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Introduction to Mysterium

Debra Kaplan, Yeshiva University, USA

Notes: Mysterium: About the Conversion of the Jews: As was situated and preached in the Strasbourg cathedral. Das ist Geheimnis S. Pauli Rom am II Von Bekherung der Juden als gelegt und geprediget zu Strassburg Munster. Strasbourg, 1592

Elias Schadeus (1541-1593) held various pastoral positions in Strasbourg's Lutheran churches, beginning in 1570 until his death. In 1586, Schadeus was appointed as a Hebrew professor at Strasbourg's university. Like many of the Christian Hebraists in Strasbourg, Schadeus composed various grammatical textbooks, teaching students Hebrew grammar and language in an effort to instruct them in the truths of Christianity, based on the Hebraica Veritas.

Schadeus also applied his knowledge of Hebrew in an attempt to actively convert the Jews. In his role as preacher at Strasbourg's cathedral from 1581-1593, Schadeus preached tolerance of the Jew. Echoing the notion expressed by Martin Luther in his 1523 treatise, That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew, Schadeus argued that Christian kindness and economic inclusion would facilitate Jewish conversion. In addition, Schadeus founded a Hebrew printing press, through which he hoped to attract the Jews to Christianity through printed media in their own language. To this end, he translated five books of Luther's New Testament into Judaeo-German, which he published together with a preface, excerpts from the Old Testament, some of his sermons and additional arguments intended to attract the Jews to Lutheranism.

Included in this published volume is a supplication to Strasbourg's council, in which Schadeus beseeches the magistrates on behalf of a young Jewess he had baptized as Susanna. His request, written ten years after her baptism, is that Susanna be granted the status of a Stattkind, a ward of the city. This status and the stipend involved would help combat her poverty and facilitate her marriage by enabling her to work within the city. This text reflects Schadeus' position that economic tolerance of Jews and of converts would facilitate conversion to Christianity. It also documents the desperation felt by Jewish converts to Christianity, who had difficulty integrating into both their old and new societies.
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**Mysterium: About the Conversion of the Jews**

Elias Schadeus, 1592

Translated by Debra Kaplan, Yeshiva University, USA

**Notes:** Mysterium: About the Conversion of the Jews: As was situated and preached in the Strasbourg cathedral. Das ist Geheimnis S. Pauli Rom am II Von Bekherung der Juden als gelegt und geprediget zu Strassburg Munster. Strasbourg, 1592

Copy of a Supplication to the respectable Magistrates of the City of Strasbourg, [in the] year 1591, the third of January, offered on behalf of a baptized Jewess, in order to obtain both her rights as a burgher and her marriage tax. And this is laid out here [for] the respectable council to honor, and for others in the same situation, as an example of the following.

Stern, noble, honorable, cautious, wise, gracious men, [who] command respect:

Although I, Your Honors, am requesting only one thing, this has not happened previously in this place for perhaps one hundred years or more. So I hope to God, that after you yourselves will have heard the total cause and that which was done, that you, in accordance with your godly force and high understanding, will know how to be Christian and reasonable.

This concerns, however, contemporary people, and specifically, a woman who was born out of the Jewish people [and whom] was brought to me eleven years ago, through the love of God, a wonderful and gracious sending. Half a year, she was in my house and was instructed correctly in Christian thought, after which she was settled with Christ and his beloved church, through baptism at Old St. Peter's, which is at present, a large community. From that same time on, for ten whole years, she has been in service at her godmother’s and godfather's, Herr Johann Adolph Fursten. She behaved both in her service and in the neighborhood, making herself known, that her Christian and merciful change was [out of] complete love. And through the good testimony of the present-day joiner guild, [one] of whom, born in Wurtemberg [she] desires to marry, and according to his honorable manly law, he needs letters from their godfathers, Johann Adolph Fursten [and] Johan Jacob Stossern, also from me, to state it. [1]

Thereby, their wedding will be confirmed with a public and orderly church going.

Now, however, she cannot be admitted, neither domestically nor as a burgher, without
citizenship. [2] And she is both poor, and other than her dress, brings together nothing more than that which her Godfather and Godmother and other good-hearted and Christian people have relieved her with. So, I personally appear before you, heartfelt, and I, as her poor patron, in writing, submit subserviently and humbly, that Your Honors, will take and adopt this person,[who is] so totally born again, and who has been held for so long as a Christian, as a ward of the city.

Upon examination, she is related by blood to Christ, who adopted us heathens with spiritual and heavenly citizenship. [She] wants the Christian faith, and is a daughter of Abraham. Because of that, it is reasonable; she enjoys the believing patriarchs, prophets and apostles, and yes, the Master Christ more than she pays the stubborn and latter [day] Jews. She wanted and waited for the Christian religion, and was required to abandon her people, father, mother, friends, also nourishment and heritage.

This is also law of the gentiles, and oh, should be observed, and [it] is also customary under the Turks, that those individuals [who] come from other peoples, and accept the religion and enter into a place where their profession is performed, should become accepted equally in the community of all civic rights and freedoms. After all, God the Master, [at] different times in the Old Testament, ordered and gave the commandment, through Moses, that the stranger, that is, those from the heathens who made their way [into Jewish territory] shall be treated with the same standard and law as the Jews have, and should be appreciated. [This idea] was also observed in every time, and when it was not observed [he who did not observe it] was strongly punished by the prophets. And it is particularly mentioned that in the Second book of Chronicles, the strangers were counted, and they themselves [added up] to a large sum, namely 153,600 were found, and they were used in the Building of the Temple.[3] And that which occurs in the Old Testament should be reasonable in the New Testament, and when the page is turned, it is also observed. Upon examination of the reasons of the Apostle Paul, reported in Romans 11, and here, for the beloved, I wish to shorten, because I handled this in detail in a midday sermon a few weeks ago, and it is not necessary to repeat.

So then, now, Your Honors, I hope that in the wake of the indicated reasons, you will adopt as a ward of the city, and nobly accept [this woman.] I will provide the endowment in its entirety, so that nothing is repugnant, or work against this, even though she wants the twenty gulden for the beginning of her craft, through which other poor Christian wards of Your Honor are recognized, or a tax from elsewhere should come forth.[4]

Therein, I prescribe nothing, Your Honors, except for that which Christ wants of honorable Jews, also from all of the believers in the Father Abraham, the beloved prophets and apostles, who were former Jews. From them and through that which is heathen to us, holiness and much good comes. I have only asked and indicated, and this, in all subservience, I want to have placed in your hands: the complete hope that not only will contemporary people gratefully present and show themselves as Christian holy people [and] God-forceful pietists, but also that
the Master, Christ himself, through his proper will, will repay such credit in various ways [to]Your Honors and the whole city with rich blessings.

Because of that, then, I ask daily. And to do such a journey also with diligence, I, who see myself as responsible, hereby will have also asked. [5]

Subservient Citizen and Preacher, M. Elias Schad

In the name and on behalf of the contemporary person

Endnotes

[1] He required letters testifying that her conversion was complete and thorough.

[2] Without the Burgerrecht, or right of citizenship, she could not practice a craft within the city.


[4] The endowment of 20 fl. which was given to Stattkinder was designed to help them begin working at a craft within the city, subject to the limits imposed by guild regulations. By awarding Susanna with such a stipend, and by allowing her to work and to marry in the city, the magistrates were effectively giving her the same rights that a burgher would have, without requiring her to purchase the Burgerrecht. These benefits, in turn, could serve as her dowry, for her husband would be permitted to work. As someone born in Wurtemberg, he would not have had the rights of a burgher without purchasing them from the city.


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Mysterium: Das ist Geheimnis S. Pauli Rom am II Von Bekherung der Juden
Elias Schadeus, 1592

Prepared by Debra Kaplan, Yeshiva University, USA

Notes: Mysterium: About the Conversion of the Jews: As was situated and preached in the Strasbourg cathedral. Das ist Geheimnis S. Pauli Rom am II Von Bekherung der Juden als gelegt und geprediget zu Strassburg Munster. Strasbourg, 1592


Nun sie aber Burgerlich unnd haßlich sich allhie nicht können einlassen ohne das Burgrecht und aber beyde arm und uber ire kleider anders nichts zusammen gebracht/ denn was inen von
Iren Pfettern und götelen un[d] andern guthertzigen auß Christlicher liebe gestewret/ als
erscheinen sie für E.G. und herrlichkeit Persönlich/ und ich als ihr armer Patron Schrifttlich/
underthenig unnd Demutig Supplierend/ das E.G. diese Person so allhie widergeboren/ unnd
so lang zeit sich Christlich gehalten/ für ein Stattkind annemmen und Adoptieren wolle/ In
betrachung daß sie deß herrn Christi/ der uns heiden in das Geistliche unnd himlisch
Burgrecht Adoptiert/ Blutsverwandte/ und umb des Christliche glaubens willen eine Tochter
deß glaubigen Abrahams ist/ und derhalben billich d[ar]z[u] sie mehr der glaubigen
Patriarchen/ Propheten/ Apostel/ ja deß herrn Christi geniesse/ den der verstocken und
lesterigen Juden entgelte. Das sie auch umb der Christlichen Religionen willen/ Ihr volck/
Vatter/ Mutter. Freundschaft/ auch nahrung und Erb/ so sie zugewarten gehabt/ hat müssen
verlassen.

Das es auch Jure gentium Je unnd je also gehalten worden/ und noch unter den Türke[n]
ublich/ das die Jenigen so von andern Völckern zu ihnen getreten dieselb Religion
angenommen/ an dem orth da sie ihre Profession gethan/ gleich mit in die gemeinschaft aller
Bürgerlichen gerechtigkeit und Freyheit angenommen worden und noch werden. Endlich das
auch Gott der herr im alten Testament zu unterschieden malen durch Mosen befohltn un[d] die
verordnung gethan/ Das die Frembdlinge/ das ist/ Die sich von heiden zu ihnen begeben/
einerley Recht mit den Juden haben und geniessen solten/ Welchs auch jederzeit also gehalten
und do es nicht geschehe[n] durch die Propheten ernstlich gestrafft. Und ist sonderlich
zumercken/ das/ wie im 2. buch der Cronik 2. zulessen/ die Frembdlinge gezehlet/ und
derselben eine grosse Sum[ma]/ Nemlich 153600. gefunden/ und zum Baw des Tempels
gebrauchen worden. Und so solches im Alten Testament geschähen/ soll es billich im Newen
Testament/ da sich das blat umb gekehret/ auch also gehalten werden. In betrachtung der
ursachen die der Apostel Paulus Ro[mans] 11. meldet/ un[d] hie umb geliebter kürzte willen/
Weil ich sie vor etlichen Wochen inn der Mittagspredigt außführlich gehandelt/ unnd
unuonnöthen zu widerholen.

So dann nu E.G. Wie ich hoff in erwegung angedeuter ursachen/ sie zum Stattkind Adoptieren
und auß gnaden annemen/ so versihe ich mich gentzlich/ der Stiftung gar nicht zuwider oder
entgegen sein/ Wenn ihr auch die 20. gulden zum anfang ihres handwercks wie andern armen
Ehrlichen Stattkindern von E.G. zu erkent/ oder anderswoher eine stewr widerfare[n] möchte.
Darin[nen] ich doch E.G. gar nichts fürgeschreiben/ sondern umb Christi deß Edlen Juden
willen/ auch aller glaubigens Vatters Abraham/ der lieben Propheten und Aposteln/ so Juden
gewesen/ und von denen und durch die uns heiden das heil und viel guts zukomen/ allein
angedeutet gebeten/ und doch denselben in aller underthenigkeit heimgestelt haben will: der
gentzlichen hoffnung/ es werden nicht allein gegenwertige Personen sich als Christliche
Ehleut/ Gottförchtig Erbar und danckbarlich verhalten un[d] erzeige[n]/ sondern auch der
herr Christus selbs umb dessen willen es geschicht/ solche gutthat/ E.G. unnd gantzer Statt in
andern wegen/ mit Reichen Segen vergelten/ Darumb ich denn auch teglich bitte/ unnd
solches hinfort auch fleissig zuthin/ wie mich schuldig erken[n]e/ also hiemit will erbotten
haben.
E.G. und H.

Undertheniger Burger und Prediger M. Elias Schad/ in namen und von wegen gegenwertiger Personen

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Jewish legal status in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Adam Teller, University of Haifa, Israel

ABSTRACT: In this presentation, Adam Teller discusses the change of status of Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the subjects of the King in the late medieval period to subjects of lords, in private dominions during the early modern period. He contrasts two legal documents: a privilege granted to Jews by King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1453) and a privilege granted to Jews in the town of Jampol by the town's owner.

This presentation is for the following text(s):
- Extended Privilege Granted to the Jews of Great Poland
- The Jampol Community and Town Privilege

Adam Teller

University of Haifa, Israel
Duration: 59:11
Introduction to Extended Privilege Granted to the Jews of Great Poland

Adam Teller, University of Haifa, Israel

Notes: The 1765 confirmation kept by the Krakow Jewish Community, published by M. Schorr in Yevreiskaya Starina 1 (1909), 2 (1910).

This privilege of August 1453 – only a small part of whose 46 paragraphs is presented here - was one of the most short-lived ever granted to the Jews of Poland. The King, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1447-1492), seems to have wanted to extend his power over his country’s Jews (note the usage, “Our Jews”), a significant urban population who played an important role in developing regional and national markets. The privilege - by which is meant not only its legal content but its physical form - was an expanded version of privileges previously granted to the Jews of Poland by Jagiellończyk’s ancestor, Kazimierz the Great in the mid-14th century, which were themselves a slightly expanded version of the first charter of rights granted to Polish Jews by Bolesław the Pious in Kalisz, 1264. However, Jagiellończyk’s version gives the Jews a number of new economic concessions. (Notice, however, that these new concessions are granted under the guise of simply renewing a previous privilege burnt in the Poznań fire). It is also the first privilege explicitly to give state backing to the organs of Jewish autonomy in Poland (paragraph 7). It was this state backing which was to allow the highly complex and sophisticated development of Jewish communities and regional councils in future centuries. However, if in this important aspect, the privilege of 1453 looks forward to future developments, in other stipulations it is clearly medieval in nature. These are the references in clauses 6 and 7, as well as in one version of the conclusion (here brought in square brackets), which demarcate the Jews as belonging to the Royal Treasury. This status of “servi camerae” was one of the characteristics of Jewish legal status in Europe during the high Middle Ages, which disappeared as a result of constitutional changes in the early modern period. In Poland, these changes stemmed from the strengthening of the nobility at the expense of monarchy. The first sign of this development was seen in 1454, where the Polish nobility, gathered at Nieszawa, forced the King to grant them a number of concessions, including the weakening of his control over Poland’s Jews and the consequent cancellation of this privilege.
Source Publication

Bibliography

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Notes: The 1765 confirmation kept by the Krakow Jewish Community, published by M. Schorr in Yevreiskaya Starina 1 (1909), 2 (1910).

In the Name of the Lord, Amen. As a perpetual memorial, We, Kazimierz, by the grace of God, King of Poland, as well as of the lands of Krakow, Sandomierz, Sieradz, Leczyca and Kujawa, Grand Duke of Lithuania. Hereditary Lord of Pomerania and Ruthenia, give notice by this present document to all those whom it may benefit, both now and in the future, who have knowledge of this document: That before Our Majesty appeared as delegates Our Jews from the lands of Great Poland, namely from the Palatinates of Poznań, Kalisz, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Brześć, and Włocławek, and the districts pertaining to them, and related: That the laws which they had previously received from the most serene prince of blessed memory, Our predecessor, Lord Kazimierz, King of Poland, and which they had always enjoyed in the times of the other kings, Our predecessors, and in our day, at all times and occasions, were reduced to ashes by the fire when before Our very eyes Our city of Poznań, in Our presence, was consumed in a firestorm. They [i.e. the Jews] are requesting and humbly supplicating that we should graciously agree to renew, ratify, and confirm the laws, according to a copy of the said laws which they have shown us. Which laws thus given, copied word for word, read thus.

