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Jewish History and Gentile Memory: The Expulsion of 1492

Edward Peters

During the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the Christian kingdoms and principalities in northern Iberia extended their power southward. They acquired territory and people that, since the first quarter of the eighth century, had been under Islamic rule. The kingdoms of Leon-Castila, Aragon, and Portugal (especially the former two) contained greater numbers of non-Christians – Jews and Muslims – than any other Christian territory in western Europe. Until the late fourteenth century the kind of public life led in these states was termed *convivencia*, “peacefully living together,” and in Jewish usage Iberia was termed *Sefarad* (Obadiah 20: literally the farthest northern point of Jewish migration in Syria; figuratively, a refuge remote from Palestine).

Jews played a subordinate but crucial role in these kingdoms, which have been termed sociologically incomplete societies, i.e., requiring the presence and service of non-Christians for some governmental functions – chiefly financial and professional – that Christian subjects could not or would not perform. Although Jews were needed, they were also excluded from high public office, as were Jews elsewhere in Christian Europe.

In 1391 a number of riots broke out in different parts of Iberia, directed against Jews. As a result, about half the Jewish population of Iberia converted to Christianity. This was an event unprecedented in history – and one for which the Iberian church and society, indeed any contemporary Christian church and society, were utterly unprepared.

A generation or so later, in the 1440s, new anti-Jewish movements began again, directed this time also against the “New Christians,” or *conversos*, as they were called. The reasons for some of this resentment against *conversos* as well as

against unbaptized Jews may have been the success of *converso* individuals and families in achieving high public office and intermarrying with “Old Christian” families, entering both the nobility and the church.

Tension among Old Christians, New Christians, and Jews increased during the following decades, which were also characterized by great political instability. Fear of the reconversion to Judaism of the New Christians (and the scandal and uncertainty that this might cause among Old Christians) led to the establishment of an investigatory tribunal, the Spanish Inquisition, between 1478 and 1483. Results of the Inquisition’s activities in the 1480s and 1490s appeared to confirm these fears, and steps were taken to segregate Jews from both Old and New Christians as early as 1480. By March, 1492, the rulers of Castile and Aragon, Isabella and Ferdinand, came to the conclusion that segregation had not worked. They decided to take a further step, that of expelling all unbaptized Jews from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. That step and some of the problems of its interpretation and its place in Jewish and Gentile uses of the past are the subjects of this essay.

History and Memory

One of the most profound differences among the many ways in which we use the past is the difference between critical, scientific, academic history and what is termed myth, memory, tradition, and legend. The former assumes no foregone conclusions, extrahistorical explanations, or preordained results. It serves no group or cause, and it measures its results by technical standards that are open to review and close analysis. The latter have been termed “the living past” by the Czech historian František Graus.¹ By “the living past” Graus means a use of the past that is part of a people because it is a fundamental component of that people’s identity. It is collective memory, and, like individual memory, it may not necessarily coincide at all, or even at many, points with the conclusions of academic history, for academic history, belonging to everyone, belongs in this sense to no one.

In 1975, the same year as Graus’s book appeared, Bernard Lewis addressed this difference and others in his own remarkable study, *History Remembered, Recovered, Invented*.² Lewis explored, as had Graus, the different contexts in which the remembered past exists: in heroic narrative, commemorations and festivals, liturgical calendars, custom and law, and, one might add, in more recent periods, journalism, novels, and films. Memory – for I want in this instance to use that term, closer to Lewis’s “history remembered,” in preference to myth, legend, tradition, and “heritage” – is not always at ease with academic history, Lewis’s “history recovered.”³ Academic history may be generated by a disagreement or dissatisfaction with memory or from no concern with memory at all, confronting memory only when its conclusions appear to challenge the precious certainties of memory. Lewis acknowledges that the recovered past threatens memory: “By

analyzing the past [critical historians] kill it.” But he also acknowledges that, “they can bring much that is new and enrich the collective memory as well as cleansing it.”⁴

This essay is a review of Lewis’s and others’ concerns with the relationship between memory and history. Its focus is the variety of ways and purposes by which the expulsion of all unbaptized Jews from Spain in 1492 has been forgotten, remembered, recovered, instrumentalized, and appropriated by different people at different times for different purposes. The history of memory is also a province of academic history.

The Expulsion in Jewish Memory and History

The expulsion, proclaimed in a charter issued by Ferdinand and Isabella on 31 March, 1492, was neither the first nor the last such forced exile of Jews from the territories of Christian Europe, nor did it necessarily involve the numbers of exiles or the kinds of anti-Semitism that have often been attributed to it.⁵ To many contemporaries, however, to later Jews and non-Jews, and in much historiography, it has loomed large – larger than earlier and later expulsions, even those from England and France and other parts of *Sefarad* itself, linked in Gentile memory with the other two major events of 1492, the triumphant entry of the Catholic kings into Granada on 2 January and the departure of Christopher Columbus from Palos on 3 August, and in Jewish memory with earlier exiles and the image of the lost golden age of Spanish Jewry. Any consideration of the circumstances of the 1492 expulsion (and the role in it of an institution that has posed an equal problem for memory and history, the Spanish Inquisition) five hundred years later must consider their place in both kinds of memory and in the discipline of history, which is often inhospitable to memory of any kind.

At first glance, the significance of the expulsion in Jewish memory ought to be easy to account for. Spanish Jewry was a very old and solidly established community – outside of Italy probably the oldest in western Europe. This memory of antiquity lasted long; the immensely popular 1850 novel by Grace Aguilar, *The Vale of Cedars*, posited a Hispano-Jewish enclave that dated from the Mosaic period. Two years earlier, E.H. Lindo’s *The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal* had devoted its opening pages to speculation concerning the biblical antiquity of Jewish settlement in Iberia. That community had prospered under both Muslim and Christian rule and had acquired a profound degree of respect throughout the Jewish world. It had even coined a word that designated its unique place in Christian Europe – *convivencia*, the experience of “peacefully living together” – that differentiated Spanish Jewry from Jewry elsewhere in western Europe.⁶ Spanish Jewry had also earned great respect for its intellectual preeminence.

Thus, its end in 1492 marked the termination of a particularly distinguished period and people, one that had begun to undergo profound troubles at the hands of Spanish Christians at least from the late fourteenth century on, troubles that revealed a deeprooted and substantial transformation of Christian attitudes toward Jews in general that resonated throughout Europe and contributed to the expressions of despair, apocalypticism, and millenarianism that echo in more than one Jewish thinker and community in Spain and elsewhere between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Finally, the traces of Spanish experience long marked the exiles from *Sefarad*. That Spanish language and customs survived among Palestinian Jews in the nineteenth century astonished more than one traveler, and the writer Elias Canetti remembered that Spanish was his maternal language in his childhood in Bulgaria and Manchester at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷ Besides its antiquity, prosperity, glory, memory of *convivencia*, and linguistic and cultural endurance long after 1492, as well as its sense of impending danger from attitudes toward Jews whose source and character are extremely complex, Spanish Jewry also, from 1391 on, had to deal with yet another painful, indeed unprecedented problem – the existence of a very large number of *conversos*, Jews who had converted to Christianity following the persecutions of 1391, whether sincerely, as *anussim* (forced converts), or out of despair, opportunism, or indifference, living side by side with faithful Jews throughout the fifteenth century, thereby, as it turned out, greatly endangering both *conversos* and Jews. These elements alone should suffice to account for the significance of the expulsion in the eyes of contemporaries who lived through it and for the place that the expulsion should have occupied in Jewish memory and history ever since.

