew characters, as the same are in the painting hereunto annexed more plainly depicted ; the said supporters being first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the Heralds' office, otherwise this our license and permission be void and of none effect. Our will and pleasure therefore is that you, Bernard Edward, Duke of Norfolk, to whom the cognisance of matters of this nature doth properly belong, do require and command that this our concession and especial mark of our Royal favour be registered in our College of Arms to the end that our officers of Arms and all others upon occasion may take full notice and have knowledge thereof, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court of St. James, the twenty-fourth day of June, in the fifth year of our reign.

(Signed)

By Her Majesty's command
NORMANDY.

[The engravings of seals on pp. 155 and 160 are from photographs by Mr. Frank Haes.]

GASCON ROLLS.

By C. TRICE MARTIN, F.S.A.

It was decided recently by the Executive Committee of the Jewish Historical Society of England to print in its publications such original documents as came in the way of any of its Members, so that they might, in this way, be preserved and presented to the subscribers, in the hope of their being found useful by any one writing on the history of the English Jews.

A few such documents, as a first instalment, are printed here. The first is a letter in French from the converts belonging to the house founded by Henry III., to his son Edward I., asking that the income granted by his father may be properly secured to them and that a warden may be appointed to look after their interests. Some day, perhaps, the answers of the King and the Chancellor to this petition may be found, and printed in a future number.

The rest of the documents printed are all from the Gascon Rolls, that is, the Rolls which contain entries and documents issued from the Chancery, referring to the Duchy of Guienne and to Gascony while these provinces still acknowledged an English Lord. Those of the reign of Edward I. are all before the expulsion, and all show a desire to treat the Jews with justice and even with favour, but the reason appears in one of the extracts of 4th Oct., 9 Edw. I., 1281 (No. 5), where the King says that he does not wish the Jews to be oppressed with too heavy taxes, lest their number should diminish. They were, of course, valuable as bankers for the commerce of the province. Also, in answer to their complaints of being harassed by their Christian neighbours on small grounds (No. 4), he orders the Seneschal of Gascony and the Constable of Bordeaux to have their causes tried

by "good and lawful" Christians. He also gives up to the Jews of Lectoure, a city in Gascony, a claim of £100 of Tours which he has on them; but the consideration is not stated.

At the beginning of the reign of Edward II., after the expulsion from England, an officer is appointed as judge of the Jews in Agen, a town and district on the Garonne, south-west of Bordeaux. But they had been formally expelled in the reign of Edward I., and in 4 Edw. II. (No. 10) orders were issued for the collection of the debts of those who had left the country, to put into the King's pocket. In a few years many returned to try and collect their old debts, but in 7 Edw. II., a second mandate was issued for their expulsion (No. 12), which, however, seems not to have been thoroughly acted upon, as it had to be repeated some years after (Nos. 14, 15, 16).

The last document, dated in 1320, refers to a murder of the Jews committed by a gang of brigands, very probably disbanded soldiers; but the document does not speak of any punishment to the murderers, or compensation to the families of those murdered, but merely commands the Seneschal of Gascony to collect the goods of the murdered men for the King's use.

It is to be hoped that more documents of the same class may be printed hereafter. The first document on the list is, it should be noted, not from the Gascon Rolls.

1.

Ancient
Correspondence,
Vol. XIX., No. 48.

Sire, ceo ws mustrent vos Convers de vostre meson de Lundres ke, come il furent expanduz par la terre querans lur payn par defaute. E ws, Sire, de pite les voliez regarder e les feystes assembler vostre mercy a la meson ke nostre seigneur le Rey Henri, a ki Deu face mercy vostre pere funda, e ordinastes a lur sustenance quater vinz mars par an a receiver de vostre eschequer. Des queus deners il en unt poy de pru par duresse de la feble paye. E les deodandes de vos eyrs a certain termes quel termes sunt passez, e le chevage de la Juerie de Engleterre ke poy amunte, par quez ceste choses avaunt dites ne lur tenent wer de lu. Pur quey il ws prient, cher Sire, pur la sauvaciun del alme avaunt dite ke ws, si vus plest, de ews prengez pite. E les choses avaunt dites a lur sustenance plus avaunt voillez granter e a fermer deskes en alegance de vostre eschequer les eez purvez en terres ou en rentes ou en eglises, de quey il puissent aver sustenance pardurable. Pur Deu sire preignez de ews pite.

E Vus prium ke wus nus ordenez un certeyn gardeyn ke seit clerk e suffisant pur garder vostre aumone.

Endd.

Petitio Conversorum London'.

Coram Rege.

Cancellarius ordinabit certum custodem. Et Dominus Rex alias cum voluerit ordinabit de certo redditu in certo loco.

2.

Gascon Roll.
8-10 Edw. I.
Memb. 7.

Pro Benedicto
de Thoracio
Judeo.

Rex senescallo suo in ducatu Aquitanie et constabulario suo Burdegale, qui nunc sunt et pro tempore fuerint, Salutem. Ex parte Benedicti de Thoracio Judei nostri Burdegale nobis est intimatum quod, licet ipse literas nostras habeat ne amplius quam in ipsis continetur possit exigi, nichilominus vos contra tenorem ipsarum literarum eundem indebite molestatis. Quare vobis mandamus, quod si aliquid contra tenorem dictarum literarum indebite attemptastis, illud in statum debitum revocetis et revocari faciatis.