Sixth. That no Captain (Starosta) or Palatine (Wojewoda) should [exact] from the Jews any payments, namely taxes and exactions, unless the Jews themselves give them of their own free will; this is because We have made them part of Our treasury.

Seventh. That if any Jew should not be obedient to his elders, he should pay a penalty of three marks to the Lord Palatine and similarly a penalty of three marks to his elders.

And we also stipulate that any Jew who holds hereditary property through an agreement [i.e. mortgage] should not be made to ride out to war, nor to make any [financial] contribution to
the expedition, because these Jews are a part of Our treasury.

...And We, the aforementioned, King Kazimierz, having listened to the laws of the above Jews, and after requisite deliberations with certain of the Counsellors of Our kingdom, having reviewed, examined, and considered the individual points, clauses, and conditions which appear in them [i.e. the laws], and desire that the Jews whom [we reserve to Ourselves and Our kingdom as a special treasury] should recognize that they have received the relief of our happy kingdom for the Jews in the lands of Great Poland, namely in the Palatinates of Poznań, Kalisz, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Brześć, and Włocławek, as well as in the districts, towns and small towns belonging to them, both for those resident there now and for the others who will come to the lands of Great Poland from other places. We renew, ratify, and confirm the laws described above in all their points, conditions, articles, and clauses, and with the determination that they shall have eternal and perpetual force, in testimony to the present document, our seal is appended.

Made in Kraków, 13th August 1453

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Extended Privilege Granted to the Jews of Great Poland
King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, 1453

Prepared by Adam Teller, University of Haifa, Israel

Notes: The 1765 confirmation kept by the Krakow Jewish Community, published by M. Schorr in Yevreiskaya Starina 1 (1909), 2 (1910).

...In Nomine Domini Amen. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam Nos Casimirus Dei gratia rex Poloniae necnon terrarum Cracoviae, Sandomiriae, Siradiæ, Lanciææ, ac Cuiaviææ, magnus dux Lithuaniae, Pomeraniae, Russiaeque dominus et haeres. Significamus tenore presentium quibus expedit universis praesentibus et futuris, harum notitiam habituris; quomodo coram Maiestate Nostra personaliter constituti Judæi Nostri de terris maioris Poloniae videlicet, de Posnaniensi, Calisiensi, Siradiensi, Lançiciensi, Brestensi, Vladislaviensi, palatinatibus et districtibus ad ipsa spectantibus, sua ex possesione deduxerunt, quod iura quae hactenus a celebris memoriae serenissimo principe domino Casimiro rege Poloniae etc. Praedecessore Nostro mediata et quibus aliorum regum praedecessorum Nostrorum et Nostris temporibus semper et usques in hactenus usu fuerunt, tum quando civitas nostra Posnaniensis voragine ignis Nobis praesentibus consumpta fuit, ipsis essent et per ignem in cinerem redacta, petentes et humiliter Nobis supplicantes, quatens iuxta eorundem iurium copiam quam coram Nobis exhibuerunt, eadem iura innovare, ratificare et confirmare, dignaremur gratiose: quorum quidem iurium taliter acceptorum, tenor de verbo ad verbum sequitur estque talis.

...Sexto. Item nullus capitaneus aut palatinus debent aliquos proventus, alias podatki et contributiones daniny apud Iudaeos, nisi quo eas ipsi Iudaei de sua voluntate donaverint; et hoc ideo, quod Nos eos reservamus pro Nostro thesauro.

...Septimo. Item si aliquis Iudaeorum suis superioribus non esset oboediens, extunc talis domino palatino luet poenam trium marcarum et superioribus suis similiter poenam trium marcarum.

Et etiam statuimus quod quilibet Iudaeus bona haereditaria per introligationem tenuerit, ad expeditionem non tenebitur equitare, nec aliquid pro expeditione dare et hoc ideo, quod ipsi
Iudaei Nostri sunt thesauri.

... 

Et Nos Casimirus Rex praefatus iuribus Judaeorum praescriptorum auditis et cum certis regni Nostri consiliariis cum debita maturitate revisis et examinatis et ponderatis singulis articulis, clausulis et conditionibus in eis expressis volentesques, ut ipsi Iudaei quos Nobis [ ... ] felicis regiminis se agnoscant, a Nobis esset {esse} consolatos pro iisdem Iudaeis et {in} terris maioris Poloniae vel {videlicet} in Posnaniensi Calissiens, Siradiensi, Lanciciensi, Brestensi, Vladislaviensi, palatinatibus et districtibus civitatibus et oppidis ad ipsa spectantibus et in eisdem habitantibus ac de gentibus, nunc praesentibus et aliis undecunque in ipsas Maioris Poloniae terras advenientibus, huiusmodi iura superius descripta in omnibus eorum punctis conditionibus clausulis et artirulis {articulis} innovamus, ratifocamus et confirmamus per praeentes, decernentes, robur habere perpetuae firmitatis, harum quibus sigillum Nostrum praeentibus est appensum testimonio literarum.

Actum Cracoviae feria secunda ante festum assumptionis gloriosissimae Virginis Mariae proxima anno Domini millesimo quadragesimo quinquagesimo tertio.

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Introduction to The Jampol Community and Town Privilege

Adam Teller, University of Haifa, Israel

This privilege, granted to a small community in what is today Ukraine (the 1765, census notes 293 Jews in Jampol), illustrates the extent to which Jews were integrated into the life of the town in the 18th century. The basis for this integration was the economic policy of the Polish nobility - in particular, the wealthiest magnates. In order to reconstruct the economy of their estates following the destruction of the mid-17th wars, the magnates initiated a policy of encouraging Jewish settlement and economic activity. The legal basis for this was a law of 1539, which removed the Jews on noble estates from royal control, leaving them entirely under the jurisdiction of the nobility. This put an end to the Jews' medieval status of "servi camerae" and allowed each community to negotiate its own settlement terms separately. Since the magnates recognized the Jews as a highly effective economic force, they were prepared to grant them very favorable conditions. The Jews' economic importance was largely felt in the realm of the production and sale of alcoholic beverages - the so-called propinacja monopoly, which the estate owner granted Jewish businessmen on lease (arenda). Though their dependence on their noble lords could sometimes leave the Jews exposed to persecution at their hands, in the vast majority of cases, the economic services the Jews gave meant that they could rely on help and support. This may be seen here not only in the broad concessions granted to the Jews in the realms of trade and crafts, but also in the permission to build a synagogue, mikveh and cemetery (and to use wood from the estate owner's forests). The magnate estate owner also lent his support to the community council (kahal) and the Jewish courts, even allowing the Jews themselves to try cases where a Christian was the plaintiff. However, the most striking example of Jewish integration into urban structures in this document is the stipulation of the magnate estate-owner that the Jews of Jampol should be active participants in the municipal council. This was an extremely rare concession and should in no way be taken as representative of the situation in the overwhelming majority of Polish and Lithuanian towns and cities in this period. It should be noted that almost all the forms of Jewish integration into 18th century urban life in Eastern Europe were possible only due to noble support. The non-Jewish townspeople remained hostile to the Jews, whom they saw as economic competitors and religious enemies, but could not easily express their hostility for fear of invoking the wrath of their lords. From time to time, however, this hostility did find expression: in Jampol, the
townspeople, with the support of the local bishop, accused the Jews in 1756 of murdering a local Christian boy.

**Source Publication**
J. Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth: Charters of Rights Granted to Jewish Communities in Poland-Lithuania in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, II, Jerusalem 2001, 66-68

**Bibliography**

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The Jampol Community and Town Privilege
Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, 1711, 1753

Translated by Adam Teller, University of Haifa, Israel

To all those in general and anyone in particular, whether now or in the future, who needs to know, we state:

That the kahal and burghers of our town of Jampol have laid before us in presentation a privilege written on parchment and granted to that kahal by His Grace, Prince Janusz Korybut Wiśniowiecki Wojewoda of Kraków, of blessed memory. In response to their strenuous request we permit its copying here as follows.

With this, my privilege, I inform all those in general and anyone in particular who needs to know, now and in the future, that God Almighty, who grants earthly consolations to all, has caused the afflictions of the last thirty years - the tiresome Turkish war and frequent Tatar incursions, and now the daily trial of the Swedish and Muscovite armies and other passers-through, which have deprived this country of its pride and caused it the most unfortunate and highly lamentable loss; Jampol, my hereditary town has also undergone this misfortune. With divine help, raising [the town] from its ruins [and] striving to bring it back to vigor, I have resolved, desiring to encourage both those who are returning to their patrimony and other [settlers], to grant the citizens of this town rights to the benefit of their greater freedom and the increase of their fortunes. Which freedoms and rights - with the same benefits held by all my other towns - [are] granted them by me in the following privilege to serve their [needs].

First of all, there is to be free distillation of vodka, and alcohol may be sold in all the houses and open streets; however, Jews and Christians must return [payments] to my arenda on the distillation of vodka, the fermentation of mead and the brewing of beer according to the contract which will be made at the time. I grant them the freedom to engage in all forms of trade, both purchasing and selling goods of whatever sort, and in particular they may deal in woolen cloths, blue silks, fabrics, linens, silks, haberdashery, morocco leather, shoes, all kinds of cattle hide and goatskins - whether worked or unworked, imported or made in Jampol - wax, tallow and things of the sort which are sold in homes and in stalls. All craftsmen, Christians and Jews, whether linen-makers, tailors, furriers, bakers, slaughterers and others, may safely settle in this city and conduct free trade with each other.
The election of city councilors should be held in the following manner: the podstarosci of Jampol must choose one on behalf of the castle, the Jewish kahal a second, while the burghers are to choose two. These councilors must take good care that total order be kept in the town; the Catholic town guard must take care that the Jews not be harassed nor suffer any damage [to property] at the hands of fractious individuals during the Good Friday and Corpus Christi processions.

The free construction of a synagogue with its surrounding buildings is permitted, for which we allow [the use of] wood from our hereditary and leased forests, with the permission of the holders. They may have a cemetery and the man who lives there is to be exempt from labor obligations to both town and castle. A bathhouse with a well may [be constructed].

The Jewish kahal must give 12 days a year to the usual municipal works from houses fronting the street; from the houses without a front they must give 6 days if necessary and only to the [upkeep of the] municipal dykes, nothing else. On the great holidays of Easter, Ascension day, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, Christmas, Conception day and the Feast of the Assumption, no work may be done in the distilleries.

Any Jew who has been insubordinate to the kahal, I shall hand over to the jurisdiction of the kahal to prosecute him according to its religious law. A Jew sued by a Christian must [be brought] before the quarterly Jewish councilor; should he not be satisfied with the verdict, he may freely appeal to the castle. If the Jew is found guilty, the podstarosci must then send him to the quarterly councilor for sentencing. Jews may not purchase, bloody or damp items, nor church goods, under pain of death. They may freely trade in other goods according to the laws of the land. Weights and measures must be fair - the podstarosci must ensure this.

Those aredarze on my estates, in my hereditary lands and on those I have mortgaged under any title, who live in the vicinity of Jampol, belong to the Jampol kahal and must pay taxes to the Crown Treasury accordingly. These Jews must be tried according to their religious law and not before the castle [court].

Desirous that every clause of this law be carried out and consolidated, and in order to give it greater weight and reliability, I hereby sign in my own hand and give order that my seal be impressed.

Granted in Lublin, 5th June, 1711

This signature: Prince Janusz Wiśniowiecki, Wojewoda of Kraków, Starosta of Krzemieniec etc.

(Seal impression)

Which privilege, copied word for word, having signed, I give order to suspend my seal.

[Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł]
Granted in Biała Krynica 7th March 1753

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Przywilej kahału i miasta Jampola

[308] Wszem wobec i każdemu z osobna, komu o tym teraźniejszego i na potym będącego wieku ludziom wiedzieć będzie należało, oznajmujemy.

5 Iż pokładali i prezentowali przed nami kahał u mieszczania miasta naszego Jampola przywilej na pargaminie pisany od świętej pamięci jaśnie oświeconego księcia imi Janusza Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego wojewody krakowskiego, temuż kahałowi nadane, który za usilnym ich staranie|m| pozwoliłmy to wpisać sequitur de tenore tali.

10 Janusz Antoni Korybut Wiśniowiecki książę na Zbarażu i Wiśniowcu Wiśniowiecki, wojewoda krakowski, krzemieniecki, osiecki etc. starosta.

Oznajmuję tym listem przywilejem moim wszystkim wobec i każdemu z osobna, tak i teraz, jako i na potym, komu będzie należało wiedzieć.

15 Iż kiedy Pan Bóg Wszechmogący, dawca uniwesalnych pociech ziemskich, ten który zasmuciwszy trzydziestoletnią blisko przeszłą, uprzykrzoną wojną turecką i częstymi tatarskimi inkursjami, a teraz znowu tak szwedzkich, jako i moskiewskich wojsk i innych przechodzących codzienną agravację, które nieszczęśliwą i nigdy nieopłakana kraju tego, wyzuwszy go z ozdób swoich, przyniósł stratę, więc i Jampol miasto moje dziedziczne tej podległe nieszczęśliwości. Z których ruin dźwigając prz[y] boskiej pomocy i do

[309] wigoru przyprowadzić usiłuję, tą przedsięwziął vel maksymę, aby

20 obywatelom miasta tego, chcąc jako tych, którzy się wrócili do ojczyzn swoich, tak i innych zachęcić, prawom nadał dla zaszczytu większej ich wolności i przynomożenia fortun. Które wolności i prawo im odemnie nadane przywilejem niniejszym moim, tak jako inne miasta moje wszystkie podobny zaszczyt mają służyć im powinno.

30 A naprąd wolne kurzenie gorzalek i szynki w domach wszelkich i
przebitych ulicach, przeciś ex quota należąta która taka na ten czas w intercyzie będzie położona, od kurzenia gorzałek, sycenia miodów, warzenia piwa, oddać powinni do arendy mojej, tak chrześcianie, jako i Żydzi. Do prowadzenia handlów wszelkich wolność im daję, tak kupować, jako i przedawać towary quovis generale nazwane, a osobliwie sukna, bławaty, materyje, płotna, jejbwabie, szmuchlerstwa, safiany, boty, wszelkie skóry wołowe, kozłowe, wyprawne i niewyprawne, przywożone i jampolskiej roboty, woski, łoje et ad genus, co jako w domach, tak w kramach przedawać, kupczyć im wolno bęźde. Rzemieślnicy każdy, jako płótnicy, krawcy, kuśnierze, piekarze, rzeźniczy i inni, tak chrześcianie, jako i Żydzi, w tymże mieście osiadać bezpiecznie i z drugimi wolno handle prowadzić mogą.

