## From Castile to Kristallnacht: The Similarities in the Events Preceding the Spanish Inquisition and the Nazi Holocaust

Ethan Jared Cohen

April 11, 2011

An honors thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for an honors degree of Judaic Studies at The University of Michigan in 2011

#### Thesis Advising Committee:

- Ryan Szpiech, Assistant Professor of Spanish and Judaic Studies
- Scott Spector, Chair and Professor of Germanic Languages & Literatures and Professor of History
- Elliot Ginsburg, Associate Professor of Jewish Thought

© Ethan Jared Cohen All rights reserved 2011

#### **DEDICATION**

 $\sim$  To all humanity... past, present, and future  $\sim$ 

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." ~George Santayana

"If I am not for myself, then who will be for me?

If I am for myself alone, then what am I?

And if not now, when?"

~ Pirkei Avot (Ethics of the Fathers) 1:14

"When it comes to the future, there are three kinds of people:
Those who let it happen, those who make it happen,
And those who wonder what happened."

~ John M. Richardson, Jr.

"Learn from yesterday, live for today, hope for tomorrow.

The important thing is not to stop questioning."

~ Albert Einstein

"It is bad to speak too much, but it is worse to be silent; For in my opinion, the tongue was not given to be speechless."  $\sim$  Shem Tov of Carrión

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

There are not enough words to fully, or even appropriately, acknowledge all of the people that I would like to thank in helping me throughout this extensive thesis process. While words cannot adequately express my true appreciation for everyone's support on this thesis, I would like to acknowledge the unwavering support I received. Additionally, I would like to thank the various individuals who have been cornerstones in both the development of my life and my graduation here at Michigan.

Over the course of this process, which really began taking shape over the last year, I am very grateful and thankful for the tremendous and remarkable support that I have received from numerous groups and individuals. I am blessed and very thankful to be afforded such great role models and assistance throughout this thesis process. With these individuals in mind, I would like to take this moment and acknowledge the following groups and individuals for their incredible support, dedication, and love.

First and foremost I would like to thank the University of Michigan for affording me the opportunity to be surrounded with one of the world's most renowned environments for learning, elite professors, and educators in the field. Over the course of my four years here at Michigan, I would like to thank each of my respective Professors and Graduate Student Instructors. I am very appreciative of their love of education and the various lessons that they have bestowed on me.

Second, I would like to thank my thesis advising committee. At the beginning of this formalized process, Chairman Professor Deborah Dash Moore and Professor Rachel Neis who sent me the proper path. Additionally, I would like to thank my secondary thesis advisors, Chairman Professor Scott Spector and Professor Elliot Ginsburg for sharing their expert opinions on their respective subjects. Furthermore, I would thank my lead thesis advisor, Professor Ryan

Szpiech. I can honestly say that without Professor Szpiech this thesis would be nothing but thoughts in my imagination. I am very grateful and appreciative for his hard work in helping me prepare my thesis.

Third, I would like to thank the education cornerstones of my childhood, The Solomon Schechter Day School of Essex & Union, The Ramah Camping Movement, and my Synagogue Congregation Agudath Israel. Throughout my childhood, I attended the Solomon Schechter Day School for 14 years. I had some of the best role models and educators any student could imagine. Additionally, I had the privilege of being a camper at three different Ramah camps and even staffing at the Ramah Day Camp in Nyack. In total, I have been at Ramah Camp for the last 16 years summers of my life. Also, I am grateful for the great love of Judaism that was imparted upon me from my synagogue, Congregation Agudath Israel. These Jewish education institutions planted a seed and instilled a love of Jewish studies. Over the years, my numerous teachers and staff members have certainly watered that seed and allowed my Jewish learning to flourish and prosper into this culmination of this thesis. I thank them all for their all their hard work and for teaching me to never stop learning and never stop questioning. I am indebted to all of their years of hard work.

Fourth, I would like to take time to thank all of my various friends over the course of my life. I have been blessed to make friends from various international communities ranging from Chile, Israel, and additionally here in the US. Thanks for taking a chance on me, and most importantly, thank you for always being there for me when I needed you. You know who you are...you mean the world to me.

Fifth, I would like to thank my family for their constant love, endearment, and support. I would like to thank my grandparents, my mother's parents, Mildred and Alvin (z"l) Gershen and

my father's parents, Adrianne and Jerry Cohen, for being the perfect Jewish role models. Directly, and even indirectly, I have learned so much from both your lessons and stories. You have certainly taught what it means to be a proud American Jew. I would additionally like to thank all of my aunts, uncles, and cousins for their continuous love and support throughout my entire life. I will never take for granted all our memories during the various simchas, family gatherings, and future occasions.

In concluding these acknowledgements, there are two final groups of people that I would like to thank for allowing me to reach this amazing accomplishment and milestone in my life. My siblings Micah, Avi, and Talia. I cannot imagine graduating college and completing this thesis without all the things we have shared. You are each amazing role models in my life. It is an honor, and a privilege, to share this amazing achievement in my life with you all. I am so excited to watch you each prosper and flourish in your respective lives. In all that you each respectively pursue, I wish you all only health and happiness.

Finally, I would like to the two individuals who are the pure reason for who I am and why I am here, my parents, Eta Gershen and Steven Cohen. Ever since I can remember, you have provided me with everything, but most importantly, with absolute and endless love. I would like to thank you for providing, and encouraging me, in my pursuit of education. There are simply not enough words to express my love and gratitude for everything you both have provided me over my short life. I love you both very much and you will always be my heroes.

שֶׁהֶחֵינֶוּ וְקִיְּמָנוּ וְהִגִּיעָנוּ לַזְּמֵן הַזֶּה.

#### *ABSTRACT*

Numerous scholars and historians have cautioned against the comparison of the Holocaust with other humanitarian tragedies and genocides. In particular, historians of Jewish cultures have debated both the connection between events of Anti-Jewish and Anti-Semitic violence and the trajectory of development connecting medieval and early-modern Anti-Jewish violence with twentieth-century history. Without rejecting the caution against linking the Holocaust to earlier Anti-Jewish events, this thesis proposes to compare the social and intellectual conditions that led up to the Holocaust with those of another iconic tragedy in Jewish history, the persecution of the Jews by the Spanish Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. In particular, it compares four phenomena from each respective period: the rise of social Anti-Jewish movements, the emergence of Anti-Jewish legislation, the lack of a powerful central government, and the active participation of common civilians. In comparing these four categories from fifteenth-century Castile and Aragon and 1930s Germany, this thesis argues that while the events of the Holocaust and the Inquisition/Expulsion themselves cannot be compared directly or equated meaningfully, the conditions that gave rise to them bear striking similarities. The thesis concludes by exploring why, in light of these similar conditions, the events turned out so differently in the two cases.

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction
Chapter 1 Anti-Jewish Movements
Chapter 2 Anti-Jewish Legislation
Chapter 3 Lack of Centralized Government
Chapter 4 Dangerously Influential Individuals74
Conclusion
References114

### **INTRODUCTION**

In the summer of 1391, waves of persecution, conversion, and chaos swept across medieval Spain. These waves of public violence, which included the conversion of some Judaism's most notable and established citizens, are notorious in Jewish history. These waves of persecution and conversion are known as the riots of 1391, killing many and forcing many more to flee or convert to Christianity. These events mark the beginning of a period of Anti-Jewish animosity that culminated 100 years later with the expulsion of all Jews in Spain in 1492. Over 540 years later, on November 9, 1938, Jewish citizens in Germany were arrested, killed, and deported during series of pogroms against the respective Jewish communities. This night is known as Kristallnacht, the night of broken glass. Clearly these events are significantly different and contain separate historical backgrounds. However, are there any connections between these two events? Are there any parallels between the conditions of these catastrophes? Furthermore, if we are able to compare these events, how would be able to make or draw such comparisons?

Over the course of Jewish history, there have been thousands of events that might fall under the umbrella and general category of Anti-Semitism. In this thesis, I will examine two of the most notable and well-studied events of Anti-Semitism, the Spanish Expulsion and the Nazi genocide of European Jewry, or Holocaust. Both of these events, about 500 years apart from one another, can be seen as culminations and climaxes of their respective periods of Anti-Semitism. In this thesis, I will examine some of the similarities and differences that can be seen between the two periods leading up to these monumental events.

In comparing these two significant Anti-Semitic events, a historian must be very careful and diligent when drawing comparisons. In the introduction of his book *Communities of Violence*, David Nirenberg addresses the question of whether historical events, far removed in time, can be even compared and contrasted at all. He poses the question if two historical periods

like those of Nazi Germany and 15<sup>th</sup> century Iberia can legitimately be compared. Nirenberg then offers the answer that they cannot. He notes the importance of not comparing historical events by writing:

We need no longer insist on continuities of meaning in claims about minorities wherever we find communities in form, since we can see how the meanings of existing forms are altered by the work that there are asked to do, and by the uses to which they are put. This means that we can be more critical than we have previously been about attempts to link medieval and modern mentalities, medieval ritual murder accusation, and modern genocide.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of his introduction, Nirenberg as well adds that in looking at the process of history, there needs to be:

An effort to express (at least metaphorically) the difficulties involved in narrating in a continuous fashion a history punctuated by events so violent that they seem to bear no immediate relation to their future of their past.<sup>2</sup>

By this, Nirenberg is stating that despite the surface similarities, events over the course of history should not be directly equated with one another. Furthermore, Nirenberg specifically and precisely notes that it is imperative to avoid comparing Jewish historical events when he writes:

In Jewish historiography, for example, scholars have drawn a line of mounting intolerance from the Rhineland massacres of the First Crusades, through the expulsions and massacres of the thirteenth century, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, through German ritual murder trails and Russian Pogroms, to Kristallnacht and the concentration camps.<sup>3</sup>

Additionally, Nirenberg explains that historians can find themselves in trouble when they try "stringing together episodes of large scale-violence against minorities." Nirenberg explains that events of different time periods differ in cultural, societal, and governmental changes. Therefore, in the fairness of human history, it is not permissible to compare and contrast these separate Jewish atrocities of history as part of a single phenomenon.

However, while the events themselves cannot be compared, I believe that if done very carefully, it is possible, and potentially useful, to compare the events that preceded and lead up to these climaxes. Thus, in what follows, I will not be going into great detail about events post 1492, nor will be I be discussing historical events post 1941. I will specifically be examining, and looking for similarities between, the events that paved the way and snowballed into the atrocities that were the Spanish Inquisition and the Nazi Holocaust. In this sense, I will argue that while applicable in many respects, David Nirenberg's thesis is incomplete in one important sense. I suggest that it is possible to research the similar conditions of development even if the events themselves are not comparable. Through this research, we can suggest an equation as to why these types of events occur.

I have therefore selected to use these respective years, 1492 and 1941, as the ends of my timeframe for research. The year 1492 was selected because it marks the specific order of expulsion of King Ferdinand and Isabella of all Jews from Christian Spain. Additionally, 1941 was selected because it marks the first real systematic genocide of the Nazis on the Jewish people. To be specific, I am using December 1941, which is when the Nazis began using Gas trucks, or placing the exhaust pipe directly into the sealed back of trucks, at the Chelmo concentration camp. This usage of gas trucks marks the beginning of the systematic murder of

the Nazi Holocaust. The pivotal nature of both of these dates is debatable and controversial, but I will be using them as the bookends of my research.

In comparing the developments and preceding events of the Spanish Inquisition, I plan to highlight the similarities and differences through the categories of Anti-Jewish social movements, Anti-Jewish Violence, the passing of certain legislative laws, significant figures, lack of central government/leadership, and the actions of common civilians. Much like the general research of Nirenberg:

My aim is not to reconstruct the experiences of Jews [and other minorities] as they encountered violence, but to explore the functions and meaning of such violence within medieval societies, even when this required emphasis on the view of the victimizers rather than the victimized.<sup>5</sup>

Through these aforementioned main categories and historical concepts, it is possible to draw parallels from the Spanish Inquisition and Holocaust to establish an equation that explains both as they moved towards their ultimate climaxes. In comparing in the Anti-Jewish events preceding the Holocaust and the Spanish Inquisition, we will specifically note four specific similarities that preceded and snowballed into the respective atrocities. In examining and highlighting these similarities, it is my goal to suggest an equation to explain how these atrocities occur.

The first similarity that will be discussed between the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust is the emergence of Anti-Jewish community movements. In this chapter of the thesis, we will be examining both violent and non-violent community actions that lead up to the respective atrocities. As we will see, even though some of these actions were non-violent, they still carried just as damaging blows to the Jewish population. In first looking at the

non-violent community actions against the Jewish populations, such examples can be the publication of Anti-Jewish literature (i.e. *Fortalitium Fedei* or *Judaism in Music*) and additionally the establishment of the Hitler Youth. As for the violent Anti-Semitic community actions against the Jews, such examples can be the riots across Iberia of 1391 and Kristallnacht in 1938. Through both types of Anti-Semitic community movements, both violent and non-violent, we are able to see the metamorphosis, evolution, and development towards the respective Jewish atrocities.

The second similarity that can be drawn from the events leading up to the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust is specific Anti-Jewish legislation passed preceding each of the respective events. Due to the fact that there is a large amount of Anti-Jewish legislation and literature written during both of these time periods, I will specifically elect to note the most fundamental and racial of the Inquisition and Holocaust. In looking at the Holocaust, I will discuss the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and their negative effects on the Jewish population of Europe at that time. On the reciprocal side, I will address both the concepts of *Limpieza de Sangre*, or the "purity of blood, and the Valladolid Laws of 1412. The presence of these very racial and eugenic-based pieces of literature are the second similarity that can be drawn between the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust.

The third similarity that can be drawn between these two events is the lack of centralized government. In years leading up to these historical atrocities, we will explore how there was no centralized government or leadership to suppress and successfully stop the Anti-Jewish movements. Additionally, in looking at this third similarity, an additional parallel is the presence of a power political vacuum or bubble. In this sense, there is clear lapse and vacuum of political power that needed to be filled. As we will discuss, this vacuum of power, which was created by

the lack of centralized government, is filled by racial and Anti-Semitic movements. As we will discuss, due to the respective the lack of centralized government, in both events, a power vacuum was formed. In the year 1390, following the deaths of John I and Archbishop Barraso, political chaos and turmoil ensued. Reciprocally, following the creation of the Enabling Act of 1933 and the death of Paul von Hindenburg in 1934, a similar vacuum emerges.

The fourth and final similarity that can be drawn from the events leading up to these

Jewish atrocities is the emergence of key and significant Anti-Semitic political figures. In
looking at each of the respective events, the Holocaust and the Spanish Inquisition, there were
influential catalysts that spurred the growth of transformation Anti-Semitic populations. All of
the figures in this section will be seen as manipulating and gaining support against the Jews of
their respective time periods. They were tremendously influential in tipping the public and
popular mindsets of their corresponding populations against the Jews. In first looking the
Spanish Inquisition, such figures will include Ferrant Martínez, Pedro Sarmiento and Alonso
Espina. While on the Holocaust side, I will be mentioning Richard Wagner, Heinrich von
Treitschke, and Wilhelm Marr. All of these aforementioned public figures played a central role
in transformation and metamorphosis of Anti-Semitic support through propaganda, speeches, and
other pierces of literature.

Throughout this paper, the terms "Anti-Jewish" and "Anti-Semitism" will be used interchangeably. In summarizing the long debate, there are some historians who believe the word is the same, while there are others who believe that there is a clear difference. Anti-Judaism can be described as someone who hates Jews because a Jew displays Jewish behaviors or beliefs. The obvious response to Anti-Judaism is to convert to another religion, because then the Jew will not display Jewish behaviors or attributes. Therefore, conversion is an appropriate and valid solution

to Anti-Judaism. However, Anti-Semitism runs a lot deeper than Anti-Judaism. Anti-Semitism, which originates from the word Shem (a son of Noah), states a direct hatred with a more defined genetic and essence mentality. Anti-Semitism states that the Jewish essence dates back to ancestry, deals with Jewish blood/essence, and is permanent. In short, it is impossible of changing your *Jewishness*. Not even conversion can remove Jewish blood or essence. This is the difference between *Anti-Judaism* and *Anti-Semitism*. Furthermore, the word, "Anti-Semitism" was not created and coined by Wilhelm Marr until the year 1879, therefore many people will not use *Anti-Semitism* to describe events that took place before 1879. However, for the benefits of the readers and as well as the purpose of this argument, both terms will be used and can be expected to mean the same thing. Additionally, the same interchangeability will be used for the terms "marranos" and "conversos." Although there is a slight difference between the words, which will be explained, for the benefit and advantage of the reader, the words will additionally be used interchangeably.

In conclusion, there are multiple key and significant similarities between the events leading up the Spanish Inquisition and the Nazi Holocaust. Both of their progressions, which ultimately caused grave atrocities, can be seen to possess almost identical parallels. In revisiting the opinion of David Nirenberg, in his book, *Communities of Violence*, he states that it is impossible to compare different events in history. There are both consistent of different time periods, different global locations, different political leadership, and therefore all have different endings. It is as well simply impossible to compare the expulsion and conversion of a maximum half million Jews to the systematic annihilation of six million Jews. However, as I have addressed, I do believe that similarities and parallels can be drawn between *the events that led up to* historical events. It is as well my hope that perhaps, through the examination of these grave

tragedies, we can perhaps draw an equation and solution to stop further events before they climax and reach the point of no return. In concluding, we shall also briefly consider the possible reasons for such different outcomes of such striking similar events and conditions.

# CHAPTER 1 Anti-Jewish Movements

The first parallel that can be drawn between the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust were the presence of established Anti-Jewish community movements. During their respective time periods, 1391-1492 and 1840-1940, there were multiple influential and powerful groups gaining members and supremacy throughout their corresponding societies.

Some of these groups organized and operated by the local populations, while other were established through governmental order. The goals of these community movements, both through public and governmental operated, were to tip the social norms to a point of no return. By this, I am stating that through the establishment and success of these citizen-based groups, Anti-Jewish movements can be seen as key component of the progression towards the Jewish historical atrocities. These community-based groups were seen as successful because they could convince and manipulate the mindset of these populations to join the theology of these extreme and radical Anti-Jewish movements.

Additionally, these groups were successful because they operated from both sides of the public spectrum. For instance, the community-based groups were operated and organized from the bottom up or grass rooted. While on the reciprocal side, governmental organizations were successful in working in a top down approach. Through both of these methods, the Anti-Jewish mentality was easily spread and corrupted through the respective local populations.

With the proper explanation and definition of these Anti-Jewish community groups, and their presence and influence on their respective populations, it is now possible to discuss the specific Anti-Jewish groups. In starting with the Holocaust, one of the largest Anti-Jewish, and citizen-based, groups was the Hitler Youth. Wolfgang Benz, a German historian and author of the book, *A Concise History of the Third Reich*, writes how the NSDAP party, which is commonly referred to as the Nazi party, was able to influence and extend racial ideologies

through the usage of associated civilian participation groups. Further, if a majority of the population would believe and follow such extreme ideologies, it would only be a matter of time until the population reached a point of no return, and the scale tipped in favor of the radical right. Although the Hitler Youth was not the sole civilian Anti-Jewish association, I find it to be the one of most pivotal and significant organizations to play a manipulating role of the German population. Without the Hitler Youth, which served as an entranceway and "bottom-feeder" to the higher organizations, I believe that Nazi Germany could have never reached the racist point that it reached.

As mentioned, the Hitler Youth was the most pivotal and significant, of the civilian based Anti-Jewish groups, because it served the purpose of brainwashing the youngest of citizens, the children. All other groups (i.e. SS, Gestapo, and etc.), focused on harnessing the power of older masses of adults. The Hitler Youth was the catalyst and starting point for where these children were manipulated at a young and very influential age.