There is certainly a substantial body of Jewish literature that is contemporary with or immediately subsequent to the expulsion indicating the widespread dismay among Mediterranean and European Jewry at the expulsion, as well as accounts of individual heroes and heroines and a kind of martyrology of those who endured extraordinary hardships and death as a consequence of the expulsion. There is also a body of sixteenth-century historical literature that has inspired several historians, notably Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, to argue that the expulsion generated a proto-modern Jewish historical consciousness in such writers as Joseph ha-Kohen, Solomon ibn Verga, and others.⁸

Other scholars, however, notably Robert Bonfil, have argued that the expulsion generated neither a continuous memory nor a revolution in historical consciousness.⁹ Still others have argued that the specifics of the expulsion were swallowed up in the “tribulations of Israel” literature and in the more general tone of messianism and apocalypticism that characterizes other aspects of Jewish thought in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and constitutes a major theme of Baer’s analysis of Jewish culture in late medieval Spain.¹⁰ Maurice Kriegel has gone a step further. In considering the extremely favorable descriptions of the last stages of *convivencia* as these are treated in nineteenth-century Jewish

historiography, Kriegel has suggested that these are more a reflection of the growing sense of cultural difference between Jews of northern Europe and of the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century, and that as a result of this difference, there has emerged

that seduction that [the image of a happy *convivencia*] has exercised during the past century upon those Jews recently received into European society: beneficiaries of an entirely fresh emancipation, who aspired, especially in Germany, to reconcile the program of full membership into a country ready to receive them, and the desire to preserve a specific identity, [they] elevated the "Spanish period" of Jewish history to the rank of a model.¹¹

If Kriegel is correct, the significance of the expulsion in Jewish history and Jewish memory may very well be more recent than hitherto thought and tied to a very specific image of the age of *convivencia* without which it loses much of its impact.¹²

The elusiveness of the significance of the expulsion in Jewish history and Jewish memory is matched, perhaps less surprisingly, in the indifference of Gentile memory and in what Gavin Langmuir has called "majority history."¹³

Gentile Memory and Majority History

Before the appearance of history as a learned and, later, academic discipline independent of memory – or at least before its nearly universal acceptance as such in the nineteenth century – the assessment of the past and its meaning in western Europe was more a problematic of competing memories in the presence of a developing technology and sense of history than a direct confrontation between memory and history. For a number of reasons the shaping of what we must call "Gentile memory" was embodied in no single tradition or text. It was the object of often intense dispute among different groups of Christians, for it entailed the challenge of the past and hence the identity of historical Christian society itself. Between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries it was complicated by a series of rapid, indeed cataclysmic historical events: the fall of Constantinople, the consequent threat of Islamic invasion, the divisions within Christian society that produced the Reformation and the Wars of Religion, and within each great division the different varieties of Catholicism and Protestantism, the emergence of *la leyenda negra* and its use against Spain by both other Catholics and Protestants, and later by polemicists for toleration, Enlightenment sceptics, Gothic novelists, and liberal, rationalist secular historians of the nineteenth century. These events and their interpretation in Gentile memory and history both shaped and marginalized – indeed, instrumentalized – the Gentile image of the Jew in the Christian past and present.

Several non Jewish writers contemporary with or immediately subsequent to the expulsion also noted it, both inside and outside Spain. Giovanni Pico della

Mirandola observed that it had disproved the astrological calculations of Jewish scholars; Guicciardini and Machiavelli noted it as a praiseworthy example of the *Realpolitik* of Ferdinand of Aragon.¹⁴ But beyond these, only a few Catholic or Protestant writers of the sixteenth century expressed any concern at all over the expulsion of 1492.

Far more immediate on both sides of the Reformation divide was the problem of the proper Christian use of Jewish thought in the disputes over Christian Hebraism. As Jerome Friedman and others have shown, Christian Hebraism constituted one of the major grounds for Christian discussions of the Jewish past and present, and, in the polemical literature of the Reformation, accusations of judaizing flew thick and fast, as did careful theological distancing from Judaism on the part of the theologians and other scholars thus accused.¹⁵ The progress of Christian Hebraic studies was one of the slowest aspects of modernization, and it began in the fire and heat of confessional polemic that usually treated Jews as harshly and with as much distortion as had earlier debates over *Hebraica veritas* or in the disputations between Jews and Christians in medieval Europe.¹⁶

Other expressions of pro- or anti-Jewish sentiment and policy were grounded in larger issues that had little to do with Jews. Catholic support of Jews in the sixteenth century was generally used as a counterweight to Protestant fears of “judaizing.” Charles V’s support of Jewish subjects in some of his kingdoms was far more tactical and political than expressive of any cultural or religious sympathy on the emperor’s part.¹⁷ The few Catholic and Protestant writers who did acknowledge that *conversos* were the first victims of the Spanish Inquisition briefly agreed on at least one point: that in pursuing false Christians the Inquisition of Spain originally had a “godly purpose” – the phrase is from “Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus,” the pseudonymous author of the account of the Spanish Inquisition that triggered the Inquisition’s inclusion in the Black Legend.¹⁸

And here the two confessions diverged. Catholic writers went on to defend both the original use of the inquisitions and their later focus upon Protestants, while Protestant writers depicted the horrors of the Spanish and other inquisitions – but only in terms of their new victims, Protestants themselves. No Protestant writer before the great Dutch historian Philip van Limborch in 1692 ever undertook to comment sympathetically upon the role of *conversos* as the Inquisition’s first victims, and by the time that Limborch wrote, Jews had been taken up in the growing literature on toleration and the range of religious beliefs and behavior that it should – or should not – embrace.¹⁹ Limborch was the original recipient of John Locke’s *Letter on Toleration*, and it was in arguments for (and often against) religious toleration that Jews and their past for the first time entered Christian thought in any sympathetic sense at all.

These two circumstances, the slow and often halting development of Christian Hebraism and a sharpened sense of the place of persecution for religious reasons

in recent Protestant history, combined shortly after Limborch's work in the majestic history of Jacques Basnage, *Histoire de la religion des Juifs, depuis Jesus-Christ jusqu'à present, pour servir de supplement et de continuation à l'Histoire de Joseph*, published in Rotterdam in six volumes in 1706 and 1707.²⁰ Translated into English in 1708, pirated and emended to suit Catholic tastes by Louis Ellies du Pin in 1711, reissued in a vastly expanded second edition in fifteen volumes in 1716, and translated into Dutch in 1726-1727, Basnage's history appeared at a moment when expulsion for religious reasons had once again loomed large in Europe after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, an event that "traumatized French Calvinist prisoners and refugees to relive for themselves, and in their own terms, The Babylonian Captivity of the Jews." This perceived identity of experience contributed to the new sympathy toward Jewish history – and to contemporary Jews as well in some cases – that marks the beginning of a new stage in the Christian perception of Judaism and Jewish history. Nor was Basnage's history solely of interest to Christians. Basnage himself expressed pleasure that Jewish readers read it with satisfaction, and recent scholarship has shown that in one case, that of Menahem Mann ben Solomon ha-Levi (Amelander), Basnage's history provided the main non-Jewish source for Mann's *She'erit Israel* (Amsterdam, 1743), a work that has been said to mark the historiographical debut of the Jewish Enlightenment.²¹

Yet Basnage's history was not without its own criticism of Jewish thought and religion, and it should be considered in terms of its near-contemporary parallel, the massive *Entdecktes Judenthum* of Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, which displayed a scholarly knowledge of Jewish sources rivalling that of Basnage, but entirely in the service of a savage and highly polemical attack on Jewish belief and (alleged) practices.²² The early eighteenth century produced, in historical scholarship and biblical criticism, a substantial new Christian knowledge of Jewish history and belief that was later reflected in Enlightenment literature. But even that literature reflected the double-edged Gentile stance toward Judaism – a deeper knowledge of its literature and a generally well-disposed intellectual toleration and at the same time a condemnation of all religious "enthusiasm" that included Jews as well as many kinds of Christians.