Elekcja burmistrzów takim sposobem odprawować się ma, to jest pan podstarości jampolski obierać ma z ramienia zamkowego jednego, kahał żydowski drugiego, a zaś mieszczanie dwóch obierać powinni. Burmistrze zaś powinni przestrzegać tego, aby w mieście był wszelki porządek, warta katolicka miejska przestrzegać ma, aby podczas procesyi w Wielki Piątek i na Boże Ciało, Żydzi od ludzi swywolnych nie były przesładowani i szkody jakiej nie mieli. Pobudowanie szkoły z przyszkołami wolne, na które drzewa w lasach moich dziedzicznych i zastawnych, za dozwoleniem panów posesorów pozwalam. Okopisko wolne i człowieka przy nim mieszkającego wolny ma być od wszelkich egzakcyj miejskich, także i zamkowych. Łaźnię ze studnią pozwala się.

do szarwarków niejskich zwyczajnych dni 12 co rok a domów wjeznych, z domów zaś zatylnych dni 6, jeżeli tego potrzeba będzie, do grobli tylko miejskiej, a nie do żadnej innej roboty pociągać powinien. W święta wielkich uroczys[to]ści, jako to w Wielkanoc, Boże Wstąpienie, Zielone Świątki, Boże Ciało, Narodzenie Pańskie, Poczęcie i Wniebowzięcie Najświętszej Panny, robót w winnicach robic nie mają. Żyd, który by był nieposłuszny kahałowi, takowego dając w moc kahałowi, aby onego według prawa swego duchownego skarali. Żyd zaś powinien być pozwany od chrześcianina do burmistrza kwartalnego żydowskiego, a jeśli z dekretu tego nie był kontent, apelacyjna wolna mu do zamku. A jeśli się pokazało na Żyda, jest tedy powinien go z zamku do kwartalnego pan podstarości odesłać, żeby go tam skazano. Krwawych, mokrych, kościelnych rzeczy, nie powinni Żydzi kupować pod gardłem, innych zaś rzeczy według praw koronnych wolny handel. Kloda i miara być ma sprawiedliwa, czego pan podstarości ma.
postrzegać.
Arendarze, którzykolwiek znajdują się po majętnościach moich, cyrkumferencyją Jampola i innych dobrach moich dziedzicznych i w zastawach będących, quovis titulo nazwanych, wszyscy należeć mają do kahułu jampolskiego i do Skarbu Rzeczypospolitej według proporcji pociągać powinni. Ciż Żydzi prawem swym duchownym sądzić się mają a nie do zamku.
Którego to prawa każdy punkt z osobna chcąc nieć w egzekucyi i utwierdzeniu dla tym większej wagi i pewności ręką moją własną podpisuję i pieczę moją przycisnąć rozkazałem.
Dan w Lublinie, die 5 Iunii 1711 roku.
Podpis taki: Janusz książę Wiśniowiecki wojewoda krakowski, krzemieniecki, osiecki etc. starosta.

Który to przywilej de vero ad verbum przepisany podpisawszy, pieczę moją zawiesić rozkazałem.

<Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł>
Datum w Białej Krynicy, die 7 Martii, 1753 anno.
In 1771 the Habsburg ruler Maria Theresia issued a Privilege and a Statute to Jews in Trieste, both to confirm their status and to attract additional Jewish merchants to help develop the Adriatic Free Port. Utility was the key: the perception of Jewish commercial utility was the basis for initially including Jews in general invitations to merchants (1719, 1725), and then for granting formal standing to the Jewish community as a corporate body (“Nation”) in 1746 (a model followed for other non-Catholic mercantile communities), and also favorable conditions of residence, work, protection, justice, and religion to Jews as individuals. Jews were recognized as subjects of the realm, and were in many respects, as individuals and as a community, put on a par with others, particularly non-Catholic merchants. Favorable status and economic opportunity drew Jews to Trieste; they increased from approximately 100 in 1735 to 400 in 1775 to 1250 in 1800, becoming the largest minority, approximately five percent of the city's population.

The Theresian documents are useful for reconsidering Jewish status in early modern Europe and particularly the roads from expulsion (1492) to readmission to emancipation (1790-1). Maria Theresia's pragmatic policy in Trieste, adopted despite her usual anti-Jewish hostility, underscores the importance of utility, maritime commerce, and port-cities in creating new opportunities for Jews. Certain familiar dichotomies are too simplistic: expulsion or emancipation; tolerated aliens or equal citizens; utility or humanity; old-style privileges or modern constitutional rights; corporate or individual rights. The Theresian documents and the accompanying ones--ranging from 17th-century Holland through the Josephinian toleration edicts of the 1780s (here Vienna 1782) through the Emancipation of French Jews, especially of Sephardim in 1790-- reveal noteworthy continuities concerning utility, service, and rights of subjects and citizens. They highlight changing notions of subjection and civil inclusion of Jews before legal emancipation, and show that individual and corporate communal rights were not necessarily antithetical.

Texts:

A. Theresian Privilege and Statute:
Italian originals:
Statute, opening paragraph only, from Maternini-Zotta book, p. 218
English translations by Lois Dubin

B. **Accompanying documents:**


**Short Bibliography**


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Original Ph.D. dissertation in Hebrew: *Ha-Mediniyut kelape ha-mu'atim ha-datiyim be-mamlekhet Habsburg bi-yeme Yosef ha-Sheni (1765-1790).* Tel Aviv University, 1980.


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Privilege and Statute of Maria Theresia
Il Privilegio di Maria Teresa
Maria Theresia, 1771
Transcribed by Lois Dubin, Smith College, USA

We, Maria Theresia, Empress by the grace of God ...

The inner happiness of Our natural subjects always have been the principal object of the concerns and actions of Our Regency; [and] Our being persuaded that foreign trade contributes effectively to such happiness, since in nourishing domestic industry and promoting the wealth of subjects, it renders them more fit for state service and responsibilities; [and] with the further consideration that the foreign trade of Our hereditary states can be conducted, sustained, and developed most easily and regularly through the channels of our free ports Trieste and Fiume, we have not spared care, effort, or funds in order to further the dual purpose of making commerce prosper especially in Trieste, and of improving the condition of merchants, [both] subjects and foreigners, settled in that Port.

The Jewish Nation [la nazione ebreja], especially suited to commerce, invited [emphasis mine] by the general Patents of Our Most August Parent and recognized with particular Privileges from His most glorious predecessors, arouses Our most merciful particular reflections, all the more since on the one hand the settlements of the Nation itself in Trieste already constitute a formal community, and [since] on the other, some of its Individuals who belong to the Mercantile Exchange [Borsa mercantile] contribute by means of work and counsel to the growth of Commerce and Navigation for the common benefit of the merchants and of the marketplace.

Therefore, we, wishing to give to the Jewish Community in Trieste in general, [and] to the Jewish Merchants of the Exchange in particular, a solemn demonstration of our Sovereign approval, with the consequence of attracting more such families and individuals who would make themselves worthy [members] of the city and of the state by establishing new commercial firms and by engaging in wholesale Trade, and who would contribute to the accomplishment of Our sovereign purposes; [and] having taken into account the relevant information provided by the Commercial Intendency of the Austrian Littoral, and of Our Court Chancellery in Vienna; by virtue of the present Diploma, we do authorize the following Privileges for the said Jewish
Community of Trieste in general and to the Merchants of the Exchange in particular:

We welcome and take under the auspices of Our singular Protection, Grace and Mercy the Jews already settled or who will settle in Trieste, and also their wives, and children, sons-in-law, grandchildren, heirs, relatives, servants, domestics, and all their dependents, by promising them the appropriate personal security.

We welcome and equally take under the same auspices of Our Sovereign Clemency and effective Protection, the commercial and ordinary goods, and the moveable and immoveable property, that are now possessed or that will subsequently be acquired legitimately by the said Jews, and their wives, children, sons-in-law, grandchildren, sons, servants, domestics, and all their dependents, by promising them the appropriate security of property.

We confer upon them the unrestricted, most unrestricted, right to conduct commerce by Sea and on Land, and to set up Workshops and Factories in Trieste without any difficulty or impediment.

We permit them to profess the Jewish Religion, and to practice the services, ceremonies and rites of that Religion in their Synagogue, to bury the[ir] dead, and in sum to partake of and enjoy all the Prerogatives and Liberties suitable to a Nation, to which we have assured and recently assured [again] Our Sovereign Protection, so that they do not, nor ought they, encounter any impediment or difficulty in the profession of their Religion and in the usual practice of [its] ceremonies, and so that they are not, nor ought they, be forced to embrace another Religion, [thereby] confirming Our prior relevant Resolutions.

Concerning import commerce into Our Austrian States, they will be permitted the existing advantages and tax benefits, and future ones, decreed with regard to and in favor of Our other subjects.

When members of the Mercantile Exchange, and also those non-members who sustain the export commerce of raw materials and manufactured goods from our States, pass through and remain in Our States for reasons of Commerce or private affairs, they will be exempt from the head-toll, known by the term Leib-Steuer, in force in Our Capital of Vienna and in Our other Cities.

We promise, declare, and desire that to the Jews settled or who will settle in Trieste, to their wives, sons, husbands of daughters, ministers, servants, and relatives, there will be administered the same impartial Justice that Our other subjects meet with in Our Laws and Courts.

We promise to the Jews already settled or who will settle in Trieste the unrestricted exercise of the arts, crafts, and trades, and that in their personal, property, and tax status they will be equal to the other Nations, or subjects, with regard to the work, sale, and consumption in Trieste of the [products of the] said trades, crafts, and arts, as well as the import of their
We declare that on the Sabbath and other Jewish holidays, Jews cannot be forced to act, proceed, respond, accept bills of exchange, pay or collect, nor perform any work prohibited by their Law, neither in courts nor outside in legal matters or in those pertaining to assets and liabilities; consequently, one ought not proceed against them with regard to their person or their property unless there be sufficient suspicions or indications of flight or diversion of goods, in which cases arrest or sequestration of persons or goods could be sought on Jewish holidays.

We have authorized and we confirm to the Jews the favor of acquiring a plot of land in which their dead can be buried, and Our Commercial Intendancy will know how to secure the said ground and graves from any abuse and attack.

We confirm generally and without distinction in favor of the Jews already settled or who will settle in Trieste the Privileges and Prerogatives authorized by the Free-Port Patents, and by all of Our subsequent Sovereign Resolutions in favor of the same Nation.

And finally all the Jews without distinction, and singularly the Jewish merchants of the Exchange already settled or who will settled in Trieste, and especially those who distinguish themselves in the Commerce and the Export of Austrian Products, will experience the further benefits, influences, and most merciful effects of Our Sovereign Protection, Grace, and Generosity.

Given in Our Residence in Vienna 19 April 1771, the thirty-first year of Our Reign,

Maria Theresia

The Statute of Maria Theresia for the Jewish Community of Trieste, 1771,
[Translation: the opening paragraph]

Notes: From Maternini Zotta, L'Ente comunitario, p. 218; Dubin, Port Jews, p. 50, partially revised).

We Maria Theresia Empress by the grace of God ...

Order and regulation (l'ordine e la polizia) are those fundamental rocks upon which rests the happiness of all Societies, of all Communities who live together in civil assembly, and in order to put them on a stable and fixed footing among the ranks of the Jewish nation tolerated [emphasis mine] in OUR FREE PORT of Trieste, we have ordered OUR Intendancy of the entire Littoral to examine the constitutions and customs currently in use, and to present a plan, according to which there can be granted and prescribed to the said community a secure and clear norm, to serve as a legislative guide, in order to maintain in the ghetto an uninterrupted
harmony of the community, an exemplary order devoid of any Scandal, and finally a precise system of regulation (*Polizia*), without which no Society can be called complete....

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Il Privilegio di Maria Teresa
Privilege and Statute of Maria Theresia
Maria Theresia, 1771

Prepared by Lois Dubin, Smith College, USA

ALLEGATO B
I. IL PRIVILEGIO DI MARIA TERESA

Noi Maria Teresa per la Iddio Grazia Imperatrice de' Romani,
Vedova Regina d'Ongaria . . . ecc. ecc.

La felicità interna de' Nostri sudditi naturali, essendo sempre stata il principale oggetto delle
cure, e operazioni della Nostra Regenza; persuasa Noi, che a tal felicità influisce efficacemente
il Commercio esterno, come che alimentando l'industria nazionale, e promovendo la ricchezza
de sudditi, li rende più atti al servizio ed alli pesi dello stato . Nell'ulterior considerazione che il
commercio esterno de' Nostri stati ereditarj puol esercitarsi, sostenersi, ed ampliarsi più
facilmente, e regolarmente per il canale delli nostri porti-franchi di Trieste e Fiume, non
abbiamo negletta provvidenza, opera, o spesa, tendente al doppio fine di prosperare il
commercio singolarmente in Trieste, e di vantaggiare la condizione de' Negozianti sudditi ed
esteri, nel medesimo Porto stabiliti .

La nazione ebraica, al commercio, specialmente addetta, invitata con generali Patenti
dall'Augustissimo Nostro Genitore e distinta con privati Privilegi della gloriosissimi Suoi
predecessori, eccita li clementissimi par ticolari Nostri riflessi, maggiormente, che, da una
parte gli stabilimenti della Nazione medesima in Trieste costituiscano già una formale
comunità, e dall'altra parte alcuni suoi Individui aggregati alla Borsa mercantile concorrono
con l’opera, e con il consiglio all’incremento del Commercio e Navigazione al vantaggio comune
de' negozianti e della piazza.

Noi quindi volendo dare alla Communità ebraica di Trieste in generale, alli Negozianti nazionali
di Borsa in particolare una solenne dimostrazione del Sovrano nostro aggradimento, all'effetto
ancora di ani mare il concorso di quelle famiglie e persone, che con lo stabilimento di nuove
ditte mercantili, e coll’esercizio del Commercio all'ingrosso si rendano benemerite della città, e
dello stato, e conferiscano al compimento delle sovrane Nostre premure; prese sul proposito le
congrues consultive informazioni dell'Intendenza commerciale nel Litorale austriaco, e del
Nostro Consiglio aulico di Vienna; in virtù del presente Diploma placidiamo alla mentovata Communità ebraea di Trieste in generale, ed alli Negozianti di Borsa in particolare li seguenti Privilegj:

Accogliamo e prendiamo sotto gli auspici della singolare Nostra Protezione, Grazia e Clemenza gli Ebrei già stabiliti, o che si stabilissero in Trieste, come pure le loro mogli, e figli, mariti delle loro figlie, nipoti, eredi, parenti, ministri, servi, e tutt'i loro attinenti, con promettergli l'opportuna sicurezza personale.

Accogliamo e prendiamo ugualmente sotto li medesimi auspici della Sovrana Nostra Clemenza, ed efficace Protezione, gli effetti mercantili e comuni, e li beni mobili ed immobili, che attualmente posseggono, o che successivamente potessero con modi legittimi acquistare li detti Ebrei, e le loro mogli, figli, mariti di figlie, nipoti, ministri, servi e tutti loro attinenti con prometter loro la congrua sicurezza reale.

Gli conferiamo la facoltà libera liberrissima di negoziare per Mare, e per Terra e di piantare in Trieste Fabbriche, e Manifatture senza alcuna difficoltà o impedimento.


Nel commercio d'importazione nelli Nostri Stati austriaci saranno ammessi a quelle convenienze, e beneficj mudali, che sono. e saranno statuiti a riguardo, e a favore di altri Nostri sudditi.

Li negozianti di Borsa, come pure quegl'individui i quali benchè non aggregati alla Borsa, sostenessero il Commercio di Esportazione dei Prodotti di natura, e dell'arte de' Nostri Stati, transitando e permanendo per ragione di Commercio o di privati affari nelli detti Nostri Stati, saranno immuni dalla Gabella personale, nota sotto la voce di Leib-Steuer, vegliante nella Nostra Capitale di Vienna, e in altre Nostre Città.

Promettiamo, dichiariamo, e vogliamo che agli Ebrei stabiliti e che si stabilissero in Trieste, alle loro mogli, figli, mariti delle figlie, ministri, servi, e parenti sia amministrata la medesima imparziale Giustizia, che gli altri Nostri sudditi incontrano nelle Nostre Leggi e Tribunali.

Promettiamo agli Ebrei già stabiliti, o che si stabilissero in Trieste il libero esercizio dell'arti, fabbriche, e manifatture, e saranno tenuti in uguale condizione personale, reale e mudale con le altre Nazioni, o sia sudditi non tanto nell'opera, vendita, e consumo in Trieste delle dette
manifatture, fabbriche ed arti, quanto nell'importazione de' loro prodotti negli stati di Nostro Dominio in Germania, e in Italia.

Dichiariamo, che ne' giorni di Sabato, e in altri giorni festivi ebraici non possino gli Ebrei esser forzati di agire, procedere, rispondere, accettare Cambiali, pagare o riscuotere, nè fare alcuna opera innibita dalla loro Legge, nè in giudizio, nè fuori in cause o materie attive o passive, conseguentemente che non deva agirsi contro loro personalmente nè realmente, salvi sufficienti sospetti o indicij di fuga o di distrazione di effetti, ne' quali casi potrà impetrarsi l'arresto, e sequestri delle persone e effetti ne' giorni ancora festivi ebraici.

