

CONTEMPT FOR THE LOWER ORDERS IN XVTH CENTURY HISPANO JEWISH THOUGHT

ELIEZER GUTWIRTH

It is probably fair to say that in certain circles it is a commonplace that conversos of Jewish origin in XVth century Spain have a sympathetic attitude for 'los de abajo' which can be detected in their literary productions. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, in her book on Juan de Mena (1) repeatedly stresses this as a characteristic of converso sensibility which is found also in Valera and Lucena. Rafael Lapesa (2) thinks it relevant, in his article on Juan de Lucena to point to this converso's 'sentido del pro común y atención a la voz exigente del pueblo'. Rodríguez Puértolas, writing on Iñigo de Mendoza (3) thinks it worthwhile to add as an explanation of the Franciscan's attitude to the humble the fact that he was a converso.

The origin of this attitude is sometimes said to be the converso's predilection for a personal, intimate, evangelical form of Christianity and, at other times, it is said to derive from a 'Jewish notion' of the dignity of manual labour found in the Talmud 'cuyos máximos exegetas se ganaban la vida remendando zapatos' according to Márquez Villanueva (4). Hernando de Talavera's advice to engage in manual labour is seen by Márquez (5) as part of the fascination of XVth century converts with the new current of the cult of work and so is Alvarez Gato's stance.

The idea that there was a particular Jewish notion of the dignity of manual labour is based on a series of texts from Mishna and Talmud (i.e. works incorporating material from the second century BC to the sixth century CE) which praise manual labour (6). It is also based on the assumption that the idea of the taint of manual labour is of Greco-Roman origin and therefore foreign to Jewish thought.

This view does not take into consideration two facts, first that medieval Jews applied selectivity in their approach to Talmud texts, that is emphasized some and ignored others, and that by the XVth century they had absorbed a variety of ideas from classical philosophy through the medium of the translations from the Arabic or Arabic original texts.

The phrase 'lower orders' -used here for want of a better term to designate those engaged in manual labour- is not meant to be coterminous with the medieval Castilian notion of 'labradores'. This, the lowest of the three estates into which society is divided in Castilian literature studied by Di Stefano, seems to include, apart from workers of the soil, artisans, any town dweller and merchants. Tailors, coat makers, are described as engaging in low and vile occupations in e.g. the Ordenanzas de Castilla; the merchant is despised in *El Conde Lucanor* (7).

In contrast, Jewish social thought seems to differentiate sharply between the 'clean' occupation of the merchant and the undignified nature of working the soil. This is clearly expressed in some lines of the early XIIIth century Hebrew poet from Gerona, Meshulam da Piera, well known to XVth century Hebrew poets; 'Shall the wolf then become a dweller of the fields? and should the lion turn into farmer and vineyard labourer? give me a clean occupation: to engage in commerce' (8). An earlier poet, who is probably a direct antecedent of the XVth century criticism of the lower orders, Abraham of Beziery (second half of the XIIIth century) (9) writes against his friend Pinhas Halevi (also known as Don Vidal Profayt) who bought a field near the castle of Canet and devoted himself to agriculture. When on one occasion his crop went up in fire, Abraham wrote sarcastic invective verses. In them he despised him for having chosen agriculture, he puns Canet with Cain whose lot it is to work the earth, and expresses his contempt at the poet who neglects the

lyre and chooses bricks and the work of the field. He cannot understand how the 'dweller in his tents' has turned a 'mountain dweller in the field' (punning on Je 17,3: 'I will give my mountain with the field... for a prey'), how he can bear the fellowship of farmer and shepherd. His smell, which used to be that of roses, is now that of the field.

Solomon Bonafed, a Saragossan poet of the first half of the XVth century stands in that tradition of sarcastic social invective when he attacks the artisans in a poem written to a friend, En Vidal Bonsenyor of Solsona, who had recently lost his fortune (10). The poem belongs formally to a genre well known in Europe from the classical age and onwards: the world upside down. As Helen Grant points out (11) the genre could be used both to criticise the existing order or to deplore change.