Datum ut supra, (Fobinge iij Aug. 9 Edw. I.)

3.

Gascon Roll.
8-10 Edw. I.
Membrane 7.

Pro Josse filio
quondam
Cressentis
Judei et aliis
in brevi.

Rex omnibus, etc., Salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus Josse filio quondam Cressentis Judei et Leoni fratri ejus, Samueli filio predicti Josse et Alemande sorori eorundem Josse et Leonis quod cum ipsi omnes insimul ad requisitionem constabularii nostri Burdegale nobis solverunt centum libras Burdegale, iidem Judei quantum in nobis est postea sint quieti ab omni tallia et exactione quam ab eis percipere vel habere possemus, dummodo apud Lectoriam domicilium suum habuerint et ibidem fuerint residentes. Ita tamen quod a tempore quo predictas centum libras nobis plenarie persolverint, iidem Judei quinque marcas argenti nobis seu constabulario nostro qui pro tempore fuerit annuatim ad festum Natalis Domini solvant; videlicet predictus Josse duas marcas, Leo duas marcas, Samuel dimidiam marcam, et Alemanda aliam dimidiam marcam, mandantes per presentes senescallo nostro in eodem ducatu et constabulario nostro Burdegale et aliis ministris nostris ibidem qui pro tempore fuerint, quod cum prefati Judei predictas centum libras nobis solverint, nichil amplius levent aut exigant ab eisdem, dum tamen iidem Judei predictas quinque marcas nobis reddiderint annuatim sicut predictum est. In cujus etc.

Datum apud Fobinge, iiii die Augusti. (9 Edw. I.) Dupplicatur.

Et mandatum est senescallo in ducatu Aquitanie quod cum prefati Judei predictas centum [marcas] constabulario predicto vice Regis plenarie persolverint et de solucione inde facta per litteras testimoniales ejusdem constabularii sibi constiterit, tunc ab eisdem Judeis litteras predictas [de] quinque marcis Regi annuatim reddendis ut predictum est, nichil amplius exigat.

4.

Gascon Roll.
8-10 Edw. I.
Membrane 6.

Pro communitate
Judeorum
Vasconie.

Rex senescallo suo Vasconie et constabulario suo Burdegale Salutem. Ex parte communitatis Judeorum nostrorum Vasconie nobis est ostensum, quod ipsi ad procuracionem et instigacionem quorundam emulorum suorum propter modicas et leves occasiones per graves redemptiones et intollerabiles fatigantur et indebite pertractantur. Nos igitur, nolentes eis injuriari in hac parte, vobis mandamus quod prefatos Judeos juste deducentes, ipsos super querelas quas de eis fieri contigerit faciatis per probos et legales Christianos prout justum fuerit judicari.

Teste Rege apud Lindehurst, iiii^{or} die Octobris. (9 Edw. I.)

5.

Gascon Roll.
8-10 Edw. I.
Membrane 6.

Rex eidem Salutem. Ex parte communitatis Judeorum nostrorum Vasconie nobis est ostensum, quod per varia et immensa tallagia, ad que ipsi talliati fuerunt temporibus retroactis, in tantum gravati existant quod plures eorum relictis domibus quas inhabitare consueverunt, ad alia loca extra potestatem nostram se diverterunt, et ubi solebant esse quinquaginta Judei talliabiles jam pauci remanent, qui temporibus debitis poterint talliari. Quocirca vobis mandamus quod prefatos Judeos per talliagia hujusmodi intollerabilia decetero non gravetis, per quod numerus Judeorum qui remanent minoretur.

Teste ut supra. (Lyndhurst, iiii October. 9 Edw. I.)

6.

Gascon Roll.
8-10 Edw. I.
Membrane 2.

Pro Judeis
Vasconie.

Rex dilecto sibi Reginaldo Myrail constabulario Burdegale salutem. Sciatis quod ad requisicionem proborum et legalium hominum nostrorum Lectorie, remisimus Judeis Lectorie illas centum libras Turonenses per quas ipsi nuper finem fecerunt nobiscum, prout in quibusdam litteris nostris patentibus, quas vobis nuper inde transmisimus, plenius continetur. Ita tamen quod iidem Judei nobis decetero solvant illas quinque marcas annuas quas nobis solvere tenentur, sicut in eisdem litteris nostris plenius continetur. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ipsos Judeos de dietis centum libris Turonensibus quietos esse faciatis in forma predicta-

Teste ut supra. (Cirencester, 4. Feb. 10 Edw. I.)

Et sunt patententes.

7.

Gascon Roll.
8-10 Edw. I.
Membrane 3.

Pro Aaron de
London' Judeo
Burdegale.