With this concept understood, Wolfgang Benz describes in his book the sole function and utility of such civilian and community based Anti-Jewish organizations. Benz states:

Beyond its own party members, millions of people were marshaled in the various organizations...And, The associated organizations [i.e. Hitler Youth] were instruments of rule with the existential meaning for the individual person, regardless of his or her position towards National Socialism.<sup>6</sup>

Benz goes further to state that there were other civilian, nongovernmental organizations that were used to alter and manipulate the popular opinion. Such organizations that Benz lists are the national Socialist Motor Corps, National Socialist German Students League, and the National Socialist Women's Organization.<sup>7</sup>

Further Yehuda Bauer, a holocaust historian and author of *A History of the Holocaust*, expresses that these childhood youth groups were created for the sole purpose of brainwashing and implementing Nazi ideals into the minds of children. Bauer notes:

Special emphasis was placed on the 'education' of youth. Dissident teachers were gradually removed. New textbooks were written in the spirit of Nazism – for example national-socialist physics, national-socialist chemistry, and soon young people were forced, by social pressure, to join Nazi youth movements-the Hitler Youth (Hilterjugend, HJ for boys and the League of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Madel, BDM) – where blind obedience and loyalty to Hitler and the regime were propagated.<sup>8</sup>

As seen by Bauer's general summary of the youth oriented Nazi programs, the Nazi regime had a clear plan to implement their brainwashing and manipulating theologies into the minds of children of the German Reich. Through their 'special' emphasis, removal of any oppositional teachers, and instatement of racial curriculums, the Nazis were able to complete their metamorphosis and transformation of the children's minds. Such mandatory youth movements like the Hitler Youth and League of German Girls reinforced such racial and eugenics theologies.

A third and final opinion comes from George Mosse, famed German historian and author of *Crisis of German Ideology*, who believes that the Nazis used their youth population for a tactical and strategic advantage. Mosse states that unification, through spirited nationalism, "offered the only proper solution to many social and economic problems" in Germany.<sup>10</sup>
Additionally, Mosse speaks of the "German Revolution" that took place in the rebound of World War I in the German lands. Mosse states the significance and participation of the children in the German Revolution when he writes:

Education and youth play an important role in our story. German youth had stood in the forefront of the struggle for unification...with the impatience characteristic of their age, youth became the vanguard of a truly Germanic revolution. The education establishment constantly encouraged such a solution to the crises of Germany thought...A search for new social and political form for Germany which would, to their way of thinking, correspond more truly to Germanic longings.

This Youth Movement was uniquely German, a microcosm of modern Germany. Starting around 1900, it captured the loyalty and imagination of youth until the Nazi seizure of power ended its story. 11

As seen by Mosse's theory, the youth's involvement in the Germanic Revolution following World War I, we are able to note the youth's critical and significant role. Although there were many ways the Nazis were able to achieve ultimate and extreme nationalism, using a bottom-up approach with children worked very effectively and successfully.

Before addressing the specific actions of the Hitler Youth, and other civilian Anti-Jewish organizations, it is vital to provide some information about the goals and procedure of the Hitler Youth. Benz notes, "Physical training and ideological indoctrination were the primary purpose of a program that came to embrace nearly nine million youth." With boys serving in the *Pimpfe* and girls serving in the *Jungmadel*, the Hitler Youth was able to attract all children at a starting age of ten. These children, who were on track to being manipulated, if not completely brainwashed, were also taken on *Heimatabende*, or Heritage Evenings, where they learned about such theologies through games and other fun outdoor activities. Furthermore, as life progressed for these young children, Benz notes that these manipulated and brainwashed children were funneled either straight into the military or to further and additional Nazi education. This

extreme Nazi education, gained through participation in the Hitler Youth, proved extremely valuable when children were funneled straight into the army. Benz further notes that these readied boys were complete with perfect Nazi eugenic and racial minds.<sup>14</sup> As for the women, Benz additionally writes:

Following their [women] stint in the league of German Girls (*Bund Deutscher Madel*), there was the BDM Organization Faith and Beauty (BDM Werk Glaube und Schonheit), where girls between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one were prepared for their roles as wife and mother in the Nazi State.<sup>15</sup>

As shown by Benz, during the rise of Nazi Germany, the Nazis placed a great amount of emphasis and significance on the brainwashing and "properly" educating the German race from a young age.

Additionally, George Mosse writes in another of his books, *Towards the Final Solution*, on the involvement of children in Hitler's strategic plan. Mosse explains that when Hitler was ready to carry out his various tactical plans, Hitler already had the proper and sufficient manpower backing his moves. Children, who were properly educated and bred, were willing to act on any of Hitler's instructions. Mentality and public opinion was completely adjusted by the year of 1933, when Hitler came to absolute power. Mosse explains that, "Hitler easily found willing collaborators during the first phases of Jewish policy, which involved exclusion and emigration." He further notes that the evolved mindset and public mentality underwent a complete metamorphosis through the brainwashing of the common and average citizen. Through this specific metamorphosis, the balance of public opinion was tipped and the Nazis were able to carry out their genocidal Holocaust.

A perfect example of this complete community metamorphosis is the community of Jedwabne. The story of Jedwabne is best told through the words of David Silberklang, a professor of Holocaust studies and director of the Yad-VaShem Holocaust museum in Jerusalem. Professor Silberklang states that this is very interesting story because it provides a unique piece of evidence that helps define and describe the Polish and Jewish relationship. Although, Jedwabne is found in Poland, and not inside Nazi Germany, it still serves as a great example of Jewish/non-Jewish relationships that were influenced by the Nazis in Europe.

Before we address the actual importance of the story, it is first important to outline and provide a few key background details. Jedwabne is a town in northeastern Poland that had a Jewish population, estimated between ½ and 3/5 of the town's population. The story of Jedwabne begins in July 1941, when the Jewish residences were called out of their homes, herded through town, and finally placed into a barn. The story and accounts state that Jewish citizens walked willingly and did not hesitate or feel concerned as they were marched through the town's streets In fact, the Jewish population felt confident and secure because, after all, these were their neighbors and friends whom they had nothing to fear. However, once the Jewish citizens were securely locked in the barn, the barn is set on fire and burned to the ground. In those few hours, Jedwabne had lost its entire Jewish population. The story and accounts state that Jewish citizens were securely locked in the barn, the barn is set on fire and burned to the ground. In

Scholars have discussed that all non-Jewish residents in Jedwabne knew what was going on and there did not appear to be any apprehension. It was impossible to not see them marched through the streets or hear the screams of their voices. Researchers have also said that being murdered by a familiar face is more murderous then from a mysterious face. It if of course very hard to kill an individual, but must be unimaginably harder to murder a fellow friend.<sup>20</sup> In moving forward with the researchers, various researchers have looked to answer various

questions. Who was responsible for these murderous actions? Was there a resistance from the local non-Jewish residents?

In looking at the first question, the location responsibility and accountability of the massacre, scholars seem to place the blame on the residents of Jedwabne. However, during some interviews, some of the residents claim that they were forced to commit such actions and that they were simply acting as puppets for the Nazis. Although, this hypothesis seems very unlikely due to the fact that there were no Nazi records ever found of such an action. If the Nazis had been responsible for the massacre, or had at least aided in some respect, one would expect to find some record. The Nazis were especially organized and made sure to leave full descriptions of all of their actions. There is no mention of anything like what happened in Jedwabne in any Nazi documentation. Therefore, scholars tend to place the blame and responsibility on the residents and locals of Jedwabne. This is a clear example of how a local population acted on their own public opinion and displayed the complete mental metamorphosis of Nazi education. From these manipulations of public opinion, non-Jews took up violent arms against the Jews in the events that preceded the Holocaust.

In further discussing the actions of the local German population, George Mosse, notes in *Towards the Final Solution*, the various riots and pogroms against Jews in years preceding the Holocaust. Mosse notes that these pogroms, which were violent attacks and riots against a specific directly ethnic minority (i.e. Jews), were not uncommon. Mosse writes:

The principle anti-Jewish riots in Germany (1819,1830, 1844, and 1848) were partly due to economic causes such as famine and the decline of handicrafts. Here the lower classes – men, women, and children – as the victims of society rioted against the Jews.<sup>22</sup>

As Mosse writes, the brewing of and evolution of the German population was a deep-rooted seed in the culture and society of pre-Holocaust, and even Nazi, Germany. However, once the Nazis tapped into the right resources, such a metamorphosis of public opinion was certainly plausible. From this metamorphosis of public opinion there is a strong correlation with the emergence of Anti-Jewish violence.

Of these historic and horrific Anti-Jewish pogroms, or acts of violence against all aspects of the Jews, the most well known is that of Kristallnacht. Kristallnacht, also known as the Night of Broken Glass, took place on November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1938 throughout parts of Germany and Austria. Before addressing the specific atrocities that took place, it is first significant to discuss the historical background and reason for the events that occurred.

Kristallnacht originated following the murder of Ernst vom Rath, a third secretary in the Germany embassy, by Herschel Grynszpan, a French Jew. The story states that on November 8<sup>th</sup>, 1938, upon hearing the news of the mass deportations, Herschel Grynszpan went into the German embassy in Paris and intended to shoot the German ambassador. However, either by accident or for some other reason, Grynszpan shot Ernst vom Rath, a secretary in the embassy. Even though Ernst vom Rath was not a Nazi, his death triggered and catalyzed a Nazi retaliation towards the Jews population. Bauer notes that this was the true inspiration of Kristallnacht.<sup>23</sup>

In taking a closer examination, Bauer continues to explain and dissect the origin of Kristallnacht. In analyzing that various catalysts, Bauer states:

Vom Rath's death was a convenience for the Nazis, allow them to justify mass action against the Jews as revenge for the German diplomat's death. But mass arrest had actually been planned long before the shooting in Paris – barracks to

accommodate tens of thousands of Jews has been built in concentration camps before November.<sup>24</sup>

From this analysis and quote, Bauer is stating that the Nazis used vom Rath's death a scapegoat and justification for the systematic acts of Jewish hatred. Through their understanding, the Nazis believed that they were able to justify and avenge the death of their fallen comrade (not a Nazi), Ernst vom Rath. A second, and perhaps additional hypothesis that Bauer proposes is that Kristallnacht was established to celebrate the anniversary of Hitler's Beer Hall Putsch of 1923. However, regardless of the outcome, the event still served as one of the most significant and monumental Anti-Jewish events to take place in human history. These exact hypothesizes are specifically shared by numerous historians, including Wolfgang Benz in his book, *A Concise History of the Third Reich*.<sup>25</sup>

With the proper historical background provided, it is now plausible to discuss and dissect significance of the atrocities that unfolded during the Kristallnacht. In returning to George Mosse's book, *Toward the Final Solution*, Mosse states "Kristallnacht must be seen in the context of the first wave of arrests of Jews and their transfer to the camps." In actually describing the riots, Mosse writes:

These officially staged riots came to be known as the 'Kristallnacht' because virtually every synagogue in Germany has its windows smashed and interior destroyed, and the majority were burned to the ground. After the orgy of destruction, 30,000 Jews were taken to the Dachau or Sachsenhasuden concentration camps.<sup>27</sup>

Through both of these summaries and examinations of Kristallnacht, Mosse highlights the importance of emphasizing both the magnitude and timing of Kristallnacht. By magnitude,

Mosse displays the sheer destruction and violence that were presented from the pogrom.

Additionally, Mosses shows the importance in stating that Kristallnacht marked the true beginning of Anti-Jewish community violence, in the events preceding the Holocaust.

In returning to Benz, Benz explains the detailed and precision planning of the Kristallnacht pogrom. Benz writes:

In Munich, Goebbels was preaching revenge and 'retaliation.' On the evening of November 9<sup>th</sup>, the party leaders in Munich picked up the phones and passed on the word – now in the form of an order – to the propaganda offices...Nazis all over Germany understood the order: a few hours later, synagogues were in flames, Jews were publically mistreated Jewish property was stolen and destroyed.<sup>28</sup>

Benz then continues to illustrate and paint the picture of how Kristallnacht became a national event in both Germany and Austria. Benz notes:

The night of terror unfolded in much the same way across the entire Reich, of which Austria has been a part since March 1938...SA men and members of other party organizations, usually dress in civilian clothes...appeared in front of Jewish community buildings and outside the stores and residence of well-known Jews. They heckled and broke windows. Synagogues were favored targets: the riotous mobs broke down doors, demolished interiors, and eventual set fire to the buildings. Fire buildings had been explicit orders not to put out the burning synagogues...All across the land the mob – led by the SA and party notables, took delight in breaking into Jewish apartments and houses, destroying furnishings and

abusing and humiliating terrified Jews – merchants, lawyers, rabbis, and other respected citizens.<sup>29</sup>

Through this detailed explanation, of the national participation of Kristallnacht, Benz is able to display the significance and importance of Kristallnacht as an Anti-Jewish community event.

Benz notes that this was not only event of the Nazi government officials and party members, but rather that of an entire nation. Through these quotes we are able to understand this significance and metamorphosis that has taken place in the communal mentality of a population.

This mentality, of metamorphosis of the popular opinion, was as well completed through the separation of the Jews from the rest of the European society. Through the implantation of various tactics, such as secluded living quarters and specialized, mandatory, and identifiable clothing, the average of Germany person (i.e. Christian member of the Volk) was able to distinguish and separate themselves from the Jewish population. This European population found themselves to be completely separate from the Jewish population, which additionally and ultimately led to the metamorphosis of common public opinion of Jews. If these Jewish regulations, again the secluded living quarters and clothing, were not implemented or assigned, then the average citizen might perhaps view the Jewish population extremely similar to themselves. These regulations highlighted and signified the clear differences between the two populations, which eventually further lead to the change in public opinion.

The first of these Anti-Jewish social regulations was the seclusion of the Jewish population, from the common population and its isolation in cramped ghettos. During these operations the Nazi regime attempted to specifically isolate and differentiate the Jewish population from the common and average population. It was the goal of their political strategy to show the common population that the Jews were different from the regular population of

Europeans. In doing this, isolating the Jews from the European population, the Nazis were able to create a metamorphosis and change in the mind of the Europeans. This metamorphosis, and observation that they were different, helped ultimately tip the public opinion that the Jews were different and allowed the Nazis carry out their future plans.

Similar to the isolation and seclusion of the Jewish people into ghettos, an additional tactic that helped tip the public mindset of the Jewish population was the mandatory yellow Jewish stars. These little felt and cloth-like patches, which were in the shape of little Jewish stars, were official badges were marked the Jews as Jews. This small piece identified that this human being was distinct and different from the average European citizen –they were Jewish. This small badge, which contained the simple word of *Jude* or Jew in German, allowed the Nazi regime to implement metamorphosis and belief that the Jews were different from the average European population. This simple badge helped the Nazis create the common mindset and opinion that the Jews were different and unlike the ordinary European population. Through this implementation of this small piece of yellow cloth, the Nazis were able to force an adaptation and change of public opinion towards the Jews. Much like forcing the Jews to live in separate and isolated ghettos, this small Jewish star convinced a majority of the common European population that the Jews were different and dissimilar. Therefore, through this metamorphosis and understanding of distinction, the Nazis were able to carry out their genocidal Holocaust against the Jews.

This situation and metamorphosis of public opinion of the German population can be seen to be very similar to the transformations that took place beginning in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the Iberian Peninsula. As in the case of Germany, these movements were not only structured around

the government and military, but additionally by the public and common citizens of the community.

In specifically looking at these similarities, the first comparison that I would like to discuss was the presence and action of the *Gente Menuda*, or "little people." As I previously discussed, one of the most notable aspects of the events preceding the Holocaust was that civilians and commoners took matter into their own hands. Just like the story of Jedwabne, where a community of commoners rose up and murdered their Jewish neighbors, similar events took place in the event preceding the Spanish Inquisition.

For the purpose of this argument, and the benefit of the reader, the *Gente Menuda*, will not be solely defined as the *little people*. But rather, as I will explain, they are regarded as basically a mob of common citizens who choose to take actions into their own hands, destroy Jewish property, and even kill Jewish citizens of Iberian lands. They will as well be referred to as *pueblo menudo* or *populus minutus*. These terms are all a little different, but will be used interchangeably.

Yitzhak Baer, historian of Spanish Jewry, in his book, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, Vol 2*, from the 16<sup>th</sup> addresses the first documented presence of an Anti-Jewish community mob. Baer writes:

In the year 1348, owing to the Black Plague, the first large scale Anti-Jewish disorders broke out in Aragon. The course of the disorders was different from those in Northern Europe. In Aragon the disorder came earlier and bore the character of public outbreaks...the *takkanoth* of 1354 refer to anti-Jewish trials and to the torture of Jews in order to make them confess to false charges.<sup>30</sup>

Baer additionally notes that these public mobs and Anti-Jewish public movements were just the beginning of the alterations of Anti-Jewish public opinion and mindset.

As noted by Baer, the Jews were often blamed and attributed as scapegoats for the emergence of the Black Plague in Europe. A great similarity and parallel that can be drawn was the attribution of the Jews in the "stab in the back conspiracy" following the German defeat in World War I. This "stab is the back" myth will be further explored in chapter three. As the myth states, the German population blamed the Jews to stabbing the fatherland in the back and consequently costing them to lose the First World War. This is basically the same story as the story of the Jews being blamed as the scapegoat of the Black plague.

Even though the official Anti-Jewish movements started in 1348, the real riots and destruction of Jews began in the year 1391. In the year 1391, Ferrant Martínez, a radical Christian preacher, preached Anti-Jewish propaganda to the masses of Iberian population. Baer notes that Martínez "called upon the Christians to demolish all synagogues in their district." Baer refers to this point in his summary of Spanish Jewry as the point of no return. Once this event took place, and Martínez infiltrated his way into the Iberian mindset, there was no way of reversing the status quo of community population.

Baer continues by explaining that the Anti-Jewish violence and riots of 1391 where not specific to only one exact location, but in fact took place across on the peninsula. Such locations included Seville, Castile, Toledo, and Cordoba. In all of these public displays of violence, the *gente menuda*, or the civilians, made it their business to destroy Jewish property and kill Jews.

In looking solely on the events on June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1391, Baer introduces Rabbi Hasdai Crescas.

Rav Hasdai Crescas informs us, through his journal, a real and a primary account, of the *gente* 

*menuda's* Anti-Jewish riots on that day. This journal, which is found in complete Hebrew, can be found Solomon Ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehuda* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Ray Hasdai Crescas writes:

The Lord bent His bow like an enemy against the community of Seville...they set fire to its gates and killed many of its people; but most change their religions, and some of the women and children were sold to the Moslems...and many died to sanctify His name, and many violated the holy covenant.<sup>32</sup>

Baer summarizes and concludes the letter of Rav Hasdai Crescas that the "synagogues were converted into churches and the Jewish quarter was settled by Christians within a short time." Through this very descriptive and graphic first hand account of Rav Hasdai Crescas, we are able to understand the magnitude of the Anti-Jewish events of the common civilians.

These events were so bad and so devastating that Baer refers to these actions as "the storm" that swept across the communities of Andalusia and New and Old Castile. He notes that the storm and "disorders took varied forms, but the outcome was always the same." Further examples of these Anti-Jewish riots of the *gente menuda* take place in Toledo on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1391. Baer introduces these Anti-Jewish community events of Toledo by explaining "great and small did not remain if they had not changed their religion." By this statement, Baer addresses that the notion that anyone who was still declared a Jew, no matter how important or miniscule they may be in society, were displaced.

The story continues in Toledo on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1391 with the accounts of Rabbi Judah.

Rabbi Judah, a well-known and respected scholarly figure, was the grandson of Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel, a very prominent Rabbi in Iberian Spain. The story on June 20<sup>th</sup> states that Rabbi Judah, his family, his students, and many of the members of the community died the death of martyrs.<sup>36</sup>

Additional stories can be found and recorded from Seville and Cordoba, where Jews were killed, had their property stolen, and synagogues were either destroyed or transformed.

Baer continues to note that "the storm" of Anti-Jewish community violence continued and spread from Valencia to Barcelona. On July 22<sup>nd</sup>, Baer states that a boat, filled with fifty Castilians who already murdered in Seville, docked in Barcelona to carry our similar murderous activities.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, on August 5<sup>th</sup>, Baer notes:

100 Jews were killed in Barcelona, while another 100 took refuge in the "New Fortress" (*castrum novum*)...The rioter burnt the gates of the quarters, set fire to the notarial achieves, and looted all day and night...The peasant marched on the city. They burnt the bailiffs' records, seized the castle of the royal vicar, dragged out the Jews and bade them choose death or conversion. Thus looted and killed until the end of the week. In all about 400 Jews were killed.<sup>38</sup>

Baer notes that the *populus minutus*, or again the little people, carried out these mindsets and community actions. It is significant to be understood that civilians and common citizens, not government or army officials, made up these groups. This provides a direct correlation with the preaching of Ferrant Martínez.