After having strung together a series of impossibilities, as demanded by the conventions of the genre, Bonafed goes on to attack the social success of the artisans: the tailor exaggerates his worth; when he comes out with his needle he thinks himself capable of vanquishing the sons of giants, his thread is, to him, sweeter than honey. The jeweller is sought after for his money but who knows whether it does in fact belong to him. The weaver thinks his craft as good as the knowledge of a Talmudic tract (12).

This same attitude of contempt for the artisan is expressed in a cycle of poems, this time dated, of 1445, in which, having been exiled from the Saragossan Jewish community Bonafed attacks its leaders. In this cycle he remarks disparagingly, that the tailors have become judges and the shoemakers have become magistrates and heads of the Sanhedrin (13). It is hard to determine to what extent these verses reflect conditions in Saragossa. In March 1417, Alfonso V empowered Vidal de la Caballería to reorganize the communal government of the Saragossan *aljama* in a letter which describes the situation of the *aljama* in the previous years. The letter refers to the fact that.

'los menestrales e delos menores..... havian tomado carga de regir e ordenar la cosa publica dela dita *aljama* por la qual razon toda la dita *aljama* es en tanto desorden.....' (14)

In other words it may be said that for some years the aljama had been ruled by 'menestrales'; that the period of government had ended in 1417 following, obviously, complaints which are being echoed in the brief to Vidal de la Caballería, a member of Bonafed's circle. Whether this forms the background to his poem on the world upside down or whether the situation had repeated itself at a time close to the writing of the cycle of poems against the Saragossan leadership in the forties is hard to determine. All that might perhaps be said is that situations of artisan leadership of the community were not unknown and neither was the opposition to them. On the other hand, a list of aljama officers of the Jewish community of Saragossa in the XVth century drawn from Serrano y Sanz, Baer and other sources (15) does not show much alteration in the make up of the leadership. The same families appear again and again.

For a man such as Bonafed, who valued above all excellence in poetry, the friendship of members of the old families of the community and scholarship in general, the artisans were an understandable target of invective. This might, perhaps, be a feature of the thought of his circle. Efodi, a contemporary member of his family and of the circle of erudite writers of the North of Spain, seems to adopt a similar stance in the introduction to a work written in 1408 on the Hebrew language. In it he reveals his sympathy with the leadership, his admiration for the wealthy as well as the extreme importance he attaches to the study of the Hebrew language and the Bible. In one section, in which he praises the wealthy patrons of Hebrew scribes who commission richly decorated copies of manuscripts, he speaks of the need for manuscripts with thick, clear letters and says:

'...And Judah Halevi, in the Cuzari, gave another reason for this (i.e. the use of large books with big letters) namely that many people used one book at the same time and therefore the books were large. But this applies only to those days, when they used to engage in Torah study in their thousands and tens of thousands, so much so that the artisans, in their spare time did nothing but study, but nowadays, that there are more books than writers or readers, the artisans in their spare time...pursue vanity going to play dice and chess... and the cause has vanished...' (16)

The paramount importance of scholarship as a Jewish value was undoubtedly a factor in minimizing the esteem of manual labour. Thus the Mallorcan Rabbi Simeon b. Zemah Duran, in his commentary on the Ethics of the Fathers, has to comment on the maxim 'love work and hate pursuit of office', where the word for 'office' (rabbanut) is identical with that used for the rabbinate.

Duran cites dozens of talmudic passages to show the importance of manual labour and adds:

'But God forbid that the inténction (of the maxim) should refer to that rabbinate which concerns the study of the Torah, because with reference to that, the sages have said at the end of tractate Kiddushin, Rabbi Nehorai said: I reject any form of work and would rather teach my son the Torah because all types of work are of no use in old age, but the Torah stands by a man in his childhood and in his old age and gives him a future and hope...' (17)

These are incidental expressions of, to say the least, qualifications to the Jewish idea of the dignity of manual labour. This is paralleled by judicial and legal pronouncements of the period in which we find evidence of an attitude which cannot be labelled entirely sympathetic.