Besides Christian Hebraism and an occasionally heightened Christian sensitivity to religious persecution and exile that entailed in a few cases like those of the Huguenots a novel sympathy for Jewish history, other aspects of late seventeenth-century history also contributed to a new Christian interest in the expulsions of the Jews (and the Moriscos).²³

The one area in which the Jewish and *converso* experience at the hands of Spain attracted Christian interest, if not sympathy, was in the tactical, instrumental analysis of the economic and political consequences of expulsion. Contemporaries of the expulsion noted the economic dangers that the elimination of a substantial and productive segment of the population could entail, and such themes appeared in Spanish writers through the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries. But it appears to have been the experience of later exiles – dissenting Christians – that triggered the inclusion of earlier Jews into such discussions. The problem of refugees and the costs of their departure – real or asserted – to the countries from which they had been driven were originally taken up during the seventeenth century by non-Spanish writers as well. In the debates following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the proposals of Louis XIV to expel the Jews from France once again further developed the theme that the expulsion of productive and otherwise useful and peaceable subjects in the name of religious uniformity was economically and politically imprudent. But these were rather reasons of state than reasons of humanity. In these debates the Jewish experience had been instrumentalized for Christian purposes.

In the polemics over Christian Hebraism, the arguments for toleration (chiefly for dissenting Christians), and the instrumental interest in the economics of expulsion the Jews occupied a marginal place. They were drawn into discussions of these topics, not as central figures, but as elements of an essentially Christian agenda. That Jews eventually derived some benefit from such uses of their history and present state – in the broadened literature on toleration in the eighteenth century, the readmission of Jews to a number of European states from the late seventeenth century on, and the slow acquisition of civil rights by Jews in the wake of the late eighteenth-century revolutions – was hardly the original intention of those who considered them at the beginnings of this process. For most of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century western Europe, Jews were out of mind largely because Jews were out of sight.²⁴

They returned to mind more slowly than they returned to sight. Gavin Langmuir has traced the dismal record of nineteenth- and twentieth-century “majority history” in its treatment of medieval and early modern Jewish history, a treatment that generally consisted of accounts of moneylending, massacres, and an utter indifference to the religious causes of Jewish treatment at the hands of Christians. Langmuir and other historians are surely correct when they observe that only the terrible history of the Jews in the mid-twentieth century has generated among Gentile historians a new and much wider-ranging sense of the importance of Jewish history for European history – and of the consequences for Jews and for humanity of an indulgence in the luxuries of selective and instrumental Gentile memory for four and a half centuries.²⁵

1492: Towards a History

The events in Castile and Aragon between late March and the end of July, 1492, have been considered from nearly all of the perspectives that recent historical methodology can provide. In this respect, the expulsion has moved away from the narrow confines of Christian and Jewish history and into the same broad areas of social, economic, political and legal history in which other historical events are usually considered. At the same time, however, research in medieval religious

history broadly defined – both Jewish and Christian – has also helped transform the original religious elements of the problem. Thus this account of the current scholarly framework of interpreting the expulsion can merely note some of the main categories of recent research that have been brought to bear on a problem that once existed exclusively in various kinds of memory and a limited kind of historical conceptualization.

The first point that must be made is that the expulsion was part of a complex transformation of Jewish status in Spain that now begins with questions about the very nature of *convivencia* itself, particularly in the light of recent work on the changing attitudes on the part of Christians toward Jews that became especially apparent in the thirteenth century and are reflected in the literature of disputation, efforts at missionizing, and the appearance of what Gavin Langmuir has termed “chimeric antisemitism” – such accusations as the blood libel and ritual cannibalism, accusations made in France and England as well.²⁶ Besides the transformation of Christian religious sensibility in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and its impact upon European Jews generally, the expulsion of 1492 must also be considered in the light of legal history, particularly in the context of criminal legal theory and discussions of the nature of earlier expulsions and the general law of expulsion and exile itself.²⁷ The problem of conversion must also be reconsidered, particularly in terms of the extensive scholarly debates about the nature of the Spanish *converso* population, conversion as a result of both missionizing and socio-political pressure, and the question of the size of the Spanish *converso* population.²⁸ The *converso* problem then raises questions about the social and economic condition of Castile and Aragon and the relation of this to anti-Jewish and eventually anti-*converso* riots and other forms of hostility. These elements constitute the new framework for discussing the expulsion itself.²⁹

During the past several decades historians have argued that there were two central transformations of Christian attitudes toward Jews in medieval Europe. The first was the appearance of a violent hostility, apparently deriving from popular resentment against Jews as enemies of God and Christendom, signalled by the massacres preliminary to the First Crusade in the Rhineland in 1096. The second was the emergence of a new conception of medieval Jews as irrational and heretical because they had forsaken their ancient heritage represented by the Bible and given themselves over to the Talmud – that is, they were accused of having reshaped Judaism in a way that removed the privileges that Jews had been given by earlier Christian authorities and in a way that expressed direct hostility to Christianity.³⁰ The second of these transformations is exemplified in the Talmud trials of the thirteenth century, the characterization of Jews and the figure of “the Jew” in sermons, academic treatises, texts of debates between Christians and Jews, and the new missionary literature associated with the Mendicant Orders.

These concerns require the location of Spanish Jewry from the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century in the general category of “the Jews in Christian

Europe.” But within Spain itself there is the question of the uniqueness of Spanish circumstances, which certainly do not fit the general European model at all points. To take two examples: by the fourteenth century Spain had the largest non-Christian (Jewish and Muslim) population of any land in western Europe, and after 1391 the problem of a vast number of *conversos* made the Spanish *converso* problem very different from the problems of converted Jews elsewhere in Europe. Again, to what extent did anti-Judaism in Spain differ from the general tenor of anti-Judaism elsewhere in Europe, particularly in the light of the public functions performed by Jews and *conversos* within Spanish society and its Christian social groups.³¹ If Spanish history can be illuminated by comparison with similar themes elsewhere in Europe, it remains nevertheless Spanish history and cannot readily be compared at all points with that of the rest of Europe nor be explained fully by it. This dual historical perspective in Spain and in Europe generally, while helpful in reassessing the circumstances of the expulsion, requires considerable sensitivity to variations in place and people.

There are several topics whose characteristics invite comparison between Spain and other parts of Europe: riots and pogroms having Jews and other marginal groups as their targets, the savage literature of anti-Jewish legend – Langmuir’s “chimeric” anti-Semitism – *conversos* inside and outside Spain, the characters of various medieval inquisitorial tribunals and the new comparative study of what one modern historian of medieval Europe has called “the technology of power” and another “the formation of a persecuting society.”³² The place of state-formation here is not new, of course, but recent studies of various kinds of homogenization on the part of late medieval kings and peoples directly apply to Castilian and Aragonese, as well as English and French circumstances.³³

Although the phenomenon of *convivencia* may also offer dimensions for comparative study, its character in Spain must also be fully reassessed. As Kriegel has argued, the character of Spanish *convivencia* is fundamental to an assessment of the expulsion, as a measure of how rapid and disastrous on any scale of historical measurement the expulsion of 1492 and the operations of the Inquisition were. It is here, of course, that history begins to touch and trouble the certainties of memory. Pending a full reassessment, however, it is proper to note that a number of recent historians besides Kriegel have raised doubts about the entirely benevolent character of pre-1391 Spanish Christian society and the status and circumstances of Jews in it.³⁴

With *convivencia* under reassessment, history next asks about *conversos*. The scholarly – and memorial – debate over who the *conversos* were continues. Were they reluctant or enthusiastic converts, sceptical rationalists to whom any religion was a matter of indifference or cynicism, socially ambitious former limited functionaries who could now take advantage of Christian status to rise in office, power, and wealth, *anussim*, or crypto-Jews who remained faithful in heart, or again real Christians of whose Judaism only a culture survived, bringing many of them to the attention of the inquisitors? It is safe to say at least that these

categories are not necessarily exclusive, and all of them may be true. Such a variety within the *converso* communities is a relatively novel idea, but it is consistent with the rule that in studying past communities one must not consider them as fixed and unchanging types – one of the tendencies of memory and tradition.