Rex constabulario suo Burdegale salutem. Volentes Aaron de London' Judeo Burdegale et Rose uxori ejus gratiam facere specialem, concessimus eis quod a die confectionis presencium per sex annos sint quieti de omnibus talliagiis et contribucionibus nobis a Judeismo nostro Burdegale prestandis, pro duabus marcis nobis interim annuatim reddendis. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod a predictis Aaron et Rosa duas marcas tempore predicto durante singulis annis ad opus nostrum recipientes, ipsos de omnibus et singulis talliagiis et contribucionibus inter Judeos nostros ejusdem ville assidendis, per predictos sex annos quietos esse faciatis. In cujus etc.

Teste ut supra. (Chester, 13. June. 10 Edw. I.)

8.

Gascon Roll.
8-10 Edw. I.
Membrane 4.

Pro Judeis
Vasconie.

Rex dilecto et fidei suo Johanni de Greilly, senescallo suo Vasconie Salutem. Quia nolumus quod Judei partium illarum per tallagia vel per alias prestaciones nobis faciendas in tantum onerentur, quin habeant unde rationabiliter sustententur, vobis mandamus quod prefatos Judeos per tallagia seu prestaciones hujusmodi plus justo et solito non gravetis, nec ipsos aliter quam tractari debent imposterum pertractetis.

Teste Rege apud Rothelan' xvj die Augusti. (10 Edw. I.)

Et sunt clause.

Consimiles litere diriguntur pro Judeis partium illarum constabulario Burdegale.

Teste ut supra.

9.

Gascon Roll.
1-3 Edw. II.
Membrane 10.

De Officio
Judicature
Judeorum
commisso.

Rex omnibus ad quos etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto nobis Alberto Medici, clerico, officium Judicature Judeorum in senescalcia nostra et terra Agenensi, habendum et exercendum modis rationabilibus quamdiu nostre placuerit voluntati, dum tamen officium illud modo non sit in propria manu dilecti et fidelis nostri Arnaldi Guillelmi de Marsano senescalli nostri Agenesensi, set alii incensetur. Ita videlicet quod idem Albertus pro eodem officio, si alii incensetur, tantam firmam annuam nobis solvat quantam ille qui modo illud tenet pro eodem solvit per annum. In cujus, etc.

Datum apud Kenyngton, xxvij die Maii. (2 Edw. II.) Per breve de privato sigillo.

Et mandatum est Thesaurario Agenensi qui nunc est et qui pro tempore fuerit, quod si dictum officium in propria manu dicti Arnaldi non existat sed alii incensetur, ut est dictum, tunc eidem Alberto officium illud liberet habendum in forma predicta.

Datum ut supra.

10.

Gascon Roll.
4 & 5 Edw. II.
Membrane 15.

De Debitis
que debeban-
tur Judeis
levandis ad
opus Regis.

Rex dilecto clerico suo Johanni Guitardi, contrarotulatori suo Castri Burdegale, Salutem. Quia volumus quod omnia debita que Judeis nuper in dicto ducatu commemorantibus et jam ab eodem ejectis ibidem adhuc debentur, cum omni festinatione leventur, vobis mandamus quod scrutatis rotulis et papiris Castri predicti que sunt in custodia vestra, de debitis, que in eisdem inveneritis prefatis

Judeis recognita fuisse, et que adhuc levanda existunt, cum celeritate levandam executionem festinam fieri faciatis, quatenus secundum foros et consuetudines parcium illarum fuerit faciendum. Teste ut supra, x die Marcii. (4 Edw. II.)

Per breve de privato sigillo,

11.

Gascon Roll.
4 & 5 Edw. II.
Membrane 15.

Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Bertrando Assailit, magistro Jordano Moraunt et Reimundo Guillelmi Assailit, Salutem. Quia volumus quod omnia debita que Judeis nuper in dicto ducatu commorantibus et jam ab eodem ejectis, ibidem adhuc debentur, cum omni festinatione leventur, vos simul cum hiis quos vobis associaveritis ad omnia hujusmodi debita a quibuscunque personis debeantur, secundum foros et consuetudines ducatus predicti levanda, tenore presencium duximus assignandos. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad premissa faciendum modis omnibus intendatis. Mandavimus enim venerabili patri J. Norwycensi Episcopo, Johanni de Britannia, comiti Richemund', consanguineo nostro karissimo, Guidoni Ferre, et senescallo nostro ducatus predicti ac omnibus aliis ballivis et ministris nostris de eodem ducatu, quod vobis et hiis quos vobis associaveritis in hac parte in premissis sint consulentes et auxiliantes, prout secundum foros et consuetudines parcium illarum fuerit faciendum. In cujus, etc. Datum apud Ber[ewicum] super Twedam, x die Marcii. (4 Edw. II.)

Per breve de privato sigillo.

12.

Gascon Roll.
7 Edw. II.
Membrane 12.

De Judeis a
Castelania
de Burgo
eiciendis.