Abbiamo placidato e confermiamo agl'Ebrei la grazia di acquistare un campo, nel quale siano inumati i loro defunti, e la Nostra Intendenza Commerciale saprà garantire il detto campo, e sepolcri da ogni oltraggio e insulto.

Confermiamo generalmente e indistintamente a favore degli Ebrei già stabiliti, o che si stabilissero in Trieste le Franchigie e Prerogative placidategli con le Patenti del Porto franco, e di tutte le posteriori Nostre Sovrane Resoluzioni a favore della medesima Nazione.

E finalmente tutti gli Ebrei indistintamente, e singolarmente i Negozianti nazionali di Borsa già stabiliti, o che si stabilissero in Trieste e quelli particolarmente, che si distinguessero nel Commercio e nell'Esportazione de' Prodotti austriaci, sperimenteranno gli ulteriori benefici, influssi, e li clementissimi Effetti della Sovrana Nostra Protezione, Grazia, e Munificenza.

Data nella Nostra Residenza di Vienna li diciannove del mese d'Aprile dell'Anno mille settecento settanta uno, e de Nostri Regni nel trentesimo primo (1).

MARIA THERESIA (Seguono le altre firme)

ALLEGATOC
LO STATUTO DI MARIA TERESA

Noi Maria Teresa per l'Iddio grazia Imperatrice dei romanì, Vedova, Regina d'Ongaria, Boemia, Dalmazia, Croazia, Sclavonia, Galizia, Lodomiria, etc. etc. Arciduchessa d'Austria, Duchessa di Borgogna, Stiria, Ca rintia, e Cragno, Gran Principessa di Transilvania, Margravia di Moravia, Duchessa di Bramante, Limburgo, Lucemburgo, di Gheldria, di Wirtemberga, della Superiore e Inferiore-Silesia, di Milano, Mantova, Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla, d'Auschwitz, e Zattor, Principessa della Suevia, Contessa d'Asburgo, Fiandra, Tirolo, Hennegau, Kiburgo, Gorizia e Gradisca; Margravia del Sacro Romano Imp: di Burgovia, dell'Alta e Bassa Lusazia, Contessa di Namur, Signora della Marca, e di Mechlina etc. Duchessa Vedova di Lorena, e di Baar, Granduchessa di Toscana, etc. etc.

L'ordine e la polizia sono quelle pietre fondamentali, sopra le quali riposa la felicità di Società tutte, di Comunità tutte che vivono insieme in una civile radunanza, e per metterle sopra un piede stabile e fisso nel ceto della nazione Ebraica tolerata nel NOSTRO PORTO FRANCO di
Trieste, abbiamo ordinato alla NOSTRA Intendenza di tutto il Litorale, di esaminare le costituzioni e consuetudini correnti fin ad’ora, e di presentare un piano, secondo il quale possa essere accordato, e prescritto alla predetta nazione un normativo sicuro e chiaro, che serva di legislativa scorta, per mantenere nel ghetto un’armonia mai interrotta della nazione, un ordine esemplare privo di qualunque Scandalo, e finalmente una Polizia esatta, senza la quale Società veruna puol chiamarsi per fetta ; avendo dunque la predetta Intendenza eseguito un tal Nostro Sovrano comandamento, ed avendoci presentato l’abbozzo di tali nazionali legislative ordinanze, che tendono al predetto fine ; NOI tutto bene, e maturamente considerato a Supplichevoli umilissime preci della nazione, abbiamo clementissimamente assentito di ratificarlo a tenore degli art. coli seguenti.

Articolo Primo. - Dei capi della Comunità degli Ebrei tolerati in Trieste della loro elezione e attività.
I.
In un giorno della Settimana, che precederà il primo giorno del mese di Settembre, si eleggeranno dalla Comunità a pluralità di voti tre Capi della medema Comunità e nazione .

(1) Il testo del nostro documento differisce spesso nella forma da quello che di il Kandler. Devo dunque notare che la nostra copia è tratta dall’originale conservato nella Cancelleria della Comunità.

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Sefer `Ets Hayyim
Hayyim Vital, 1572

Separate translations by Menahem Kallus and Brian Ogren

Introduction to R Hayim Vital [ca 1572] and his Treatise Etz Hayim - The Tree of Life [and to] the Sha'ar haHaqdamot - Gate of Principles
Translated and annotated by: Menahem Kallus  [view]

Introduction to Sefer `Ets Hayyim by R. Hayyim Vital [1572] Introductions of our teacher, R. Hayyim Vital, his merit will protect us, amen, to The Gate of Introductions
Translated and annotated by: Brian Ogren, Hebrew University of Jerusalem  [view]

Treatise Etz Hayim - The Tree of Life [and to] the Sha'ar haHaqdamot - Gate of Principles
Translated and annotated by: Menahem Kallus

I, one among the youth of this city, poor among the princes [of Torah], Hayim Vital, the son of my teacher and father R. Yosef Vital of blessed eternal memory, having reached the age of thirty - the period of productive power - find my own potency weakened. I sit in astonishment and my thoughts are perplexed. For [Jer. 8:20]: 'the harvest-season has passed the summer has ended and we have not been redeemed'. No remedy has arisen for our maladies. There is no bandage for our wounded flesh, no cure was found for our afflictions - for the destruction of our Holy Temple - which lay in ruins these one thousand five hundred and four years! Woe unto us for the day has already turned - the Day of God being one thousand years. And so the evening shadows were already spread, i.e. we are already five hundred and four years into the second Day. All the expected dates of the eschaton have passed and the son of David has not yet arrived. As is known, the Rabbis have stated that [Jer. Talmud Yoma 1:1]: 'each generation that does not witness the rebuilding of the Temple must regard itself as if the Temple was destroyed in its own day'. Thus I took it upon myself to investigate, in order to ascertain the reason for all this. Why has the end-time of our exile been extended, why has the son of Jesse not arrived. ...

Now, let us consider what was said in Tiqunei haZohar [fol. 77b]: "... for even those who toil in the study of Torah enact this kindness only for their own sake...". The meaning of this is plain, particularly in our own time with its abundant iniquity, when the study of Torah became
merely a spade for securing livelihood among some of the 'masters of Torah' who study only for 
the sake of recompense and other annuities. [The shame of it is that] these are the heads of 
Academies, the heads of Rabbinical courts, who engage in their sacred activities so that their 
names and 'spiritual fragrance' be known throughout the land. They may be likened to the 
Generation of [the builders of] the Tower of Babel, who 'erected an edifice that reaches the 
heavens', but whose purpose therein was, as the verse exclaimed [Gen. 11:4]: "let us make a 
name for ourselves". This is as the Zohar explains [1:25a-b - insert from the author of Tiqunim] 
concerning the verse, [Gen. 2:4]:'These are the generations of the heavens and the earth'; 
stating that there are five types of 'mixed multitude'. Regarding the third type, the 'powerful 
one' it is said [ibid. on the verse Gen, 6:5]: "These are the mighty men of old, the men of 
renown' - for they are of the side of those regarding whom it was said 'let us build a city and a 
tower ... and make a name for ourselves' by building houses of worship and houses of study 
wherein they place the Torah-scrolls, which they endow with crowns - but not with pure motive 
- only for their own edification ...". The Talmud states regarding them [BT Berakhot fol. 17b]: 
"As for those who study Torah with ulterior motive, it would have been better had they been 
strangled by their placenta so that they not emerge to breathe the air of the world".

Doubtless, these people would exhibit astonishment [with regard to this charge] and humbly 
claim that all their study of Torah is really with pure motive. However, the words of the great 
sage of the Mishnah, Rabbi Meir of blessed memory testify against them, for he has stated [BT 
Avot 6:1]: "All who study Torah with pure motive merit many things ... and the secrets of the 
Torah are revealed to them. They become like roaring rivers that do not cease to flow, and like 
spontaneously rising wellsprings ..." - so that they would not need to exert effort in their 
contemplation of Torah - emerging merely with droplets of Torah-water extracted from stone. 
For this near-barren effort is an indication that they do not study Torah with properly pure 
intent. Who can withhold tears from welling in one's eyes upon reading this Mishnah and then 
observing one's own shortcomings and lowly stature! ...

It is known that our holy Torah encompasses and is to be found in all the four Worlds: 
Emanation, Creation, Formation, and Action. As its manifestation in the World of Emanation 
... it is called Kabbalah. Therein it is divested of all 'garments' which are of the nature of literal 
meaning, as in [Cant. 5:3]: "I have removed my garments" [peshat=[pashateti] et kutonti] - 
referring to the external coverings adorning the flesh that at times one removes. This is the 
essential meaning of the literal [peshat]. But in the World of Emanation, where the blessed 
Holy One abides in His study of Torah, as our sages have stated, and as is indicated in the 
Targum on the verse [Prov. 8:30]: "And I was by Him as a tool for His Craft"; that this refers to 
the Divine process of creation, wherein the blessed Holy One gazed into the Torah and created 
worlds. No doubt, this Torah does not refer to the narrative of Adam's creation, to the story 
of the sons of Chori, or to the ass of Baalam, etc. in their plain meanings [but to the inner 
essences of the Torah], wherein He delighted for [a symbolic time-span of] two thousand years 
[referring to the activation of Wisdom and Understanding] prior to the creation - and through 
which He created the world.
Indeed, the Divine delight in the Torah through which He created His universe refers to His absorption within the inner-soul of the Torah, in the secrets of the Torah, also called the Works of the Divine Chariot, the Wisdom of Kabbalah; as those who know have apprehended. For the World of Emanation is exalted: comprising goodness without evil; and no obscuration can become admixed therein. Regarding this, it is said [Isa.42:8]: "I shall not bestow My Glory upon another", as explained in the Tiqunim [# 18, fol. 66] and in the Zohar [1:28a]. Thus, the Torah as manifested in that realm is far removed from any material 'garment' [or direct-limited-connotation] - which is not as It is in the World of Formation, the World of Metatron, who is called 'the good servant' and is called the good aspect of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil; whereas Samael represents the obscuring shells and is called 'the evil servant'. The Torah as It is manifest there is called the 'Six Orders of the Mishnah', the 'handmaiden'; as explicated in the Zohar [1:27a]. This is why it is called Mishnah [with its etymological connotation of duality and change], for therein are manifested change and antonymic duality: goodness from the side of the good servant - permissible, proper, pure; and evil from the side of the evil servant - forbidden, impure, disqualified. It [i.e. 'Mishnah'] is etymologically related to the verse [Esther]: "And Mordehai the Jew, the 'second' [Mishneh] to the King Ahashverosh ..." - like a handmaiden, or the 'servant of the King who is like unto the King' [i.e. merely a representative of his sovereignty]. It also bears the connotation of 'the sleeping state' ['Shaynah'] as stated in the Zohar [Reiya Meheimna, 3:244b]. ...

The words of the Mishnah are like uninterpreted dreams. As for their inner secrets and mysteries which are called the soul of the Torah, these are the true interpretations of ... the dream, which is deciphered upon being awakened - as in [Cant. 5:2] "I am sleeping but my heart is awake". This is as our sages have intimated [BT Sanhedrin fol. 24a, on the verse, Lament. 3:6]: "'He has set me in the dark places ...' - this refers to the Babylonian Talmud" - it remains unilluminated without the Book of Splendor [the Zohar] - which explicates the secrets of [this] Torah and Its arcana. Regarding this, it is stated [Prov. 6:23]: "And the Torah is light". For just as HYTA [chitah-wheat] is numerically equivalent to 22 [signifying the 22 letters that comprise the Torah, and its kernel is hidden within many shell-layers and garments, ... bran, coarse flour, stalk, and chaff; and all of these are called 'the harvest' [cf. first par.], so too the Mishnah is called 'the harvest' when likened to the Secrets of the Torah. This is indicated in the Zohar [RM Ki Tetze 3:275b]. "As for the Rabbis, woe unto them who eat only of the 'stalks' of the Torah [animal food] and do not know of the Secrets of the Torah - knowing It only in terms of the lesser or lenient and the significant or stringent aspects of the Torah - the lesser as the Torah's 'stalk' and the more significant, as Its 'wheat'. (This is as in) 'HT' [both-numerically equivalent of 'good' as well as [im hakolel] chet - 'sin'] and H [5 = 5 attributes of Grace and 5 of Judgement] - the Tree of knowledge of good and evil." If I were to fully expound on this [Zoharic] discourse, it would undoubtedly take - without exaggeration - over a hundred notebooks. But [Eccl. 2:14] 'the eyes of the wise are in his head', and it is words of truth that I am communicating.
One must not be stunned upon seeing in the Zohar the description of the Mishnah as 'handmaiden' or 'shells'; for the study of the Mishnah that is limited to its plain meaning, undoubtedly amounts to expositions in terms of the garments and shells of the Torah. These are in the epitome of outer coverings when compared with the hidden Secrets of the Torah, containing intimations of [the Torah's] inner-meaning. For all Its plain literal connotations refer to things of this world - to lowly material phenomena. To be sure, these are 'shells' that may be 'eaten' - like the outer parts of fragrant herbs. Thus, one who understands without error, the plain legal meaning of the Mishnah, is called 'the tree that knows good'. But when one errs in this - Heaven forefend - rendering the clean as unclean or regarding as fit that which is disqualified, or if one permits the forbidden, then one is transformed into a 'tree that knows evil', and it is bitter for such a one. ...

The Mishnah is called 'handmaiden' because [one who comports oneself merely in accord with its dictates without cultivating a relation to its inner-meaning, does so only] for the sake of recompense. For all of His blessed attributes function according to the principle of 'measure for measure'. Thus, with regard to those who toil so as to discern the valid plain meaning of the material dimension of the Torah, it is said [Prov.3:16]: "in Her left hand there is wealth and honor", referring to the reward received in this world; since they occupy themselves with the study of Torah as it applies in a 'this-worldly' manner. And [Tiqunim fol. 77b]: 'all the kindness that they enact is for the sake of their own benefaction' - like servants and handmaidens who work for their master for the sake of reward. In contrast, one who is occupied with the Secrets of the Torah, which are of the Form of the Torah as It obtains in the World to Come, regarding this it is said [Prov. Ibid.]: "length of days in Her right hand" - referring to the world wherein there is the ultimate of 'length of days' [i.e. the eternal World to Come]. Such a one is like a son who may enter into the inner sanctum of his Father, because he serves Him unconditionally, without thought of recompense.

It is known, that the attribute of Beauty [Tif’eret] in the World of Emanation is called the 'Son', whereas Metatron in the World of Formation is called 'servant'. With reference to these two stations we pray on Rosh haShanah [[entreaty for Shofar service]: "whether [we be regarded as] sons or as servants". And we read in the Midrash on Ecclesiastes regarding the verse [see Midrash Eccl. 11:7]: "'For if a man lives many years, let him rejoice in them all...': [that] the Torah studied by the person [in this world] is naught compared to the Torah of the Messiah". If this is said with regard to the Messianic Torah, which is studied in the context of the soul as it abides in a physical body - as our sages have stated [BT Berachot fol. 34b]: "There is no difference between this world [in its natural function] and the Days of the Messiah except for the [absence of] subjugation by the nations" i.e. the end of the evil sovereignty of the 'outer shell' which is called the evil inclination [yetser hara]. This may be inferred from the words of the sages regarding the verse [Isa 11:6]: "and the wolf shall lie down with the lamb", which is juxtaposed [in the Midrash] with the verse [ibid. 11:9]: "and the land shall be filled with the knowledge of God", [both of which refer to the Messianic era - see Mekhilta of R. Shimeon bar
Yohai p. 134]]. Thus, the Torah of this world, enwrapped in the obscuring shells - on account of the evil inclination being found in this world - is as naught in comparison with the Messianic Torah; which, while removed from the 'shell' of the evil inclination is still within enwrapping shells. It is therefore certain without a doubt, that with regard to the Torah of the World to Come - of the world of the souls beyond enwrapping - that such occupation with the Torah is on the pure soul-level of The Torah: Its inner secrets.