In returning to the first-hand account, of Hasdai Cresas, Crescas describes through vivid description the account of what really took place during these community riots. Crescas writes:

And they fought the Jews that were in the fortress with bows and catapults, and beat and struck them there in the tower. Many sanctified the Holy Name, my only son among them, an innocent lamb; him have I offered up as a burnt offering, I shall vindicate God's judgment against me, and I shall be comforted with the goodliness of his portion and the sweetness of his fate. Many slaughtered

themselves and some threw themselves from the tower . . . and some went out and were martyred in the street. $^{39}$ 

Baer summarizes this small window of community and violent riots of the *gente menuda* on August 10<sup>th</sup>. During this outbreak, the town counselors of Gerona submitted an official report:

Placing the blame squarely on the peasants...It was they who set fire to ones of the gates of the Jewish quarter, and then broke into it looting and killing people despite the resistance put up by royal and municipal officials.<sup>40</sup>

As shown by this example, there was clear Anti-Jewish violence produced and executed from the average common citizen. These events signify the tipping of the social opinion scale and display truth that the status quo and public opinion have officially changed in favor of Anti-Judaism.

These violent riots of the *Gente Menuda*, or little people, were not actions of military operations approved by the government, but rather were carried out by a population of average citizens.

Again, there is a great correlation with the emergence of Martínez's preaching and the presence of Anti-Jewish violence violent actions.

In summary, what do all of these public violent riots, both of Nazi Germany and preSpanish Inquisition, have in common? What parallels can be drawn between these two separate incidents in two very different time periods of history? These public violent riots were all coordinated, carried out, and completed through the actions of the common people. Again, it is significant to note that although some of these violent and Anti-Jewish riots may have been catalyzed through government officials or military personal, there was great public and community participation from the populations.

This is significant to note because it shows that population involvement, not only government or military involvement, was required and necessary to create these human

atrocities. If the government did not have the majority support of its respective population, as it did for example in Nazi Germany and Anti-Jewish Medieval Spain, it would have been impossible for the respective governments to carry out their distinctive atrocities. Hence, in looking at the larger picture, it is therefore fair to state the perhaps the Holocaust or the Spanish Inquisition would have never happened if the community populations would not have shifted toward an Anti-Jewish mindset. Even if the government and military might have their respective racial and religious opinions, without the approval and consensus from the populations, their theories and hopes would have been useless.

## CHAPTER 2 Anti-Jewish Legislation

In the previous chapter, we considered how the events leading up to the Spanish Inquisition and Holocaust shared the duality of Anti-Jewish and Anti-Semitic public violence. This is only one of the various similarities between the two respective periods. In this chapter, I will consider a second similarity, that of the presence of Anti-Jewish legislation. The emergence and surfacing of this Anti-Semitic legislation is one of the cornerstones of Anti-Jewish historical atrocities.

Although multiple examples of Anti-Jewish legislation can be found, there are however, two that summarize the respective time periods. In first looking at the Spanish Inquisition, this high point emerges from the term *Limpieza de Sangre*, or literally in English *Purity of Blood*. As I will discuss, this concept and classification of human beings played a large role in medieval Iberian history. It clearly separated those who were "pure" and "old Christians," from those who converted and were seen as "new" or "mixed blood" Christians. Additionally, we will specifically examine how there were separate legislation and laws for each of these respective populations. On the other side of our Anti-Jewish legislation picture, the key emergence of Anti-Semitic legislation comes from the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. As I will discuss, these Nuremberg Laws were intended to clearly define and classify who was Jewish and who was from the German and "Aryan" master race. Additionally these laws placed certain restrictions upon the Jewish population living under Nazi party control.

As I will discuss and present, there are great similarities and parallels in the presence of the Limpieza de Sangre and the Nuremberg Laws of 1933. Both of these Anti-Jewish and Anti-Semitic legislative acts were introduced for similar purposes. As which will be discussed below.

Although there were multiple examples of Anti-Jewish legislation before the Holocaust, the real epitome of Nazi Anti-Semitic legislation were the Nuremberg Laws of 1935. It is of

course fair to state that there were already Anti-Jewish regulations and laws established before 1935. However, I argue here that the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 were the clear and unmistakable definition of Nazi Anti-Semitic eugenics. My viewpoint is shared with Yehuda Bauer, an expert on Holocaust studies, who notes that the Nuremberg Laws were:

Various laws designed to disenfranchise the Jews had been prepared earlier, but what became known as the Nuremberg laws resulted from a direct order of Hitler on September 13<sup>th</sup>. The two laws promulgated at the Reichstag in Nuremberg on September 15, 1935.<sup>41</sup>

As shown by Bauer, it is clear the Nuremberg laws of 1935 can be seen as the epitome of Anti-Semitic legislation preceding the Holocaust. With the aforementioned understood, it is now plausible to dissect and examine the legislation of Hitler's Nuremberg laws of 1935.

The Nuremberg Laws, which encompassed the Law of the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, were issued to segregate and separate the Jewish population from the rest of the German volk. Lucy Dawidowicz, a Holocaust Historian, provides an excellent translation of the vernacular German limitations of Jew in the German Volk. Her translation of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 reads:

- Marriages between Jews and subjects of German kindred blood are forbidden.
   Marriages nevertheless concluded are invalid, even if concluded abroad to circumvent this law.
- 2) Extramarital intercourse between Jews and subjects of German or kindred blood is forbidden.
- Jews must not employ in their households females subjects of German or kindred blood who are under 45-years-old.

- 4) 1) Jews are forbidden to fly the Reich or national flag and to display the Reich colors.
  - 2) They are, on the other hand, allowed to display Jews colors. The exercise of this right enjoys the protection of the state.<sup>42</sup>

Even though we have presented and displayed a good portion of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which again were published in different stages, it is still not yet possible to address the true meaning behind the Nazi legislation. However, through quickly giving a small abstract and summary of Nazi ideology and eugenics, it will be soon be plausible and easier to understand.

In his book, *A History of the Holocaust*, Yehuda Bauer goes into great detail explaining the fundamental and most basic theologies that made up the Nazi thinking. First and foremost, Bauer notes that the Nazis thought that they were the "paradigmatic" and "perfect" race of humanity. The Italians, Blacks, and Slavs were all subordinate to the "pure-blooded" Aryans. Additionally, according to the Nazi *Weltanschauung* (ideology or world-view), the Nazis had been commissioned to rule the world. Bauer provides a short summary of this Nazi *Weltanschauung* and ideology where he writes:

The idea of superiority of one race over another was appropriately congruent with Nazi ideology. The Germanic people were a superior part of the 'Aryan' race and were, therefore, along with other nations of similar 'blood,' the rightful rulers of the world. Indeed they were the only true humans. Because of the Germanic 'blood' in their veins, certain nations (e.g. The Scandinavian and the British) might have become Germany's allies. Other Europeans (e.g. Latins and Slavs), although there were Aryan, too would be ruled by Germany because of their lack of Germanic blood... With their culture reduced to a primitive level, the Czechs

Poles, Russians, and others were to become, essentially, slaves, and serve the aims of the superior Teutons...Whereas some Slaves were subhuman, the Jews were non-human. Hitler saw the Jews as kind of anti-race, a nomadic mongrel group.<sup>43</sup>

As shown by this general summary of Nazi ideology from Yehuda Bauer, the Nazis undoubtedly viewed themselves as the epitome of humanity. Some of the ethnicities and nationalities were slightly below because they were lucky enough to breed and mix with the "pure-blooded" *Aryans*.

According to the Nazis, below the subordinates and subhuman were the Jews, who were regarded as "parasites, viruses, or loathsome creatures from the animal and insect world, rats or cockroaches." Bauer further notes that these "parasitic force, the Jews, could corrode and would ultimately destroy the culture of their host nations." Thus, it was the job of the Nazis, who according to *Weltanschauung*, or world view from a specific standpoint, to defend and protect the culture against the Jews. In this sense, the Jews and the Nazis are therefore archenemies and are found in constant fight and struggle of power. Basically, it is impossible for the two sides to coexist at the same time. Bauer does an excellent job summarizing this struggle by writing:

To the Nazis, the 'Jewish Problem' was a problem of cosmic importance. Human importance itself depended on the fate of the 17 million Jews inhabiting the globe. Should the Jews be successful in their quest for world domination, the Nazi said, they would deny existence to all other. Human survival depended, therefore, on the victory of the forces of light, Aryans, over the forces of darkness, Jews. 46

As shown by Bauer's culmination of Nazi ideology and *Weltanschauung*, it was the Nazis goal to eliminate and remove the Jews from society. With all of the aforementioned ideological facts in place, it is now plausible to discuss and examine the true meaning of the Anti-Semitic legislation represented by the Nuremberg laws of 1935.

In looking at Nuremberg Laws, the Nazis attempted, and were successful, in initiating and establishing two specific outcomes. The first of these specific outcomes was to exclusively proclaim the rights and limitations of the Jews in Germany. The second of these desired outcomes, which is found in the second selection of clauses, was to clearly define and label who is considered a Jew. As I recently noted, the Nazi clearly established their ideals and were successful in initiating them into the Volk society.

In specifically looking at the first section of clauses, the Nazi regime looks to clearly separate and isolate the Jewish population from the so-called "Aryan" population. Through such examples of forbidding marriages and forbidding sexual contact (i.e. clause 1 and 2), the Nazis hoped to create a mental separation between the two populations. If the two populations cannot mingle and mix, then the Jews can be dealt with in the proper segregated fashion. Further, Jews are forbidden to employ non-Jewish women, under the age of 45, due to fear that they might develop relations with their masters. Such actions undoubtedly display the Nazis desire to separate the two populations. The fourth and final clause of the first section of laws is the most unique and unusual out of the initial clauses. Due to the fact that, although one can see the outlawing of mix marriages and sex in other historical settings, it is pretty rare and infrequent, where at the same time the nation forbids it citizens to promote their nation's flag and colors. By forbidding and outlawing the Jews from displaying the Reich's flag and colors, the Nazis were

able to distinguish the Jews from themselves by showing that they were not German, but Jewish. Hence, they could display their own Jewish flag and colors.

In moving the second section of the Nuremberg Laws, Lucy Dawidowicz translates the section noting and defining who is Jewish. Dawidowicz translates:

- 4) 2) A Jewish "Mischling" is anyone who is descended from one or two grandparents who are fully Jews as regards to race, unless he is deemed a Jew under 5, paragraph 3. A grandparent is deemed fully Jews without further ado, if he has belonged to the Jewish religious community.
- 5) 1) A Jew is anyone who descended from at least three grandparents who were fully Jewish as regards race.
  - 2) Also deemed a Jew is a Mischling subject who is descended from two Jewish grandparents and who belonged to the Jewish religious community when the law was issued or has been subsequently been admitted to it.
  - B) Who was married to a Jew when the law was issued or has subsequently married one.
  - C) Who is the offspring of a marriage concluded by a Jew, within paragraph 1, after the law of the protection of German Blood and German Honor of September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1935 took effect.
  - D) Who is the offspring of extramarital intercourse with a Jew, within the meaning of paragraph 1, and will have been born out of wedlock after July 31, 1956.<sup>47</sup>

As shown by Dawidowicz in this second section of legislative clauses, the Nazis are now clearly defining and identifying exactly who is a Jew. As they successfully completed in the first section

of the Nuremberg Laws, they have already laid out and established the laws for those who are Jewish. However, the large issue arises of who is defined and classified as a Jew. That answer is found in this second section of clauses in the Nuremberg Laws of 1935.

In this second section, the Nazis clearly indentify a Jew as someone who descended from one or more Jewish grandparents. Further, a grandparent is deemed Jewish if they belonged to the Jewish religious community. Basically, what this means is that even if you have 3 Catholic grandparents and one Jewish grandparent, and were even raised completely Catholic, in the eyes of the Nazis, you were Jewish. Other examples of being Jewish consisted of marrying a Jew and of course being the offspring of a Jew. The Nazis established such a strict definition because they wanted to rid everyone from their society who even presented the smallest element of *Jewish blood*.

Additionally, through the publication of the Nuremberg Laws the *mischling*, a very popular word, became permanently and officially used to describe someone of *mixed blood*. Previous to the term's emergence, Bauer notes that there was simply Jewish and Aryan, there was no intermediary. <sup>48</sup> Thus there were some Jews who played both sides and were able to escape some of the Anti-Semitic legislation. However, after the emergence of the term, and the establishment and classification of the Nuremberg Laws, this was no more. You were both completely and fully Aryan, or you were Jewish.

Besides the strict Anti-Semitic laws and legislation of the Nuremberg Laws, there was still additional Anti-Jewish legislation presented to the Jews during the Holocaust. This addition Anti-Jewish legislation, and perhaps the most notorious and infamous, was that of the yellow identification badges. These yellow badges were normally create in the shape of a Star of David and had the word *Jude* (German for Jew), inscribed on the badge. These badges or patches were

simply created as a symbol separation and shame. Bernard Lewis, a historian and author of *Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry Into Conflict and Prejudice*, discusses the meaning and significance of badges when he describes them, as "The most degrading –though in this enforcement highly erratic – was the wearing of special clothes and signs and badges, to mark them off from true believers.<sup>49</sup>

Lewis continues by discussing the little Jewish badges have actually had a long history in the Christian religion. Originally dating back to the Fourth Lateran Council, which was convened in 1215 by Pope Innocent III. From this council, Pope Innocent III ordered all Jews to wear distinctive badges to distinguish themselves from non-Jews. Additionally in the year 1415, Anti-Pope Benedict XIII of Avignon, ordered in his bull for all Jews to wear distinctive yellow and red badges to mark their *Jewishness*. Lewis notes that in both cases, in early Christian Europe and during the events preceding the Holocaust, the badge was regarding as degrading, shameful and humiliating.<sup>50</sup>

In moving to the Jewish community as a whole, one of the ways in which the Nazis were able to physically segregate and separate the Jews from the Germans was through the development of ghettos. In introducing and implementing these ghettos the Nazi regime was able to physically show the German population that the Jews were separate and different. Bauer notes that these ghettos were to house several large Jewish populations in an extremely small living community. Bauer writes:

Thousands of Jews were concentrated into ghettos of larger communities. Set apart from the rest of the town, ghettos were in most cases surrounded by a fence or a wall and were usually the poorest and least developed areas of the community. The non-Jewish inhabitants were ordered to move out of the

designated area, and thousands of Jews, both those who lived in other parts of the community and those from the outlying villages, moved in. Housing Accommodations were limited and the consequent overcrowding was a major cause of epidemics...six to seven persons per room.<sup>51</sup>

As noted by Bauer, these ghettos were established by the Nazis to completely control the "Jewish Problem" and isolate the Jews from the rest of the German population. I will not be speaking of the specific details of the Jewish population's daily life in the ghettos, because that is a completely different thesis in itself, but would like to just present the importance of their presence and function in Nazi Germany.

In further addressing the importance of the ghettos in Nazi Germany, George Mosse provides a summary depicting the ghettos presence and function. Mosse writes:

The ghettos attempted to transform Jews into stereotypes of ugly, objectified through ugliness, dirt and lack of spirituality. The crowded ghetto where the Jews retained their particular dress and religious laws did indeed transmit such a picture of Jews to an outside work easily freighted by the unusual and the different. Forcing Jews to live in ghettos thus gave a semblance of truth to the myths about the Jews in the eyes of the Gentile world.<sup>52</sup>

As seen by the general descriptions of Bauer and Mosse, the Nazi-created ghettos for the Jewish population served the purpose of highlighting, isolating, and displaying the difference between the desolate--the Jews--from the perfect Aryans.

Now that I have discussed and laid out the specific Anti-Semitic legislation of the events preceding the Holocaust, it is now possible to examine the parallels and similarities found in the

event preceding the Spanish Inquisition. As aforementioned, the main piece of legislation during the events, which preceded the Spanish Inquisition, was the *Limpieza de Sangre*, or purity/cleanliness of blood. According to Yitzhak Baer, historian and Spanish Medieval Jewry and author of *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, the Limpieza de Sangre truly emergences immediately following the violent riots of 1391. On a side note, these violent riots of 1391 are the same Anti-Semitic riots, which I have previously mentioned in chapter one of this thesis.

However, before it is possible to discuss the Anti-Jewish legislation following the Anti-Jewish riots of 1391, it is first important and critical to provide some background information and a proper historical setting. In the year 1333, Alfonso IV created a law the forced all Jews to publically declare and state how much money they earned each year. Baer, who places a great emphasis that this was the first publically enforced Anti-Jewish economic legislation. Baer summarizes Alfonso IV's legislation by writing that "Jews were compelled to 'declare' how much they made from money lending, down to the last penny...Alfonso's law, which was designed to extort money from the Jews and to drain them dry." Yitzhak Baer writes that this specific attempt of Anti-Jewish legislation drew tremendous similarities with the legislation of Pedro III from earlier generation.

Following the emergence of this Anti-Jewish Limpieza de Sangre in 1391, the physical Anti-Jewish legislation began to become prominently enforced in 1393. In 1393, the government of John I placed preemptive religious regulations on the Jews, by attempting to prevent the *conversos* (new converts to Christianity) from mingling with the practicing Jews.

In looking at the history of the Jews in Iberia, Yitzhak Baer, historian of Spanish Jewry, writes in his book, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, Vol 2*, that Jews were forbidden to live non-Jews. Baer writes:

The regulations promulgated by the government, even while the disturbances were in progress, to prevent Jews from leaving the country were promoted not only by material considerations, but by a religious motive: to preclude the converts return to Judaism. In 1393, John I issued the first basic regulation designated to isolate the new converts (conversos) from their Jewish brethren by forbidding them to live or eat together.<sup>54</sup>

Baer explains this required separation by explaining that the Kingdom of Spain did not want Jews to remind and influence the recently converted Christians to Judaism. It was common thought, that if the Jews mingled and lived alongside the "converso" Jews, then the converted Jews, or New Christians, night revert back to their old ways and return to Judaism. Baer provides and summarized such opinion and tactical strategy as:

Gradually, it had become necessary to choose between a policy of realism and of human toleration, and one of unqualified religious extremism...Tangible barriers therefore had to be set up between the Jews and their converso brethren.<sup>55</sup>

In establishing those regulations of 1393, John I was attempting to isolate the Jews from the rest of the population. This move by John I can be seen in complete parallel and similarity with the seclusion acts of the Nazis in the events preceding the Holocaust. It should be noted, that this Anti-Jewish legislation was just the catalyst and beginning of such racial Anti-Semitic legislation preceding the Spanish Inquisition. As we previously examined, the Jews of Nazi Germany were corralled into specialized Jewish quarters, known as ghettos. The same thing can be said for some of the Jews in the Iberian towns leading up to the Expulsion of 1492.

Following this separation of living areas, John I also insisted on separating the Jewish population from the rest of the Spanish population, especially the conversos, by forcing them to

dress in a different manner. As Baer writes, King John I ordered that all wear certain identification badges, which indicated that they were Jews. Bear notes:

The more effectively to enforce these instructions, the king revived the old regulation requiring Jews-but not the conversos –to dress differently from the Christians. The conversos were placed under the supervision of the bishops, to whom they were responsible for their conduct.<sup>56</sup>

Through this Anti-Jewish legislation, having the Jews dress differently than the non-Jews, King John I was able to create physical separation and differences between the two populations. This can be seen as a direct and exact parallel to the events that preceded the Holocaust.

Specifically during the reign of Martin I, Martin and his government took an extreme turn in the producing Anti-Jewish legislation and their governing of the Jewish population. They established:

The government's Jewish policy was increasingly oriented along religious lines. Gradually, it had become necessary to choose between a policy of realism and of human tolerations, and on of the unqualified religious extremism. Tangible barriers therefore had to be set up between the Jews and their converso brethren.<sup>57</sup>

As seen by this quote from Baer, this Anti-Jewish legislation was not the sole action of only one Spanish monarch, but actually continued and developed through different reigns. As time progressed, more and more Anti-Jewish legislation was established and introduced to Iberian society. The next significant and fundamental event was born through the death of King Henry III, in 1406, and the appointment of Dona Catalina in 1410.