Finally there are the calculable circumstances of the expulsion itself. Recent research has reduced considerably the estimation of number of Jews who actually were forced to leave Spain, the lowest figures, those of Henry Kamen, numbering somewhat less than 80,000. No one has yet directly challenged Kamen's revision of the numbers. Another aspect is the question of the meaning of the expulsion. Assuming that the mass conversions after 1391 had been anticipated by no one, and that the Spanish Church possessed neither the will nor the means to instruct the new converts adequately (as it appears to have failed to do with the Moriscos, whose own expulsion from Spain in 1609-1610 must be considered as part of the problem of expulsion-commemoration generally), the vast numbers of *conversos* created a third society in Spain whose character was watched closely, for different reasons, by the different orders of Spanish society, the crown, and the Inquisition. Its very existence transformed the character and reputation of the Jewish communities, which were now seen as posing a threat to the *conversos*, and to all of Spanish Christianity.³⁵ This theme certainly is prominently featured in the prefatory matter to the expulsion decree itself and in other contemporary literature in Spain and Italy.

For all of the troubles suffered by fifteenth-century Spanish Jewry, there is nevertheless evidence that Ferdinand and Isabella originally intended to follow – and initially enforced – the traditional royal policy in Castile and Aragon, that is, the continued royal control and protection of Jews, parallel to that of Muslims, and that neither anti-Judaism among urban patriciates, the aristocracy, or the people nor the legacy of 1391 was directly instrumental in changing that policy. Rather, following Kriegel, there appears to have figured more prominently the Inquisition's charges of rejudaizing, coupled with charges of "chimeric" Jewish crimes, particularly the episode of the Holy Child, the *Santo Niño*, of La Guardia in 1490, and the emotional Christian triumphalism in the wake of the conquest of Granada on 2 January, 1492.³⁶ The Spanish kings (and their Jewish courtiers and advisors) appear to have considered the economic losses that the expulsion would cause – an echo of their original policy and rationale for protecting Jews – but, allegedly under pressure from the inquisitor Torquemada, were finally persuaded to reject economic considerations, leaving them for later historians to analyze in quite different circumstances. The expulsion was sudden – and irrevocable. It triggered expulsions outside of Spain, from Arles in 1493 and from Navarre in 1498.

History, then, appears to have reduced the heroic scale of memory, thus raising the question of the compatibility of history and memory and of the dangers to memory that history poses. It is appropriate to conclude with a consideration of memory and history.

1992: Memory and History

Its numbers reduced, its immediate causes now attributed to a specific Spanish situation in which the continuing contact (of whatever nature and duration) between *conversos* and Jews, mediated by the, now, much more clearly understood activities of the Spanish Inquisition, became fatal to both parties, and following a period of *convivencia* that now appears never to have been as peaceful, tolerant, or golden as was once claimed, has the history of the expulsion challenged its importance in memory? Or must the functions of memory and history be reassessed?

Memory is a function of collective identity. When it is most needed it may assert the existence and definition of a group or a people, enhance or adapt its self-image, and preserve it from forgetfulness or the denial of its existence. Or it may counter a mischaracterization of the group. Thus, it is not always needed or invoked in the same way. It may become less needed, or its components may appear more susceptible to revision when particular conditions cease to exist, or at least cease to exist with the immediacy they once did, or when new circumstances bring a neglected part of the past to the fore, making it desirable for appropriation by memory. Bernard Lewis, for example, provides an account of the Jewish forgetting of Masada, its recovery by critical historical study and archaeology, and its reappropriation in Jewish culture, particularly by the Israeli state. This is a case of the past forgotten, recovered, and appropriated by memory. Memory is certainly capable of appropriating the recovered past, of using critical history and thus, in Lewis's terms, enriching and cleansing itself.

Memory may also assert itself against what Langmuir has characterized as "majority history" – otherwise objective-appearing critical history with professional credentials that nonetheless neglects or denies what memory claims to have preserved and what later historical research demonstrates to have been true.³⁷ Many of the recent arguments on behalf of a widened historical curriculum in many American schools are soundly based upon examples of such majority forgetfulness.

Memory and critical history together may oppose competing memory disguised as "history" – that is, a deliberate and conscious attempt to invoke the authority and the apparatus of critical historical analysis as it conducts a war of "invented history" against memory. The recent attempts to invoke critical history in order to disprove the occurrence of the *Shoah* have encountered resistance, not only from Jewish memory, but from critical history working in conjunction with it. Memory and history are not always at odds. Some things that violate one may very well also violate the principles of the other. Both may join in attacking what Lewis calls "invented history."

Memory also vividly preserves images of power, terror, and suffering that a dispassionate and fastidious academic historiography may very well gloss over or treat with a kind of reductionist objectivity. However its components may be

challenged, denied, or modified by history, memory fills a place that history cannot. The past that lives possesses a vitality denied to the past that does not. History is no one's memory, except perhaps the formal social memory of modern culture. But history can never claim at any particular time to have the final say.

There are two ways which memory can control the criticism launched by history. First, memory – and later historical research itself – can invoke the metadiscipline of the history of historiography, the retrospective examination of the thinking and writing of learned history that is an essential part of the discipline of history itself. If the history of memory is a province of academic history, so is the history of academic history. In more than one instance the discipline of history has built into it several corrective mechanisms. These may be triggered by memory as well as by history.

History is also by nature open-ended. Although it claims someday to have the final say about the past, it cannot claim at any time to have the final say. Built into its most critical principles is the principle of openendedness, further revision. History thrives as much on revision of its own conclusions as it does upon its discoveries. Memory is not powerless before history.

Finally, memory has a moral function that history has often been properly and prudently reluctant to claim for itself. Garrett Mattingly once addressed the moral function of history when he observed, "Nor does it matter at all to the dead whether they receive justice at the hands of succeeding generations. But to the living, to do justice, however belatedly, should matter."³⁸

At its most responsible, history ultimately shares some of the aims of memory, if not always an explicit moral purpose, then at least the professional sense of justice undone in the past and remaining to be done.

Even at its most reduced numbers, the expulsion of 1492 was still the largest incident in a series and of a kind that indelibly characterized Christian-Jewish relations in early Europe. The failure of Spain to solve its "*converso* problem" was a Spanish and a Christian failure, complicated by the unstable process of late medieval Iberian statebuilding and the disproportionately powerful role of the Inquisition in that process. The diminishing of the older image of a happy *convivencia* does not mitigate the riots, pogroms, sermons, libels, non-existent Christian child-martyrs, and increasing legal restrictions of the fifteenth century. Nor do all of these revisions silence the voices of pain, despair, and hope that sound in Jewish literature in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Even at its most revisionist, historical analysis of the events leading up to 1492 offers both a cleansing and enriching to memory. For it focuses attention on things that have a reasonable certainty and solidity about them and therefore cannot be dismissed in the way that many who do not share a particular identity and memory might wish them to be. And in this case, as in some others, it reframes the originally confessional "racial" question into the larger question of the

relations between Jewish Europeans and Christian Europeans which is, or ought to be, a central one in European history.

Neither always opposed nor always in conjunction, history and memory most of the time are free to go their separate ways. But when they do confront each other, each must recognize the other's proper sphere of authority and at least seriously consider the deference owed to it. It is difficult for memory to deny the evidence and argument of history, and dangerous for history to ignore the compelling moral voice of memory. If memory must not be merely false history, neither may history be forgetful of what memory has claimed to preserve. And on those occasions when history does forget, it can be reminded that there is more than one way by which a right hand may lose its cunning.

APPENDIX

The Chapter of Expulsion of 1492

Because it presents a fuller version of the charter, I have based my translation on the text edited by Luis Suarez Fernandez, *Documentos Acerca de la Expulsion de los Júdios* (Valladolid, 1964), No. 177: 391-395. I have made one necessary emendation of the Suarez Fernandez text from Fidel Fita, "Edicto de los Reyes Catolicos (31 Marzo, 1492) Desterrando de sus Estados a Todos los Júdios," *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia* 11 (Madrid, 1887), 512-528. A somewhat shorter version of the charter is printed in Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien. Erster Teil. Urkunden und Regesten*, II, *Kastilien/Inquisitionsakten*, rpt. with an Introduction by the author and a select additional bibliography by H. Beinart (London, 1970), No. 378: 404-408. I have also consulted the partial English translation by E.H. Lindo, *The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1848): 277-280.³⁹ I am grateful to Mr. Gregory Kaplan, of the Department of Romance Languages of the University of Pennsylvania, for his careful reading and generous correction of my translation.