However, one ought not say: 'let me then go and occupy myself [solely] with the wisdom of Kabbalah' before having studied the Torah of the Mishnah and Talmud, for our Rabbis have stated that one should not enter 'the Orchard' [Pardes] unless one is already filled with 'meat and wine' - and therefore, this [aspiration] may be likened to the soul prior to entering the body, which cannot [yet] receive the accounted-for reward based on its deeds while in the body, when it becomes perfected and rectified by fulfilling all six hundred and thirteen Divine edicts [Mitzvot]. So too the other way around: A person who in his involvement with Torah-study, pursues the wisdom of the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud without also allotting a portion of time to the study of the Secrets of the Torah and its mysteries, is like [one cultivating the] body which dwells in darkness, bereft of the inner illumination of the Candle of God, which is the Soul of Man; so that the body withers for want of drawing from the Source of Life. It is as stated elsewhere [the Tiqunei haZohar fol. 73b] regarding: "those who serve an arid and uninspired Torah and do not want to place their effort into the Wisdom of Kabbalah ...". Therefore one who studies the Torah for Her own sake - and not for one's own [sic] sake - to make a name for oneself - must first toil in the wisdom of Scripture, Mishnah and Talmud to the extent that one's mental application can endure and then endeavor to know one's Maker through the Wisdom of Truth [Kabbalah]; as King David bequeathed to his son Solomon [1chron. 2:9]: "Know the God of your father and serve Him". But if the person be of languid mental capacity, for whom concentration on the intricacies of the Talmud is difficult, it is better to desist from over-concentration in it - upon discerning one's destined circumstance in this regard - and rather, apply oneself to the Wisdom of Truth. This is as the Talmud states [BT Hullin fol. 24a]: "A student who for five years, does not experience positive results from Talmud study should not expect to achieve them in the future". But anyone who has the facility for Talmudic concentration is obligated to set aside one or two hours a day for the study of Halachah [Law], so as to engage in the dialectical analysis of the literal meaning of the Law; bearing in mind that this query-rejoinder approach [that breaks through the 'shell' to proper understanding] does not amount to engaging the evil 'shell' of Samael the 'wicked servant', but to [a relation with] the 'beneficial shell' - the Mishnah-Metatron, who in the World of Formation is called the servant or handmaiden of the Matron [Matronita=Shekhinah] - but is not the Matron Herself, for She is the inner-mind, the Wisdom of Truth, and is called the Tree of Life. Regarding Her it is said [Isa. 42:8] "I am YHVH, this is My Name ...", for the entire Torah comprises the Names of the blessed Holy One, as stated in the Zohar [3:298b]; [Isa. Ibid.] "and I shall not bestow My Glory upon another" - for 'shells' ought not to be mixed with Her, i.e., the Torah of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, the Mishnah with its categories of pure- impure, permissible-forbidden, proper-disqualified [ - ought not to be mixed with the
In concentrating [on the legal aspects of the Talmud], one should intend to remove the evil 'shell' which is the cause of questions and of not understanding the answers to questions. Remove this [shell] from hovering over the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil. This is [the function of] Mishnah, the maidservant of the Matron. Following this, one is to intend to adorn the Matron Herself with the Wisdom of the Kabbalah. Enough said here, for this is not the place to further expound on it.

The aforementioned [Tiqunim fol. 71b] discourse continues: "Therefore [we read in Cant. 2:7]: 'I have abjured you, oh daughters of Jerusalem ... [not to arouse the love before its time]' ..." It is because the Divine vow against arousing the Redemption before its time - before the love arises willingly with good aspiration - is such an awesome matter [for this is what distinguishes] the son who [willingly] serves his father and may thus enter into each of the Palatines of the King [having access to] all that is hidden in them - [from] the servant who serves [the King] through the Mishnah, and weds the maidservant - in order to receive reward.

It was explained elsewhere by the author of the aforementioned discourse [see Zohar Hadash fol. 18c] that the transgression of the first Adam in partaking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil was that he did not chose to partake of [the fruit of] the Tree of Life ... which is the Wisdom of the Kabbalah. This was also the sin of the Mixed Multitude when they told Moses [Exod. 20:16]: "'You speak to us so that we may hear' - by means of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil - 'but may God not speak to us' - through the Hidden teachings of the Torah - 'lest we die'". This is similar to the error committed by some of the 'sons of Torah' in contemporary times who besmirch the name [reputation] of the Wisdom of Truth - of life-eternal, when they claim that anyone who devotes himself to it will die before his time, Heaven forefend! This [attitude] was also the cause of the destruction of the First Tablets [with which Moses descended from Sinai], that expressed the purview of the Tree of Life. Instead they received [the Tablets] expressing the purview of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil - the Mishnah, the maidservant of the Matron. It also caused the loss of both the first and second Temples through destruction, and brought about this long bitter exile in which we abide with the multitude of our sins, until Israel repents, seeking their God so as to recognize Him; to know Him by means of the Secrets of the Torah, so that they know Who it is that they are serving, and Who is their Sovereign. Thereby they will merit in the study of the Wisdom of Truth, as the verse states [Exod. 15:25]:And God showed him [Moses] a Tree ... and the waters were sweetened ..." - by means of the Messianic teaching [i.e. Kabbalah - the Tree of Life]. It is now clear that this transgression began with the first Adam and continues until now. When we will return [to God] and engage [the Torah] through love ... in pursuit of this Wisdom, then Israel shall be redeemed, speedily in our day. Amen.

I have hearkened to the groans of Jeremiah the prophet, wandering aimlessly, speaking out of
the bitterness of his soul, saying [Jer.4:21-27]: "How long shall I bear the standard, hear the sound of the Shofar? For My people are foolish. They know Me not. ... I beheld the land and it was waste and void ... I beheld the Carmel mountain and lo, it became a desert ... For thus says the Lord: 'the entire land shall be desolate, but I will not utterly destroy it ...". The wind in my bowels presses me to explain these verses, which in truth were spoken by Jeremiah in a prophecy concerning this, the last generation. In his bitterness over the duration of our exile that lingers for longer than its measure, Jeremiah declared: 'how long shall I bear the standard' - the Messianic flag - as indicated by the Zohar [RM, Zohar2:120a]: "And they shall come - to the right, the banner of the Messiah from the House of Judah, emblazoned with a lion, and to the left, the banner of the Messiah from the House of Joseph, emblazoned with an ox ...".

"[How long shall I] ... hear the sound of the Shofar" - refers to the in-gathering of the exiles, which will take place after the coming of the Messiah, speedily in our day, amen. This is as the Zohar [Midrash haNeelam, Zohar 1:139a, based on Psalm 147:2] states: "first, 'God rebuilds Jerusalem', and only then, 'He shall gather in the outcasts of Israel'" So too does the verse declare [Isa.]: 'And it will be on that day, He shall blow the great Shofar ...' [ -and only then, as the verse continues, '... the lost ones from the land of Ashur shall arrive ...'].

Jeremiah, in answering his rhetorical question, provides us with the reason for the length of our exile: 'For my people are foolish. They know Me not'. The explanation of this is as follows: The Nation of Israel is comprised of three categories of people. The first category consists of the ignorant masses; the second refers to the scholars who study only the plain-meaning of the Torah; and the third, the masters of the Wisdom of Truth. Regarding the first group, the ignorant who are simply called 'people' the verse states [Jer. ibid.]: 'for My people are foolish, they do not know Me'. Regarding the third group, who occupy themselves with the secret arcana of the Torah, those who are called 'sons' as indicated in Tiqunei haZohar [fol. 1b regarding the verse, Deut. 22:6]: "[the term] 'young chicks' are a reference to masters of the Mishnah; 'sons' refers to masters of Kabbalah". Regarding these [sons], the verse continues [Jer. ibid.]: 'feebleminded sons these are, who do not understand'. This, because they study the Wisdom of Truth in accord with occurs to their narrow minds; and due to their weak absorption [in It] they do not descend to the depths of these matters to understand their true intent, as will be explained, with the aid of God. As for the scholars who study only the plain-meaning of the Torah - the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil - who are contemptuous of the Wisdom of Truth which is called the Tree of Life - life- eternal; being occupied with only the simple narrative level of the Torah, claiming, Heaven forefend, that this is all there is: God extends no aid to them. They review the plain meaning of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, but they transform all things to evil. They declare as impure that which is pure, forbidding the permissible, disqualifying the fit. In the abundance of our sins, they are the source of many pitfalls [tr. n.b. Interesting, that he prefers the qula to the humra].

Having classified [the Nation] in brief, the prophet [Jeremiah] returns to explain their characteristics in accord with the plain meaning. Regarding the first group he declares: "I
beheld the land and it was waste and void". This refers to the ignorant peasants [the 'multitude of the land' Am haAretz], for their souls were hewn from the earth. This is as the verse states [Eccl. 3:21] '... the spirit of the animal [is that] which descends below ...' referring to the animal-spirit that they possess. And it is written [Gen 1:24]: 'and the land brought forth living animated being, each according to its kind': in addition to their bodies deriving from the dust of the earth, so too their animating souls [Nefesh] originate from there - according to their kind! They are called 'living animated being', which include both domesticated and wild animals. This is also how it is understood by the Zohar's 'Hidden Midrash' which is still in manuscript [Midrash haNeelaam of Zohar Hadash fol. 10c]. Having been hewn from the earth, their entire function is the habitation of the land: commerce, planting and sowing, and building: matters that have no purpose, save for the [cultivation of the] body - and they forsake the life of eternity, which is the Torah. And it is stated [Jer. 33:25]:"If not for My Covenant [i.e. the Torah], I would not have brought forth the day and the night and the ordinances of heaven and earth". They [who forsake the life of eternity] return the creation to the state of waste and void. For this reason, they are called 'fools' - 'My people are foolish' - for there is no greater foolishness than this: the [aspiration to] preserve the body while extinguishing the soul. All of the above is caused by [the fact that] [Jer. 4]: "they knew Me not ...". They did not toil in the Torah which is called the Tree of Life, so as to provide them life by means of the life of eternity.

With regard to the second group, the Torah-scholars who labor to understand the Divine Torah and whose souls are hewn from the heavens and not from the earth, Jeremiah declared [4:23]: "... and [I gazed unto] the heavens and they had no light". For although their souls were hewn from the heavens there is no light in their Torah-learning, as we have indicated above in the name of our sages [BT Sanhedrin fol. 24a, on Lament. 3:6]: '"He has set me in the dark places ...' - this refers to the Babylonian Talmud - which [ought to be] illuminated by the Book of Splendor [the Zohar], that explains the matters discussed in the Talmud where they appear engarmented so that they are regarded as merely physical. Concerning these [explications of the Zohar] it is said [Prov. 6:23] "and the Torah is light" - whereas [in the case of this second group] it is said [Jer. ibid.] 'and [I gazed unto] the heavens and they had no light'.

Isaiah the prophet prophesied in his consolations regarding them: [Isa. 42:16 - for earlier mid 13th century) Kabbalistic usage, see ms. RM of Burgos]: "And I will guide them along the pathways that they did not know ..." - for with regard to the pathways of plain-meaning; these are known even as to their number as we read from R. Ishmael, who enumerated the Thirteen Modes of Exegesis. The Thirty Two Pathways of Wisdom through which the world was created, as mentioned in the Book of Formation [Sefer Yetzirah 1:1] however, have not been made accessible to human knowledge. These Thirty Two pathways of the Wisdom of Truth are hidden within the thirteen modes of plain-meaning exegesis. All of them taken together constitute 'one heart' [Lev A' - lev=32 ehad=13], as indicated in the Zohar [RM Zohar 3:244b]: "The Rabbis of the Mishnah and the authors of the Talmud organized their entire Talmudic enterprise along the principles of the Secrets of the Torah". But without a doubt, those who study only the Babylonian Talmud are groping like [Isa. 59:10] 'the blind seeking a wall'. Their
grasp encompasses only the garments of the Torah and they do not possess the eyes to behold the Torah's secrets hidden within. For it is not for no reason, and not based on their own whims that the sages of the Talmud decided on matters of purity and impurity, forbidden and permitted, and proper and disqualified. Their decisions were based on the inner meaning of the Torah, as those who know the Hidden Wisdom are aware. It is for this reason that Isaiah declared [ibid.]: "who is blind if not My servant" - the verse uses the exclusionary syntactic form ['who ... if not'] so as to exclude the Sages of Truth, who are called 'sons' - the masters of Kabbalah; whereas those who study only the Mishnah without gazing into Her secrets - for it is in accord with the Secrets that true legal decisions are rendered - whether to permit or to forbid - they are certainly blind. Thus, "who is blind if not My 'servant'": one who studies only the plain meaning and is called 'servant' as stated above. {Tr. The following sentence was not in the Hebrew abbreviated text, but is crucial in order to understand the reasoning behind the next paragraph.} [Regarding them, Isaiah prophesied that these 'servants' will in the Messianic future, merit to traverse [Isa. 42:16 'the pathways that they did not know' - the paths of the Wisdom of Truth, which, in the present world are guarded by the [Gen. 3:24 ] 'bright blade of the revolving sword' and by 'the Cherubim', who keep watch over the Path of the Tree of Life, so that only those who merit would understand the Secrets of the Torah. ...]

One must not say, however, that this being the case, 'I am exempt from studying this Wisdom until the 'future time' because in this world ... I haven't the capacity to know these [secrets]'. It is for this reason that Isaiah declared [ibid.]: "These are the things that I have done, and I did not forsake them". And our sages explained: "the verse did not say "... that I will do, and I will not forsake ...'", but rather, I have already done them. This is a reference to R. Aqiva and his colleagues .." For R. Aqiva would sit and expound upon each and every coronet of the letters [of the Torah, and would derive from them] hills upon hills of Torah principles. Thus, [even these seemingly gratuitous graphic decorations are] not empty of meaning, and if you experience them as meaningless, this is only on account of your own shortcomings, and because you are not interested in knowing; whereas [attaining this capacity] is up to your own choice, for R. Aqiva was able to fathom these secrets even in this world. Now it is true, that the Mishnah declared that [BT Sotah 49a]: "With the demise of R. Aqiva, the dignity of the Torah came undone". And the commentators explained that since R. Aqiva was able to answer [all questions posed to him] and to expound upon each and every coronet of the letters [of the Torah, so as to derive from them] hills upon hills of Torah principles [n. in keeping with R. Meir's principle mentioned above, from BT Avot 6:1], this illustrated the dignity and comeliness and beauty of the Torah. This is also how I explained the Talmudic passage [BT Avot 6:2]: "Said R. Joshuah son of Levi: Each and every day, a heavenly voice issues forth from Horeb and announces: 'Woe unto the creatures of the world, on account of the embarrassment of the Torah.'" For without a doubt, by their study of the Torah in a manner that is limited to Its plain meaning and its narrative, [it is as if] She dons the garments of a widow placing sackcloth on Herself and all the nations of the world say unto Israel: 'how is your beloved any more distinguished than ours - how is your teaching superior to ours? Your Torah [like ours] comprises nothing more than narratives concerning the vanities of this world!' Is there greater
ridicule than this? Thus: 'Woe unto the creatures of the world, on account of the embarrassment of the Torah!' For they do not occupy themselves with the Wisdom of Kabbalah which displays the dignity of the Torah. Thereby they lengthen the period of exile and [open the door to] all the evils that are rearing to come to the world, as we have indicated at the beginning of this introduction. This is the message of the heavenly voice that announces its call daily, and it is implied in the verse [Isa 40:6]: "A voice declares: 'Cry out' ... ".

Indeed, the sages of plain-meaning also comprise two groups: one that consists of God-fearers, who study [Torah] for the sake of heaven, but remain ... in darkness since the time of their youth. They haven't studied the Secrets of the Torah and are afraid to even touch them. They implore [Deut. 30:12]: "Who will ascend for us to the heavens and receive it for us"; and [Prov. 30:4] 'Who ascended to heaven and descended, may he tell us'. These verses refer to the intimated Secrets of the Torah [n. which they want to be made more accessible to them]. Thus, [Jer. 4:23]: "... and [I gazed unto] the heavens and they had no light". For although they be souls that were hewn from heaven, their [potential for] light is not with them. They dwell in darkness and do not emerge [from it].