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Almarico de Crodonio (Credonio), senescallo suo Vasconie et constabulario suo Burdegale vel eorum loca tenentibus, salutem. Supplicarunt nobis probi homines de castelania et villa de Burgo super mare per petitionem suam coram nobis et consilio nostro exhibitam, ut cum tempore Domini Edwardi quondam Regis Anglie patris nostri, omnes Judei a dicto ducatu ejecti fuissent, et quidam eorum jam redierint ad partes castellanie predictae pro antiquis debitis suis colligendis, et cartis suis petendis et habendis, licencia dicti patris nostri seu nostra super hoc non optenta, et ibidem moram faciant, usuras exercendo et dampna non modica diversimode perpetrando in ecclesie sancte scandalum manifestum et hominum parcium illarum dispendium non modicum et gravamen, velimus super hoc de remedio congruo providere. Nos, supplicacioni eorum annuere volentes in hac parte, vobis mandamus quod omnes Judeos in ducatu predicto existentes abinde

absque reddito ibidem eici sine dilacione aliqua faciatis. Et eciam venire faciatis coram vobis ad certum diem Emericum Furthini et Ecardum fratrem ejus qui vetera debita dictorum Judeorum receperunt et cartas suas in custodia sua habent, ut dicitur, ad reddendum coram vobis compotum suum de debitis illis que receperunt et ad satisfaciendum nobis de eisdem, prout per compotum suum ad hoc teneri contigerit inveniri, necnon ad respondendum nobis de eorum cartis in custodia sua existentibus. Premunientes ipsos a quibus iidem Emericus et Ecardus debita illa receperunt, quod sint coram vobis super reddicione compoti predicti ne per subornacionem aut maliciam aliquorum contingat nos in hac parte aliquialiter defraudari.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, secundo die Novembris. Per petitionem de consilio apud Pontisaram.

13.

Gascon Roll.
7 Edw. II.
Membrane 11.

De Judeis de
Ducatu
Aquitanie
eiciendis.

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Almarico de Credonio, senescallo suo Vasconie, et constabulario suo Burdegale vel eorum loca tenentibus, salutem. Supplicarunt nobis quidam probi homines ducatus nostri Aquitanie per petitionem suam coram nobis et consilio nostro exhibitam, quod cum tempore domini Edwardi quondam Regis Anglie patris nostri omnes Judei a dicto ducatu ejecti fuissent, et plures Judei jam redierint in dicto ducatu pro antiquis sui debitis colligendis et cartis suis petendis et habendis, que debita ad nos pertinent et nostro nomine debent colligi et levari, ipsique Judei moram faciant in ducatu predicto usuras excercendo et dampna non modica diversimode perpetrando in Sancte Matris ecclesie scandalum manifestum et hominum parcium illarum dispendium non modicum et gravamen; volentes super hoc de remedio congruo providere, dicti patris nostri vestigiis inherendo, ac supplicacioni eorum annuere in hac parte, vobis et cuilibet vestrum mandamus districtius injungendo quatinus omnes Judeos in ducatu predicto existentes abinde absque reddito ibidem eici sine dilacione aliqua faciatis; proviso quod eorum debita omnia levatis seu levari faciatis nomine nostro, usuris inde remotis, donec de dictis debitis aliud per nos fuerit ordinatum. Et quia intelleximus quod Aymericus et Aiquardus Forconis fratres, de Burgo, et quidam alii vetera debita dictorum Judeorum receperunt et cartas suas seu instrumenta sua in custodia sua habent et multa de illis debitis et cartis seu instrumentis renovari fecerunt sub nominibus eorundem, volumus ac vobis et vestrum cuilibet mandamus, quatenus illos compellatis ad reddendum vobis nomine nostro compotum suum de debitis illis et de aliis que sic renovari

fecerunt et ad reddendum vobis nomine nostro cartas et instrumenta debita dictorum Judeorum continencia et renovata et quecumque alia penes ipsos existencia vel alios nomine suo, et ad satisfaciendum nobis de dictis debitis per ipsos receptis, prout per compotum suum vel alias legitime eos ad hoc teneri contigerit inveniri, premunientes eoslem et illos a quibus dicta debita soluta fuerunt ac quoscumque alios ad hoc necessarios quod sint coram vobis super redicione compoti predicti ne per subornacionem vel maliciam aliquorum contingat nos in hac parte aliqualiter defraudari.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xv. die Novembris.
Per ipsum Regem.

14.

Gascon Roll.
7 Edw. II.
Membrane 1.
De Judels
expellendis.

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Almarico de Credonio senescallo suo Vasconie, salutem. De mora Judeorum in partibus ducatus predicti, ac de retencione sumptuum necessariorum pro regimine ejusdem ducatus, super quibus per vestras literas postulastis, de nostra intencione et voluntate vos effici certiores, vobis duximus intimandum quod nostre voluntatis existit quod Judei a partibus illis modis omnibus expellantur et quod ibidem ulterius nullatenus receptentur nec morari permittantur, et insuper quod de exitibus dicti ducatus predicti sumptus et expense pro regimine ejusdem ducatus necessarij retineantur. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod Judeos predictos a partibus predictis expelli, et de exitibus ducatus predicti sumptus et expensas necessarios retineri pro regimine ejusdem ducatus faciatis, quosque aliud inde duxerimus ordinandum.

Teste Rege apud Donelnum. xxvij die Maii.

15.

Gascon Roll.
10 Edw. II.
Membrane 12.