Charters were the standard form of documentation by which rulers and private persons formally communicated their official or otherwise important decisions. Charters from rulers might give commands, confer privileges, award gifts, or, as in this case, issue legal decisions involving criminal sanctions. This charter is noteworthy in a number of respects. First, it is as broadly addressed as any document that Ferdinand and Isabella ever issued. Its prologue, or *arenga* – the first part of a charter in which the general reasons for its issuance are given – states that Christians (i.e., *conversos*, although they are not categorized as such) have apostasized because Jews have attempted successfully to (re-)convert them to Judaism. The kings note that they have long been concerned with this problem, since as early as 1480, and in the *Cortes* of Toledo in that year they had given instructions that Jews were to be separated from Christians and settled in *aljamas*, Jewish quarters of residence. "Inquisition was made" (i.e. the Spanish Inquisition was established) precisely because of the problem of relations between *conversos* and Jews, and one of the results of the work of the Inquisition was the list of criminal acts allegedly committed by Jews in regard to Christians that follows the statement. Even the expulsion of Jews from Andalusia had proved insufficient to stop Christian apostasizing, and nothing had changed between 1480 and 1492. Just as every organization whose members commit criminal acts should be dissolved or expelled from the kingdom, regardless of the innocence of some of its members, so the Jews are expelled from the realms of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The last part of the *arenga*, immediately preceding the dispositive clauses – the bulk of any charter containing its actual terms or commands – is an important

indication of the rulers' use of contemporary criminal legal theory concerning punitive exile and the expulsion of criminals in general, as well as the problem of the legal disposition of criminal groups or corporations. The charges against Jews made as a result of the activities of the Inquisition lay the groundwork for the application to Jews of other criminal legal doctrine, since the offenses with which Jews are charged were precisely those which brought Jews under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. This religious argument, bolstered by the terminology of contemporary criminal legal theory and practice, constitutes the rulers' justification for the expulsion. The boilerplate character of much of the charter's language indicates a remarkable degree of inclusiveness and thoroughness in imposing sanctions.

Although the charter is dated 31 March, 1492, it was not actually issued until a month later, thereby giving Spanish Jews only three months, instead of the original four, in which to prepare for the expulsion. The delay may have been caused by attempts to persuade the monarchs to rescind the order, attempts for which there is substantial contemporary evidence. In the event, these attempts failed.

I have tried to reproduce in English the formal legal language and sentence structure of the original wherever possible. The bracketed numbers preceding each paragraph are placed for convenience of reference; they are not in the text. With one exception, that following the salutation, the paragraphing of the translation follows that of the text in Suarez Fernandez, as does capitalization.

My concentration on the literal and legalistic language of the charter makes this translation, completed in the Summer of 1992 without access to Raphael's text, differ at several points from the first full English translation, that of David Raphael, in his book *The Expulsion of 1492 Chronicles* (North Hollywood, California, 1992), reprinted in Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York, 1992), 285-289.

March 31, 1492. Granada

[1] Lord Ferdinand and Lady Isabella, by the grace of God king and queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, the Balearic Islands, Seville, Sardinia, Cordoba, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, of the Algarve, Algeciras, Gibraltar, and of the Canary Islands, count and countess of Barcelona and lords of Biscay and Molina, dukes of Athens and Neopatria, counts of Rousillon and Cerdaña, marquisses of Oristan and of Gociano, to the prince Lord Juan, our very dear and much loved son, and to the [other] royal children, prelates, dukes, marquisses, counts, Masters of [Military] Orders, priors, grandees, knight commanders, governors of castles and fortified places of our kingdoms and lordships, and to councils, magistrates, mayors, constables, district judges, knights, official squires, and all good men of the noble and loyal city of

Burgos and other cities, towns, and villages of its bishopric and of other archbishoprics, bishoprics, dioceses of our kingdoms and lordships, and to the residential quarters of the jews of the said city of Burgos and of all the aforesaid cities, towns, and villages of its bishopric and of the other cities, towns, and villages of our aforementioned kingdoms and lordships, and to all jews and to all individual jews of those places, and to barons and women of whatever age they may be, and to all other persons of whatever law, estate, dignity, preeminence, and condition they may be, and to all to whom the matter contained in this charter pertains or may pertain. Salutations and grace.

[2] You know well, or ought to know, that whereas we have been informed that in these our kingdoms there were some wicked christians who judaized and apostasized from our holy catholic faith, the great cause of which was interaction between the jews and these christians, in the *Cortes* which we held in the city of Toledo in the past year of one thousand, four hundred and eighty, we ordered the separation of the said jews in all the cities, towns, and villages of our kingdoms and lordships and [commanded] that they be given jewish quarters and separated places where they should live, hoping that by their separation the situation would remedy itself. Furthermore, we procured and gave orders that inquisition should be made in our aforementioned kingdoms and lordships, which as you know has for twelve years been made and is being made, and by it many guilty persons have been discovered, as is very well known, and accordingly we are informed by the inquisitors and by other devout persons, ecclesiastical and secular, that great injury has resulted and still results, since the christians have engaged in and continue to engage in social interaction and communication they have had and continue to have with jews, who, it seems, seek always and by whatever means and ways they can to subvert and to steal faithful christians from our holy catholic faith and to separate them from it, and to draw them to themselves and subvert them to their own wicked belief and conviction, instructing them in the ceremonies and observances of their law, holding meetings at which they read and teach that which people must hold and believe according to their law, achieving that the christians and their children be circumcised, and giving them books from which they may read their prayers and declaring to them the fasts that they must keep, and joining with them to read and teach them the history of their law, indicating to them the festivals before they occur, advising them of what in them they are to hold and observe, carrying to them and giving to them from their houses unleavened bread and meats ritually slaughtered, instructing them about the things from which they must refrain, as much in eating as in other things in order to observe their law, and persuading them as much as they can to hold and observe the law of Moses, convincing them that there is no other law or truth except for that one. This proved by many statements and confessions, both from these same jews and from those who have been perverted and enticed by them, which has redounded to the great injury, detriment, and opprobrium of our holy catholic faith.

[3] Notwithstanding that we were informed of the great part of this before now and we knew that the true remedy for all these injuries and inconveniences was to prohibit all interaction between the said jews and christians and banish them from all our kingdoms, we desired to content ourselves by commanding them to leave all cities, towns, and villages of Andalusia where it appears that they have done the greatest injury, believing that that would be sufficient so that those of other cities, towns, and villages of our kingdoms and lordships would cease to do and commit the aforesaid acts. And since we are informed that neither that step nor the passing of sentence [of condemnation] against the said jews who have been most guilty of the said crimes and delicts against our holy catholic faith have been sufficient as a complete remedy to obviate and correct so great an opprobrium and offence to the faith and the christian religion, because every day it is found and appears that the said jews increase in continuing their evil and wicked purpose wherever they live and congregate, and so that there will not be any place where they further offend our holy faith, and corrupt those whom God has until now most desired to preserve, as well as those who had fallen but amended and returned to Holy Mother Church, the which according to the weakness of our humanity and by diabolical astuteness and suggestion that continually wages war against us may easily occur unless the principal cause of it be removed, which is to banish the said jews from our kingdoms. Because whenever any grave and detestable crime is committed by members of any organization or corporation, it is reasonable that such an organization or corporation should be dissolved and annihilated and that the lesser members as well as the greater and everyone for the others be punished, and that those who perturb the good and honest life of cities and towns and by contagion can injure others should be expelled from those places and even if for lighter causes that may be injurious to the Republic, how much more for those greater and most dangerous and most contagious crimes such as this.