This is particularly the case in the texts on guilds or fraternities of artisans and their right to pass by-laws and ordinances. According to Ribash, a Rabbi holding office in Valencia and Saragossa until 1391, craftsmen require the agreement of 'an important man' of the town to pass such ordinances (18). According to the above mentioned Rabbi from Mallorca, R. Simeon b. Zemah Duran, without the approval of an important man, enactments of craftsmen's guilds are not valid (19). Although, generally, emphasis is placed by historians (20) on the permission granted to guilds to pass ordinances, it would seem that the artisans' independence was curtailed by making them dependent on the agreement of 'an important man'.

Somewhere in between the attitude of the poet who expands on the boorishness of the artisans and the lawyer who laconically curtails his power is the exege-

te who, although bound by his text, can express his own views on the subject. Moses Arragel's commentary on the Bible (21) written between 1422 and 1433 for the Master of the Order of Calatrava is a case in point. When glossing De 8,3 'and he humbled thee and suffered thee to hunger ...' ('E diole pobreza e fambre...') Arragel writes:

'Non es de dubdar que quien buen criado quiere fazer dos generales reglas le deve reglar, conviene a saber en los principios del servicio castigarlo por qualquier yerro que fiziere e pocas veces o ninguna perdonar. Iten traerlo a mucha fanbre e set e desnudat e desy estas dos lo aduzen a ser buen criado.....'

In Genesis 33 there is a description of the meeting of Jacob and Esau in which the bowing to Esau is frequently mentioned. Arragel comments:

'Aqui fallaras que Jacob e sus mugeres e los hijos de las mugeres fizieron reverencia a Ysau, salvo los hijos de las dos siervas seyendo muy altivos, diziendo hijos somos de Jacob. Nota que los villanos e de pequeño suelo, si logar oviesen como querrian e quanto punar en la altividat e el mandar' (22)

This attitude to the serfs (not warranted by the text nor, it would seem, by previous exegesis), could claim to be in accord with the verse in Pr 30,20-21 'For three things the earth is disquieted and for four, which it cannot bear, for a servant when he reigneth...', a sentiment which Ibn Verga puts in the mouth of a Christian when describing the hatred felt for the Jews in Spain because of their rise from poor origins (23). The sentiment is essentially not very different from that expressed in the Corbacho 'Viose el perro en bragas de cerro non conocio a su compañero'.

Whatever Arragel's views on the peasants were, he admires the technical knowledge of the agriculturist. On Gen 36,20: 'These are the sons of Seir the Horite who inhabited the earth (or the land)' Arragel comments on the apparent superfluous phrase 'the land':

'Estos fueron los hijos de Hory e fueron moradores en la tierra. Ninguno non mora en los cielos pero

esto asi dixo por quanto sabian asas en saber poblar el mundo e en la agricultura. Tomavan punos de cada tierra e dizian esto es para pan, esto para semillas, esto para arboles, e aun ponen que esto conoscián asy en el olor de la tierra como en el sabor della. E sin dubda que es gran ciencia e parece que compusyeron asaz libros de agricultura...' (24)

The essence of his commentary is to be found in that of the popular XIth century French exegete Rashi who repeated a Talmudic interpretation. In the XIVth century, the son of the Toledan Rabbi Asher, R. Judah, would remark that the numerical value of the hebrew letters making up the words 'who inhabited the earth' is equal to that of 'they smelled the earth' (25). The admiration for the knowledge of the agriculturalist, however, is probably Arragel's own.

This relatively appreciative stance towards agriculture was by no means characteristic of his age. The XVth century Spanish Jew had in the Talmud contradictory opinions as to the value of the land and work on it. One maxim, for example, stated that a man without land is not a man (Yebamot 63a). Another maintained that there is no more contemptible work than that of the land (ibid). The second one was quoted in the XVth century as the basis for legal decisions e.g. in a responsum of Isaac Aboab, last Gaon of Castile, concerning the rights of guardians of orphans to sell land which is the property of the orphans (26).