Now that we have examined the foundation, of the emerging Spanish Anti-Jewish legislation, it is now plausible to further address the development and direction of the additional Anti-Semitic legislation. Baer notes in the years following the riots of 1391, the Anti-Jewish legislation was not only geared on physical living areas, but as well specific economic and professional options. As we noted, the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 focused very heavily on removing the specific rights to professions of Jews. They were not allowed to be doctors, lawyers, serve in the army, or any of the publically serving professional. Baer notes this great similarity in the Anti-Jewish legislation passed in the year 1408:

A law was enacted to exclude Jews from tax farming and all other services of the state and court, the law was enforced...Vincent Ferrer [A very radical Anti-Jewish minister] submitted a comprehensive plan for changing the status of the Jews <sup>58</sup>

Further, Vincent Ferrar was able to suggest and pressure the government into forcing any Jew to give up their home, to any Christian. Baer notes that this process was completed with the utmost brutality, and Jews were shoved into most "filthy and unsanitary quarters." Again, such a comparison can be made to the Jews being forced into the cramped ghettos and non-Jewish neighbors began moving into old Jewish homes.

One of the most notable of all the Anti-Jewish legislation of Spain, which can be seen in most similarity with the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, came in the year 1412. In the year 1412, under the reign of John II of Castile, John II established and created the Laws of Valladolid. In these sets of laws, about 6 separate ordinances, John II instituted numerous social changes that were created to cause separation between the Jews and the rest of Iberian residence. As we will

see, these Valladolid Laws of 1412 appear to be greatly similar to Nuremberg Laws of 1935 because of their approach to achieve very similar goals.

The first of these Valladolid Laws, which were again Anti-Jewish legislation, was the forced separation of Jews and gentiles through dress and public status. The first provisions states that John II:

Ordered [Jews] to differentiate themselves from the Christian by their modest mode of dress; to let their hair and beards grow long; and not to be called by Christian names or addressed by the courtesy title of *Don*. 60

From both of these laws, John II of Castile wished that, by having the Jews, grow their beards and hair longer than everyone else that it would display their clear separation from the culture and high societal Christians. Additionally, due to the fact that they could not be referred to by titles, it aided in the removed their social statuses.

The second of these laws, as we previously mentioned earlier, was the removal of all Jews from tax farming and other government positions. Baer specifically notes:

The Anti-Jewish social regulations were paralleled by economic ordnances...the Jews were not permitted to engage in tax-farming or to hold posts in the government or at the royal and princely court.<sup>61</sup>

Again, much like the Nazi society, the Jews were forcibly removed from all governmental and parliamentary positions. Through their removal, these Anti-Jewish legislations of the Valladolid Laws, the Jews were pushed further away from the common Christian Iberian citizen.

The third of the Valladolid laws were the exclusion of all Jewish professionals (medical, artisans, etc.) from working and collaborating with Christian patients and patrons. Baer writes:

Jewish physicians were not allowed to treat Christian patients. Jews pharmacists and merchants were forbidden to sell drugs or foodstuffs to Christians. Jews artesian (blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, etc.) might not serve Christian costumers. Furthermore the Jews were forbidden to act as brokers and money-changers on behalf of Christians... Jews were not allowed to have their estates cultivated by Christian tenant-farmers or farm laborers.<sup>62</sup>

In continuing with the mandate of the Valladolid Laws, Jews were forbidden to treat and operate on non-Jewish patients. Again, this draws great similarities with the legislation and restriction found in Nazi Germany. In looking to summarize the Valladolid Laws of 1412, Baer notes the following:

Hardly a vocation or profession was left open to the Jews. The framers of the law obviously intended to degrade the Jews to the status of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the Christians.<sup>63</sup>

As seen by these broad and general summaries of the Valladolid laws, and other Anti-Jewish legislation in the events leading up to the Spanish Inquisition, the Iberian monarchies clearly established Anti-Jewish legislation to decrease the influence and power of the Jewish population. In finalizing everything, and completely suffocating the Jews through these strict laws, the Jewish populations of Iberia were:

Forbidden to travel abroad or to move from royal to baronial estates, where the law had no the same force. Violation of any of the provisions of third law was punishable by confiscation of property and slaves.<sup>64</sup>

In looking at the previous summary that Baer provides of this section of the Valladolid Laws, it is very easy to see the similarity between the Nuremberg Laws. This great similarity with the

Nuremberg Laws of 1935, the Valladolid Laws of 1412 were created to establish and clearly highlight the intended separation. Additionally, both sets of legal legislation aim to remove the Jewish population from governmental and public positions. Having a non-Jew work for Jew would appear degrading and would appear a paradox to the thinking of Anti-Jewish ideology. In this sense, the parallels and similarities between the two sets of laws are extremely easy to observe.

One way to explain this behavior would be with a set of ideas we might call the *social destructive theory*. The social destructive theory can be used to explain how social groups can greatly mistreat other social groups through social destructive reasoning. By this, I believe if a socially superior individual believes reasons that a socially subordinate individual requires less respect and dignity. Therefore, when a socially superior individual harasses a socially subordinate individual, then the socially superior individual might not feel any guilt towards their actions. A prime example that displays this theory is that of the Nazi and Jewish interaction during the Holocaust. In this example the socially superior individuals (i.e. Nazi) don't see any fault in their actions because they view the socially subordinate individuals (i.e. Jews) as lesser standings individuals through systematic reasoning. Other examples include the American slave trade and bullying.

The social destructive theory can certainly be applied for the time periods preceding the respective catastrophes. As aforementioned, in returning to the Nazi ideology, the Nazis viewed the Jews as a subhuman race and therefore felt no guilt in establishing their legislations and completing their genocidal actions. Because the Nazis did not see the Jews are human, rather subhuman, the Nazis had no regrets in treating the European Jewish population in numerous

horrific and repulsive manners. The Nazis had therefore created this systematic reasoning, through the *social destructive theory*, for their actions being justified and warranted.

Now that we have examined a few examples of the Anti-Jewish legislation in the events preceding both the Holocaust and the Spanish Inquisition, it is certainly possible to see the well-documented similarities and parallels between the Anti-Semitic regulations. In looking at both respective time periods, the controlling superiors, looked to pass numerous social, professional, and economical, regulations on the Jewish populations. In looking to attribute a possible explanation for such harsh and extreme Anti-Jewish legislation, one possible justification would be for the superior governments to create clear and drastic separation between themselves and the Jews. This rationalization, which also seems the most logical, was established so that the governments could slowly display the main differences between Jews and the common Christian citizen. In highlighting these differences, though the Anti-Jewish legislation, the respective superior governments were able to create the necessary separation to convince to tip the common population's status quo and belief of the minority Jewish population.

## CHAPTER 3 Lack of Centralized Government

As seen we have previously seen through the last chapters, we can compare Anti-Jewish violence and Anti-Jewish legislation preceding the Spanish Inquisition and Holocaust. Through these comparisons, multiple similarities and parallels can be drawn between the two specific time periods. In moving to the third chapter of this thesis, a chapter on the lack of centralized government and leadership, we are able to find additional evidence to support this theory of a similarity, correspondence, and resemblance. In this section of the thesis, we will argue that both the Spanish Inquisition and Holocaust share the notion of an extreme lack of governmental power and of a presence of a power vacuum in leadership. I will display these similarities through the examination of various key events and individuals that played significant roles in this vacuum of power. Additionally, we will not only focus on the lapse and vacuum, but exactly how and why such vacuums and lack of centralized leadership developed. Furthermore, we will diagnose the cause and effect that this vacuum and lack of government had on the respective time periods in history.

In first examining the lack of centralized leadership and government in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition, the story begins with Enrique II, or also known as Henry II of Castile. Benzion Netanyahu, author of encyclopedic *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, begins the story by presenting a very detailed description and biographical history of the Iberian Peninsula in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Netanyahu notes that following the defeat of his half-brother, Peter King of Castile in the Castilian Civil War, from the years 1366-1369; Henry (Enrique) solidified and took complete of Castile. However on "May 30<sup>th</sup>, 1379, Enrique II died unexpectedly at the age of forty-six, leaving the throne to his son, Juan I." Netanyahu notes that due to the fact that Enrique's death was abrupt and unexpected, there was no clear plan of succession or interim in place. Therefore a small period of uncertainty and chaos

set into Castile. To further explain and display this Castilian chaos, Netanyahu additionally notes that following the death of Enrique II, Don Joseph Pichon, the Jewish *Contador Mayor*, was assassinated. After a few years, Juan or John I of Castile, the son of Enrique II, regained control and order through the kingdom. However, Netanyahu notes that even though John I was able to stabilize the government, there was still great political tension and stress throughout the kingdom. Metaphorically, John I swept the issues under the rug rather than actually restoring and fixing things.

Shortly after this, on October 9, 1390 to be exact, King John I, Enrique's successor, died. Much like the fate of Enrique II, King John I died very unexpectedly and no plans were completed for succession. The medieval chronicler, Pedro López de Ayala, specifically notes the abruptness and unexpectedness of King John's death, by stating that King John I died at Alcalá, when he fell off his horse. As shown by Chisholm, King John's death was random, unpredictable, and unexpected.

As predicted, extreme chaos and pandemonium followed King John's sudden and unforeseen death. Yitzhak Baer, describes in his book a brief explanation of the turmoil:

When King John I of Castile died in 1390, the crown prince [his successor] was still a minor. The regency which administered the government in behalf of the boy-king was not strong enough to hold the various rebellious forces in check.<sup>68</sup>

As Baer notes through this small summary, due to the fact that King John I's abrupt death and his successor's young age, a cabinet of administers had to take control of the government.

Additionally, Baer notes that because of King John's son's young age, additional chaos and social unrest ensued.<sup>69</sup>

To further display the emphasis of King John I's abrupt and sudden death, and additionally segue into the riots of 1391, Netanyahu writes, and provides the following description. Following the death of Juan I [John I] (1390), the kingdom was administered by split regency, which soon lost all effective control. It was then that the riots of 1391 broke out.

As shown through this small quotation, he believes that there is a direct relation and correlation of the death of John I and the Anti-Jewish riots of 1391. Netanyahu argues that because John I died so abruptly, and his son was so young, the riots were a clear certainty. Additionally, as noted, due to the youth of his successor, John II, there was no respect or authority given to the crown of Castile. Therefore, a window of anarchy and lack of centralized government emerged in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to the death of King John I of Castile, there were other factors and individuals attributed to the power vacuum and lack of centralized leadership in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition. One of these individuals that Netanyahu discusses, who he believes is just as important as deaths of the monarchs, was the death of Archbishop Barraso. Netanyahu and Henry Charles Lea, another historian and author of *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, write in their respective books of the importance that Archbishop Barraso provided to the status quo of the Iberian Peninsula. Specifically Netanyahu discusses how Archbishop Barraso was able to bring and provide balance to the Anti-Jewish ideologists. Of these racial ideologists and preachers, the most well known was Ferrant Martínez.

In the year 1378, Ferrant Martínez, the archdeacon of Ecija began delivering public harangues and diatribes against the Jews of Seville.<sup>71</sup> Even though most scholars argue and dispute about various issues surrounding the validity of various section of Iberian history, all

historians are in agreement that Ferrant Martínez was an ideologically racist, Anti-Jewish, member of the Church. Baer summarizes a few of Martínez's critical parts during his sermon:

He [Ferrant Martínez] urged that their twenty-three magnificent synagogues should be razed to the ground, and they should be confined to the own quarter so as to prevent them from having any intercourse with Christians.<sup>72</sup>

With his personality and public opinions properly understood, it is plausible to understand why an Archbishop, like Barraso, was so significant. In taking action against Martínez, Archbishop Barraso issued on August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1389:

Martínez was asked to show obeisance to the Church by refraining from making such questionable assertions until his statements are examined by a committee of experts, who should determine whether or not they are constituted a deviation from the teaching of the Church.<sup>73</sup>

Following this order and command from Archbishop Barraso, Ferrant Martínez continued his public preaching and tirades against the Jewish population. Netanyahu writes:

Following this formal sentence [issued by the archbishop], Martínez was forbidden to deliver any sermon until his case was decided by competent judges...furthermore, in view of his open disregard of the order given him by the archbishop and the examiners, as evinced by his latest pronouncements, he made himself 'contumacious, rebellious, and suspect of heresy.' And, what is worse, since with every passing day he affirms that what he has said is represented the truth, he appeared to be *harden by error*.<sup>74</sup>

Following this strict order and disciplinary actions, Martínez continued to preach in the same fashion and vein, completely free of care and mind of the Church. Leaving Archbishop Barraso with no other move then to excommunicate Ferrant Martínez from the Church. Archbishop Barraso issued:

Martínez was denied, on pain of excommunication, not only the right to preach, but also to act as judge or official of the archbishop until judgment on his statements was pronounced...Martínez was now in real trouble.<sup>75</sup>

As seen by this brief history and summary of the various issues and confrontations of Ferrant Martínez and the Church, Archbishop Barraso was a very powerful tool in censorship and suppressing Martínez's radical ideologies.

Clearly Ferrant Martínez was not going to listen to the monarchy or any governmental figures, therefore the only shot at censoring and shielding his comments from community opinion was through superior church officials, such as Archbishop Barraso. Archbishop Barraso was one of the sole pieces of censorship and weapons stopping Ferrant Martínez from taking his public tirades to the next level. Even though Archbishop Barraso was a very significant and critical person during his lifetime, his true value was proved following his death on July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1390.

Following Archbishop Barraso's death, there was no stopping or censoring Martínez's tirades and statements against Jews. Baer notes that following the death of the Archbishop, Martínez's first order of business was the following:

When, after the death of the Archbishop in 1390, Martínez's became the administrator of the diocese, he called upon the Christian to demolish all synagogues in their district...the famous synagogues of Toledo fell into Christian

hands, and some were destroyed. Moslems also participated in the riots. In Madrid most of the Jews were killed or baptized. The municipal authorities cast all the blame on upon the 'little people' (*pueblo menuado*), who continued to look in the vicinity for a whole year.<sup>76</sup>

As seen from this quote and summary from Baer, following the death of Archbishop Barraso things really began to fall apart. This racial mindset, which Barraso was trying to censor and suppress, began making its presence into common mentality. And worse, due to this lack of centralized leadership, these ideas and thoughts were being placed into action; hence the importance of the mobs, riots, and *pueblo menuado*. However, Baer notes Ferrant Martínez's specific involvement in Seville and Cordova. As Baer writes:

Therein it was stated that in Seville and Cordova Jews had been killed, despoiled, and forced to change their religion because the archdeacon of Ecija [Ferrant Martínez] had incited the "little people" (*gente menuda*), who lacked understanding, were not concerned for the harm done to the king's interest, did not respect the king's justice, and had no fear of God in their hearts.<sup>77</sup>

This previous quote and summary displays how Ferrant Martínez was able to entice and instigate the public population against the Jews. It shows how due to the lack of centralized leadership, which was previously censored, Martínez was able to spread his Anti-Jewish racial ideology. Furthermore, due to the power vacuum and lack of centralized censorship and opposition, Martínez was able to completely persuade the mobs with freedom and no fear of punishment. This freedom and lack of fear of punishment could not have been established if there was prominent leadership in the government or Church. Therefore the mobs could now grow in

numbers and carry out their actions. Ferrant Martínez was able to use the power vacuum from the lack of centralized leadership to his ultimate advantage.

To make matters worse, the only person who was remotely capable of stopping and censoring Martínez was that of King John I of Castile. However, King John I died three months later, removing the final possibility of control. And to make matters worse, as previously addressed, John I's successor was his young son who was too young to be given authority and respect. At this point, we have finally arrived to the climax and pinnacle of the power vacuum and additionally lack of centralized government in late 14<sup>th</sup> century Iberian history.

In concluding the story, Baer examines the reaction and attempt of the young and disrespected King to protect his Jewish residences from the angered mobs of Ferrant Martínez. Baer notes that the King wished to protect his Jewish population because he did not want to see the Jews, and more importantly their economic wealth, leave his kingdom. Baer addresses this issue and the King's action by writing:

The king [September 1392] did not wish the Jews to leave his country and remove their wealth. In the city all sorts of trouble-makers were beginning to gather. The fortress of Perpignan served as a haven not only for the local Jews, but for all who had fled from other part of Catalonia, especially Gerona.<sup>78</sup>

Baer notes that this plan, of extreme protection and seclusion, worked for several years but ultimately failed. In fact, the Jews were still living in the fortress, in the year of 1394, in terrible conditions and with damaged infrastructure. Following a few years, the young king issued a new order:

On December 19<sup>th</sup>, the king, who was then in Barcelona, ordered the Jews to be evacuated from the fortress and returned to their homes. He also forbade any man

to lay hands on their persons or property, or coerce them into changing religious.<sup>79</sup>

In understanding this political decree, the young king is attempts to return to the status quo to normal and eliminate all Anti-Jewish violence. However, he was far from being successful and in fact, can be judged as a failure. Due to his young age, and absolute lack of sovereign respect, King John was not successful in his motive to abolish the Anti-Jewish violence of Ferrant Martínez. Baer continues:

The king, who had been powerless to prevent the destruction of the Jewish communities, now proposed to salvage from the upheaval what, according to accepted opinion, was due to the State...The large and leadings communities, like those of Seville, Toledo and Burgos, were destroyed not only by the violence of their enemies, but chiefly by their own moral deterioration. The regents whole ruled Castile during the King's minority did everything in their power to punish the criminals.<sup>80</sup>

As shown by this concluding summary of Baer's, the king appeared completely powerless, overmatched, and pacified by his lack of age. The young king and his advisors attempted to stop the violence, but after numerous deteriorating and pounding from Anti-Jewish racial ideologists, they were simply over matched. The name, sovereignty, and even punishment of the king meant nothing to Ferrant Martínez and his men. This lack of power, respect, and ultimately age led to this dangerous power vacuum in late 14<sup>th</sup> century Spain. With this vacuum Martínez was able to seize the day and stir more and more racial ideologies through the public communal opinions.

With the following historical background and information provided, it is now plausible to explain the significance and real meaning of this lack of centralized leadership. As clearly seen

through the brief biographical account of Ferrant Martínez, this power vacuum allowed challenging and radical authority to spread their message without the fear of being prosecuted or condemned. After all, who was going to stop such radicals? Both Archbishop Barraso and King John I were dead, and John II was a young King with no justified respect or sovereignty over his territory.

Further, as stated by Benzion Netanyahu, there appears to be a great correlation and causation with the emergence of this power vacuum in 1390 and the Anti-Jewish riots of 1391. This association, between the two events, almost seems tremendously obvious with the proper discussion of the aforementioned historical evidence. Would the Anti-Jewish riots of 1391 have not taken place if Barraso and John I had not died in such a short period of time? No one knows the answer to this question. However, it does strike one as a tremendous coincidence that the riots took place in great proximity with the timing of the two deaths. In applying this logic, it is possible to attribute part of the blame and responsibility of the riots of 1391, to the power vacuum and lack of centralized leadership created by the two respective deaths.

In taking this concept of a power vacuum and lack of centralized leadership a step further, it is additionally plausible to further attribute this vacuum to a general contribution of the Spanish Inquisition of 1492. I am not stating that this mentality during 1492 exactly matched mindset of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century Iberian Peninsula. But rather, this vacuum allowed to such racial and Anti-Jewish ideologies to be spread to the mass population of Iberia. The seeds of segregation, hatred, and superiority were ultimately laid. Over time, again not simultaneously, these seeds grew through a constant evolution and metamorphosis to the climax in Spain of 1492. It is thus possible to state that this gradual process ultimately began in 1391 with the Anti-Jewish riots. In turn, this power vacuum and lack of centralized government in 1390 could be

seen as a contributing factor. Although this is a very far-reaching statement, I argue here that when examined through the proper lens, it is plausible to see this vacuum as a possible contributing catalyst to the Spanish Inquisition.

In moving to the second half of this chapter, our story begins with the power vacuum created by a specific lack of centralized government and leadership in the events preceding the Holocaust, after the conclusion of World War I in 1918. World War I, which included the killing of 8.5 million soldiers on the battlefields, not even including civilians, is regarded as one of the deadliest wars of human history. Besides the large amount of military violence, World War I additionally featured the ethnic cleansing of various minority groups, most notably the Armenians. The War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, in 1919, between the Allied (Entente) Powers and the Centralized Powers. Through this second half of this chapter, I will examine why, even though the Treaty of Versailles stopped the war, the Treaty created larger issues that ultimately lead to an extreme power vacuum and eventually to World War II and the Holocaust.