Then there is another group, consisting of sages who are practiced in the art of keen dialectic. They uproot mountains and grind them together through their sharp analyses in the House of Study. Regarding them, Jeremiah declared [ibid. 4:24]: "I beheld the mountains and they are trembling" - for they [these sages] are afraid to come close to the Consuming Fire, i.e. to the Secrets of the Torah, whose words are like coals of fire, like burning flames. They are afraid lest they be consumed, as was the case with [BT Hagigah 13a] the youth who expounded upon the Electrum (Hashmal) [of the Divine Chariot Ezek. 1], and fire emerged from Her and consumed him. Oh! How good and pleasant would be their portion, had this happened to them - that they be consumed by the holiness of His Blessed Name - for [Deut. 9:3] 'He is a consuming fire'. Regarding these, it was said [Prov. 24:7] "Cunning is seen by fools as wisdom, therefore, such a one will not open his mouth at the gates" - of the Ten Sefirot. Without a doubt, those who think so are fools. Had they not already decided that the wisdom of plain-meaning - which they already possess - suffices for them, and that they are already wise, they would not have withheld themselves from entering into the 'inside'. Regarding such a one it is said [Prov. 26:12]: "Do you see a person who is wise in his own eyes - there is more hope for a fool than for him".

 Jeremiah continues [ibid. 4:24]: "... and all the plateaus were in ruin" - this refers to the young Talmudic scholars who are likened to plateaus, when compared to the 'mountains' mentioned above. These 'plateaus' were completely ruined. For when the lesser disciples observe the 'great mountains' who strive day and night after the plain-meaning and do not study the Wisdom discussed above, they do not know that what prevents [their teachers] is their fear, as mentioned above. These 'plateaus' then become completely ruined, and their hearts become [Deut. 29:17]: "the root that bears gall and wormwood". They become mired in rusty loam, whereupon they deny the veracity of the Wisdom of Truth saying that there is nothing to the
Torah save Its plain meaning, Its garments. No doubt, such 'disciples' forfeit their portion in the World-to-Come! We have already explained the reason for this above: For the Torah of the World-to-Come refers not to Its plain meaning, but exclusively to the secret arcana of the Torah - which they denied - and in which they chose not to toil. Thus [BT Avodah Zara fol. 3a], 'one who did not toil on the day before the Shabbat, shall not eat on the Shabbat'. Regarding them it is said [Isa. 35:13]: "Behold. My servants shall eat but you will starve ...".

As for those who occupy themselves with the Secrets of the Torah and the Wisdom of the Zohar, they are the true Adam, as mentioned in the Tiquinim. And we may also venture an alternative explanation with regard to [Tiqunei haZohar fol. 1b]: "'chicks', these are the masters of Mishnah, 'sons', these are masters of Kabbalah", suggesting that this also applies to [the verse] [Jer, 4:25]: "I have searched, but 'the man' is not to be found". The verse does not state 'man', but 'the man'. In other words, although such a one studies this Wisdom and is therefore called 'man', he is nonetheless not the 'unique man' truly worthy of this occupation, for they [i.e. those who study Kabbalah but are not 'unique'] do not possess the roots and principles needed to understand its words. This is as we explained above with regard to Jeremiah's having said [Jer. ibid.]: 'feebleminded sons these are, who do not understand'. But 'the man' is not to be found in this world, and we - with regard to this Wisdom - are [Isa. 59:10]:'like the blind groping for a wall', because the sages of the truth have journeyed on to their resting-places leaving us with our woes. And when such a man is not to be found so as to teach this wisdom then even the birds of the heavens - the disciples whose hearts have been touched by God - wishing to fly in the sky, but not possessing wings, say [per Psalm 55:7]: 'who will provide me a limb, so like a dove ... so that we may fly and dwell' - in the tents of this Wisdom ...

We have thus explicated all the strata of the Israelite nation. All as one, prevent themselves from grasping on to this Wisdom - each group in accord with its reason and tendency - so that in the abundance of our iniquity [Isa 51:18]: "from among all the sons She bore, there is none to guide Her"; i.e. although there are 'sons' who are men of Kabbalah, they too have abandoned hope in their pursuit of this Wisdom. Without a doubt, these words were uttered as a prophecy regarding our latter generations. They run contrary to the opinions of the sages of these generations who have entertained the thought that they have already achieved what is required of them and are content with their portion. But the verse proclaims [Isa. 59:16]: "And He looked about but there was no man; and He was astonished for there was none to meet Him" - in the negative - Woe to the ears that hear thus and woe to the eyes that see thus - the Divine testimony on our behalf - and yet we have no heart to be aware [of our shortcomings] so as to return to occupy ourselves with this Wisdom, that we may provide potency to His Blessedness. For the verse attests Isa. 63:5]: "And I gaze about and there is none to come to My aid, and I stagger astonished and there is none to support ...". All of the above refer to the fact that whereas we are occupied with this Wisdom - for by its means the redemption will arrive - so that, so-to-speak, Her Powerful Presence shall attain salvation - as it is written [ibid.]: "and My arm shall be My salvation" - My salvation indeed - so-to-speak! And as we have quoted at the beginning of this introduction, all of this depends on the effort placed into the study of this
Wisdom, and our desisting from being occupied with Her is what causes the delay in the building of our Holy Temple and [the restoration of] our beauty.

It has been clearly explained, even through the words of the *Tana'îm*, the authors of the Mishnah, that one cannot completely fulfill one's obligation to study Torah even through the study of Scripture ... Mishnah, Midrash and Talmud [if it be these] alone, for one is also obliged to study the Secrets of Torah - the Works of the Divine Chariot [*Merkavah*] - to the best of one's ability. For the blessed Holy One derives no pleasure from the creation of His world, except when His sons below occupy themselves with the Secrets of Torah in order to recognize His greatness, beauty and stature. For by means of studying merely the plain meaning of the Torah - Its narratives, laws and edicts - one cannot arrive to the recognition and knowledge of the Creator. Quite the contrary. There are edicts and statutes that the mind cannot bear, and the nations of the world oppress Israel, taunting them, saying: 'What is this Torah that your God has commanded you? Its words appear as riddles and parables - to take the horn of a cow and blow sounds from it on *Rosh haShanah* - and then you claim that this confuses the spiritual Accuser, the supernal incriminator, so that he does not interfere [with the judgement, so that it be enacted by means of Divine Compassion], etc. Indeed, most of the edicts of the Torah and the minute details of their laws seem disagreeable to the mind! This being so, where is the comeliness of the Torah - Its beauty and greatness?

By dint of these protestations the verse proclaims [Job 35 7-6 (sic)]: "If you were righteous, what did you give to Him, and if you transgressed what would you cause in Him?" For reward and retribution with reference to [the performance of edicts-*Mitzvot*] applies to 'you' alone. But with regard to the Secrets of Torah and the performance of the *Mitzvot* with their contemplative intentions, it is the opposite. If these are properly effected, it is said [that one fulfills the verse] [Psalm 68:35 and see Zohar 2:32b]: "Deliver potency to God ...", whereas if one is amiss in this, it is said {Deut. 32:18 and see Midrash Lament. Rabati chapter 1}: "The rock that bore you is weakened ...". And it is written [Isa. 66:24]: "And they will go out and see the corpses of those who intentionally sinned against Me ...", whereas if one's body must be clean - [and this is achieved] by means of performing the Divine edicts on the physical plane - for their function is to prepare one for this [sacred] undertaking. And in any case, the actual performance of these edicts is obligatory and necessary. Afterwards, the soul which is the [Prov. 20:27] 'candle of God', will be able to illuminate the body like a lit candle placed in a glass holder, enlightening one and giving one strength to understand the mysteries of the Torah, so as to [Job 12:22] 'reveal the depths out of the darkness'. Anyone possessing intelligence would be bewildered by the
abovementioned words, which would not be understood except by the explanation of them provided above, as to the difference between the study of the Torah ... limited to Its plain meaning, which encompasses only the this-worldly Torah, and is as nothing when compared to the Torah of the Messiah and the Torah of the World-to-Come. This is the secret of [Isa. 49:4]: "For naught and in vain did I spend my strength".

Had I come to fully explain all of these sayings, time itself would expire but the [meaning of these] sayings would not [be exhausted]. We may however attain an abridged understanding of them by what was said above. The reward for the mere performance of Divine edicts and Torah study is in this world, and in [the soul's after-life participation in] the 'terrestrial-like Eden-Paradise'. But in order to enter into the higher supernal world this would not suffice unless one also toils with all of one's capacity to attain what one can, of the Wisdom of the Zohar. If not, they [the guardian angels] remove the person from all the gates of the supernal world, even if one be well adorned through the performance of Divine edicts and good deeds. As a result, the animating soul and spirit [Nefesh v'Ru'ah] remain in the 'terrestrial-like Paradise', but the 'consciousness-soul' [Neshamah], whose portion is the Secrets of Torah receives retribution instead. It becomes enflamed, outside the supernal palaces of the upper-Eden-Paradise [see Zohar 2:247b]. This is as it is said [paraphrase, Zohar ibid.]: "This holy life-energy-being [Hayuta Kadosha] is present when the Neshamah [consciousness-soul] enters" - but [the Zohar] did not say the foregoing with reference to the Nefesh or the Ru'ah. Understand this and be not confused, when you come across various dicta of the sages of blessed memory that appear to contradict one another.

For all of the righteous ones and all the seed of Israel are rooted in and suspended from the body of the First Adam - one in his body, another in his head; one ... from his ear, another from his neck - etc. So too, all Animating Souls [Nefesh] (derive from) his Nefesh, and all Spirits from his Ru'ah, and all Consciousness-souls from his Neshamah. And just as the [physical] body of First Adam was comprised of two hundred and forty eight limb-bones and three hundred and sixty five sinews, so too, [the spiritual 'bodies' of] the Nefesh, Ru'ah and Neshamah. And all of these are dependent on the Torah, with Its of two hundred and forty eight edicts-of-action and three hundred and sixty five edicts-of-desisting. This is also the secret behind the Talmudic conversation [BT Shabbat fol. 118b]: "Rav inquired: 'your father, Mr. So-and-so, what [edict] was he most careful [in observing]?' And this is also the meaning of [Zohar Hadash Cant. fol. 70d]: "For what purpose did you arrive into this putrid body ...?"

So too, all the universes in their entirety form the body of One Man, comprising two hundred and forty eight limb-bones and three hundred and sixty five sinews. Thus we find [Scriptural expressions such as - Isa. 8:8]: 'the wings of the land' or [Exod. 10:5] 'the eye of the land' or [Deut. 4:11] 'the heart of the heavens', etc. and as the Zohar [1:134b] explained: "Every limb-bone in the human body corresponds to a creature in the world for just as a human being is composed of members upon members ... [and yet, these comprise one body] so too the world: all these creatures are members upon members, standing one upon another ... [and form one
body]. This is as indicated in [Zohar Hadash, Cant. Fol. 70d]: "to know Him as to His Body and to be informed as to Who He is ...", and so too [ibid.]: "One world (was created) in order that the person know and behold this world wherein He abides; and to know the basis upon which this world becomes rectified...". Thus, a person must attain through one's toil in this Wisdom, the knowledge of one's own root, and the manner in which one is suspended from the body of the Supernal [First] Adam; and so too with regard to one's Ru'ah, Nefesh and Neshamah, and so too with regard to one's individual relation to the Divine edicts; and [particularly] to discern where one's grasp [in these matters] is most powerfully significant.

Earlier, [Jeremiah [Jer, 4:25]] had declared: "I have searched, but 'the man' is not to be found", meaning to say that there is no one who truly knows this Wisdom. This being the case, [one may claim that] the person ought to be exempt ... and unbound from the obligation to pursue this Wisdom, for there is no one to teach It, so that one would be able to receive It. [One can claim] - if It is receivable, I would be ready to receive It, but if not, how then can I receive It! For [BT Avodah Zara fol. 3a]: "The blessed Holy One does not come to His creatures with the demands of an unreasonable tyrant"! [It is for this reason that Jeremiah] establishes the true context of the situation so as to tell us that these suppositions are incorrect. For although [Jer. 4:27]: 'The entire land shall be desolate' - bereft of anyone who is [truly] occupied with this Wisdom, [ibid.] 'I will not utterly destroy it'. The Lord of Hosts has provided us with a 'survivor' - a marked man as it were - in each generation [see Zohar 2:166b-167a] - whether [the generation or the man] be great or [apparently] inconsequential. Even in ours, the last generation [as per Lev. 26:44]: 'we have not despised nor spurned [Him], so as to repudiate His covenant with us', Heaven forefend. And indeed it is written in the Tiqunim [fol. 23b-24a]: "in the final generation at the End of Days, they will be sustained through this Book [i.e. the Zoharic Corpus] ... and thus, [Lev. 25:10] 'you shall call out liberation throughout the land'". So too, in the Zohar [1:118a] we read: "... and when it will be close to the days of the Messiah, even the children of the world will be prepared to receive the hidden secrets of Wisdom. ...". For it is clear that up until now the Zohar's words of wisdom have been shrouded enigmas, but in the latter generation this Wisdom will be revealed and made public, so that they will understand with intelligence, Secrets of Wisdom that earlier generations had not grasped. Thus, the objections of the fools are removed: those who protest, saying: "is this generation really worthy? - if previous generations did not understand [the Zohar], how could we know [what it means]?" - with this, their mouths will be shut.

And yet, although it is clear and has been explained, that these latter generations will be sustained by 'this book' [the Zohar], and this Wisdom shall be revealed to them; [BT Berahot fol. 16b] 'not all who desire to take the Name [upon themselves] may do so' for the hidden secrets of the Torah will not be revealed merely by means of one's mental concentration, without the Divine Effluence being drawn to them from the heights of His Holiness by means of His messengers and angels, or by means of revelation from Elijah the prophet of goodly remembrance, as will be explained in the concluding section of this introduction.
In this vein, do not be skeptical about what we will recount in this concluding section with regard to the holy sage who was revealed to us in our time ... in this, our generation; and I cannot fully explain [with respect to the nature of this sage, beyond what will be stated below]. If you will, you may understand this matter by considering what is written in the Tiqunim [fol. 138a] on the verse [Eccl. 1:4]: "'a generation goes and a generation comes ...' - this refers to Moses, the faithful shepherd", and as is mentioned in Tiqun 69 [fol. 111b]: "R. Shimeon said: my colleagues, certainly the blessed Holy One is aligned with us in agreement - with both the supernal ones and the terrestrial ones, who would be in this gathering of consent. Meritorious is the generation in which this is revealed, for all of this [wisdom] will in the future be revealed anew by Moses, in the final generation. This will fulfill the verse [Eccl. 1: 9]:'what was shall be again' and the verse [Psalm 33:14]: 'from His place of habitation He oversees ...' [both of which contain words whose first letters form acronyms of the name of Moses]. ... Indeed, his manifesting influence is found in every generation, within each righteous one and every sage who is occupied in the Torah, extending even to six hundred thousand". [The full implications of] these words are hidden and sealed.