This negative attitude to the work of the soil was expressed in various forms in medieval Jewish and non-Jewish literature. Patristic literature saw Cain as the prototype of 'unregenerate man', medieval Christian exegesis saw Cain as a type of the Jews and medieval iconography expressed this in portrayals of Cain stressing coarse features, Jewish nose and Jewish hat (27). Cain is also seen as the archetypal peasant. The Anglo-Norman 'Mistere d'Adam' portrays Cain as an avaricious peasant (28), a view implied also in medieval pageants (29). The book of St Albans contains a treatise on coat armour which goes back to Cain for the origins of the non-noble; he is the first labourer because he slew Abel. Similar ideas are to be found in Caxton's Chess-book (30).

In Jewish thought, as might be inferred from the above cited contemptuous reference to Cain in Abraham Bedersi's invective, Cain did not fare much better. His sin was that he chose agriculture, a cursed occupation. This is the view of the Toledan Rabbi of the second half of the XVth century, Isaac Caro (31), in a collection of commentaries on the Pentateuch based, probably, on sermons given before Toledan and Portuguese audiences. Isaac Aboab gives a slight variation on this theme; he explains that Cain's sin was his lack of belief in God. For men choose as their occupation that in which they will succeed and since Cain chose agriculture he obviously did not believe in God who had cursed the earth (32).

This theological justification of the social position of the peasant is very clear in the views on peasants and artisans contained within the structure of a well known medieval motif associated with the Cain story.

The theme of the threefold division of mankind is related, from the point of view of the history of philosophy, to the division of the soul into three parts, an idea inherited from the school of Pythagoras by Plato and transmitted to the Middle Ages, a period fond of such symbolism, particularly of triads, as stressed by C.S.Lewis (33). This threefold division was expressed in the three estates motif studied for French and Spanish literature by R. Mohl and L. di Stefano respectively (34).

It is hard to determine when the motif entered Hebrew literature, but there are antecedents to its use in Spain in the XVth century. In a commentary to the Book of Creation, Elhanan ben Yaqar (XIIth century) refers to the threefold division of society using it for an excursus on the power of the stars over men. The world cannot exist without kings, peasants and workers of every sort and without men of prayer. This has been the case since Noah; Japhet was judge and king, Canaan was the peasant, Shem prayed. This is all determined by the stars; when the Messiah comes their power will be abolished (35). Shem Tov ibn Falaquera (1224-1290) of Tudela also divided society into three. Cain, for him, represents the lowest of these divisions; those who know only enough to till the soil and work for themselves (36). From XIVth century Yemen comes information about a preacher of the Holy Land who

used to preach that the three sons of Noah are the three forces in man, that is without having extended the division to society as a whole (37).

This framework served to discuss the shortcomings of the 'third estate' in both Christian and Jewish medieval literature. Joseph Albo, a Rabbi from Daroca known for his involvement in the Tortosa dispute of 1413-1415 alludes to this division in the Book of Principles; there are those who are engaged in agriculture, politics and the worship of God. Of those 'who follow the opinion of Cain' and think the most important occupation to be agriculture, he writes:

'they feel hostility towards political rulers and desire to kill them as Cain killed Abel'.

At the time of the flood, according to Albo:

'the occupation of Cain was widely prevalent amongst his descendants and hence the earth was filled with violence on their account, their belief being that man has no superiority over the animal and might is right. Therefore they were corrupt and lived as animals' (38).

Albo typifies that dread and hatred of the lower orders common in Europe and reflected in literature, where they are represented as enraged beasts with violence as their main characteristic.

Only rarely are statements reflecting affective empathy rather than generalized abstract approval, encountered in the literature dealing with the artisan. A case in point might be a sermon in Shem Tov ben Joseph's collection, finished in 1489. He is preaching on the sale of Joseph which apparently reflects injustice and the punishment of the just and the reward of the wicked. He explains that it occurs that a certain wicked man may obtain from God wealth and honour and even the rule of a city. That is what is meant by the verse 'He has delivered the land of the wicked covered the face of its judges' and in such cases

'The judges and the righteous in that land cover their faces in shame because they cannot do justice therefore they are ashamed for the artisan when he cannot perform his work this is a cause of sadness

and pain and therefore he covers his face as if in mourning' (39).