As is well known, World War I ended with the Allied Powers (notably France, Britain, Russia, United States, and a few other) defeating the Central Powers (Germany, Austrian-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire). In concluding the war, the Allies forced the Central Powers to sign the Versailles Treaty, which placed extreme economic and physical restrictions on the losing Centralized Powers. Some of these extreme economic and physical restrictions led to the ultimate collapse of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and additionally severe economic depression. This chapter of this thesis will specifically focus on the power vacuum that developed due to the lack of centralized government in aforementioned regions. Furthermore, due to the collapse of both of these large empires and

harsh economic depression of Germany from the Versailles Treaty, Europe became an instant power vacuum searching for someone to take control. This someone happen to be from the Nazi party, a man named, Adolf Hitler.

With the proper foundation properly established, it is now possible to discuss and examine the cause and effect of this power vacuum and lack of centralized leadership in the events that preceded the Holocaust. In returning to the Versailles Treaty, which completely crippled the losing Central Powers, Yehuda Bauer explains Germany's present predicament. Bauer writes:

The defeated nations – Germany, Austria Hungry, Russia –were deeply dissatisfied. Economic structures established in the larger empires in the pre-war period were thrown into severe crises by the tariff walls erect by each new small state <sup>82</sup>

As further noted by Bauer, Jews were the first scapegoat and explanation attributed to this economic depression. One of the first official and prominent organizations that began to pump Anti-Semitic propaganda blaming the Jews was the Learners Elders of Zion. As Bauer explains, certain extreme rightist and racial groups in 1920-1921 "based their position on the 'Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion,' who blamed the Jews for the social disruption, political instability, and economic crises that ensued.<sup>83</sup> With this small Anti-Semitic attitude, the beginning of the Jewish scapegoat theory was born and slowly evolved.

In returning the specific goal of this second half of the third chapter, the specific power vacuum and lack of centralized government leading up to the Holocaust we start with the date November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1918. This date marks the day that Emperor Wilhelm II fled to Holland and the new Weimar Republic, under Friedrich Ebert and Philipp Scheidemann, took form. Even though

the new government was constructed with numerous political parties along a wide spectrum, the citizens of Germany still "failed to understand why Germany had lost the war." The German citizens were confused and unconfident in their government, and additionally were looking for an answer to this simple question.

On November 1919, General Erich von Ludendorff and General Paul von Hindenburg, two of the most respected military and political officials in Germany, offered an answer to this simple question before the parliamentary inquiry committee. The two generals explained to this committee:

The German army had been defeated not by the external enemy but by an internal enemy who had stabbed it in the back. Ludendorff, a rabid and violent Anti-Semite who would soon become an ally of the young Nazi party, identified the back stabbers as those who in the last stages of the war express the German people's yearning for Peace –the Democrats, the Catholic Center party, the Socialists, and of course, he said, the Hews. The legend of the stab in the back (*Dolchstosslegende*) was to become a favorite theme of Nazi propaganda. 85

This "stab in the back" method marked the beginning political of the post-war Anti-Semitism against the Jews. Through the eyes of German elite, who additionally endorsed and publically presented this theory, the Jews and left wing were viewed as the traitors, who lost Germany the war. The German Volk was perplexed on how they lost the war and were searching for a scapegoat; von Hindenburg offered this "stab in the back" theory and established the Jews as the ultimate scapegoats. Due to this theory, the right wing took it upon themselves to provide justice to Germany through eliminating the left wing and Jews. One clear example is the political assassination of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the Social Democrats. In

punishing the trials for both of these public figures, Bauer summarizes a few court documents by stating:

When assassination attempts and other religious strikes against the republic were brought before them, the German judges handed down severe sentences only to members of the far left. Right-wing rebels or assassins were view by the judiciary as patriots and treated with demonstrative leniency. <sup>86</sup>

Due to this underground support from the Germany's elite, the political right was began knocking off all opponents and began to situate themselves at the top of German politics.

Furthermore, the extreme right sent out their Freikorps to carry out and destroy any opposition who was responsibly for Germany's downfall. Bauer writes:

These armed forces, Freikorps, roamed the border regions and sometimes inner provinces of Germany, murdering looting, seeking out enemies – those who identified as being responsible for the demise of the old social structure that have give them security and status.<sup>87</sup>

Again these Freikorps went about their business with little or no opposition from the government. Perhaps if there was a centralized government could terminate these political assassinations and vigilantly Freikorps, perhaps the situation would have never escalated or culminated to the pinnacle of the Holocaust.

Besides the "stab in the back" conspiracy, another factor that played a significant role in the Jews unpopularity was the massive economic inflation. This massive inflation, which struck the country in 1923, was caused and induced by the government's printing huge sums of money to pay back the winning Allied Powers. Their simple solution, to just print more money, severely damaged the German economy in the long run. Bauer explains this insane inflation,

known in economics as stagflation, could be seen where people would bring wheelbarrows of money to buy bread. Baer displays this stagflation by stating "in January the dollar was worth 1,800 marks; later in the year it was worth 4.2 billion marks."

The solution to this economic inflation came from Gustav Stresemann, a moderate Center-Right coalition member, who provided relative economic stability and prosperity in the year 1924 through 1929. Bauer notes that following this return to economic equilibrium, the right wing members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) began to gain significant power. The one final attribute that the NDSAP received came in the year 1920, when they received their most influential figure, Adolf Hitler.

Following his failure to gain admittance to the Viennese Academy of fine Arts, Adolf Hitler Adolf enlisted and served in the Bavarian Army during the First World War. Through his service in the War, Hitler was awarded multiple medals that praised his courage and bravery. However, following the conclusion of the war, Hitler found himself unoccupied, with no professional training, and with no future plan. 90 Due to his lack of a planned future and uncertainly, Hitler found himself becoming involved with public speaking, with political party named Drexler's DAP. 91 Over the years, this party developed and eventually changed their name to *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, or the National Socialist German Workers' Party. This specific political party attracted the thousands of unhappy and unemployed workers following the economic collapse of the First World War's reparations. During these early years of the NSDAP, Hitler started to gain early momentum and met many of his closest future cabinets members, including Herman Goring, Josef Goebbels, and Heinrich Himmler. 92

However, it appeared that things appeared to have slowed down for Hitler following his arrest after his failure at the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923. The end result of this failure was that of Hitler's

imprisonment, where he spent his time writing his popular and influential, *Mein Kampf*, or *My Struggle*.

Through Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Hitler was able to present his propaganda, analysis, and true inner feelings to the masses. Bauer notes, in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Hitler viewed "feelings and emotions are far more important than logical, reasoned thought." Furthermore, Hitler believed "successful propaganda must concentrate on a few points only and hammer at those points incessantly." In using this last point, Hitler ultimately claimed "his purpose...was to concentrate on one enemy only and through him, attack all others. That one enemy was 'the Jew." Through the next few years, Hitler and the NSDAP gained continual and progressively more support for their Anti-Semitic and racial eugenic ideologies.

Yehuda Bauer notes that Hitler and his NSDAP colleagues were able to gain such support and political significance due to the lack of centralized government. During this time, due to the various political and economic insecurities, there was no stable or controlling government politically controlling Germany. Additionally, a huge contributing factor was the failure of the socialists and communists to provide a united governmental front. Bauer attributes this political power vacuum to one of the ways in which Hitler and the NSDAP were able to exponentially able to grow and gain power. <sup>96</sup> Bauer additionally attributes this great annual increase support for the Nazis by noting:

The Nazi party grew strong, feeding on the discontent of the middle and lower classes...Millions of new votes – many of them middle-class and unemployed Germans who had not bothered in previously to vote and people voting for the first time – cast their ballots of the Nazis.<sup>97</sup>

With this huge population of angered and unemployed Germans, the Nazis and NSDAP were able to greatly increase their support and eventually dominate Germany politically. Under tremendous political pressure from multiple directions, and public support, Paul von Hindenburg, Germany's president, was forced to promote Adolf Hitler to the position of chancellor in January 1933.

In moving to the final stage of the German political power vacuum and lack of centralized government, the final stage begins with the burning down of the Reichstag on February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Although recent historical research has proved that Marinus van der Lubbe, a Dutch activist, acted alone and by his own accord, the Nazis used the Reichstag's destruction to their fullest propaganda advantage. The very next day, February 28<sup>th</sup>, the NSDAP persuaded President von Hindenburg to issue an order "for the protection of people and the State," which suspended the constitutional guarantees of personal liberties, and the rights of assembly and association. <sup>98</sup> Following this act, the Enabling Act was passed on March 23<sup>rd</sup>, which granted special and emergency powers of legislation to Nazi controlled NSDAP government. The Enabling Act, or the special emergency powers provided during this time of crisis, where set to expire in the year 1937, after all the political turmoil and uncertainties were settled. However with the death of President von Hindenburg on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1934, Germany's political fate was sealed.

With the death of von Hindenburg, Germany seemed to be inevitably heading in one specific direction. Following his death, Hitler combined von Hindenburg's presidency and his office as Chancellor, into one supreme and ultra position. Hitler awarded himself the title of Fuhrer and *Reichskanzler*. Finally the night of June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1934, also known as the night of long knives, Hitler's SS killed and eliminated his SA officers and opponents. Bauer notes, "This

opportunity was also used to rid the regime of other opponents, particular right-wing opposition leader such as Schleicher, Hitler's predecessor." At this point, the power vacuum and lack of government had been completed filled by Adolf Hitler and his Nazi regime. From this significant point in history, Hitler rose to the challenge and took advantage of political instability and power vacuum left from the Versailles Treaty and past failed governments.

What is the significance of this historical situation? Is there sufficient evidence to state that the Nazis and Hitler's rise to power came directly from the lapse of formalized government? Additionally, is it fair to say that if deaths of Archbishop Barraso and King John I would not have been so close together, coupled with the young naïve age of John I's successor, that a power vacuum not have emerged in Iberia? In looking at the similarities between these two events, it might seem possible that there is a correlation and causation. We have now seen how not only the emergence of popular Anti-Jewish movements and official legislation are similar in pre-war Germany and pre-expulsion Iberia, so is the existence of a power vacuum in both periods. This most recent similarity, of a power vacuum and lack of centralized government, offers another striking similarity that draws the two periods together. In each however, there were not only official or general similarities, but also similar individual perpetrators. We will now turn to them in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4 Dangerously Influential Individuals

As we have now seen, multiple similarities and parallels can be drawn between the two respective time periods preceding the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust. In already acknowledging the similarities between Anti-Jewish violence, Anti-Jewish legislation, and lack of centralized government, it is now possible to discuss the fourth and final parallel of key influential individuals. In moving to this fourth chapter of the thesis, a chapter on the emergence of various influential ideologists, we are able to find additional evidence to support this theory of correspondence, resemblance, and similarity. Each of the various individuals attributed different fundamental aspects of Anti-Jewish and Anti-Semitism to their respective time periods. As I will present in this chapter of the thesis, both the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust share the presence of severely and dangerously influential individuals during their respective progressions. During their personal eras, these individuals planted seeds, stirred the pot, and created great tension and controversy among the populations.

In first looking at the presence of dangerously influential individuals in the years preceding the Holocaust, our conversation begins with the infamous career of Richard Wagner. Depending who you ask, Richard Wagner can either be classified as one of the greatest German composers of all time, or he could be described as one of the most influential Anti-Semitic individuals. His reputation is world-renowned as both a musical theater genius and as well as a violent Anti-Semite. Over the course of his life, Wagner composed dozens of operas and symphonies, while also writing multiple racist essays, with his most famous being *Judaism in Music*. Through this essay, which Wagner originally published in 1850 under "F. Freigedank" or "free thought," Wagner can be seen not only verbally bashing Jewish artists but as well as the Jewish people as a nation. As mentioned previously, Wagner published dozens of pieces of

literature, and because there is no systematic way to present each individually, we will solely focus on *Judaism in Music*, being his most Anti-Semitic.

Before we are able to note and dissect a few highlighted selections from Wagner's text, it is first important to address and present Wagner's progression in Anti-Semitism. Paul Lawrence Rose, a historian of European History, notes that Wagner's Anti-Semitism originates from a jealous feud with German musical composer, Giacomo Meyerbeer. In explaining the story, Rose notes that Wagner grew jealous and rejected by Meyerbeer, and therefore intensified his Anti-Semitism. Rose summarizes the story by writing "Wagner took his longstanding ambivalence towards Meyerbeer and reduced it to a simple satisfying hate... eventually resulted in the publication of *Judaism in Music*. This idea of *Judaism in Music* being inspired by Wagner's hate for Meyerbeer is as well shared by Jacob Katz, an additional European historian. Katz writes in his book, *From Prejudice to Destruction* that Wagner "wrote his book on the Jews out of envy of Mendelssohn's genius and Meyerbeer's success." A third historian, George Mosse, concurs with Wagner's Anti-Semitic origin. In his book, *Toward the Final Solution*, Mosse notes that Wagner:

Transferred his jealous hatred of Jacob Meyerbeer to all Jews...Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn provided the catalyst for Richard Wagner's racism as an outlet for his bitterness toward the world. 103

Through the expert opinions of these three historians, we know understand the origin of Wagner's Anti-Semitism and can now discuss its specific influence in the events preceding the Holocaust.

With this proper foundation and established, it is very easy to comprehend how Richard Wagner's racial Anti-Jewish ideologies were so influential to the Nazi regime. In first looking at

Judaism in Music, Wagner discusses why Jews should not and cannot be considered artists. Wagner compares Jews to parrots that "reel off human words and phrases" but have no "real feeling and expression as these foolish birds." <sup>104</sup> By this, Wagner is exclaiming that Jews lack true Volkish Leidenschaft or passion. Wagner comments on the Jews lack of passion when he writes:

Inner agitation, genuine passion, each finds its own peculiar language at the instant when, struggling for an understanding, it girds itself for utterance: the Jew, already characterized by us in this regard, has no true passion, and least of all a passion that might thrust him on to art-creation.<sup>105</sup>

Through this quote, Wagner discusses that Jews lack the necessary Volkish passion, which is necessary to be considered a true German talent. Steven Aschheim, a historian, explains in his book, *Brothers and Strangers*, exactly what Wagner meant by stating that all Jews lacked the Volkish *Leidenschaft*. Aschheim writes:

The works of Jewish intellectuals were dismissed as 'arid' and 'soulless.' The Jewish 'spirit' was equated with the modern forces of decomposition and juxtaposed to the deep, organic qualities of German culture.<sup>106</sup>

Seen by the explanation of Aschheim, Jewish artists were immediately condemned as "soulless" and "arid" who lacked the required Volkish passion to be considered great.

Towards the end of his essay, Wagner gives a specific example of a Jew, whom he believes specifically lacks this true Volkish *Leidenschaft*. This Jew is Felix Mendelssohn, a German composer, who happens to be the grandson of the great German Jew, Moses Mendelssohn. In the upcoming quote, Wagner compares Felix Mendelssohn's lack of passion to the grand passion of the great Ludwig van Beethoven. Wagner writes:

Whereas Beethoven, the last in the chain of our true music-heroes, strove with highest longing, and wonder-working faculty, for the clearest, certainness Expression of an unsayable Content through a sharp-cut, plastic shaping of his tone-pictures: Mendelssohn, on the contrary, reduces these achievements to vague, fantastic shadow-forms, midst whose indefinite shimmer our freakish fancy is indeed aroused, but our inner, purely-human yearning for distinct artistic sight is hardly touched with even the merest hope of a fulfillment...I said above, the Jews had brought forth no true poet. 107

Wagner specifically belittles the artistic ability of Mendelssohn and distinctively discusses his lack of the true Volkish passion. In fact, Wagner takes this belief one step further in the last sentence. Wagner explains that not Mendelssohn, nor any other Jew, has the power of passion to match that of the genius of a true Volkish artist. In reviewing Wagner's *Judaism in Music*, Wagner demeans the physical characteristics of Jews and racially explains that they are incomparable to the genius and *Leidenschaft* of a true Volkish individual.

With this proper foundation and understanding, it is very easy to comprehend how Richard Wagner's radical and racial Anti-Jewish ideologies were so influential to the Nazi regime. Katz clearly states in both his introduction and conclusion of *The Darker Side of Genius*, that individuals, including many high ranking Nazi officials, completely misused and took the phrases of Wagner out of context. Katz specifically remarks on this misinterpretation of character and phrases by saying:

Many spokesmen of Anti-Semitism, such as Houston Stewart Chamberlin, Alfred Rosenberg, and especially Adolf Hitler, believed themselves to have found in Richard Wagner a prototype of their anti-Semitic sentiments...Wagner's image

has been fixed as the symbol of mortal enmity towards the Jews. 108

As Katz early states, these Nazi officials, who are all associated as being the evil of the evil, basically tie themselves to Wagner. Katz writes, "The anti-Semites were endeavoring to proclaim Wagner as their chief apostle." Katz also claims that the Nazis viewed themselves as the "heirs and executors of Wagner's ideas." The fact that Wagner is associated with the Nazis and the anti-Jewish theology automatically creates an extreme anti-Semitic image of Wagner.

From this clear and significant association between Wagner with these Nazi regime men, and we associate these men with extreme anti-Semitism, we therefore associate Wagner with the same extreme Anti-Semitism. As Katz concludes his book, he hints to this exact notion and train of thought. He writes:

The adoption of Wagner as a kind of tutelary genius and herald of that national socialist worldview is certainly not accidental. In their efforts to find a historically legitimate forerunner in the German past, the nationalist socialists could not pass by the phenomenon of Wagner. Wagner's themes, stemming from the world of German mythology, must have enticed the Nazis, who conjured up pre-Christians Teutonic sources of the nation's power, to identify with them. In his attitude towards the Jews, Wagner was especially well suited to serve as a model. Here the national socialists saw themselves as the heirs of the anti-Semitic movement of the imperial period. Even if Wagner, as we have seen, kept his distance from the movement. 111

This quote of Katz's basically summarizes the entire argument that the Nazi viewed Wagner as the originator and grandfather of their message. Katz concludes this theory of Wagner's false metamorphosis by stating that after Wagner's death, "The name Wagner became a central

symbol of the anti-Jewish movement and later the banner of the campaign for annihilation of the Jews."<sup>112</sup> Through the numerous opinions from the various historians, including the expert opinion of Paul (Pinchas) Schoenfield, a Professor of musical composition at the University of Michigan, it is extremely plausible to see Richard Wagner as significant and influential figure in the evolution of events preceding the Holocaust.<sup>113</sup>

The second individual, who can be seen as dangerously influential preceding the Holocaust, is that of Heinrich von Treitschke. Born in the year 1834, von Treitschke served as one of the most respected German professors, intellectuals, and historians of his time. His racial opinions and ideologies were highly accepted among the young and college student populations, or *Burschenschaften*, due to his intellectual and educational standing in academia.

According to the GHDI database, or the German History in Documents and Images, von Treitschke served as a Reichstag deputy representing the National Liberal Party in the year 1871. 114 During his public service in the National Liberal Party, von Treitschke publically displayed his Anti-Semitism and accused the German Jews of refusing to acculturate with German society and culture. These verbal attacks, which appeared more frequently around the year 1878, were culminated with his essay, *The Jews are Our Misfortune*, in the year 1879. Much like Wagner's *Judaism in Music, The Jews are Our Misfortune* was von Treitschke most infamous document.

Additionally, von Treitschke wrote an essay that was a review of the eleventh volume of Heinrich Gratz's *Geschichte der Juden*, or the History of the Jews. In looking at this review, the last third of the article deals directly with von Treitschke's opinions on the "Jewish Question" and the required and necessary actions. <sup>115</sup> This essay was published in January 1880, along with two other articles as a separate pamphlet titled *Ein Wort uber unser Judenthum*, or in English, A

word about Our Jews. This pamphlet of essays, reached a wide range of audiences, more than his initial pamphlet by the end of 1880. Following the end of 1881, the pamphlet was printed in its fourth edition and reached its highest number of readers. Heinrich von Treitschke's racial ideologies sparked a polemic of Anti-Semitism, which in turn catalyzed the Berlin Anti-Semitism Conflict, or *Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*.