Let us return now to an earlier matter: without a doubt these words will not be understood through contemplation by means of the material human intellect, but only by mouth-to-mouth reception or from the mouth of Elijah the prophet, or from the mouths of souls who reveal themselves to those who are worthy of them, in each generation. And Nahmanides [13th century] of blessed memory, who was the last of the [uninterrupted] line of Kabbalists before our own time wrote in the introduction to his commentary on the Bible: "I put this forward in keeping with the faithful covenant and provide the following proper advice to all who look at this book: do not attempt to explicate it by means of reason or to rationally ponder any of the allusions to the Secrets of the Torah written here. For I am conscientiously informing you that these [secrets] will not be grasped and will not be disclosed at all by means of applying intelligence and understanding, but only by receiving it mouth-to-ear - from a wise Kabbalist to an understanding recipient. And the use of the rational faculty directed at this, is folly. [Speculative] thought [in this regard] brings much damage and hinders [the attainment of proper] function. Do not place your faith in this vain supposition, for one's reasoning will only yield evil, as one would come to speak falsely of God and not receive atonement. Do not [Exod. 19:21] 'break through to gaze at God' ...". Now if Nahmanides of blessed memory, the last of the Kabbalists, was loquacious regarding this matter, saying that his words containing allusions to the Secrets of the Torah will not be properly understood at all, how could the human mind even entertain the notion that by means of exercising one's intellect one would understand the 'words of the Living God' - the words of R. Shimeon bar Yohai peace be upon him - whose declarations are like flames of consuming fire: hidden and sealed with a thousand seals! For it is true beyond doubt that had R. Shimeon bar Yohai not recognized by means of his holy spirit that R. Abba [the redactor of the words of R. Shimeon, according to Zoharic tradition] was a great wise sage and was capable of engarmenting ... and hiding these recondite matters through enigmatic allusion so that even the sages of his time would not understand them, he
would not have commanded [R. Abba] to write [the Zohar]. However, there is no generation in which we are entirely bereft of unique treasured-ones upon whom the Holy Spirit dwells, for Elijah ... the prophet of goodly remembrance would reveal himself to them, teaching them the mystical secrets of this Wisdom.

Behold! Today I will express mysteries and the wondrous works of the [Job 37:16] 'One pure of all persuasions'; for in each and every generation He works His wondrous Grace with us [Psalm 118: 27]: 'the all-powerful God has illumined for us' by means of the surviving ones to whom God calls in each and every generation - and also in this, our generation - as we have stated, the Lord of the first and last ones did not leave Israel without a redeemer. He expressed zealotry on behalf of His land and had compassion on His People, by sending us [Dan. 4:10]: 'a Watcher and holy one, descended from heaven', the great divine Rabbi, the Hasid, my master and teacher - our honorable teacher, the Rabbi - R. Isaac Luria Ashkenazi, his memory for life in the World-to-Come; who was filled with Torah as a pomegranate is filled with seeds - with Scripture, Mishnah, Talmud, Midrashim, Legends, the Works of Creation, the Works of the Chariot; an expert in the 'conversations of the palms', and those of the birds, and in the concourse of Angels; able recognize [a person's spiritual state] by means of facial metoposcopy - as expounded by R. Shimeon bar Yohai in the Torah-portion [Exod. 18:21; and see Zohar 2:70b, ff and Zohar Hadash fol. 31 ff] 'and you shall seek out ...'; he knew all the deeds of people - what they did and what they will do - he knew the thoughts of the sons of man even prior to their being expressed from potential to actual; knew future events, and all that goes on in the entire land; and all that is decreed in heaven. He knew the wisdom of transmigration - who was a new soul and who was old - as well as the coordinated cosmic placement of each individual - in what place in the Supernal Adam and in the First [terrestrial] Adam each one is suspended. He recognized the messages in flickering candles and in flames of fire - wondrous matters - he looked and gazed with his own eyes, at the souls of the righteous - the earlier and later ones - and engaged with them in the study of the Wisdom of Truth. He recognized the nature of a man's deeds by his mere odor, as was the case with the child-prodigy of the Zohar Parshat Balaq [Zohar 3:186a]. All of the aforementioned gifts were available to him as if in his breast-pocket, whenever he would desire to be availed of them, without having to investigate them in seclusion beforehand.

This [testimony] is not gleaned from the reports of strangers - my own eyes saw these things - baffling matters that were not witnessed or reported since the days of R. Shimeon bar Yohai peace be upon him, up to now. He attained all this without the use of 'Practical Kabbalah', Heaven forefend, for the application of this knowledge is interdicted by powerful injunction. Indeed, all this arose from within him due to his piety and asceticism, after many days and years of poring over both new and old works [that expound] this Wisdom. Beyond these, he increased his service of Hasidut [graciousness towards God] and intensified his austerity, holiness and purity. This brought him to [revelation from] Elijah the prophet who was in constant pneumatic communion with him - speaking to him mouth-to-mouth - and teaching him this Wisdom. ...
[In the past] each one the sages knowledgeable in this Wisdom would undertake its pursuit with great circumspection and would never reveal it except to an exceptionally unique disciple - one in a generation - and this too, only by means of 'chapter-headings' mouth-to-mouth - revealing a hands-breadth and concealing a thousand hands-breadths. And this Wisdom was in continuous decline; decreasing with the coming of each generation until it reached Nahmanides, the last of the true Kabbalists [the initiated receivers of the esoteric tradition].

As for the treatises written by the Kabbalists who lived after Nahmanides of blessed memory, do not approach them. For as of the period of Nahmanides ... the path of this Wisdom became hidden from the eyes of all the sages, who remained with only a few principles bereft of their root-meanings; upon which the latter-day Kabbalists of blessed memory formed their words, by means of [their] human intellect. You may discern this for yourself: because any sharp-minded person who concentrates on acquiring their principles can master them within four or five days, and all their works are full of repetitions, saying the same things with different words. The entire extent of their principles revolves around there being Ten Sefirot. They composed heaps of treatises about this, but the upshot of what they have to say can be written up in two or three notebooks. This was not the case with the earlier Kabbalists.

People of heart, listen to me. Do not [Exod. 19:21] 'break-through to God' by looking at the latter-day books, which are derived from the human intellect. ... One who listens to me will rest assured, secure from evil fear. Therefore I, the young Hayim Vital am writing this. For I desire to bring the multitude to a meritorious state, by means utmost concealed; and the intelligent will understand. I provided this work with a title containing a reference to my name, calling it Etz Hayim the Tree of Life - and also with reference to the appellation appropriate for this powerful Wisdom, the wisdom of the Zohar, which is called the 'Tree of Life', and not the 'Tree of Knowledge'. And with regard to this, those who taste it merit the true life and will become deserving [so as to arrive at] the lands of life-everlasting. Eat from this Tree of Life and live forever! 'I will instruct you and illuminate this path, which you should follow' [per Psalm 32:8].

Know that since the day that my teacher, remembered for life eternal, began to reveal this Wisdom, my hand never left his grasp for even a moment. If ever you find notebooks quoting the teachings of my teacher of blessed memory that contradict the teachings found in this book, know that [those notebooks] are in error and [these errors] indicate that they did not understand his words. And even if you find some additional teachings that do not per-se disagree with our book, do not be entirely convinced so as to establish them as genuine; for none of those who heard [my teacher's] holy words have arrived to the depths of intent in his teachings, and none have understood them so as to have cleared away all uncertainties. And if you entertain the notion that you will be able to discern the good and forsake the deficient, [Prov. 3:5]: 'do not rely on your own understanding', for these words are not given to the heart of man in accord with human intellect, and independent reasoning with regard to them is exceedingly dangerous; for one may come to [BT Hagiga fol. 14b]: 'sever the saplings' [n. i.e. to dissociate implications causal from their roots or view reality as dualistic], Heaven forefend!
Therefore I caution you not to look at any of the notebooks that purport to contain teachings from my teacher, his memory a blessing for life-eternal, save what we have set down for you here, in this book. Let this warning suffice for you. ...

Introductions of our teacher, R. Hayyim Vital, his merit will protect us, amen, to The Gate of Introductions
Translated and annotated by: Brian Ogren

Said the youth, the insignificant by thousands, Hayyim Vital, son of his master, his father, the Rav Yosef Vital, may his memory be for the world-to-come, commenting: When I was thirty years old, I had no strength left, I sat in amazement. And my thoughts were puzzling. For the harvest has passed, the summer has ended, and we have not been saved. No remedy has arisen for our sickness. There is no cure for our flesh, and no treatment has been issued for our plague, for the destruction of our Temple. This (i.e., the Temple) has been in a state of destruction already for one thousand five hundred and four years. Woe to us, for the day has turned, one day of the Holy One, Blessed is He, which (one day of His) is one thousand years, and the shadows of evening have come, which are five hundred and four years, more than half of a second day. It is the end, and the son of David has not yet come.

And that which the Sages said is known (Yerushalmi Yoma, 81, 5:1): For each generation that does not build the Temple in its days, it is as if it were destroyed in its days. I will devote myself to researching and understanding this, and why our end and our exile have been lengthened. And why the son of Yishay has not come.

Now, what is written at the beginning of his words, "Even all those who toil in the Torah with all of the favor of a servant to his master, etc.,” with its simple meaning explained, and specifically in our time in this world, in which the Torah is made into an axe for cutting in the hands of some of the masters of Torah, whose dealings in the Torah are in order to receive awards and other provisions, and also to be among the heads of yeshivot and on the religious courts, that their name and their scent may be smelled throughout the land; and they are similar in their actions to the people of the generation after the Flood, who built a "tower with its top in the heavens" (Genesis, 11:4). And the main reason for their actions, as it is written afterwards, was "that we may make a name for ourselves." As it is written in the Zohar on Genesis, p. 25b, commenting upon the verse, "These are the generations of the heaven and the earth": "There are five types among the multitude, and the third of these is called 'Mighty Ones' (Gibborim), and of them it is said, 'They are the Mighty Ones which are of the world of the men of name.' These come from the side of those who said, 'Let us build a city and a tower, etc.' About this group, it is said in the gemara (Berachot, 17): "Anyone who labors in Torah not for its own sake, it is suitable that his birth should be turned on its face and that he should not have come out into the atmosphere of the world."

And indeed, these people show innocence and humility in their saying that all of their...
occupation in the Torah is for the sake of its name (i.e., for the sake of learning Torah itself). Certainly, the great wise man, the Tana Rabbi Meir, peace be upon him, testified against them that he was not like that, in his saying with general happiness (Avot, ch. 6, mishna 1): "He who labors in the Torah for its own sake merits many things, etc. And the secrets of Torah are revealed to him, and he becomes like a river that does not stop from running, and like a spring whose power overcomes him." He does not have to bother and to look into it, and to take out drops of the water of Torah from the rock; indeed, this teaches that (one like this) is really not laboring in Torah for its own sake, as a rule. Who cannot shed tears upon seeing this mishna and its deficiency and its pettiness?

Now, it is explained that our holy Torah is included and exists in all of the four worlds, ABY’A. Its existence in the world of Atzilut is the called Kabbalah, for there it divests itself from all of the clothing called peshat, from the words "I took off (pashateti) my robe." This is the aspect of the outer clothing, which is on the skin of man and is sometimes spread over him; this is the essence of the word peshat.

And indeed, in the world of Atsilot, the Holy One, Blessed is He, sits and labors in Torah, as mentioned in the midrash of the Sages, and also in the words of the Targum on the verse, "My Beloved is pure and ruddy" (Song of Songs, 5:10). And as it is written, "And I was by Him, as a nursling" (Proverbs, 8:30), interpreted by the Sages concerning the creation of the world, that the Holy One, Blessed is He, would look at the Torah and create worlds. And there is no doubt that this is not like the act of the first man, and not like the act of Bnei Hari, or like the act of the donkey of Bilam and the like, as according to their simple meanings; the Holy One, Blessed is He, amused Himself with these [stories], two thousand years before He created the world, and created worlds with them.

Indeed, the amusements of the Holy One, Blessed is He, with the Torah, and His creating the worlds with it, was through His laboring with the Torah according to the inner soul that is in it. This is called "the secrets of Torah," [or alternately] called "the works of the merkavah," [and] is the wisdom of the kabbalah, as is known to those who know. And the meaning of this is its being the world of Atzilut, the very highest, good and not bad, which does not contain any admixture with the husk (kelipah). And about it is said: "And I will not give my Glory to another," as is mentioned in the Book of Tikkunim 4, 66, Tikkun 18, and in the Zohar on Genesis 28a, see there. As such, the Torah that is there is divested of all physical clothing. This is not the case below in the world of Yetserah, the world of Metatron, called "the Good Servant," [also] called "the Tree of Knowledge of Good from the side (of good). From the left side are its husks (kelipin deliah), called "the Evil Servant." For the Torah that is there is closed up in silence [and] is called a "maidservant," as mentioned above. This is also mentioned in [the Zohar to] Genesis, p. 27a.

Therefore it is called mishna, because there [in that world] there are alterations (shinuim - from the same root as mishna) between opposites, good from the side of "the Good Servant,"
legitimate, appropriate, pure. Evil from the side of "the Evil Servant," taboo, impure, blemished. It [mishna] is also derived from the language, "and Mordecai the Jew was second in command (mishne) to the king" (Ester, 10:3). It is also called [mishna] from the word "sleep" (sheina), as mentioned in the Zohar on Pinhas, p. 244a.

Now, their words (i.e., the words of the mishna) are like a dream without an explanation, and its secrets and inner mysteries, called "the soul of the Torah," are the explanation of the dream, deciphered while awake, according to the secret: "I am asleep, and my heart is awake" (Song of Songs, 5:2). And as the Sages, blessed be their memories, have written (Sanhedrin 24): "'He has made me dwell in dark places, like those who are long dead' (Lamentations, 3:6). This is the Babylonian Talmud," which is elucidated only by the Zohar, these are the secrets of the Torah and its mysteries, about which it is said, "and the Torah is light" (Proverbs, 6:23).

And just as the wheat (hitah), which in its numerology is equal to the twenty two letters of the Torah, is hidden under many husks and layers, which are bran and fiber and straw and fodder and the grass called "hay," so too the mishna in its relation to the secrets of Torah is called "hay." This is hinted at in the Zohar, parashat Ki Teze in the Ra'aya Mehemna, p. 275b. And if I came to expand on this homily, 100 tracts would not suffice, without exaggeration, as the eyes of a wise man are indeed in his head. For I am saying words of truth, and a man who sees the Zohar should not be surprised that it calls the mishna the "maidservant" and the "husks," for the mishna works according to its plain meanings; there is no doubt that these are entirely the layers and the outer husks, as opposed to the secrets of Torah that are hidden and hinted at within its inner core, for all of its plain meanings are in this world, lower physical arrangements.

Indeed, they (i.e., the plain meanings of the mishna) are husks that are good to eat, like the husks of the reeds of fragrance. Therefore, with the comprehension of those who understand the plain meaning of the mishna according to its principles, without making mistakes, it is called "the Tree of Knowledge of Good." However, when, heaven forbid, they change (make mistakes?) with it, and defile the pure, and make the blemished kosher, and allow the forbidden, then it changes into "the Tree of Knowledge of Evil," and it is bitter for them.

For the mishna is a maidservant, because it is (i.e., it exists in its plain meaning) in order to receive an award. The meaning: for indeed, all of His attributes, Blessed is He, exist attribute against attribute. Therefore, it is said of those who labor in its plain, good, bodily meanings that on the left is wealth and glory: this is the reward that is given to them in this world, for indeed their labor in Torah is in the nature of their being in this world, with judgements of forbiddance and permittance, impurity and purity, etc. And they are like the servant who serves his master clearly in order to receive an award, "and all of the benevolence of my servant, etc.," like slaves and maidservants who serve their master in order to receive an award. Indeed, about those who labor in the secrets of Torah, who do so in the nature of laboring in the Torah in the world-to-come, it is said that the length of their days is on the
right, in a world in which everything is lengthened. [This is] like a son who enters deep inside and serves before his father, not in order to receive an award.

And it is known that Tiferet of Atsilut is called "son," and Metatron of Yetsira is called "servant." And we pray to them on Rosh Hashana, whether as "sons" or whether as "servants."

Now, in Midrash Kohelet, the Sages commented on the verse, "But he will be happy for many years, etc" (Midrash Raba Kohelet, 11:7). This is their language: "But he will be happy for many years, etc." The Torah that a man has learned is futile as opposed to the Torah of the Messiah. If this is so, it is said about the Torah of the Messiah that it is in body and in soul, as it is written (Berachot 34): "There is no difference between this-world and the days of the Messiah, except for enslavement to foreign kingdoms alone." He (i.e., the Messiah) is the cancellation of the Evil Kingdom, the outer husk, called "the evil inclination," as the Sages interpreted the verse, "and the wolf will dwell with the lamb, etc."(Isaiah, 11:6), and conjoined to it the verse, "and the land will be filled with the knowledge of God." As such, the Torah of this world, which is dressed in husks due to the fact that the Evil Inclination is called a "husk" which is found in the world, it (i.e., the Torah of this world) is futile as compared to the Torah of the Messiah, which will disrobe itself a bit from its coverings and its husks, as men will also remove from themselves the husk of the Evil Inclination. This is the case all the more so in our being above in the world-to-come, the world of souls, divested of all sorts of vestment generally, for the labors of the Torah for them (i.e., in that world) are within the soul of the Torah, its inner secrets.