[4] Therefore, we, with the counsel and advice of prelates, great noblemen of our kingdoms, and other persons of learning and wisdom of our Council, having taken deliberation about this matter, resolve to order the said jews and jewesses of our kingdoms to depart and never to return or come back to them or to any of them. And concerning this we command this our charter to be given, by which we order all jews and jewesses of whatever age they may be, who live, reside, and exist in our said kingdoms and lordships, as much those who are natives as those who are not, who by whatever manner or whatever cause have come to live and reside therein, that by the end of the month of july next of the present year, they depart from all of these our said realms and lordships, along with their sons and daughters, manservants and maid-servants, jewish familiars, those who are great as well as the lesser folk, of whatever age they may be, and they shall not dare to return to those places, nor to reside in them, nor to live in any part of them, neither temporarily on the way to somewhere else nor in any other manner, under pain that if they do not perform and comply with this command and should be

found in our said kingdoms and lordships and should in any manner live in them, they incur the penalty of death and the confiscations of all their possessions by our Chamber of Finance, incurring these penalties by the act itself, without further trial, sentence, or declaration. And we command and forbid that any person or persons of the said kingdoms, of whatever estate, condition, or dignity that they may be, shall not dare to receive, protect, defend, nor hold publicly or secretly any jew or jewess beyond the date of the end of july and from henceforth forever, in their lands, houses, or in other parts of any of our said kingdoms and lordships, under pain of losing all their possessions, vassals, fortified places, and other inheritances, and beyond this of losing whatever financial grants they hold from us by our Chamber of Finance.

[5] And so that the said jews and jewesses during the stated period of time until the end of the said month of July may be better able to dispose of themselves, and their possessions, and their estates, for the present we take and receive them under our security, protection, and royal safeguard, and we secure to them and to their possessions that for the duration of the said time until the said last day of the said month of july they may travel and be safe, they may enter, sell, trade, and alienate all their moveable and rooted possessions and dispose of them freely and at their will, and that during the said time, no one shall harm them, nor injure them, no wrong shall be done to them against justice, in their persons or in their possessions, under the penalty which falls on and is incurred by those who violate the royal safeguard. And we likewise give license and faculty to those said jews and jewesses that they be able to export their goods and estates out of these our said kingdoms and lordships by sea or land as long as they do not export gold or silver or coined money or other things prohibited by the laws of our kingdoms, excepting merchandise and things that are not prohibited.

[6] And we command all councils, justices, magistrates, knights, squires, officials, and all good men of the said city of Burgos and of the other cities, towns, and villages of our said kingdoms and lordships and all our new vassals, subjects, and natives that they preserve and comply with and cause to be preserved and complied with this our charter and all that is contained in it, and to give and to cause to be given all assistance and favor in its application under penalty of [being at] our mercy and the confiscation of all their possessions and offices by our Chamber of Finance. And because this must be brought to the notice of all, so that no one may pretend ignorance, we command that this our charter be posted in the customary plazas and places of the said city and of the principal cities, towns, and villages of its bishopric as an announcement and as a public document. And no one shall do any damage to it in any manner under penalty of being at our mercy and the deprivation of their offices and the confiscation of their possessions, which will happen to each one who might do this. Moreover, we command the [man] who shows them this our charter that he summon [those who act against the charter] to appear before us at our Court wherever we may be, on the day that they are summoned during the fifteen days

following the crime under the said penalty, under which we command whichever public scribe who would be called for the purpose of reading this our charter that the signed charter with its seal should be shown to you all so that we may know that our command is carried out.

[7] Given in our city of Granada, the XXXI day of the month of March, the year of the birth of our lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety and two years. I, the king, I the queen, I, Juan de Coloma, secretary of the king and queen our lords have caused this to be written at their command. Registered by Cabrera, Almacan chancellor.

NOTES

Author's note: This article is dedicated to Gavin Langmuir, whose work and conversation have taught me much, not only about medieval Jewish-Christian relations, but about the way in which a genuinely European history must be rethought from this perspective. The essay originated as an invited comment at the University of Miami conference on *Memory and Morals: Sephardim and the Quincentenary*, in October, 1991. The final version has benefited considerably from other participants' comments, particularly from those of Robert Bonfil, as well as those of Richard Newhauser and from readings by my colleagues Ruth Mazo Karras, Alan Kors, David Ruderman, and Ann Matter. It has also been given as a lecture in various stages to Trinity University in San Antonio, to the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania and to the Friends of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. I am grateful to Daniel Traister for emergency technical assistance.

1. František Graus, *Lebendige Vergangenheit. Überlieferung im Mittelalter und in den Vorstellung vom Mittelalter* (Cologne-Vienna, 1975). Cf. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), and Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York, 1992).
2. Bernard Lewis, *History Remembered, Recovered, Invented* (Princeton, 1975; rpt. New York, 1987).
3. The inclusion of the term "heritage" in this association has been discussed by David Lowenthal in a communication to *Perspectives: American Historical Association Newsletter* 32/1 (1994): 17-18.
4. Lewis, 54-55.
5. An English translation is appended to this article. The essential studies are those of Maurice Kriegel, "La prise d'une décision: l'expulsion des juifs d'Espagne en 1492," *Revue historique* 260 (1978): 49-90; Stephen Haliczer, "The Castilian Urban Patriciate and the Jewish Expulsions of 1492," in J.M. Sola-Sole, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph H. Silverman (eds.), *Hispania Judaica: Studies on the History, Language, and Literature of the Jews in the Hispanic World*, vol. 1, *History* (Barcelona, n.d.), 37-47; Henry Kamen, "The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492," *Past and Present* 119 (1988): 30-55; John Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe, 1400-1700* (London-New York, 1988, 1991); Luis Suarez Fernandez, *Júdios Espanoles en la Edad Media* (Madrid,

- 1980; Fr. trans., *Les juifs espagnols au Moyen Age* [Paris, 1983]), 257-275; idem, *La Expulsion de los Júdios de España*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1992); Maria Antonia Bel Bravo, *Los Reyes Catholicos y los Júdios Andaluces (1474-1492)* (Granada, 1989).
- In the commemorative year 1992 a considerable number of conferences and studies have been devoted to the subject. See Elie Kedourie (ed.), *Spain and the Jews: The Sephardi Experience 1492 and After* (London, 1992), especially the essays by Eleazar Gutwirth, Henry Kamen, and Haim Beinart, as well as others cited individually below; Henry Méchoulán et al. (eds.), *Les Juifs d'Espagne: histoire d'une diaspora, 1492-1992* (n.p.: Liana Levi, 1992), esp. 9-72. The papers of the conferences at Columbia University and at the University of Leuven, the latter called "De Uittrijving van de Joden uit Spanje (1391-1492) en de Gevolgen voor de Zuidelijke Nederlanden," have not yet appeared.
- For the broader context, see Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 2, *From Mohammed to the Marranos*, trans., Natalie Gerardi (New York, 1973), 198-205; Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York, 1992). The magazine *Eretz* produced a *Special Issue* on the expulsion in 1992, containing a brief comment in English (31-33) by Maurice Kriegel, "A Means or an End?"
- The standard collections of documents on the expulsion are those of Fritz Baer, *Die Juden in christlichen Spanien. Erster Teil / Urkunden und Regesten* (Berlin, 1929-1936), rpt. with Introduction by the author and a select additional bibliography by H. Beinart (London, 1970), and Luis Suarez Fernandez, *Documentos Acerca de la Expulsion de los Júdios* (Valladolid, 1964).
6. Most recently, see Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilyn D. Dodds (eds.), *"Convivencia": Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York, 1992), especially Glick's discussion of the term itself, 1-9, and Angus Mackay, "The Jews in Spain during the Middle Ages," in Kedourie (ed.), *Spain and the Jews*, 33-50. See also below, nn.32, 34, especially the latter for the study by Roger Highfield.
 7. The literature on *Sefarad* and Sephardic culture is immense. I cite here only the source for my last two points in the text above, Beatrice Leroy, *L'aventure sefarade* (Paris, 1986), esp. 143-144, and Paloma Diaz-Mas, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain*, trans. George K. Zucker (Chicago-London, 1992). There are detailed accounts of contemporary Jewish response to the expulsion in Benjamin Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain from the Late XIV to the Early XVI Century*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1966; rpt. Millbrook, NY, 1973), and *Don Isaac Abravanel*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia, 1980); Bel Bravo, *Los Reyes Catholicos y los Júdios Andaluces*, 143-201.
 8. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle, 1982), ch. 3. Similar views, although not as strongly argued, are found in Lionel Kochan, *The Jew and His History* (New York, 1977), 37-42.
 9. Robert Bonfil, "How Golden was the Age of the Renaissance in Jewish Historiography?" in Ada Rapoport-Albert (ed.), *Essays in Jewish Historiography, History and Theory*, Beiheft 27 (Middletown, Connecticut, 1988), 78-102; idem, "Esiste una storiografia ebraica medioevale?" in Fausto Parente (ed.), *Aspetti della Storiografia Ebraica. Atti del IV Congresso internazionale dell'AIISG. San Miniato. 7-10 novembre. 1983* (Rome, 1987), 222-247; idem, "Some Reflections on the Place of Azariah de Rossi's *Meor Enayim* in the Cultural Milieu of Italian Renaissance Jewry," in Bernard Dov Cooperman (ed.), *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 23-48. More recently, see also Marianne Awerbuch, *Zwischen Hoffnung und Vernunft. Geschichtsdeutung der Juden in Spanien vor der Vertreibung am Beispiel Abravanel und Ibn Vergas* (Berlin, 1985). Moshe Idel, "Religion, Thought and Attitudes: The Impact of the Expulsion on the Jews," in Elie Kedourie (ed.), *Spain and the Jews*, 123-139.
 10. Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia,