This Berlin Anti-Semitism Conflict, which verbally provoked the common population for the next two years, was proceeded by violent scenes of Anti-Semitism and racial propaganda against the Jewish population. Furthermore, due to his esteem status as a collegiate professor and intellectual, many students in the college fraternities, or *Burschenschaften*, viewed his pronouncements as oral law and accepted truths. With this foundation, and completely popularity and cultural acceptance, von Treitschke's most infamous text, *The Jews are Our Misfortune*, seemed dangerously influence due it its tremendous attention received by the German population.

In looking at the specific Nazi propaganda newspapers, we are able to ultimately see how von Treitschke's racial ideologies were so significantly influential to the Nazi regime. In looking a few examples, Yehuda Baeur notes in his book that multiple quotes of von Treitschke appeared frequently in the Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*. *Der Stürmer*, which can literally be translated as *The Attacker*, provided multiple and extreme hate articles about the Jewish race. <sup>117</sup> Of those articles, Bauer notes that many of the authors attributed their original thoughts and opinions, and sometimes even quoted, the intellectual and academic works of von Treitschke. <sup>118</sup> Additional newspapers, such as Goebbel's *Der Angriff (*The Attack) and *Der Judenkenner* (The Jew Expert), both listed and displayed quoted theologies and statements of von Treitschke. Through his influence racial and Anti-Semitic thinking, it is easy to see how the effect of von Treitschke

being established in Germany's young college students and expressed through various published and popular newspaper in Germany.

With the aforementioned information presented it is now possible to dissect and truly understand the words of Heinrich von Treitschke's most well known document, *The Jews are Our Misfortune*. Throughout his essay, von Treitschke's constant thesis is his opinions on the "Jewish Question" and additionally, the problems that Jews present to the German society. It is not hard to see why such an essay would seem insightful to a eugenic-cleansing regime like the Nazis.

Von Treitschke begins his essay with the notion that no one publically speaks out against the Jews, but in actually, everyone is thinking the exact same thing. He states how individuals have the ability and are "permitted to say unabashedly the harshest things about the national shortcoming of the Germans, the French, and all other people." However von Treitschke follows this oxymoron by stating that even though there is a freedom of speech and opinion, it is forbidden to speak ill of the Jews. Von Treitschke writes:

But any who dared to speak about the undeniable weaknesses of the Jewish character, no matter how moderately, or justly, was immediately branded by almost the entire press as a barbarian and religious bigot.<sup>120</sup>

In continuing with his pamphlet, von Treitschke concurs with Graetz's essay, *The History of the Jews* as a "fanatical rage against the 'arch-enemy,' of Christianity." He continues his endorsement my noting that the essay represents "the lethal hatred against the purse and mightiest representative of the Germanic essence from Luther right up to Goethe and Fichte." Through this last endorsement of Graetz, which again is found in his essay, *The Jews are Our Misfortune*, von Treitschke can be seen attributing authority to Graetz by aligning himself with

past epitome German thinkers. Through the mentioning and drawing parallels between Graetz and Fichte, von Treitschke provides authority to his own argument.

Now that von Treitschke has established his credibility and authority through linking his opinions with past great German thinkers, von Treitschke then moves his essay to his Anti-Semitic ideologies. Von Treitschke notes the Jews' materialism as one of their greatest flaws and negative contributions to German society. He writes:

The Semites bear a heavy share of the guilt for the falsehood and deceit, the insolent greed of fraudulent businesses practices, and that the base of materialism of our day...[That materialism] regards all labor as pure business and threatens to stifle out people's traditional good-natured joy in laboring. In thousands of German villages sits the Jew who sells out his neighbors with usury.<sup>123</sup>

In understanding this quote, von Treitschke clearly notes the Jews' economic practices as detrimental to the German economy and culture. Following this attack, von Treitschke then moves to discuss that there are few Jews in the leading professions of arts and sciences because they are "scribblers" and "constitute a third rate." He additionally declares that the Jews charge extreme high premium rates to their clients, but opt to charge interest free rates to their fellow Jewish brethren. 125

However, according to von Treitschke, of all the Jews detrimental contributions to the German society, the most dangerous is the Jewish control over the daily press. Von Treitschke notes that the "present day weakness of the press" is that no one can speak out against the Jews, or the little man. He states a Jewish pen has largely created the public opinion of many Germans. Additionally, the Liberal Party, von Treitschke's political party, failed to provide a fair and balanced viewpoint to be read by all German citizens. Von Treitschke concludes this failure

to manage the Jewish control of journalism with the idea that this manipulation is "an evil that everyone feels but no one wanted to touch upon." This manipulation, which will now be openly discussed, is a movement that will run very deep and strong through the Germanic people.

With all of the aforementioned sections completed, von Treitschke's explanation of authority through prominent authors and his issues with Jewish negative contribution to German society, von Treitschke is now ready to explain and provide his central thesis. This central thesis, which discusses the Jews are the "misfortune" of Germany, is introduced with the discussion of the German elites. Von Treitschke discusses that the "circles of highly educated men" have noticed the problem and flaw with German society. Again, due to their highly educated and respected status, von Treitschke is able to gain authority and legitimacy to his viewpoint. Von Treitschke notes that "these circles of highly educated men...ring with one voice: the Jews are our Misfortune!" <sup>128</sup> In examining this bold and Anti-Semitic statement, von Treitschke is stating that the Jewish people have been the downfall and detriment to the German Volk. He further notes that Jews are an "alien essence" that fails to adapt and acculturate to the German society. The Jews must ultimately "become tolerant and show respect for the faith, customs, and feelings of the German people who have atoned for the old injustice and bestowed upon tem the rights of man and citizen." Through the assimilation and acculturation, which will eventually remove the Jewish essence from the Jews, the Jews can be acceptable to live in Germany. In concluding this subsection on von Treitschke, through this established foundation and his *The Jews are Our* Misfortune, it is possible to understand why you Treitschke was so dangerously influential to the German population.

The third and final individual, whose life and literature dangerously influenced the events preceding the Holocaust, is that of Wilhelm Marr. Most infamously, most historians remember Wilhelm Marr in the modern day, as the German intellectual who coined the phrase *Anti-Semitism*. Before addressing his creation of this terminology, and additionally his literature, it is first important to provide a small background of Wilhelm Marr.

Moshe Zimmerman, a historian with a specialty in Marr and author of the book *Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch of Anti-Semitism*, notes Marr's early confusion in life. Zimmerman provides a quick introduction by stating that Marr was expelled from Zurich in his early life, moved to Costa Rica to become a businessman, and was additionally married on four separate occasions during his life. <sup>130</sup> The GHDI database, the German History in Documents and Images, notes that Marr was lived a life with a checkered past. Besides his divorces from marriages, Marr additionally tested the theories in communism and other revolutionary ideas. During this various transitional stages, the GHDI notes that Marr "served as editor of several newspapers and journals, almost all of which were financial failures." <sup>131</sup> It can be suggest that Marr's aggression, hostility, and Anti-Semitisms can perhaps arise from his failures and Jewish success in the field of journalism. As seen by this small historical background, Wilhelm Marr was a man who was never fully established a foundation and was constantly in motion, both physically and with his intellectual thoughts.

According to multiple historians, including Zimmerman, the Anti-Judaism began to appear in Marr's literature and public speaking during the year 1848. Zimmerman states that this emergence of Anti-Jewish writing and ideology could have been caused by the revolutions of 1848 taking place across Europe, including the German states. Additionally, Zimmerman notes that Marr became public with his Anti-Semitism in 1848 because he could not find other

public support and backing.<sup>133</sup> In essence, Marr used Anti-Semitism as a platform for politics. Furthermore, Marr discussed in his literature that he was well educated and versed in the intellectual works of his German predecessors. Zimmerman notes that Marr read both Heinrich von Treitschke as well as Richard Wagner. In hindsight, Jacob Katz concludes his book, *From Prejudice to Destruction* that Richard Wagner helped pave the way for other influential German intellectuals, like Wilhelm Marr.

With this proper foundation and understanding of Wilhelm Marr, it is now possible to dissect and dive into his most infamous piece of literature *The Victory of the Judaism over Germandom. The Victory of the Judaism over Germandom,* or in German, *Der Weg zum Siege des Germanenthums über das Judenthum,* was written 1879 in a distributive pamphlet form. The GHDI notes that Marr begins his essay with the idea that the Jews and German Volk are seen in conflict, which originate to race and blood lines. <sup>134</sup> Additionally, Marr notes that because the differences between the Germans and Jews are "blood related" and centered, the conflict cannot be resolved through simple superficial and physical acculturation. Acculturation and assimilation would only change the physical and outward presence of the Jew, but in fact, the issue runs a lot deeper; the blood of the Jew is the subject in question.

As mentioned in the introduction, there is a slight difference between the terms *Anti-Judaism* and *Anti-Semitic*. In first looking at Anti-Judaism, Anti-Judaism can be described as someone who hates Jews because they are Jewish. In short, this can be that someone hates Jewish characteristics, Jewish dress, or basically physical characteristics. The obvious response to Anti-Judaism is to convert to another religion, because then they will not be Jewish and display Jewish behavior. Conversion is an appropriate and valid solution to Anti-Judaism. However, Anti-Semite runs a lot deeper than Anti-Judaism. Anti-Semite, which originates from

Shem (a son of Noah), states a hatred with a more defined genetic and essence mentality. In short, it is impossible and incapable of changing your *Jewishness*. Not even conversion can remove your Jewish genes and essence. This is difference between *Anti-Judaism* and *Anti-Semitic*.

Wilhelm Marr concludes his essay by stating that the ultimate ending will come once one side has persevered and destroyed the other. If the Jews were to be victorious in the fight against the Germans, Germany's end (*finis Germaniae*) would be inevitable. In response to the mass fame and appeal from the reader's of his essay, Marr formed the League of Anti-Semites, *Antisemiten-Liga*, in the year 1879. According to Richard Levy, the Anti-Semite League was regarded as one of the first German organizations focused on dealing with the threatening Jewish question in Germany. <sup>135</sup>

Although the essay presents a very clear and direct thesis against the Jewish presence and involvement in Germany, *The Victory of Judaism over Germandom* is most noted by historians due its establishment of the word *Anti-Semitism*. As previously mentioned, before to this essay's publication in 1879, there were no specific words phrased used to describe Anti-Jewish events. Yehuda Bauer notes in his book, *A History of the Holocaust*, prior to the Anti-Semitism, "The term Judenhass was current in German, Jew-hatred in English, and Judeophobia in intellectual circles." Bauer notes that this creation, of this universally accepted term, brought Anti-Jewish ideology to debated science. With the official categorization and naming, Anti-Semitism could now be meta-analyzed and noted in different languages. Bauer discussed this scientific necessarily by noting:

They needed a "modern" and "scientific" term, hygienic, neutral, one that would not include the word *Jew*... Anti-Semitism was such a term – but in Central

Europe context everyone knew who was meant when the word Semite was used <sup>137</sup>

Through this historical opinion, we are able to understand the importance that the creation and emergence of the term had on the development of European historian. Following it publication and induction into German society, the discussion of Jews was no longer a hate crime, but in fact, a scientific study of sociology and ethnicity. It is fair that the creation of Wilhelm Marr's word, *Anti-Semitism*, open the floodgates to Anti-Jewish literature in the events preceding the Holocaust.

In looking at select few quotations from Wilhelm Marr's, *The Victory of Judaism over Germandom*, the following presents his intentions and hope of his work. He states that he does not want this work to be viewed as another piece of Jewish bashing, but rather serve as a "wake up call" to the German population. He notes the "pessimism" which flows his pen. Continuing through his 1879 piece of literature, Marr then makes a bold prediction to the future of Germany. Marr writes:

It is no ostentatious prophecy but a deeply felt conviction when I saw that no more tan four generation shall pass before the Jess usurp absolutely every office of state, including the very highest.<sup>138</sup>

Through this "deeply felt conviction" of Marr, Marr states that Jews will use their special powers to ascend and eventually control Germany. Marr continues by stating that this is *not* the fault of the Jews, but rather that of the German population. Marr appeals and speaks directly to the reader, and asks for specific change, when he pleads:

Dear reader, stop gnashing your teeth in rage! [You have no right to do so.] Alien domination has been forced upon us. For 1800 years the fight against Jewish

domination has lasted. The Semitic race has borne indescribable [external] suffering. You have roughly mishandled them, but rarely have you combated them spiritually. From feeble beginnings Jewry has grown beyond you. It has corrupted all society with its views. It has driven out any kind of idealism, possesses the controlling position in commerce, infiltrates increasingly into state offices, rules the theater, constitutes a sociopolitical phalanx, and finally has left you little more than the hard manual labor that it always despised. It has reduced talent to rattling superficial finesse, has made that procuress, advertising, into a goddess of public opinion. In short, Jewry lords it over you today.<sup>139</sup>

So if Wilhelm Marr is stating that the Jews are not at fault for making their clear presence in German society, who is at fault? Marr blames the German population. He writes:

You may gnash your teeth about Germanic apathy. I bow down in amazed admiration before this Semitic race that has set its foot upon our necks. Having gathered up the last trace of human energy, I am resigned to enter into Jewish slavery, not to surrender or ask for quarter but only to die as peacefully as possible.<sup>140</sup>

In understanding these two final pleas of Wilhelm Marr, Marr notes that it is the fault of the German people that the Jews are progressing and elevating their public statuses. Additionally, Marr concludes that he refuses to be enslaved by a Jewish Germany and that the "full-blooded" Germans must take action to regain their country.

In looking at the biographies of these three particularly dangerous intellectuals and the influence they had on the German society, it is possible to understand how this peculiar notion of Anti-Semitism developed. We can trace this development from the early seeds laid by Richard

Wagner, to the developments and additions of Heinrich von Treitschke, and finally to the scientific and racial conception that Wilhelm Marr named "Anti-Semitism." These three dangerously influential figures all laid seeds and played critical roles in the shaping of the mentality and social opinion of Anti-Judaism in the events preceding the Holocaust. From each of these three individuals' distinct ideologies and writings, we are able to understand the process and development of German Anti-Semitism preceding the Holocaust. These were not the only individuals who played influential roles, but they were three influential and radical figures. In comparison, we are additionally afforded the opportunity to see other similar influential figures in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition of 1492.

Now that we have been able to see the clear significance and consequential implications that dangerously influential intellectuals can have on a developing society, we can see similar effects in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition. Very similar to the influential figures in the events leading up to the Holocaust, it is additionally plausible to see a progression of influential individuals shaping the public mentality preceding the Spanish Inquisition. Much like the Holocaust, there are dozens of historical influential figures who preceded the Spanish Inquisition and it is impossible to discuss them all. Therefore, I will select a few to serve as general examples and representations of their respective time periods preceding the Spanish Inquisition.

The best way to present these dangerously influential figures, who can be seen as progressing and shaping the public mentality of Iberia, would be to note the three separate time periods. The first period and phase begins with the discussion of the Anti-Jewish riots in 1391 and Ferrant Martínez, the riot's key instigator. The second phase, in the year 1449, features the regulations and definitions Jews in Spain. During this phase Jews official and legitimate

distinctions were placed concerning the definitions and limits of the Jews. This time period is organized and structured around Pedro Sarmiento, a trailblazer during the 1449 Anti-Jewish regulations. The third and final phase is characterized by Alphonso de Espina, a Christian preacher and writer, who spoke out against all of Spain's minorities in his book *Fortress of Faith*. Through the publically degrading of Spain's minorities (i.e. Jews, Muslims, and lepers) Espina aimed to unify a Christian Spain. For this matter, Espina can certainly be viewed as dangerously influential figure leading up to the Spanish Inquisition. Through the discussion and presentation of these three dangerously influential figures, it will be plausible to explain and comprehend how ideologies evolved into action during the Spanish Inquisition.

As we have previously examined, the progression of Anti-Jewish thinking and ideologies of the Spanish Inquisition, begin with Ferrant Martínez. In skipping over a large portion of his biographical information, which was displayed in chapter three, we start with year 1390. As noted, in the year 1390, both the Archbishop and King John I of Castile died, causing a huge power vacuum and lack of centralized government. With this huge vacuum and lack of leadership or censorship, Ferrant Martínez was able to instigate and catalyze the Anti-Jewish movement in Spain.

Towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it is certainly possible to attribute all Anti-Jewish violence to the direct literature and public speaking of Martínez. Some historians, including Yitzhak Baer, will even go as far as calling Ferrant Martínez's action as pogroms. <sup>141</sup> During these waves of Anti-Jewish rioting, hundreds of Jews were murdered, houses were looted, and dozens of synagogues and books were destroyed. It is additionally significant to note that these pogroms, or Anti-Jewish violent riots, did not only take place in Seville, but rather, spread to other large cities including Cordoba, Valencia, and Barcelona. The significance in mentioning

these other cities is to show that Ferrant Martínez was not only successful in publicizing and instigating an Anti-Jewish movement in his hometown, but additionally all over the Iberian Peninsula. In this respect, he can certainly be seen as the catalyst and beginning point of the progression of Anti-Jewish public mentality, in Spain, leading up to the Spanish Inquisition.

When looking at Ferrant Martínez through this specific lens, as an instigator of Anti-Jewish propaganda, Martínez can be seen in great comparison with some of the earlier figures mentioned in this chapter. For example, Martínez can be seen in a similar light with Richard Wagner because they both released publications and spread their ideological opinions, and planted seeds for the mass populations. As Wagner was a writer and used his pen, Martínez was a preacher and used his mouth. Both were successful and publicizing their racial and Anti-Jewish theologies to their respective communities.

The second dangerously influential individual, in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition, was Pedro Sarmiento. Pedro Sarmiento arises and begins to gain public attention in Toledo in the year 1449. Yitzhak Baer notes that up until the year 1449, Sarmiento was a just an unknown craftsman, who was born from the lower classes of Toledo. However, as noted, all of this changed in 1449 when Sarmiento was promoted to be the commander of the town's *alcazar*, or castle-like structure, by royal appointment. Benzion Netanyahu affirms Sarmiento's commonality by thoroughly depicting Sarmiento's previous life. Netanyahu writes:

In 1448, after eighteen years of service, he was still, in effect a second ratenobleman, with mediocre estates and moderate income. But the day came the appointment in Toledo, and Sarmiento believed that his day had come...At last, he must have thought, the King and Alvaro had realized that his reward was overdue.<sup>143</sup>

Both Baer and Netanyahu state, that from this time on, Pedro Sarmiento was no longer a just a simpleton, but rather someone of significance, importance, and power.

Baer notes that the first racial conflicts of Toledo in 1449 started because Alvaro de Luna issued a heavy tax on behalf of the royal crown. <sup>144</sup> In response to these outrageous taxes, rebels began setting fire to the home of Alonso Cota, a prominent converso tax-farmer. <sup>145</sup> To subdue and suppress the revolt, newly empowered Sarmiento:

Took over all the powers of the municipal administration, ordered the arrest of several leading new Christians, and sentenced them to be burnt at the stake after a relegio-judicial inquiry and trial during which they were tortured into confession that they have lived as Jews. Sarmiento then promulgated an edict against the conversos in general, in which they were accused of untrustworthiness in matter of religion.<sup>146</sup>

The significance of these events, the racial riots of 1449, was this was a new evolution of Anti-Judaism. Up until this point, if you were Jews and converted to Christianity through baptism, then you were Christian. There were no restrictions or challengers to this belief. Netanyahu notes this general consensus "whether out of love or out of fear, there was no a man in the city who dared utter a single word against the will of Pero Sarmiento."

Netanyahu notes that Pedro Sarmiento was incredibly influential in the public sphere and never acted alone. One of the key supporters of Sarmiento's named Marcos Garcia can be seen as a right-hand-man to Sarmiento. Garcia was almost always present during Sarmiento's actions and sometimes was even more radical than Sarmiento himself.

Additionally during this time, Sarmiento established two new aspects of this evolving Spanish Anti-Semitism in 1449. First, under the leadership of Sarmiento and other prominent

Christian leaders, a baptism no longer constituted being Christian; in their eyes it was impossible to wash away the Jewish essence. This greatly appears to be the definition that Wilhelm Marr provides over 500 years into the future. Secondly during this emergence of evolved Anti-Semitism, Pedro Sarmiento established the exclusion of Jews and conversos from public governmental office. This major restriction, which was added by Sarmiento, was that the Jews were not allowed to hold any public or governmental office. This Anti-Jewish regulation and legislation will come in play with the story of Alfonso of Burgos.