Rex senescallo suo Vasconie qui nunc est vel qui pro tempore fuerit aut ejus locum tenenti, Salutem. Cum nuper vobis mandaverimus quod Judeos in partibus ducatus predicti existentes, ab eodem expelli faceretis nec eos ibidem morari permetteretis, de quo quocumque hucusque non fecistis ut accepimus, unde plurimum admiramur. Vobis iterato mandamus firmiter injungentes quod Judeos predictos a dictis partibus modis omnibus expelli faciatis, nec eos ibidem ulterius moram facere permittatis, vel causam nobis significetis quare mandato nostro alias vobis inde directo minime parvistis.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xiiij die Julii.

16.

Gascon Roll.
11 & 12 Edw. II.
Membrane 6.
Dorso.

De Judeis a
partibus
Vasconie
deponendis.

Rex senescallo suo Vasconie qui nunc est vel qui pro tempore fuerit aut ejus locum tenenti, Salutem. Pluries mandavimus quod Judei in partibus ducatus predicti existentes ab eodem amoverentur et quod ibidem ulterius moram non facerent, de quo nichil hucusque actum fuit, ut accepimus, unde plurimum admiramur. Vobis igitur mandamus firmiter injungentes quod Judeos predictos a dictis partibus modis omnibus expelli faciatis, nec eos ibidem ulterius moram facere permittatis, vel causam nobis significetis quare id facere minime debeatis. Ita quod inde per vos simus certiorati citra festum Pasche proximo futurum. Et hoc nullatenus omittatis.

Datum apud Nottingham', xxiii die Augusti. (12 Edw. II.)
Per ipsum Regem.

17.

Gascon Roll.
13 & 14 Ed. II.
Membrane 7.
Dorso.

Pro Rege de
Bonis
Judeorum
occisorum
habendis et
de eorum
interfectione
inquirendo.

Rex dilecto et fideli suo Almarico de Credonio, senescallo suo Vasconie, Salutem. Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod quamplures Judei in diversis civitatibus et villis ducatus predicti nuper commorantes per quosdam malefactores, qui postorelli vulgariter nuncupantur, nequiter interfecti fuerunt, et quod bona eorundem Judeorum que ad nos et non ad alium pertinent de jure et consuetudine parciurum illarum, per diversos homines occupata fuerunt in nostri prejudicium atque dampnum, et adhuc nobis taliter detinentur. Nos, indemnitati nostre prospicere volentes in hac parte, vobis committimus et mandamus quatinus in singulis civitatibus, villis et aliis locis ducatus predicti, in quibus dicti Judei taliter interfecti fuerunt, per vos seu alios de quorum circumspeccione et industria fiduciam habeatis, diligenter inquiratis seu inquiri faciatis qui et quot Judei taliter interfecti fuerunt, ubi, per quos, et qualiter et quomodo et que bona iidem Judei diebus quibus obierunt habuerunt et quantum valuerunt et per quos occupata fuerunt, et omnia bona illa que per inquisitionem seu informationem hujusmodi inveniri contigerit, taliter in nostri prejudicium fuisse occupata elongata seu cancellata, ad quorumcumque manus devenerint, sine dilacione ad manum nostram poni et salvo custodiri faciatis, donec aliud inde duxerimus ordinandum. Et nos de toto facto vestro in hac parte expedito negotio per vestras literas distincte et aperte certiores faciatis.

Datum apud Haddesley, xxvj die Julii. (14 Edw. II.)
Per ipsum Regem et consilium.

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.

REPORT, 1894-95.

The Second Session of the Society has been marked by a continuance of the widespread interest which was aroused by its inauguration in 1893. The number of Ordinary Members is now about 225.

The first volume of the Society's Transactions, which was issued in January 1894, has been favourably received both by Members and the Press.

Arrangements have been completed for several future publications. The President has nearly ready for issue a volume of selected writings, bearing on the return of the Jews, by Menasseh ben Israel. This volume will be produced in facsimile, and will be adorned by an etching of Rembrandt's portrait of the great Amsterdam Rabbi, and a facsimile of a petition presented to Cromwell by Menasseh in 1655 and signed by him, and the leading Marranos in London at the time. The Editor will add an Introduction. The Society has commissioned Mr. S. van Straalen, of the British Museum, to make inquiries on certain special points in Amsterdam, and expresses its thanks to him for kindly undertaking the mission. At the same time researches have been made in the Patent Rolls since the resettlement, and a complete list of denizations of Jews in England to the end of the reign of George IV. has been prepared without cost to the Society. The Society regrets that it has been refused, for the present at least, access to the Archives of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in London.

Negotiations are pending for the issue, in conjunction with the Selden Society, of a volume of Jewish Plea Rolls.

Through the kindness of Dr. Neubauer, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Society has arranged to purchase the MS. of the *Onyx Book*, which was left ready for publication by the late C. W. Collins. This important Hebrew treatise is certainly one of the most valuable remains of Jewish learning in England in the pre-expulsion period, and it is hoped that the complete work will be published by the Society at no distant date.