- 1966), 424-443. Yerushalmi himself has emphasized this aspect of Joseph ha-Kohen, "Messianic Impulses in Joseph ha-Kohen," in Cooperman, *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, 460-492. On the general phenomenon, see David B. Ruderman, "Hope against Hope: Jewish and Christian Messianic Expectations in the Late Middle Ages," in *Exile and Diaspora: Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart* (Jerusalem, 1991), 185-202, esp. p.187: "More than any other event, the dramatic ejection of Spanish Jewry constituted the major catalyst in precipitating messianic stirrings among Jews and Marranos alike." On the expulsion and the theme of exile generally in the aftermath of 1492, see Shalom Rosenberg, "Exile and Redemption in Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century: Contending Conceptions," in Cooperman, *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century* 399-430.
11. Maurice Kriegel, *Les Juifs à la fin du Moyen Age dans l'Europe méditerranéenne* (Paris, 1979), 9. Kriegel's suggestion is supported by the account of the movement to rescind the expulsion decree during the nineteenth century in the study by Haim Avni, *Spain the Jews and Franco*, trans. Emmanuel Shimon (Philadelphia, 1982), 5-57, in which Avni attributes the knowledge of Jewish history displayed in the petition of Rabbi Ludwig Philippsohn of Magdeburg in 1854 to the work of the nineteenth-century Spanish historian of the Jews and the Inquisition, José Amador de los Rios.
 12. Gavin Langmuir has briefly traced the course of modern Jewish historiography in his *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1990), 42-54. See also the works cited above in n. 6. The best short account of the nineteenth century is that of Michael A. Meyer, "The Emergence of Jewish Historiography: Motives and Motifs," in Rappaport-Albert, *Essays in Jewish Historiography*, 160-175.
 13. Gavin Langmuir's account of "majority history" may be found in his *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*, 21-41.
 14. The instances are cited by Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. 2, 440. Baer also corrects the date of the departure of the last Jews from Spain to 31 July, 1492, arguing that the traditional date, that of 3 August (the same day as Columbus sailed from Palos), was cited so as to align the expulsion with the 9th of Ab, the liturgical date for the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, pp. 433ff.
 15. On Christian Hebraism, see Heiko Oberman, "Discovery of Hebrew and Discrimination against the Jews: The *Veritas Hebraica* as Double-Edged Sword in Renaissance and Reformation," in Andrew C. Fix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (eds.), *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, vol. 18 (Kirksville, Missouri, 1992), 19-34; Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, Ohio, 1983). On the debates within scriptural studies, see G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester, 1983), and Ilona N. Rashkow, "Hebrew Bible Translation and the Fear of Judaization," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 21 (1990): 217-233. On some particular concerns of the seventeenth century, see the recent studies of Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth-Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' "Mishneh Torah"* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), and Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantin l'Empereur (1591-1648)*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Leiden, 1989). The best general histories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in this regard are the complementary accounts of Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550-1750* (Oxford, 1985), and John Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe 1400-1700* (London-New York, 1988, 1991). For the final connection to England, see David Katz, *Philosemitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655* (Oxford, 1982), and Aubrey Newman, "The Sephardim in England," in Kedourie (ed.), *Spain and the Jews*, 213-222.

16. See Aryeh Graböis, "The *Hebraica Veritas* and Jewish-Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 50 (1975): 613-634; Amos Funkenstein, "Patterns of Jewish-Christian Polemics in the Middle Ages," *Viator* 2 (1971): 373-382, and below, n. 30. On Judaism and Jews in Reformation thought, see Heiko A. Oberman, "Three Sixteenth-Century Attitudes to Judaism: Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Luther," in Cooperman, *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, 326-364; Oberman, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*, trans. James I. Porter (Philadelphia, 1984), with criticism in Jerome Friedman, "Jewish Conversion, the Spanish Pure Blood Laws and Reformation: A Revisionist View of Racial and Religious Antisemitism," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1987): 3-29; Paul F. Grendler, "The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978): 103-130; the essays by Mark U. Edwards, Jr., Salo W. Baron, and Kenneth R. Stow in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict from Late Antiquity to the Reformation* (New York and London, 1991), 345-430.
17. Discussion in Israel, *European Jewry*, 15-16.
18. On Montanus, see Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York, 1988), 130-134, 329-330.
19. On Limborch, see Peters, *Inquisition*, 165-170, 333-334.
20. On Basnage, see Gerald Cerny, *Theology, Politics, and Letters at the Crossroads of European Civilization: Jacques Basnage and the Baylean Refugees in the Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht-Boston, 1987), esp. 181-202.
21. On Mann, see R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, "Yiddish Historiography in the Time of the Dutch Republic," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981), 9-19; cited by Cerny, p. 185, nn. 25, 26.
22. On Eisenmenger, see Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisemitism 1700-1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 13-23; John Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe*, 169-177.
23. On Bayle, see Myriam Yardeni, "La vision des juifs et du judaïsme dans l'oeuvre de Pierre Bayle," in idem (ed.), *Les juifs dans l'histoire de France. Premier Colloque international de Haifa* (Leiden, 1980), 86-95.
24. The vexing Enlightenment record on Judaism is traced in Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1968); Robert Loy, "Enlightenment Opinion of the Inquisition," in Angel Alcalá (ed.), *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (New York, 1987), 655-664; Peters, *Inquisition*, 174-204, 232-237; and especially Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction* 23-47, and idem, *Jews and Freemasons in Europe 1723-1939* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).
25. Langmuir, *Towards a Definition of Antisemitism*.
26. Ibid., for the scholarship dealing with the entire period, see the studies in Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi et al. (eds.) *Bibliographical Essays in Medieval Jewish Studies* (New York, 1976); Rapoport-Albert, *Essays in Jewish Historiography*; Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*; Robert Singerman, *The Jews in Spain and Portugal: A Bibliography* (New York, 1975). For France, see William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews from Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia, 1989), and for England, Robert Stacey, "Recent Work on Medieval English Jewish History," *Jewish History* 2 (1987): 61-72; idem, "1240-1260: A Watershed in Anglo-Jewish Relations?" *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 61 (1988): 135-150, and idem, "The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 263-283.
27. On the status of Jews in Christian canon law, see Walter Pakter, *Medieval Canon Law and the Jews* (Ebelsbach, 1988); Schlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, 7 vols., *Studies and Texts*, vols. 95, 99, 104-106, 109-110 (Toronto, 1989-1991), esp. *Studies and Texts* 95; Kriegel, "La prise d'une décision," 80-81. For civil law, see Norman Zacour, *Jews and Saracens in the Consilia of Oldradus de Ponte* (Toronto,