The artisan as a simile to judge is used elsewhere by Shem Tov:

'If someone wishes to be a weaver or embroiderer it is fit that he should be prepared for that work and also that he should consult other artisans so that they should teach him. And if this is the case with these types of work all the more so in the case of judges, and not as the worthless ones among our people think that anyone can be a ruler and a judge...' (40).

Despite the relatively contemptuous comparison Shem Tov actually pays attention to the ways of the artisans and considers them worth learning from. Nevertheless Shem Tov also uses the threefold division when preaching on the blessings contained in Le 26,3 ff. The different blessings correspond to the three different divisions of society of which the workers of the land represent the lowest one. To fulfill their desires God promises to grant rain so that the peasants will eat their fill (41). Shem Tov's contemporary, Isaac Abarbanel is more explicit in his use of the division as a framework for criticisms of the shortcomings of the 'third estate'. For him, Cain chose agriculture because he desired material possessions. His nature tended towards the material and he became a slave to the earth. He represents the masses, the artisans and the peasants who follow Cain thinking that working the land and amassing riches are the main objectives. They envy people in government and try to kill them. They belong to the animal class (42).

Although it is hard to determine who in the real world, if anybody, are the objects of the contempt documented above, there is certainly no need to exclude Jewish peasants or artisans. Ayala's line about the Jews: 'maguer non tienen viñas' (43), or Bernáldez' assertion that the Jews never engaged in work of the soil (44) were probably based on old topoi about Jewish laziness (45) rather than on a survey of Jewish occupations, as is clear from the large number of documents

about Jewish land beginning with the Andalusian responsa (46) and ending with lists of Jewish possessions drawn after the expulsion (47).

Many of these give no indication that the Jews worked the land as well as owned it, but one cannot assume a priori that they were not engaged in agriculture. The responsa material of the Xth century shows that the Jews of Andalusia tilled their lands (48). And this activity seems to have been continued up to the XVth century. A letter, probably of the 1390's, written by the community of Montalbán in response to one by Hasdai Crescas, appealing for funds, asks to delay the final answer because the community is out in the fields harvesting (49). Various documents show Jews renting land on condition that they make improvements on it; in 1459 the chapter of the Cathedral of Toledo rents out land to two Jews of Maqueda on condition that they fence it and repair four houses on it (50). In 1443 two couples from Talavera rent vineyards in Amago on condition that they do its work and throw two 'azadones mingrones o cepas de cabezar' on it every year (51).

Perhaps more telling are other indirect details: the fear of a XVIth century Rabbi from Safed that if he interprets stringently certain laws he will deter the Spanish exiles from cultivating the land (52) or the Spanish ballads on agricultural themes mentioned by Armistead and Silverman and seen by them as unexpected confirmation of Sephardi involvement in agriculture (53).

The trend studied above is, of course, only one aspect of the Jewish attitude to the lower orders, but it is one which has been neglected and which is worth stressing, if only to show that wide disagreement was possible on it as on other issues which they felt peripheral to their thought. There certainly were Jewish notions but hardly a Jewish notion about manual labour.

N O T E S

1) Juan de Mena, México, 1950, pp. 14,15,93,111,117 and the work of A.Castro cited there.

2) 'Sobre Juan de Lucena: Escritos suyos mal conocidos o inéditos', in Collected Studies...Américo Castro, ed. M.P. HORNIK, Oxford, 1965, pp. 275-290,277.

3) Fray Iñigo de Mendoza, Cancionero, Ed. J. RODRIGUEZ PUERTOLAS, Madrid, 1968, p xxxvii and IDEM, De la Edad Media a la edad conflictiva, Madrid, 1972, p. 228/9.

4) MARQUEZ VILLANUEVA, Investigaciones sobre Juan Alvarez Gato, Madrid, 1960, p.291, and A. CASTRO, La realidad histórica de España, Madrid, 1954. Cf. also Encyclopaedia Judaica (EJ) s.v. 'Agriculture', (vol.2.col.401) '...Jews continued to regard agriculture as the ideal and most important occupation (during the Middle Ages)...'.

5) MARQUEZ, op.cit. p. 289.