In connection with these and other contemplated works, the Society has resolved to create a Special Publication Fund, to which donations are now invited. This Fund is designed for the purpose of enabling the Society to produce volumes the cost of which could not possibly be met out of its ordinary resources. Lack of funds has prevented the Society from carrying out any ambitious lecturing scheme outside its own meetings, but it has decided to give a small subvention to the proposed University Extension Course which the Council of that movement contemplates in the coming Autumn.

General Meetings of the Society were held in the Rooms of the Maccabæans, as follows :—

I.—Dec. 16th, 1894. *Conversazione*. The Rev. F. L. Cohen read papers, with musical illustrations, on “Anglo-Jewish Musicians” and “Jewish Melody in the Concert Room.”

II.—Feb. 3rd, 1895. Second Anniversary of “Resettlement Day,” commemorative of the formal re-admission of the Jews into England by Cromwell. Addresses were delivered by

- (1.) I. Abrahams, Esq., Hon. Sec., on “Hebrew Drama in the age of Me-nassch ben Israel.”
- (2.) Lucien Wolf, Esq., President, on “Don Antonio Fernandes Carvajal, founder of the Anglo-Jewish Community.”
- (3.) Prof. John Hales, of King’s College, “The Return of the Jews.”

III.—Apl. 21st, 1895. (1.) Paper by Dr. Friedländer, on “Ibn Ezra in London.”

- (2.) Paper by B. L. Abrahams, Esq., of the India Office, on “The Condition of the Jews of England at the period of their expulsion in 1290.”

- IV.—May 26th, 1895. (1.) Paper by the Rev. Hermann Gol-
lancz, M.A., “A Ramble in East
Anglia.”
- (2.) Paper by Elkan N. Adler, Esq., on
“Elegies on the Deaths of William
and Mary.”

V.—June 30th, 1895. Annual General Meeting, followed by the
following Papers :—

- (1.) I. Abrahams, Esq., Hon. Sec., on
“Paul of Burgos in London.”
- (2.) Lucien Wolf, Esq., President, on
“Anglo-Jewish Coats of Arms.”

The Society expresses its grateful appreciation of the kindness
offered by the Maccabæans and to the Council of Jews' College in
providing the use of rooms in which to hold its Meetings.

BALANCE SHEET,

FROM DECEMBER 31ST, 1894, TO JUNE 30TH, 1895.

The Treasurer in account with the Jewish Historical Society of England.

January 1st, 1895—	£ s. d.	January 1st, 1895—	£ s. d.
To Balance at Bankers	36 11 6	By Expenses of Meeting	3 7 0
„ Subscription paid to		„ Printing (circulars	
June 30th	... 101 17 0	and notices), Sta- tionery, Postage, etc.	24 11 9
		„ Printing Transac- tions, etc.	72 1 3
		„ Photographs and En- gravings... ..	5 10 0
		„ Petty cash... ..	10 0 0
		„ Balance at Bankers	22 18 6
	<u>£138 8 6</u>		<u>£138 8 6</u>
Balance brought forward...	<u>£22 18 6</u>		

Audited and found correct, July 9th, 1895,

(Signed) ASHER I. MYERS.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND AND THE MAC-
CABÆANS.

In accordance with the instructions conveyed in the Resolution passed at the Meeting of the Council in June last, the Representatives nominated by the Committee of the Maccabæans and by the Jewish Historical Society of England met at the house of Prof. Meldola, 6, Brunswick-square, W.C., on Friday, February 23rd, 1894, and having considered the question of a more intimate association of the two Societies, they beg to report as follows:—

- (1.) The Sub-Committee are of opinion that it is of importance for the Maccabæans to be associated with, and to promote in every practicable manner the development of any intellectual movement in the Jewish Community.
- (2.) The Sub-Committee, having considered the possibility of amalgamation, have come to the conclusion that, in consequence of the different constitution of the two Societies, no such amalgamation is possible.
- (3.) While recognising the impossibility of amalgamating, the Sub-Committee are, nevertheless, of opinion that some scheme of co-operation is possible, and might be carried out to the advantage of both Societies. They therefore recommend—
 - (a.) That four Delegates shall be nominated by the Committee of the Maccabæans and elected by the Members at the Annual General Meeting to serve on the Executive Committee of the Jewish Historical Society. The Delegates thus nominated shall be Members of the Maccabæans not serving on the Executive Committee of the Jewish Historical Society at the time of their nomination.
 - (b.) The Sub-Committee also recommend that the Delegates nominated and elected in accordance with the last clause,

shall be empowered to recommend to the Committee of the Maccabæans the subvention by the latter Society of such publications of the Jewish Historical Society, other than the Transactions, as the Delegates may think desirable.

- (c.) That such publications of the Jewish Historical Society as are subventioned by the Maccabæans shall be at the disposal of the Members of the latter Society on the same terms as to the Members of the Jewish Historical Society.
- (d.) The Sub-Committee further recommend that the rooms in the occupation of the Maccabæans shall be at the disposal of the Jewish Historical Society on all occasions that may be convenient.
- (e.) This arrangement shall be terminable at the discretion of either governing body on giving three months' notice.

Present at Meeting—

Prof. MELDOLA (*in Chair*).

J. JACOBS.

H. HALDINSTEIN.

L. WOLF.

I. ABRAHAMS.

Approved also by the Rev. S. SINGER.