- 1990), especially *consilia* 87 and 264. For England and France, see the recent studies of Sophia Menache, "Faith, Myth, and Politics – The Stereotype of the Jews and their Expulsion from England and France," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 75 (1985): 351-374, and "The King, the Church and the Jews: some considerations on the expulsions from England and France," *Journal of Medieval History* 13 (1987): 223-236; Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews*; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Philip V, Charles IV, and the Jews of France: The Alleged Expulsion of 1322," *Speculum* 66 (1991): 294-329. Current research by David Abulafia and Benjamin Kedar will contribute much toward illuminating this problem. For a broader approach to the general problem of expulsion and exile, see Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1982).
28. The theme of conversion as an alternative to expulsion is considered in many of the studies cited in the preceding note. On inquisitorial jurisdiction over Jews, see Maurice Kriegel, "La juridiction inquisitoriale sur les juifs à l'époque de Philippe le Hardi et Philippe le Bel," in Myriam Yardeni (ed.), *Les juifs dans l'histoire de France* (Leiden, 1980), 70-77, and the sources cited in Peters, *Inquisition*, 320-325. See also Joseph Shatzmiller, "Converts and Judaizers in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Harvard Theological Review* 74 (1981): 6377. On the Spanish *converso* problem, much research is summed up in John Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe 1400-1700*, and in Edwards, *Christian Cordoba: The City and Its Region in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1982); "Religious Belief and Social Conformity: The 'Converso' Problem in Late-Medieval Cordoba," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series 31 (1981): 115-128; "The Conversos: A Theological Approach," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 62 (1985): 39-49; David Hook, "The Legend of the Flavian Destruction of Jerusalem in Late Fifteenth-Century Spain and Portugal," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 65 (1988): 113-128; Angus MacKay, "The Hispanic-Converso Predicament," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35 (1985): 3-43 (rpt. in Mackay, *Society, Economy and Religion in Late Medieval Castile* (London, 1987), XIII, as well as the works of Baer, Kriegel, Suarez Fernandez and others cited above.
 29. These themes are particularly emphasized in the work of Angus MacKay cited in the preceding note, and in that of Stephen Haliczer, "The Castilian Urban Patriciate and Jewish Expulsions of 1492," and Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington, 1985). Narrowly social or economic explanations of the rise of anti-converso and anti-Jewish sentiment have been criticized by Kriegel and Suarez Fernandez.
 30. These changes are discussed in the work of Funkenstein and Graböis, cited above, (n. 11), and in David Berger (ed. and trans.), *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the "Nizzahon Vetus" with an Introduction Translation and Commentary* (Judaica Texts and Translations, No. 4) (Philadelphia, 1979); idem, "Christian Heresy and Jewish Polemic in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Harvard Theological Review* 68 (1975), 287-3-4; idem, "Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 576-591; idem, "The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages," in Jeremy Cohen (ed.), *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict*, 484-513. With Berger should be read the work of Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval AntiJudaism* (Ithaca and London, 1982), idem, "Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 592-613 (with an important "Comment" by Gavin Langmuir. 614-624), and idem, "Recent Historiography on the Medieval Church and the Decline of European Jewry," in James Ross Sweeney and Stanley Chodorow (eds.), *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the*

- Middle Ages* (Ithaca-London, 1989), 251-262, and the critical revision in Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1989), as well as the work of Langmuir, Menache, Jordan, and Stacey, cited above. For the importance of 1096, see Langmuir, *Towards a Definition of Antisemitism*, and Ivan G. Marcus, "From Politics to Martyrdom: Shifting Paradigms in the Hebrew Narratives of the 1096 Crusade Riots," in Cohen, *Essential Papers*, 469-484; Jonathan Riley Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews," *Studies in Church History* (1984), 51-73. Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1987).
31. There is no recent survey of the place of Spain in the development of the condition of Jews in Europe discussed in the last note. The best attempt at integrating the history of Spanish Jewry with Jewry elsewhere is the short work by Kriegel, *Les juifs à la fin du Moyen Age dans l'Europe méditerranéenne* cited above (n. 6).
 32. On the comparative study of riots and pogroms, see Angus MacKay, "Popular Movements and Pogroms in Fifteenth-Century Castile," *Past and Present* 55 (1972): 3367, rpt. in MacKay, *Society, Economy and Religion*, X. On legend and fantasy, see the essays in Langmuir, *Towards a Definition of Antisemitism*. On the medieval inquisitors, see Peters, *Inquisition*, and Teofilo F. Ruiz, "The Holy Office in Medieval France and in Late Medieval Castile: Origins and Contrasts," in Angel Alcalá (ed.), *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (Highland Lakes, N.J., 1987), 32-51, as well as the essays cited in Yom Tov Assis, "Preface," in Miguel Angel Motis Dolader, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Calatayud 1492-1500. Documents and Regesta*, Sources for the History of the Jews in Spain, 2 (Jerusalem, 1990), 5-10. On the problem of power, see James B. Given, "The Inquisitors of Languedoc and the Medieval Technology of Power," *American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 336-359; R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford, 1987). I have reviewed the recent literature on state-formation in "'The Infancy of Celebrated Nations': Folk, Kingdom, and State in the Middle Ages," in Edward Peters (ed.), *Folk Life in the Middle Ages. Medieval Perspectives*, vol. 3 (Richmond, Kentucky, 1991), 18-37.
 33. The theme of state-formation in late medieval Spain is the subject of Maurice Kriegel, "Mobilization politique et modernization organique. Les expulsions des juifs au Bas Moyen Age," *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 46 (1978): 5-20.
 34. On *convivencia* see Roger Highfield, "Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Same Society: The Fall of *Convivencia* in Medieval Spain," *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 121-146; Luis Suarez Fernandez, *Júdios Espanoles en la Edad Media*.
 35. As implausible as such an idea may seem today, there is some evidence that it was held – or at least argued – in Spain at the time. See Kriegel, "La prise d'une décision," 87, and the anti-Spanish polemic discussed in Sverker Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra: Estudios sobre sus origines* (Goteborg, 1960); cf. José Faur, *In the Shadow of History: Jews and "Conversos" at the Dawn of Modernity* (Albany, 1992), esp. 9-40.
 36. The argument is found in Kriegel, "La prise d'une décision." On the Holy Child, see the references in *ibid.*, 83, n. 140. On the last expulsion from Spain, see now Benjamin R. Gampel, *The Last Jews on Iberian Soil: Navarrese Jewry 1479/1498* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1989).
 37. Spanish views of history are exemplary in this regard. See J. N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," *History and Theory* 24 (1985): 23-43; Stephen Haliczzer, "Inquisition Myth and Inquisition History: The Abolition of the Holy Office and the Development of Spanish Political Ideology," and Jose Luis Abellán, "The Persistence of the Inquisitorial Mind in Contemporary Spanish Life and Culture and the Theory of the 'Two Spains,'" both in Angel Alcalá (ed.), *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind*, 523-546, 609-624.

38. Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston, 1959), 375; see the discussion of this argument by J.H. Hexter, "Garrett Mattingly, Historian," rpt. in Hexter, *Doing History* (Bloomington, 1971), 157-172.
39. There are English translations of earlier expulsion decrees elsewhere in Europe in Robert Chazan, *Church, State and Jew in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1980), 277-322.

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