This concept, of evolved Anti-Judaism, was completely new and radical to Spain. No longer could conversion provide a safe alternative to Jews in Spain. Baer notes that dozens of conversos, who were still Jews in Sarmiento's eyes, were "condemned to death by fire." Ultimately Baer writes a comment to conclude and summarize the new evolution of Sarmiento's Anti-Semitism:

This satire is an importance and source-document for the history of Anti-Semitism, particularly because in it we find for the first time the favorite racial adage: that the pure blood of Spanish Christian was defiled when mixed wit that of the persons of the Jewish race. The age has learned from experience that a man's characteristics and beliefs were not changed by baptism, despite its *ineffaceable nature*. <sup>149</sup>

From this summary we are able to understand this new breed of evolution that Sarmiento introduced to Spain in 1449.

As seen by Sarmiento's actions, these new waves of Anti-Jewish riots of 1449 were completely innovative and advanced from the riots of 1391. During Ferrant Martínez's Anti-Jewish riots of 1391, if you were a converso, then you were safe from the anger of the mobs and

pogroms. However, as seen by the actions of Sarmiento's new riots of 1449, the mentality had greatly shifted and increased in a short sixty years. Converted Jews who were safe back during Martínez's era, were no longer safe and free of Sarmiento's riots. Baer summarizes the events of 1449 by writing:

Thee revolt of 1449 was definitely religious in character. In Sarmiento's order we hear foe the first time of inquisitorial proceedings in Castile against conversos, which were conducted by ordinary priests of the church of Toledo. <sup>150</sup>

Following this emergence of Pedro Sarmiento, Spanish Anti-Semitism was never the same. It had evolved from its foundational step, which was introduced by Martínez, to this increasingly eugenic and "blood-like" Anti-Semitism. No longer would converso, a Jew who completely baptized and converted to Christianity, would still be considered a Jew.

To prove the presence of this newly evolved Anti-Semitisms that Sarmiento brought in 1449, we return to the story of Solomon HaLevi from the introduction. Solomon HaLevi was born to a prominent Jewish family in Burgos in the year 1352. He grew up studying the texts of traditional Jewish intellectuals texts, the sciences, and philosophy with a Maimonides focus. He eventually grew up to become the chief Rabbi of Burgos and the head of his respective Jewish community. 152

However, in making a long story short, HaLevi along with his young 5-year-old son, fully converted to Christianity during the riots of 1391. The final part of this conversion was when HaLevi changed his name from Solomon HaLevi to Paul of Burgos. Although some historians believe that HaLevi converted only out of fear, it is fully noted, by Netanyahu, that HaLevi learned to love Christianity and its teachings. Netanyahu displays and notes Paul's love for Christianity when he writes:

Solomon HaLevi must have fallen in love with the style of life of the Christianity aristocracy, just as he must have become an admirer of scholastic and philosophy Christian literature. <sup>153</sup>

Paul actually became so involved and respected in the Christian community, which additionally proved that he was legitimate, was appointed to the Bishop of Burgos, the head of Burgos's Christian community. It does not seem plausible for Paul of Burgos to fool the entire Christian population, of his truth faith, in coming the Bishop of one of the largest Christian community.

The controversy of Solomon HaLevi/Paul of Burgos only starts following his death in the year 1435. Following his death, his son, Archbishop Alfonso of Burgos, who converted at the age of five, became his successor and Bishop of Burgos. During these new waves of Anti-Jewish riots in 1449 by Sarmiento, Archbishop Alfonso of Burgos Christianity came into question. Sarmiento and others began to note that even though Alfonso of Burgos converted at a young age, and never truly knew Judaism, his conversion was still inadequate. Sarmiento and others physically removed Alfonso of Burgos from office, stating that a Jew cannot occupy any governmental offices. This is clear shot and evolution of Anti-Semitism.

This radical idea, of not being to purge oneself of Jewishness or Jewish blood, is a new concept separates and intensities Spain's Anti-Semitism. Through both the information presented on Sarmiento and the story of Alfonso of Burgos, we are able to see this clear intensification of Anti-Semitism with progress towards the Spanish Inquisition. For these reasons, it is possible to understand and see Pedro Sarmiento as a dangerously influential individual in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition.

The third and final dangerously influential that we will discuss, in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition, is Alonso Espina. Alonso Espina, who is also referred to as Alonso de

Espina, is first and foremost a preacher and writer who arose in Toledo in the year 1449. Benzion Netanyahu begins the second chapter of his book, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, with the development of rising Anti-Semitism and controversy in the Old Christian era of 1450's. Netanyahu writes that during the time period from 1450-1465, Alonso de Espina "reached the height of his literary activity, as well as, the peak of public influence." During these very crucial years, Espina released his most notorious document, his *Fortalitium Fidei*, or in English, the Fortress of Faith. However, before we can address and dissect what makes the *Fortalitium Fidei* so dangerous, we must first assess the true character of Alonso de Espina.

Throughout their books, both Netanyahu and Baer provide various components that complete the debated biography of Alonso de Espina. Both writers note that there is little known about the early life of Alonso de Espina, but he did begun to gain political significance in the early 1440's. Espina was first and foremost known in the Christian and Spanish communities as a Catholic bishop of the Church, an aggressive preacher, and an influential writer. He believed to have followed and been a regent of the theological *studium* of the Franciscans at Salamanca. As noted by Netanyahu, Espina begins to gain extreme political influence during the years 1450-1465 due to his racial and eugenic rants against Spain's minorities. Although the Jews were the main and main targets for Espina, it is extremely important to note that Espina targeted all minorities in Spain; this also included the Muslims, Lepers, and other heretics. Through his various writing, preceding his *Fortalitium Fidei*, Espina released several documents surroundings the findings of the Jewish inquiry. Netanyahu notes that Espina offers the idea that the Jews and Marronos were collaborating in an "attempt to destroy the Spanish people, or that any number of Jews were converted for that purpose." In understanding this initial inquiry,

Espina believes that any Jew who converted to Christian was only serving as a double agent in helping the Jews destroy the Christian Spaniards. Espina further notes in these findings of the inquiry, or *pesquisa*, that the "conversos were worshipers of idols" who were false Christians and deserved to be persecuted. Additionally, both authors address the myth and hypothesis that Alonso de Espina was a Jew, and a possible convert from Judaism. However, they finally conclude that this possibility was highly unlikely.

A third author, Steven J McMichael, author of *Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah*, spends a lengthy portion of his book discussing the specific involvement and influence of Alphonso de Espina on the Spanish Inquisition of 1492. In explaining the early significance of Espina, McMichael writes:

He argued that that the practice of Judaism constitutioned a grave danger to the Christian faith and therefore Jews and the Conversos needed to be expelled from Spain. Alphonso wrote a text entitled the *Fortalitium Fidei*, which provided theological, rational, and historical reasons why the Jews were enemies of the Christian faith.<sup>158</sup>

Through this general biographical summary and major racial theories, McMichael is able to provide a general understanding of Alphonso de Espina. Additionally, McMichael confirms that it is a "difficult task" in establishing the chronology of the life of Espina. McMichael expends by noting "His birth date is not known nor is there any information available about his early life." Finally, McMichael concludes and debunks a theory and rumor that Espina was a Converso, and was born Jewish. McMichael states that his historical opinions are shared and approved by other historians including Benzion Netanyahu, Henry Lea, and Yitzhak Baer. These

aforementioned historians, with as well the additions of dozens of others, present and provide validity and conforming opinions on the life of Alonso Espina.

Steven McMichael concludes his historical biography on Espina through a very defining quotation from Henry Lea. Henry Charles Lea, a historian and author of *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* writes:

Alonso de Espina may be ascribed a large share in hastening the development of organized persecution in Spain, by inflaming the race hatred of recent origin which already needed no stimulation. 162

An additional author that McMichael uses to provide the proper racial image of Espina is that of Yitzhak Baer. Baer writes in his *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*:

Out of the abundant material and scholastic casuistry with which his book is filled, his practical aim emerges very clearly: the establishment of an Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Is voluminous work contains a methodical program, which the Catholic Monarchs [King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella] themselves were to carry into effect by those very means in the year from 1481 to 1492.<sup>163</sup>

Through both of these small summaries, and the inclusion of other notable historian, McMichael is able to provide validity to his historical findings and efficiently display the true racial image and personality of Alonso de Espina.

Through the years 1450 to 1465, Espina carefully and systematically rose through the rankings of the Spanish Church. Netanyahu notes that started as a convent of Abrojo in 1453 and has gained an early reputation as a "fiery Jew-baiter...his strong Anti-Jewishness, and especially his Anti-Marranism." Following his social and political elevation, Espina occupies the

position of King Enrique IV's confessor and the head of the Franciscan Observants in Spain; two very influential and powerful positions in Spain. Due to these great appointments, Espina was obtained as reputation as a great preacher and attracted large public crowds. In these large public sermons, Espina delivered sermons in the name of Jesus and combined popular themes of attacking Spanish Jews, their religious heritage, and their traditions. Due to this great success and public fame, Espina began his *Fortalitium Fidei* in the year 1457.

In the year 1459, Alfonso de Espina moved to Madrid and proposed the first political inquisition of Spanish Jewry. It is significant to note that while Espina was proposes this primary and initial thought of a Jewish expulsion, Espina was still serving as official Confessor to King Enrique the IV. Netanyahu writes that Espina:

Tried to persuade the cautious king to establish an inquisition again heretics in Castile....He [Espina] organized a Franciscan delegation to the King to appeal for his consent to establish an inquisition, and he also arranged for the Spanish Franciscan to request the Heironymites to join them in that appeal.<sup>166</sup>

Furthermore, Espina pushed for the appointment of Alonso de Oropesa as the General of the Heironymites. In fast-forwarding a few years, Alonso de Oropesa became King Enrique's chief counselor on the question of the Inquisition. Even though Espina's attempt was not granted or approved by the crown, Espina still made tremendous progress on his fight against the Jews and other racial minorities in Spain.

Even though the true biographical history of Alonso de Espina is hazy and uncertain, both Netanyahu and Baer note, that the latter years of Espina's life are well documented and confirmed. They note that Espina finished and completed his most well-known and monumental work, *Fortalitium Fidei*, in the year 1464. Further, it is noted that Espina served as both as a

member of the Synod of Alcala in 1479 and Inquisitor for Catalonia in 1487. In the final years of his life, 1491, Espina was appointed as bishop of Thermopylae and built an altar for his burial chamber. Alonso de Espina soon died shorter after in Palencia.

With the following biographical history of Alonso de Espina presented and understood, it is now plausible to dissect the true meaning of his *Fortalitium Fidei*. The *Fortalitium Fidei*, or Fortress of Faith, which was believed to be completed in 1464, during the height of Espina's political influence. Netanyahu provides a general abstract of the *Fortalitium Fidei*:

The book tapped a popular vein. Besides the large introductory chapter, it consists of four parts, which deal respectively with Heretics, Jews Saracens and Demons. Most of it is a vitriolic triage against Jews and converts from Judaism to Christianity, and this was no doubt what especially attracted reader in Spain, Germany, and France. It appealed to the prejudiced of the Christian palpations and their traditional hatred of Jews. <sup>168</sup>

Netanyahu additionally notes that this book is extremely significant due to the fact that is can be seen as the first Spanish work that proposes the establishment of an inquisition against the Jewish population in Seville. It is very important to understand that the publication of the *Fortalitium Fidei* marks the ultimate shift in public opinion in favor of the Inquisition. The book further features:

A large number of statements about Jewish and converso viewed and customs, and as such it has been generally regarded as a valuable source of information of the subjects. In fact, to many that information seemed sufficient to explain the founding of the Spanish Inquisition. <sup>169</sup>

Through these general summaries and abstracts, it is easily plausible to understand how Espina's writing could have been dangerously influential in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition.

Now that we have provided both brief biographical and over all summaries of Alonso de

Espina's *Fortalitium Fidei*, we can specifically look a exact quotation and viewpoints of Espina.

Espina writes:

The Jew is not only cruel and sadistic by virtue of his nature or mental makeup; he is also filled with special hatred for Christianity and a desire to destroy the Christian world. This desire, or this urge to kill Christians, is not mean, however, just to satisfy his rancor; he must also kill them to quiet his sick blood and fulfill his religious needs. He is also ordered by his law – i.e., rabbinic law – to kill all Christians, let alone exploit them in every possible manner. <sup>170</sup>

With the combination of Espina's political status and his racial Anti-Semitic preaching, it is very easy to understand to see the clear correlation of Espina's influence of the emergence of the Inquisition in 1492. To further express his violent and eugenic opinion, Espina writes:

They are in fact, beyond the pale of morals. This is why they have always been 'rebels against God,' idolater' and 'dealers in black magic.' All this is explained by the Jews' origin – namely, by their ethnic structure and components...the Jews are subhuman or, more previously, they are only partly human, while the other part are beastly and demonic – a direct result of their ancestors cohabitation with monsters, beasts, and evil spirits...they are 'sons of the Devil' (not only metaphorically, but in the full and real sense of the word), and as such they are a danger not only to their neighbors and to those who converse or come in touch with them, but to mankind as a whole.<sup>171</sup>

Following these verbal racial and Anti-Semitic tirades against the Jewish population, Espina notes that the final step would be the absolute elimination of the Jews. Espina notes that the only way to atone for the Jews' sins is through the expulsion of the Jews. However, Espina "had to do something better than expel the Jews: he had to kill them."

In understanding the deadly and dangerous combination of Alonso de Espina's political status and his Anti-Semitic theologies, it is very easy to see him as a predecessor and significantly influential individual before the Spanish Inquisition. Due to the fact that Espina greatly desired, and actually petitioned for an Inquisition, establishes himself as a dangerously influential figure. Netanyahu ends his chapter on the influence of Espina by writing:

All these stories clearly show that Espina considered mass extermination a proper way to get rid of the Jews. For what was done to the Jews of a whole province cod of course be done to the Jews of a whole kingdom. Inn fact, we may readily conclude that annihilation was Espina's preferred solution to the Jewish problem in all countries of Christendom. <sup>173</sup>

Through the political superiority and Anti-Semitic theologies, Alonso de Espina can clearly be seen as a dangerously influential figure in the events preceding the Holocaust. Due to his large passion to remove the Jews physically, by deportation or by death, the Spanish Inquisition of 1492 does not seem that far away theologically. Spain's Anti-Semitism has come a long from the Ferrant Martínez's riots of 1391. The evolution and metamorphosis of Spanish Anti-Semitism is now complete. It can clearly be stated that Alonso de Espina set the stage for the Spanish Inquisition of 1492.

With all of the aforementioned dangerously individuals discussed, it is now important to quickly revisit their specific influences and examine their great comparison and similarities. As

we discussed, Richard Wagner, Heinrich von Treitschke, and Wilhelm Marr are all seen as dangerously influential figures in the events and era preceding the Holocaust. While on the reciprocal side, Ferrant Martínez, Pedro Sarmiento, and Alonso Espina can be seen as the dangerously influential figures in the events preceding the Spanish Inquisition. Through the actions of these noted and aforementioned individuals, it is possible to see their specific and intense influence on the evolution of Anti-Semitism in their respective time periods. Yes, it is plausible that perhaps the corresponding Jewish atrocities would have been as severe, but it can be agreed upon that these figures laid seeds and contributed to the growing racial Anti-Semitism preceding the Spanish Inquisition and Holocaust.

## CONCLUSION

Ever since I can remember, I have always been taught that the Holocaust was the worst atrocity the Jews, and perhaps even the world, has ever experienced. I was raised with the education of Holocaust awareness, first-hand testimonies of victims and survivors alike, and have even taken heritage trips to see the concentration/death camps in Poland. I have been repeatedly told over and over again, that nothing can ever compare to the systematic genocide of my six million ancestors a mere 60 years ago. However, I believe that this mindset needs to be changed. I am not saying that I have no respect for the magnitude or outcome of the atrocities, but I do believe that it must be lowered from this unique status. It could happen again.

In this thesis, I have discussed the similarities and parallels preceding the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust. As I wrote in the introduction, I believe that David Nirenberg creates a great foundation for the practice of historical comparison. Nirenberg correctly states in his book, *Communities of Violence*, that it is impossible to fully compare separate events, even if they may involve similar ethnicities and nationalities. As Nirenberg notes, it is clearly impossible to compare the systematic annihilation and genocide of six million people with the expulsion and atrocity of no more than half a million. Nirenberg continues that the two events are so different that an individual needs to be very careful when drawing similarities. However, if we place the Holocaust upon this pedestal of uniqueness, where nothing can ever compare to its magnitude, we are bound to fall into a trap. As cliché as it sounds, history always seems to find a way to repeat itself. If we ultimately believe that nothing in the future can even compare to the Holocaust, then we are bound to make an inevitable mistake and not see the signs of its repetition.

This mentality of placing the Holocaust upon this unreachable pedestal is the first issue that I hope to correct with this study. I understand that the actions that took place less than half a

century ago are simply mind-blowing and almost impossible for the human mind to comprehend. In this sense, we are presently educated that the Holocaust was so intense that it could never happen again. Well maybe not in our lifetime, or our grandchildren's grandchildren lifetime, but if we keep this mindset, a future atrocity of this magnitude is bound to recur.

I understand that it is impossible to prevent and stop all Jewish atrocities and genocides from taking place, but through this thesis, I have laid out a systematic and methodical checklist of possible warning signs. Although these four chapters are specific to the events of their respective eras, their themes and subjects are universal; the focus of these four chapters, I believe, can be applied to any historical period.

As stated, I have not examined either the course or results of these atrocities. In this sense, I have not discussed life in the concentration camps, gas chambers, or any event during or after the Holocaust. Additionally, I have no spoken of the emigration, Jewish reaction, or any event during or after the Inquisition. I have strictly spoken about events that preceded and led up to these respective atrocities.

In the first chapter, I discussed the presence of Anti-Jewish Movements, both governmental and community, in the events preceding the atrocities. In looking in hindsight, it is logical to draw comparisons between the riots of 1391 and Kristallnacht of 1938. A second aspect that I discussed in this chapter was the metamorphosis and evolution of popular opinion. These evolutions of Anti-Semitism came from similar methods and tactics. In both of these cases, Anti-Semitism was spread through grassroots and bottom-up strategies. Preceding the Holocaust, the Nazis used the very systematic method of enlisting young people in the Hitler Youth and League of German Girls, while in the decades preceding the Inquisition, local preachers (i.e. Ferrant Martínez and Pero Sarmiento) worked systematically to change public

opinion. The third and final similarity we explored was the presence of segregated living conditions and special garments for Jews in the respective time periods. In the events leading up to both the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust, Jews were forced to wear specific clothes that designating themselves as Jews and were further forced to live in isolated location from non-Jews. Through these three separate actions, the local populations of each respective time period went through a gradual process of highlighting their differences from the Jews.

In the second chapter of my thesis, I presented the various Anti-Jewish legislation that was issued in the respective years leading up to the Spanish Inquisition. The highlight of this chapter was the presentation and discussion of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and the Valladolid Laws of 1412. Through both of these legislative documents, the governments in control appear to legally segregate the Jews from the rest of the local population of the respective eras. In the events preceding the Holocaust, the Nuremberg Laws looked to clearly classify and define who was a Jew. Additionally, the Laws provided numerous regulations and restrictions that limited the political liberties and freedom of the Jewish population. In comparison, the Valladolid Laws can be seen possessing multiple similarities in officially and legally restricting the rights of the Jewish citizens. In this sense, the Anti-Jewish legislation, in the events preceding the Holocaust and Spanish Inquisition, can be seen to be very similar in comparison.

An additional comparison, which was drawn between the two events, was the emergence of eugenics and blood related legislation. In both the Nuremberg and the Spanish Inquisition a large focus was played on the bloodlines and ancestry. During the Spanish Inquisition this term was called *Limpieza de Sangre*, or the "purity of blood." The presence of such Anti-Jewish legislation, originating from bloodlines, is certainly a trademark and theme found in the events leading up to these respective atrocities.