These suggestions have been adopted by the Society and by the Maccabæans.

LAWS.

NAME.

1. The name of the Society shall be THE JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.

2. The objects of the Society shall be:—

- (a.) The promotion and organisation of research into, and study of, the history of the Jews of the British empire ;
- (b.) The transcription of documents and the collection of materials relating to Anglo-Jewish history ;
- (c.) The publication of such documents and materials, as well as of treatises, relating to Anglo-Jewish history.
- (d.) The formation of a Library and Museum for the preservation of archives of Anglo-Jewish congregations and institutions, and of documents, books, prints and relics relating to Anglo-Jewish history ;
- (e.) The organisation and management of a scheme for the delivery in London and elsewhere of Lectures on general Jewish history.

CONSTITUTION.

3. The Society shall consist of Subscribing Members, Honorary Members, and Corresponding Members.

4. Provincial and Colonial Members may, with the sanction of the Council, establish branches for the purposes of local research, and co-operation with the Society in its Lecture scheme.

GOVERNMENT.

5. The Society shall be governed by a Council, elected by the general body of Members at an Annual Meeting, to be held in June.

6. At such Annual Meeting a President, Vice-Presidents, and a Treasurer shall be elected.

7. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Honorary Secretaries, and the Presidents of the branches, shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Council.

8. At its first Meeting in each year the Council shall appoint an Executive Committee, consisting of six Members, in addition to the Honorary Officers, who shall be *ex-officio* Members.

9. The appointment of Honorary Secretaries shall be in the hands of the Executive Committee.

MEETINGS.

10. In addition to the Annual Meeting there shall be at least four Meetings of the Society every year, at which papers and communications shall be read and discussed.

PUBLICATIONS.

11. An Annual Report and Balance Sheet shall be prepared and distributed among the Members, giving a detailed account of the work of the Society during the past year.

12. The Society shall publish such transactions, collections of papers and historical essays or treatises as the Council may approve on the recommendation of the Executive Committee.

13. Each Member of the Society shall be entitled to a copy of the transactions issued by the Society.

FINANCE.

14. All moneys received on account of the Society shall be paid to the Treasurer, who shall prepare a balance-sheet for submission to the Annual Meeting of Members.

BYE-LAWS.

1. The Honorary Secretaries are *ex-officio* Members of all Committees or Sub-Committees, and shall keep Minute-books of the proceedings at all Meetings.

2. Members shall be admitted by application to any Member of the Society, or to the Honorary Secretaries, who shall send to the intending Member a printed form for signature. This must be returned, signed, to the Honorary Secretaries, and this act shall constitute the applicant a Member of the Society.

3. The voting for or against a proposition at a General Meeting shall be by show of hands, and if demanded by the minority, a count shall be made by the President or Chairman. His decision shall be final. If the votes are equal, the President or Chairman shall give a casting vote, in addition to his ordinary vote.

4. A General Meeting may be summoned by a requisition in writing signed by twelve Members, and handed to the Honorary Secretaries at least three weeks before the proposed date of the Meeting. At such Meetings nothing but the subject of the requisition shall be considered, and this only if three-fourths of those signing the requisition be present.

5. The Transactions shall not be sent to Members whose subscription is twelve months in arrear.

6. The Annual subscription shall be 10s. 6d., and shall become due on October 1st annually.

7. Any Member whose subscription shall be two years in arrears shall, after due notice sent by the Honorary Secretaries, cease to be a Member.

8. The names of new Members shall be announced at the Meeting following their enrolment.

9. Visitors shall only be admitted to the Society's Meetings by card of invitation, or by the personal introduction of Members.

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.

President.

LUCIEN WOLF, Esq.

Vice-Presidents.

JOSEPH JACOBS, Esq., B.A. | C. TRICE MARTIN, Esq., F.S.A.
ISIDORE SPIELMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

ERNEST L. FRANKLIN, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, Esq., M.A. | FRANK HAES, Esq.

Council.

I. ABRAHAMS, Esq., M.A.	The Rev. M. JOSEPH.
The Rev. M. ABRAHAMS, B.A.	The Rev. Dr. A. LÖWY.
The Rev. Dr. ADLER, Chief Rabbi.	The Rev. Prof. D. W. MARKS.
The Rev. F. L. COHEN.	C. TRICE MARTIN, Esq., F.S.A.
H. J. COHEN, Esq., M.A.	Prof. R. MELDOLA, F.R.S.
M. D. DAVIS, Esq.	C. G. MONTEFIORE, Esq., M.A.
ISRAEL DAVIS, Esq., M.A.	A. I. MYERS, Esq.
The Rev. G. J. EMANUEL, B.A.	The Rev. J. POLACK, B.A.
LEWIS EMANUEL, Esq.	W. H. RYLANDS, Esq.
E. L. FRANKLIN, Esq.	S. SCHECHTER, Esq., M.A.
Rev. S. FRIEDEBERG.	The Rev. S. SINGER.
Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.	O. J. SIMON, Esq.
Dr. R. GARNETT.	The Rev. L. M. SIMMONS, B.A., LL.B.
The Rev. H. GOLLANCZ, M.A.	S. J. SOLOMON, Esq., A.R.A.
I. GOLLANCZ, Esq., M.A.	I. SPIELMAN, Esq., F.S.A.
Prof. R. GOTTHEIL.	LUCIEN WOLF, Esq.
F. HAES, Esq.	I. ZANGWILL, Esq., B.A.
J. JACOBS, Esq., B.A.	