6) Even in Mishna, Talmud and Midrash there is no unanimous sympathetic view to labour. The VIIth century (?) Midrash Kohelet, for example, contains the maxim: 'In his labour one should not labour but one should toil in the labour of the Torah'(I,31). Cf. also the following maxim: 'It is not from labour that wealth or poverty proceeds, but everything depends on a man's merits. Have you ever seen a bird or beast who has a trade? and yet they sustain themselves without trouble. And they were only created to serve me...' Against the view of the Talmudic land worker as 'extremely happy' cf. H. HEINEMAN, 'The status of the labourer in Jewish law and society in the Tannaitic period', HUCA 25,1954, 263-325. For the contrary view of Jewish sympathy to manual labour cf. CH.REINES, 'Labor in Rabbinical responsa', in ed. LEO JUNG, Israel of Tomorrow, New York, 1946, 141-167. A Geonic responsum of uncertain date divides society into three, the lowest category being slaves, watchmen and professional tipplers, cf. L. GINZBERG, JQR, xviii, p.703 and 713.

7) cf. L. DI STEFANO, La sociedad estamental, Caracas, 1966.

8) On him cf. H. BRODY, 'Poems of Meshullam b. Solomon da Piera', Studies of the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry, vol.iv, p.6ff.Cf. also H.SCHIRMANN, Hebrew Poetry in Spain and Provence (Hebrew), Jerusalem/Tel-Aviv, 1956, vol 2, 308/9, lines 20-24. The poem is not concerned with the relative merits of different occupations but the use of the peasant's work as a metaphor for things base and coarse and the merchant for higher pursuits shows his attitude clearly enough.

9) H.SCHIRMANN, 'The collection of poems of Abraham Bedersi' (Hebrew), Sepher Baer, Jerusalem, 1960, 154-173,161,172. Schirmann remarks that the contempt for the peasant shown by Bedersi is unparalleled anywhere else (p.161).

10) H. SCHIRMANN, The Hebrew poetry of Spain and Provence, vol. 2, p. 628/9. I shall deal with the topos of the 'world upside down' in Hebrew literature elsewhere.

11) H. GRANT, 'Images et gravures du monde a l'envers dans leur relations avec la pensée et la littérature espagnoles' in L'Image du monde renversé et ses représentations littéraires et para-littéraires de la fin du XVIe siècle au milieu du XVIIe, (ed. J.LAFOND and A.REDCONDO) Paris, 1979, 17-33,17,19,31,32.

12) SCHIRMANN, loc.cit. (n.10).

13) IDEM. 'The polemic against the honourables of Saragossa' (Hebrew), Kobez al Yad, t.iv,xiv,1946,15ff.

14) F,BAER, Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien,I,I, Berlin, 1929 p.839,No.523.

15) Social Tensions within XVth century Hispano-Jewish communities, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1978, ch.2, appx.

16) Ed. J.FRIEDLAENDER and J.COHN, Ma'ase Efod, Wien, 1865 p.21. For the influence of this passage on later Hebrew literature cf. M. STEINSCHNEIDER, Schach bei den Juden, 1873, p. 5. The Norman cleric Guillaume, in a sermon of 1226/7 deploras the fact that ploughmen spend their earning in the tavern, R.MOHL, The three estates in medieval and renaissance literature, New York, 1933, p.47.

17) Magen Avot, Livorno, 1763, 5b-6a.

18) RIBASH, Responsa, Wilna, 1879, No.399.

19) SIMEON b.ZEMAH DURAN, Responsa, Amsterdam, 1738, iv,15.

20) WISHNITZER, A history of Jewish crafts and guilds, New York, 1965, 'Introduction' and p.xvii where Werner Calman points out that privileges allowed to the workingman, such as the permission to work until noon on the eve of Passover or shorten the grace after meals, denote low status.

21) PAZ Y MELIA (ed.) Moses Arragel, Biblia..., Madrid, 1920-22.

22) Ibid; 487, 144 and glosa 424. Cf. Alfonso de Martinez' saying: 'no hay siervo que si señor fuese que casi se conociese, ni hay vasallo que señor no sea tornado cruel...' Corbacho, ed. J. GONZALEZ MUELA, Madrid, 1970, p. 85.