In this third chapter, I noted the significant power vacuum created by considerable lack of centralized leadership and government in both Spain and Germany. As seen through the examinations of the political and governmental history of these respective time periods, provided by numerous historical experts, we have been able to see the emergence of this power vacuum that needed to be filled. In both of these historical instances, the Anti-Semitic movements arose to a lack of power, regulation, and government. This theme, the lack of centralized government and a power vacuum, is a trademark of the progression of both of these catastrophic atrocities.

In the fourth and final chapter, I displayed and highlighted a few dangerously influential individuals who lead to the progression to the Holocaust. Although there were hundreds of individuals attributed to the progression of the respective atrocities, I selected these six individuals, three from each event, as key figures and influential. The emergence and power of these figures is a key theme that can be seen through the metamorphosis and development of humanistic atrocities.

In organizing my thesis around these four fundamental concepts, I hope to provide an equation and explanation of the causation of historical atrocities. Of course it is impossible to fully state and explain why things happen they way they happen, but we are afforded the ability to understand and draw comparisons amongst these events. In these specific events, I believe that these four concepts make up the greatest similarities and parallels. I am not arguing for a straight link, but certainly believe that there is a correlation between their presence and the development of the atrocities.

In understanding and outlining these essential concepts and pillars, which when correctly combined can result in an atrocity, we can gain a further understanding of why such events take place. Certainly, no individual wakes up in the morning and decides that they will ultimately

alter history through racial hatred, murder, and genocide. Hence, there is, in every case, certainly a developmental process and evolution that must take place.

I believe that when each of these four aspects are combined such a racial developmental process and evolution can take place. In understanding and defining this equation, it is my hope to educate the reader of how these atrocities emerge. Additionally, I hope that through the education and knowledge of these pillars, readers would be able to recognize similar concepts in future situations. Hypothetically, if a reader notices that three of the four pillars can be seen in daily life, he or she might suspect that it will not be long, or will be highly probable, that the fourth and final pillar is eminent. Again, it should be noted that the concepts and themes are presented in no specific order or arrangement, and can appear in any order.

In truly understanding and comprehending the four pillars of this thesis, is it my hope to educate the populations on the warning signs of humanitarian atrocities and genocides. Of course each respective atrocity greatly differs in oppressors, oppressed, geographical location, and other miscellaneous factors. Even though these factors may be different, and will absolutely differ in each situation, it is important to try and generalize them as much as possible. Through the application and understanding of these four pillars, it is my hope that citizens around the world, and in future generations, can recognize such pillars and recognize early detection.

One final question remains after my analysis: If there are these notable similarities between the conditions lead up to the Holocaust and Spanish Inquisition, why did the events turn out differently? On this exact question, various historians have provided and hypothesized numerous answers. In looking at one possible answer, which is presented by Benzion Netanyahu in the chapter of his book, *Racism in Germany and Spain*, Netanyahu talks about why things concluded with such tragedy and intense destruction.<sup>174</sup> One of the major differences that

Netanyahu attributes to the ultimate difference was the presence of World War II. Netanyahu writes that the Germans were able to mask and hide their genocide of European Jewry, also known as the Holocaust, through their involvement and participation in World War II.

Additionally, Scott Spector, a Professor of German history, provides a similar hypothesis.

Spector believes that it would have been impossible for the Nazis to carry out their Holocaust and destruction of European Jewry without the mask and façade of the World War II. Due to the heavy military, political, economic interests of the world powers, the interest and well-being of the Jewish population became a back seat issue. If this Holocaust had taken place during a time of peace, or simply during a time free of war, things would have certainly been very different. This presence of the Second World War, which was the most expensive and deadliest war in human history, was a clear difference that affected the result and ending of the Holocaust.

In fact, when looking at the strategies and tactical planning of the Nazis, the Nazis originally planned to deport and physically move all of the Jews out of Europe. Most people believe that the Nazis always held the viewpoint of complete annihilation of the Jewish people. But in fact, this is incorrect. At the Wannsee conference of 1942, held in a suburb of Berlin, some of the highest-ranking Nazi officials met to discuss *the Jewish question* and several possibilities were suggested. Professor David Silberklang, an Editor-in-Chief of the *Yad VaShem Studies in Jerusalem and* a professor of Holocaust studies, explains how the Nazis initially planned to concentrate the Jews into specific areas, first to Nisko, a small town in southeastern Poland, then when this did not succeed, into Lublin, and finally, to the island of Madagascar. <sup>176</sup>

Ultimately, it was only following the failure of these plans that the Nazis moved towards the idea of persecution and killing. This final solution, also known as "Operation Reinhard,"

ultimately became the systematic murder, through extermination camps, of over two million Jewish people.

Why is this story important? What significance does the mentioning of these failure deportation plans have to do with the Spanish Inquisition? We are again able to draw on the similarities and parallels of the two events. Much like the actions of the Ferdinand, Isabella, and the plan of complete expulsion of Spanish Jewry, the Nazis additionally looked to deport and remove European Jewry from through plans of Nisko, Lublin, and Madagascar. In fact, when understanding these early isolation plans of the Nazis, there are great comparisons that can be drawn with the actions of the Spaniards. This leads up to the final and ultimate question of the thesis. What was the sole factor that differentiated the Spanish Inquisition from the Holocaust? This exact question has puzzled and confused some of the greatest historians for over sixty years. There is no absolute and supreme correct answer to this debatable question.

My answer to this complex question is the presence of World War II. My viewpoint is shared with Joshua Cole, an associate professor of modern European history at the University of Michigan. Joshua Cole states that it would have been impossible for the Nazis to carry out their plan of annihilation of European Jewry, or "Operation Reinhard" without the cover and shadow of the Second World War. Cole states that World War II provide a cover, to which the Nazis were able to operate and hide their genocidal actions. Due to various countries allocation of tremendous economic, monetary, and humanitarian efforts to the war, the Jewish genocide of the Holocaust took a back seat to the war. I ultimately believe that if the Nazis did not have the benefit of a total World War, they would not be able to mobilize their plan from isolation to annihilation. This important difference goes a long way toward explaining why Holocaust ended with mass genocide, and the Spanish Inquisition ended with expulsion.<sup>177</sup>

Additionally, I can suggest two other final hypotheses for why there were great differences in concluding results of the respective atrocities because of the development of modern technology. First, in looking at pre-Inquisition Spain and pre-war Germany, one of the largest differences was the advancement in modern warfare and military technology. Clearly the Nazis had the benefit of using guns, toxic gas, and other methods for eliminating the Jewish population. However, during the Inquisition, the Spanish only have swords, daggers, and other medieval weapons for death. In this sense, it appears that it was easier and quicker for the Nazis to kill during the Holocaust than it was during the Inquisition whose primary goal, in any case was not murder but control of belief and behavior. Secondly deals with the formation and establishment of Germany, a modern nation. By this, in understanding the historical time periods, Spain can be seen as made up of multiple smaller kingdoms with little, if any, unifying nationalism. While on the other side, Germany, who is trying to compensate for their embarrassment and humiliation during World War I, is unified and connected though great nationalism. Through these two differences, modern military technology and nationalism, we are to see two alternative explanations for the differences in concluding results of the Spanish Inquisition and Holocaust.

In applying these ideas, it is possible to suggest that if there was a total World War during 1492, would the Spaniards have systematically killed the Jews like the Nazis did in the 1940s? The answer to such questions is beyond our historical investigations, but we can affirm that both movements, despite their different historical contexts, shared many important characteristics. In understanding and applying these shared characteristics, it is my hope that we can detect early warning signs and prevent future atrocities from occurring in our world.

# **REFERENCES**

# **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Aschheim, Steven. *Brothers and Strangers*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.

  Print.
- Baer, Yitzhak. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961. 2 vols. Print.
- Baer, Yitzhak. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961. 2 vols. Print.
- Bauer, Yehuda. A History of the Holocaust. Revised ed. New York: Franklin Watts, 2001. Print.
- Benz, Wolfgang. *A Concise History of the Third Reich*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006. Print.
- Joshua, Cole. "World War II and the Holocaust: Part I." University of Michigan. Ann Arbor. 31 Mar. 2010. Lecture.
- Dawidowicz, Lucy W. A Holocaust Reader. New York: Behrman House, 1976. Print.
- Garber, Jane S. The Jews of Spain. New York: The Free Press, 1992. Print.
- Gilbert, Felix, and David C. Large. *The End of the European Era: 1890 to the Present*. Fifth ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002. Print.
- Gordon-Reed, Annette. *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy*. The University of Virginia Press, 1997. Print.
- Ibn Verga, Solomon. Shebet Yehuda. Wiener edition. Hanover: 1924. Page 128. Print.
- Katz, Jacob. From Prejudice to Destruction. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980. Print.
- Lea, Henry Charles. *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*. Vol. 1. London: MacMillan, 1906. 148. Print.

- Levy, Richard S. "Wilhelm Marr." *Encyclopedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. Vol. 13. 2nd ed. 2007. 558. Print.
- Lewis, Bernard. Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry Into Conflict and Prejudice. New York: W W Norton & Company, 1999. Print.
- López de Ayala, Pedro. *Cronica del Rey Don Juan, Rrimero de Castila*. In. *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla*. Madrid: M. Rivandeneyara. 1877.
- Marr, Wilhelm. "The Victory of Judaism over Germandom." *German History in Documents and Images*. 4th ed. 1991. Print.
- Marr, Wilhelm. Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum. Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet [The Victory of Judaism over Germandom. 2nd ed. Berlin: Rudolph Costenoble, 1879. Print.
- McMicahel, Steven J. Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah? Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994. Print.
- Mosse, George L. Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich. New York: The Universal Library, 1964. Print.
- Mosse, George L. Toward the Final Solution. New York: Howard Fertig, 1985. Print.
- Netanyahu, Benzion. *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. New York: Random House, 1995. Print.
- Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*.

  Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Print.
- Rose, Paul Lawrence. Wagner: Race and Revolution. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992. Print.
- Roth, Norman. *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002. Print.
- Schoenfield, Paul. Personal interview. 18 Oct. 2010.

- Von Treitschke, Heinrich. "The Jews are Out Misfortune." *German History in Documents and Images*. 4th ed. 1991. Print.
- Schoenfield, Paul. Personal interview. 18 Oct. 2010.
- Silberklang, David. "Jewish-Non-Jewish Relations & Rescue During the Holocaust." Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Jerusalem. 24 Mar. 2010. Address.
- Spector, Scott. "Modernism Without Jews: A Counter-Historical Argument." *Modernism* 13.4 (2006): 615-33. Print.
- Wagner, Richard. Judaism in Music. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Print.
- Yerushalmi, Yosef H. Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989. Print.
- Zimmerman, Moshe. *Wilhelm Marr, the patriarch of Antisemitism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. Print.

#### *NOTES*

## **Introduction:**

<sup>1</sup> Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Page 7. Print.

---

# **Chapter 1:**

- <sup>6</sup> Benz, Wolfgang. *A Concise History of the Third Reich*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006. Page 92. Print.
- <sup>7</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 92.
- <sup>8</sup> Bauer, Yehuda. *A History of the Holocaust*. Revised ed. New York: Franklin Watts, 2001. Page 104. Print.
- <sup>9</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 92.
- Mosse, George L. Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich. New York: The Universal Library, 1964. Page 5. Print.
- <sup>11</sup> Mosse, Crisis of German Ideology. 5-6.
- <sup>12</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 75.
- <sup>13</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 75.
- <sup>14</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 75.
- 15 Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 75.
- Mosse, George L. Toward the Final Solution. New York: Howard Fertig, 1985. Page 203. Print.
- <sup>17</sup> Mosse. *Toward the Final Solution*. 203.
- <sup>18</sup> Silberklang, David. "Jewish-Non-Jewish Relations & Rescue During the Holocaust" Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Jerusalem. 24 Mar. 2010. Address.
- <sup>19</sup> Silberklang, Jewish-Non-Jewish Relations & Rescue During the Holocaust.
- <sup>20</sup> Silberklang, Jewish-Non-Jewish Relations & Rescue During the Holocaust.
- <sup>21</sup> Silberklang, Jewish-Non-Jewish Relations & Rescue During the Holocaust.
- <sup>22</sup> Mosse. *Toward the Final Solution*. 133.
- <sup>23</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 116.
- <sup>24</sup> Bauer. *A History of the Holocaust*. 116.
- <sup>25</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 144-145.
- <sup>26</sup> Mosse. *Toward the Final Solution*. 212
- <sup>27</sup> Mosse. *Toward the Final Solution*. 212
- <sup>28</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 145.
- <sup>29</sup> Benz, A Concise History of the Third Reich. 145.
- <sup>30</sup> Baer, Yitzhak. *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961. 2 vols. Page 24. Print.
- <sup>31</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 95

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Nirenberg, Communities of Violence. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Nirenberg, Communities of Violence. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Nirenberg, Communities of Violence. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Verga, Solomon. *Shebet Yehuda*. Wiener edition. Hanover: 1924. Page 128. Print.

ומהנשים והיו מסילות היהודים יושבים כדד ורבים מתו על קדושת השם ורבים<sup>.</sup> חללו ברית קודש ·

רום ר"ח תמוו קנ"א המר והנמרד דרך ה' קשתות האויב על קהלת סבילייאה רבתי עם שהיו כה כמו ששה או שבעה אלפים כעלי כתים הציתו כאש שעריה והרגו כה עם רב אך רוכם המירו ומהם מכרו לישמעאלים מהטף

- כא) עיין כשלשלת הקכלה דפוס אמשפרום דף צג'ע"כ · המוציא לאור ·
  - כב) עיין דפוס קראקא דף קלג' ע"ב המ"ל ·

ומהנשים והיו מסילות היהודים יושבים כדד ורבים מתו על קדושת השם ורבים<sup>\*</sup> חללו ברית סודש ·

**Chapter 2:** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 96-97

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 97

<sup>35</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 97

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 97

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 104

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 104-105

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibn Verga, *Shebet Yehuda*. 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 106

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Bauer. *A History of the Holocaust*. 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Dawidowicz, Lucy W. *A Holocaust Reader*. New York: Behrman House, 1976. Page 45. Print.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 98-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Bauer. *A History of the Holocaust* 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader*. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Bauer. *A History of the Holocaust* 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Lewis, Bernard. *Semites and Anti-Semites: An Inquiry Into Conflict and Prejudice*. New York: W W Norton & Company, 1999. Page 131. Print.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Lewis. *Semites and Anti-Semites*. 91.

- 53 Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 17-18.
- <sup>54</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 125.
- <sup>55</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 126.
- <sup>56</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 125.
- <sup>57</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 126.
- <sup>58</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 167.
- <sup>59</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 167.
- 60 Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 167.
- <sup>61</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 168.
- 62 Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 168.
- <sup>63</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 168.
- <sup>64</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 168.

## Chapter 3:

- 65 Netanyahu, Benzion. *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. New York: Random House, 1995. Page 132. Print.
- Netanyahu, The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain. 132.
- 67 López de Ayala, Pedro. Cronica del Rey Don Juan, Rrimero de Castila. In. Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla. Madrid: M. Rivandeneyara. 1877.
- <sup>68</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 96.
- <sup>69</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 96.
- Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 132.
- 71 Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 95.
- <sup>72</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 95.
- Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 138.
- <sup>74</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 138.
- <sup>75</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 138.
- <sup>76</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 95-97.
- <sup>77</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 95-97.
- <sup>78</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 109.
- <sup>79</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 109.
- <sup>80</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 111.
- 81 Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 61.
- <sup>82</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 67. <sup>83</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 73.
- <sup>84</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 83.
- 85 Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 83.
- <sup>86</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 84.
- <sup>87</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 84.
- 88 Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 86.
- 89 Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Mosse. *Toward the Final Solution*. 134.

90 Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 90.

### Chapter 4:

- Rose, Paul Lawrence. *Wagner: Race and Revolution*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992. Page 47. Print.
- <sup>101</sup> Rose. *Wagner: Race and Revolution*. 47.
- <sup>102</sup> Katz, Jacob. *From Prejudice to Destruction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980. Page 72. Print.
- <sup>103</sup> Mosse. *Toward the Final Solution*. 102.
- Wagner, Richard. *Judaism in Music*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Page 89. Print.
- 105 Wagner, Judaism in Music. 85.
- Ashheim, Steven. *Brothers and Strangers*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982. Page 65. Print.
- Wagner, Judaism in Music. 96-96.
- 108 Katz. From Prejudice to Destruction. 2.
- 109 Katz. From Prejudice to Destruction. 113.
- 110 Katz. From Prejudice to Destruction. 124.
  111 Katz. From Prejudice to Destruction. 123.
- <sup>112</sup> Katz. From Prejudice to Destruction. 131.
- <sup>113</sup> In concluding this section on Richard Wagner, I would additionally like to introduce the expert opinion of Professor, Paul (Pinchas) Schoenfield is a professor of musical composition here at the University of Michigan and as well as a musician historian. With great knowledge of various Jewish subjects, Professor Schoenfield explained that he is ultimately unsure if there truly is an essence and character of Jewish music. However, out our entire interview, one of the things that Professor Schoenfield was absolutely certain about was that Richard Wagner "was an Anti-Semite who slandered and racially degraded the Jews." Through this small interview with Professor Schoenfield, a scholar in both Judaic Studies and musicology, Professor Schoenfield provides authority and validity of the significance and devastating influence that Richard Wagner has on the shaping of German Anti-Semitism.
- <sup>114</sup> GHDI. "The Jews are Our Misfortune." *German History in Documents and Images*. 4th ed. 1879. RePrint 1991.
- 115 GHDI. The Jews are Our Misfortune.
- 116 GHDI. The Jews are Our Misfortune.

<sup>91</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 90.

<sup>92</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 90

<sup>93</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 92.

<sup>95</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 95.

<sup>98</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 102.

<sup>99</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 109

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 109

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Von Treitschke, Heinrich. "The Jews are Our Misfortune." *German History in Documents and Images*. 4th ed. 1879. RePrint 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>126</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Von Treitschke. *The Jews are Our Misfortune*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Zimmerman, Moshe. *Wilhelm Marr, the patriarch of Antisemitism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. Page 6. Print.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> GHDI. "The Victory of Judaism over Germandom." *German History in Documents and Images*. 4th ed. 1879. RePrint 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Zimmerman. Wilhelm Marr, the patriarch of Antisemitism. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Zimmerman. Wilhelm Marr, the patriarch of Antisemitism. 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> GHDI. The Victory of Judaism over Germandom.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Levy, Richard S. "Wilhelm Marr." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. Vol. 13. 2nd ed. 2007. Page 558. Print.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Bauer. A History of the Holocaust. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Marr, Wilhelm. Der Sieg des Judenthumsuber das Germanenthum. Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet [The Victory of Judaism over Germandom. 2nd ed. Berlin: Rudolph Costenoble, 1879. Print.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Marr, Der Sieg des Judenthumsuber das Germanenthum.

<sup>140</sup> Marr, Der Sieg des Judenthumsuber das Germanenthum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 104-105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Netanyahu, The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain. 301.

<sup>144</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Netanyahu, The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain. 316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 279.

<sup>149</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 281.

<sup>150</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 281-282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 168.

<sup>153</sup> Netanyahu, The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain. 169.

<sup>154</sup> Netanyahu, The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain. 814.

<sup>155</sup> Netanyahu, The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain. 814.

#### **Conclusion:**

- <sup>174</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 1141.
- <sup>175</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 1141.
- <sup>176</sup> Silberklang, Jewish-Non-Jewish Relations & Rescue During the Holocaust.
- <sup>177</sup> Joshua, Cole. "World War II and the Holocaust: Part I." University of Michigan. Ann Arbor. 31 Mar. 2010. Lecture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Netanvahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 360.

<sup>157</sup> Netanyahu, The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain. 362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> McMicahel, Steven J. Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah? Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994. Page XV. Print.

<sup>159</sup> McMichael. Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> McMichael. Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> McMichael. Was Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Lea, Henry Charles. A History of the Inquisition of Spain. Vol. 1. London: MacMillan, 1906. Page 148. Print.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Baer. A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. 284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 815.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 815.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 815.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 816.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 817.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 817-818.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 830.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 831. <sup>172</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 835.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in the Fifteenth Century Spain*. 835.