Executive Committee.

The PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS, TREASURER, HON. SECRETARIES,
with the CHIEF RABBI, REV. F. L. COHEN, DR. FRIEDLÄNDER, A. I.
MYERS, Esq., REV. H. GOLLAN CZ, and S. J. SOLOMON, Esq., A.R.A.
B. L. ABRAHAMS, Esq. (India Office, S.W.), A. LEVINE, Esq., CLEMENT
SALAMON, Esq., REV. M. ADLER, representing the Maccabæans.

Finance Committee.

E. L. FRANKLIN, Esq., J. JACOBS, Esq., CLEMENT SALAMON, Esq.,
A. I. MYERS, Esq., and HON. SECRETARIES.

Corresponding Members.

Adler, Dr. Cyrus, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, U.S.A.
Bacher, Prof. W., 25, Lindengasse, Buda Pesth, Hungary.
Berliner, Dr. A., 8, Krausnickstrasse, Berlin.
Derenbourg, Prof. H., Rue de la Victoire, Paris.
Goldziher, Prof. I., The University, Buda Pesth, Hungary.
Gross, Dr. C., 11, Putnam-avenue, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Güdemann, Oberrabbiner Dr. M., Vienna.
Kaufmann, Prof. D., 20, Andrassystrasse, Buda Pesth, Hungary.
Kayslerling, Oberrabbiner Dr. M., Buda Pesth, Hungary.
Rosendale, Hon. Simon, Albany Savings Bank-building, Albany, New
York, U.S.A.
Straus, Hon. Oscar, 42, Warren-street, New York, U.S.A.

Members.

Abrahams, Miss A. E., 7, Belsize-park, N.W.
Abrahams, B. Lionel, India Office. S.W.
Abrahams, Mrs. I., 77, Elgin-avenue, W.
Abrahams, Israel, 77, Elgin-avenue, W.
Abrahams, Rev. Dr. J., Melbourne, Australia.
Abrahams, Rev. M., 8, Northfield-square, Leeds.
Adler, E. N., 9, Angel-court, E.C.
Adler, Mrs. H., 22, Finsbury-square, E.C.
Adler, Rev. Dr. H., Chief Rabbi, 22, Finsbury-square, E.C.

- Adler, Rev. M., Synagogue, Brook-green, W.
 Adler, Marcus N., 22, Craven-hill, W.
 Angel, M., Jews' Free School, Bell-lane, E.
 Alexander, S., 22, Duncan-terrace, N.
 Asher, S. G., 89, Wigmore-street, W.
 Barnard, Major H. B. L., 31, Sussex-gardens, Hyde-park, W.
 Belman, Philip, 4, Bath-row, Birmingham.
 Benas, B., J.P., 5, Prince's-avenue, Liverpool.
 Bender, A. P., Beaufort College, St. Leonards.
 Benjamin, Henry D., 48, Sutherland-avenue, Maida-hill, W.
 Benjamin, Ludwig, 183, Bermondsey-street, S.E.
 Benschel, W., 2, Princess-road, Finsbury-park, N.
 Bensusan, J. S. L., Melton Lodge, Mowbray-road, Upper Norwood.
 Bentwitch, Herbert, 58, Avenue-road, Regent's-park, N.W.
 Birnstingl, A. L., 5, Pembroke-gardens, Kensington, W.
 Bostock, R. C., The Leasows, St. Peter's-road, Broadstairs.
 Büchler, Dr. Adolf, Vienna.
 Bute, The Marquis of, Mount Stuart, Rothesay, Isle of Bute.
 Cart, Henry Thomas, Queen Anne's-mansions, S.W.
 Castello, Percy, 66, Gloucester-terrace, W.
 Chapman, Rev. John, Great Ealing School, W.
 Chorlton, Thomas, 32, Brazenose-street, Manchester.
 Cohen, Dr. A., 67, Warrington-erescent, Maida-vale, W.
 Cohen, Alfred L., 38, Bryanstone-square, W.
 Cohen, B. L., M.P., 30, Hyde-park-gardens, W.
 Cohen, Rev. F. L., Heygate-street, Walworth, S.E.
 Cohen, Rev. Harris, 26, Birkland-avenue, Nottingham.
 Cohen, Rev. Henry, Galveston, Texas, U.S.A.
 Cohen, H. J., 5, King's Bench-walk, Temple, E.C.
 Cohen, John A., 119, Kennington-park-road, S.E.
 Cohen, Miss Lucy, 3, Orsett-terrace, W.
 Cohen, Mrs. N. L., 3, Devonshire-place, Portland-place, W.
 Collins, H. H., Frankfort House, Randolph-road, Maida-hill, W.
 Copeman, J. Thomas, Aylsham, Norfolk.
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