23) The Rod of Judah, ed. SCHOCHAT, Jerusalem, 1947, p. 47: 'You came to our lands hungry and thirsty and the Christians welcomed you lovingly... if you are serfs and not exiles why do you wear purple...'.It may be pointed out that this book shows a clear attitude towards the lower orders; he alludes in passing to the

division of mankind into scholars, merchants, fighters and workers of the land, no doubt in order of importance (p.83 lines 15-16). He attributes the expulsions from Spain and France to the 'rabble' 'who hated them out of envy'. He asserts that 'the masses were the cause of many of the expulsions of the Jews' and 'what is the value of the promise of kings and judges if the people are not with us and they always wish us evil' (ibid.p.70). When describing the attacks on the Jews by the shepherds taking part in the 'pastoreaux' revolts of the XIVth century the author introduce a fictitious character, a Jewish taylor': 'Now a Jewish taylor passed by and the poor man did not know why they were standing (there) and he ridiculed them and their words, then with great anger, the shepherds attacked him and turned his body into a sieve. And one man sinned but the anger was directed to all the Jews, for they intended to extirpate the name 'Jew' from the world' (ibid.p.22/23). The incident shows not only his condescension towards the proverbial Jewish taylor, but, within the logic of the story, there is also an ascription of responsibility for the massacres. Translated into the moralistic terms of his age the implication is that the lack of tact of the Jewish lower orders may be the cause of persecution against the Jews. For the views of his contemporaries on the role of the non-Jewish masses in their suffering cf. H.BEN-SASSON, 'The generation of Spanish exiles on itself' (Hebrew) Zion, 1960, p.48,n.124 and p.26.

24) Biblia...p.146.

25) cf. e.g. Pesahim 54a, Baba Bathra 115a and Baal Haturim to Gen 36,20. R. Simeon b. Zemah Duran believed that although the science of astronomy had been lost, some of it remained amongst physicians and peasants (Responsa,I,106).

26) Shiva Enayim, Leghorn, 1745. Selling land is not considered perjudicial for the orphans, because 'nowadays there is no more contemptible work than that of the land'.

27) Cf. EJ s.v. 'Cain' and R. MELLINKOFF, 'Cain and the Jews', Journal of Jewish Art, 6, 1979,16ff. Cf. also P. BRAUDE's article mentioned infra n. 32.

28) cf. L.R.MUIR, Liturgy and Drama in the Anglo-Norman Adam, Oxford, 1973,p.86 and Grace FRANK, The medieval French Drama, Oxford, 1967, p. 195.

29) A.C. CAWLEY, Everyman and medieval miracle plays, London, 1965, p.ix anad 25-33.

30) R. MOHL, The three estates... p. 283 ff.

31) Toldot Ishaq, Riva di Trento, 1538, 17b. For the early history of the Cain type cf. H.GEVARIAHU, 'Cain's punishment and the city which he built', (Hebrew), Beth Miqra, 32-35, 1968,19 and the bibliography cited there. Abraham BAR HIYA, in his Megillat Ha-Megaleh, seems to have taken from Augustine's equation Cain = possessio his of Cain=Qiniyan, cf. F.BAER, MGWJ, 70,1926,120 n.1 and (ed.) Z.POZNANSKI. Megillat Ha-Megaleh, Berlin, 1924, p.29.

32) Nahar Pishon, Zolkiew, 1806, p.6, col. a and b. For Christian associations of Cain with heresy from the XIIth c. and onwards cf. P. BRAUDE, 'Cokkel in oure clene corne' in J. GUTMANN (ed.) No Graven Images, New York, 1971, 559-599 and n.42.

33) Studies in medieval and renaissance literature, Cambridge, 1966, p.57 ff; also P.P.WIENER (ed.) Dictionary of the History of Ideas, vol.I, New York, 1968, p.443 s.v. 'Class, tripartite division'.

34) L. DI STEFANO, op.cit. for contempt for the 'labradores' in Juan Manuel and in Villena, pp. 129,133 and IDEM, 'La sociedad estamental en las obras de don Juan Manuel', NRFH, xvi, 1962, 329-354 and p. 352 for the inclusion of 'ruanos' and 'mercaderes'. For contempt for the peasants in Eiximenes cf. J.RODRIGUEZ PUERTO-LAS, De la Edad Media (as in n.3), p.41.

35) G.VAJDA, "De quelques infiltrations chrétiennes dans l'oeuvre d'un auteur anglojuif du xiiiè siècle", Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age, 36, 1961, 15-34. Vajda maintains that the idea is unique to Elhanan. For an early example of the theme of the threefold division of mankind represented by the three sons of Adam cf. the views of the Jewish Gnostics quoted by Irenaeus in J. KEBLE (transl. and ed.), Five books of S. Irenaeus againts heresies, Oxford, 1872, p.23.ch.7,5.

36) The book of the Seeker, (transl. and ed.) M. Herschel LEVINE, New York, 1976, pp 114/5, n.14. The section on the artisan in the book reveals little of Shem Tob's views on the subject as it consists of a purely abstract disquisition on the philosophical nature of crafts taken from the Brethren of Purity, ibid, 37-40. Cf. also M.H. LEVINE, PAAJR, XXVIII, 1959, 93 n.5.

37) S. ASSAF, World congress of Jewish Studies, vol.I, Jerusalem, 1952, 390-395: 'as you know, the author of the book 'The homily of the teacher' interpreted the three sons of Noah as the three forces in man...'

38) The book of Principles, (ed.) I.HUSIK, Philadelphia, 1929-1933, vol.3, pp.135/6.

39) Derashot, Salonika, 1525 (facs.Jerusalem, 1973) f.18a, col.b.

40) Ibid, p.145 of the facs.,col. a, on De 16,3 ff.

41) Ibid, pp.99/100 of the facs. Isaac CARO (op.cit.,p.97b) commenting the same verse writes that there are four classes/estates (kitot) in the state: workers of the land warriors (which he divides into knights and infantry), the pious and holy master of the Tora, wealthy people and artisans (these last two form one category); for these the corresponding blessing is the one granting peace and lack of fear.

42) Cf. Y.BAER, 'Isaac Abarvanel and his attitude to political and historical problems' (Hebrew), Tarbiz, viii, 1937, 249ff and B.NETANYAHU, Abarvanel, Philadelphia 1953, 139-141.

43) Rimado, ed. M. GARCIA, Madrid, 1978, p.157 line 264; 'maguer non tienen viñas' does not seem to allude to the 'señores' but to the 'judíos muy sabidos' (262).

44) Memorias del Reinado de los Reyes Católicos, ed. J.de Mata CARRIAZO y M.GOMEZ-MORENO, Madrid,1962,p.98: 'nunca quisieron tomar oficios de arar ni cavar...salvo oficios de poblado... todos vivían de oficios holgados...'.
 45) The IVth c. bishop Epiphanius, for example, speaks of the sect of Herodians who are 'real Jews being lazy and dishonest'; cf. J.PARKER, The conflict of Church and Synagogue, Philadelphia, 1961, 170.

46) For the 'body of Jewish peasantry whose life is reflected in the responsa of the Spanish Rabbis of the tenth century' cf. E.ASHTOR, The Jews of Moslem Spain, Philadelphia, 1973, vol.1, 267ff.

47) There are such lists for Hita, Buitrago, San Martín de Valdeiglesias and one should mention the ones for Maqueda studied by P. LEON TELLO in her Judíos de Toledo, Madrid, 1979, vol.1. p.295ff. Her index mentions more than 260 documents relating to various branches of agriculture.

48) ASTHOR, op.cit. p.270.
 49) BAER, Die Juden...1, 727.
 50) P. LEON TELLO, op.cit., vol.2, doc. N° 812, p.244.
 51) Op.cit., N° 888.
 52) M. BENYAHU, Sepher Assaf, Jerusalem,1953,p.118,n.63.

53) 'A new collection of Judeo-Spanish songs', Jahrbuch für Volksliederforschung, 19, 1974, 154-166.