Indeed, a man should not say, "I will go and labor in the wisdom of the kabbalah," before he labors in Torah, Mishna and Talmud. For the Rabbis already said, "Do not bring a man into the pardes unless his belly is full of meat and wine." Surely, this is similar to a soul without a body, that has no reward or action or accounting until it enters into a body and is complete and corrected by the commandments of the Torah, the 613 commandments. The opposite is also the case for one who labors in the wisdom of the Mishna and the Talmud Bavli and does not give part of his time to the study of the secrets of the Torah and its mysteries. This is like a body that sits in darkness, without a human soul, the candle of God that enlightens from within; this body is dry and does not draw from the source of life. This is the intent of the citation mentioned above: "These are those that serve the dry Torah, and do not desire to toil in the wisdom of the kabbalah, etc." (Tikkunim, p. 73b). This is in such a manner that the scholar who labors in Torah for its own sake, and not for his own sake in order to make a name for himself, at first needs to labor in the wisdom of the Bible and the Mishna and the Talmud according to the limits of his intellect, and after this he can toil to know his Creator through the Wisdom of Truth (i.e., the Kabbalah), as King David, peace be upon him, decreed to his son Shlomo, "Know the God of your fathers and serve Him" (Chronicles 1, 28:9).

If the study of Talmud should be heavy and difficult for this person, it is beneficiary for him, after trying his luck with this wisdom, to set it aside and to labor in the Wisdom of Truth. As it is written (Hulin 24): "Every scholar that does not see a mark of beauty in the Talmud after five
Indeed, every person that finds it easy to learn is required to give part of an hour, or two hours a day to the study of halacha, to direct and to explain the difficult questions that fall upon the simple meaning of the halacha. He is to direct his attention not to the evil husk, which grasps on from the side of the serpent Samael, the "Evil Servant," but to the good husk, which is the Mishna, Metatron, the world of Yetsira, called "the Servant and the Maidservant of the Lady." But [he is not to direct his attention to] the Lady, who is the inner kernel, the Wisdom of Truth, called "the Tree of Life." About it (i.e., the Tree of Life) it is said, "I am the LORD, it is My name" (Isaiah, 42:8), the secret being that the entire Torah is the names of the Holy One, Blessed is He. (see the Zohar, Ha'azinu, 241, "All of it is the name of the Holy One, Blessed is He"). "And I will not give my Glory to another," that it does not contain an admixture with a husk, except for the Tree of knowledge of good and evil, Mishna, impure and pure, forbidden and allowed, kosher and blemished. He should intend in his study to remove the evil husk, which is the cause of difficult questions that make a man unable to understand its (i.e., halacha's) explanations. He should remove it from the Tree of Good and Evil, which is the Mishna, the "Maidservant of the Lady," and afterwards he should intend to adorn the Lady herself, who is the Wisdom of the Kabbalah. Enough of this, for this is not the place to expound upon this idea.

It is said in the passage mentioned above, "I swear an oath to you, oh daughters of Jerusalem, etc" (Song of Songs, 2:7, 3:5, 5,8, 8:4). The meaning of these words is that the great oath was to God, that they would not arouse the redemption until the same love would be for desire and good will, as it is written [further in the same verse], "until You desire." This is like a son that serves his father, and is allowed into all of his palaces all of his secret places. This is not like a servant, who toils in the Mishna and takes a maidservant in order to receive an award.

Now, it is explained in this mishna that the sin of the first man in relation to the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil was that he did not choose to toil in the Tree of Life, which is the Wisdom of the Kabbalah. This in itself is the sin of the masses who said to Moses, "You speak to us and we will hear the Tree of Good and Evil, and do not let God speak to us, lest we die because of the secrets of the Torah." This is like the mistaken claim of some of the Torah scholars of our times, who promulgate a bad name for the Wisdom of Truth, the Life of the world, and say that all who labor in it will die prematurely, heaven forbid. Therefore the first tables of the covenant from the side of the Tree of Life were broken, and they were given [new ones] from the side of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, Mishna, the Maidservant of the Lady. And this caused the destruction of the first and second Temples, and the last, long and bitter exile in which we are in this world. [Such will be the case] until the Children of Israel will repent and return and seek the Lord their God, in order to recognize Him and to know Him through the secrets of the Torah, to know who they are serving, who is their King. In judgement they will merit to toil in the Wisdom of Truth, as it is written, "God will show him the tree, and it will be sweetened by the Messiah" (from Exodus, 15:25).
Now, it is explained that this sin started from the first man and continues until now, and when we turn in repentance to toil with love in this Wisdom, Israel will be redeemed, may it be quickly and in our days, amen.

I heard the groan of Jeremiah the Prophet, who oscillated and complained bitterly in the bitterness of his soul, saying, "How long shall I see a miracle and hear the sound of the shofar? For my people is foolish, they do not know me, etc." (Jeremiah, 4:21). "I beheld the earth, and indeed, it was waste and void, etc." (Jer. 4:23). "I beheld and indeed, the vineyard was barren, etc." (Jer. 4:26). "For thus says the Lord, 'the whole land shall be desolate; yet I will not make a full end,' etc." (Jer. 4:27). I aroused the spirit of my stomach to explain these verses, which were said in truth by Jeremiah the Prophet, peace be upon him, through the medium of prophecy concerning this last generation. The embitterment of the length of our exile remains from his assessment, and this is according to what is he said, "How long shall I see a miracle?" This is the miracle and the banner of the Messiah, as is mentioned in parashat mishpatim, p. 102a: "And He will give the miracle of the Messiah, son of David, the head of a lion upon his right. And the miracle of the Messiah, son of Joseph, the head of a bull upon its left, etc."

The sound of the shofar is heard, this is the ingathering of the exiles, which is to come after the coming of the Messiah, may he come quickly in our days, amen. As it is mentioned in the Zohar, parashat Toledot, p. 139a, as it says in the Midrash ha-Ne'elam on the verse, "the Lord builds Jerusalem," and afterwards, "the remnants of Israel will enter," and this is what is written: "And on that day the great shofar will be sounded, etc." "And a reason will be given for the length of the end, for my people is foolish." This is in the same language of the saying, "How long shall I see a miracle?" The explanation of the idea is that the people of Israel is divided into three groups: One of these groups is the simple people, who are the masses. A second group consists of the scholars, who labor in the plain meaning of the Torah. The third group consists of the masters of the Wisdom of Truth. Now, about the first group it is said, "for my people is foolish, they did not know Me" (Jer. 4:22). These are the masses, simply called the "people ('am)." The third group, which consists of those who toil in the secrets of Torah and its mysteries, are called "sons." This is mentioned in Tikkun p. 1a. There it says, "Those who are masters of Mishna are chicks, those who are masters of Kabbalah are sons." And about them it is said, "They are foolish sons, and they are not intelligent, for they toil in the Wisdom of Truth, according to what arises in their short opinion, and in their weak study. And they do not plumb the depths of the matter, to understand it according to its truths." Concerning the group of scholars of the plain meaning: they loathe to toil in the Wisdom of Truth, called the Tree of Life and the Life of the world, and they labor in simple stories according to their plain meaning alone. And they say that there is nothing in the Torah except the plain meaning, heaven forbid, which is called the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, as mentioned above. About them it is said: "they are wise in making evil, in making good they do not know" (Jer. 4:22). For since they loathe the Tree of Life, the Holy One, Blessed is He does not help them, and they make alterations in the simple meanings of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and transform it into Evil. They impurify the pure, and forbid the allowed, and tarnish the accepted; many
failures in this world come from their hands.

After the Prophet involved them shortly (i.e., after he briefly explained the three groups), he returned to expound upon them by way of the plain meaning. Concerning the first group, he said, "I saw the land and it is in chaos." This refers to the common people (am ha-aretz), who are called by the name of the land (ha-aretz), for from there was chiseled their soul, as it is written, "The animal spirit that descends downward from the land (ha-aretz)" (from Ecclesiastes, 3:21). This is the animal spirit that is within them (i.e., within the common people), as it is written, "Let the earth bring forth living souls after their kind" (Genesis, 1:24). For aside from the body being chiseled from the dust of the earth, their soul is also chiseled from the earth, exactly "according to its kind" and called a "living soul," for animals are living. This interpretation is expanded upon in the Midrash ha-Ne'elam in its manuscript form, see there. Because they are chiseled from the land, all of their toils have to do with settling the land -- buying and selling it, planting and seeding, building - things that have a benefit only for the body. They put aside the Life of the world, which is the Torah, as it is written, "If I do not make a covenant day and night, the ordinances of heaven and earth" (Jer. 33:25), then the world will return to formlessness and void. For this reason, they are called [as mentioned] above "fools," as it says, "for my people are foolish," for there is no foolishness greater than this: to sustain their bodies and to destroy their souls. All of this, "because they did not know me," and they did not labor in Torah, called the Tree of Life, caused them to live according to the ways of the world-to-come.

And concerning the second group, who are the scholars who labor in the Torah of God, whose soul is chiseled from the heavens and not from the earth, it is said, "to the heavens, and they have no light" (Jer. 4:23). This is because even though their souls are chiseled from the heavens, they do not have light in their Torah, as it is written above in the name of the Sages about the verse, "He caused me to sit in darkness,' this is the Babylonian Talmud." And the wisdom of the Zohar enlightens them and enlightens the cloaked things that are said in the Talmud, as if they are accounted to be physical. That is why "light of Torah" is said about them, and why it is written, "and to the heavens, and they have no light."

And about this, Isaiah the Prophet prophesized with his consolations, saying, "And I will bring the blind by a way that they did not know" (Isaiah, 42:16). For the plain meaning of Torah was known among them. And as it is written, Rabbi Ishmael says, "With 13 attributes the Torah is interpreted, etc." However, the 32 paths of wisdom through which the world was created, as mentioned at the beginning of Sefer Yetzira, were not known to them. Now, these 32 paths of the Wisdom of Truth are concealed within the 13 attributes of the plain meaning [of Torah], which all contain the 32 [paths] each, as is stated above, according to the Zohar, parashat Pinhas, p. 244b: "The Rabbis taught: the Amoraim put the entire Talmud in order according to the secrets of the Torah."

And there is no doubt that those who toil in the Talmud Bavli alone feel their way around in
the garments of the Torah as blind men do to a wall. And they do not have eyes to see the secrets of the Torah and the mysteries that are within it. For it is not by their grace or according to their will that it is decided what is impure and pure, forbidden and permitted, kosher and blemished, but rather from the inner [meanings] of the Torah, as is known to those who know the wisdom of the secrets. And as the midrash that is explicated above calls them "those with closed eyes, etc.," as it is written, "who is blind although is my servant?" (Isaiah, 42:19). But the intent is for the scant and the few scholars of the Truth, who are called "sons;" these are the masters of Kabbalah, as is mentioned above.

But those who toil in mishna alone, without looking at its secrets, and its secrets will decide the judgements concerning whether something is forbidden or allowed, as mentioned above, these (i.e., those who toil in mishna without the secrets) are certainly blind. And that is what is written, "who is blind although is my servant." For he who toils in the plain meaning is called a "servant," as mentioned above.

And a man should not say, "if that is the case, now I am exempt and it is allowed for me to toil in this wisdom until the future," for in this world there is no power for those who know. Therefore it is written: "But I did these things and I did not abandon them." And the Sages have said, "It is not written 'I will do them' and 'I will abandon them' (i.e., in the future tense), for he already did them." This is according to Rabbi Akiva and his colleagues, as it is written about Rabbi Akiva, "He would sit and expound upon each jot and tittle heaps and heaps of halachot." If this is the case, then it is not an empty endeavor. If it is an empty endeavor, then it is from your side [that it is empty], and you do not desire to know, although it is in your hands and according to your choice. Indeed, Rabbi Akiva replied to these secrets in this-world.

Now, this is correct, as it is written in the mishna (Sotah, 49): "If it were not for Rabbi Akiva, the Glory of Torah would be cancelled out." The interpreters interpreted that he would reply and expound upon each jot and tittle heaps and heaps of halachot, which are the "Glory of Torah," its splendor and its beauty. And this is my interpretation of the mishna (Avot, ch.6, mishna 2): "Rabbi Joshua son of Levi said: Every day a bat-kol goes forth from Mt. Horev, proclaiming these words, 'Woe to them, to the created beings, for insult to the Torah.'" For without a doubt, with their laboring in its (i.e., the Torah's) plain meaning and its stories alone, it puts on its widow's clothing, and sackcloth covers it. And all of the nations say to Israel, "What is more significant about your Love than ours? What is more significant about your Torah than ours? Is your Torah not also about the vanities of the world?" There is no greater insult to the Torah than this. Therefore, "Woe to them, to the created beings, for insult to the Torah." They do not labor in the wisdom of the Kabbalah, which gives glory to the Torah. For they lengthen the exile and all of the bad things that come upon the world, as mentioned above in the words with which we began this introduction. This itself is a bat-kol that declares every day, as is hinted at by the verse, "A voice says" (Isaiah, 40:6).

Now, those who are learned in the plain meaning are themselves divided into two. There is the
group which is the fearers of God, who toil in it (i.e., Torah) for the sake of heaven, but who
remain in the dark from their youth. They have not learned the secrets of the Torah and are
afraid to touch them, with their saying, "Who will go up to the heavens to get it for us?" And
"who will go up to the heavens and come down and tell it to us?" "What are its secrets and its
mysteries?" [They say] things such as these, and "to the heavens, and they have no light." For
even though they are souls chiseled from the heavens, their light is not with them, and they sit
in darkness and will not leave from there.

And there is another group, scholars who are a bit sharp and witty, uprooters of mountains
who grind each other with their dialectics in the bet midrash. About them it is said, "I have
seen the mountains, etc." (Jeremiah 4:24). They are in a tumult and are afraid to approach
the place of the consuming fire, which is the secrets of the Torah whose words are like the coals
of a fire, a blazing flame. They are afraid, lest they become scorched, like the affair of the child
who talked about hashmal, and fire came out and burned him up (Hagiga, 13). And how good
and how pleasant is their lot, if it would occur to them in such a manner, and they would burn
in the holiness of His name, may He be blessed, for He is a consuming fire. About such things,
it is said, "Wisdom is too high for a fool" (Proverbs, 24:7). Therefore, "he will not open his
mouth to the gate" of the ten sefirot.

There is no doubt that those who think like that are fools, for were they to think with their eyes,
the same simple wisdom, of which they have knowledge, would be enough for them, for they
are already wise. They would not refrain from entering into its (i.e., the Torah's) inner core.
About such things, it is said, "Have you seen one who is wise in his own eyes? There is more
hope of a fool than of him" (Proverbs, 26:12).

And he said further, "all of the hills have spoiled" (Jer. 4:24), for the hills are the scholars, the
young men called "hills," as opposed to the mountains that have been mentioned. Indeed, these
hills have spoiled completely, for the small students, upon seeing the great ones, the high
mountains, who chase after the plain meanings day and night without toiling in this wisdom
(i.e., kabbalah), do not realize that they (i.e., the great students) refrain from toiling in it (i.e.,
kabbalah) out of their fear of entering into it, as mentioned above. And if this is so, then these
hills are spoiled, and their heart is a root that bears gall and wormwood, and the filth of mud
and mire raise within them, to deny the Wisdom of Truth. And they say that there is nothing in
the Torah except its plain meaning and its garments alone, in the way mentioned above
according to parashat Be'ha'alelecha. There is no doubt that there will not be a portion for
them in the world-to-come, as is mentioned there (i.e., Be'ha'alelecha) in the Zohar. The
reason why the Torah of the world-to-come is not according to the plain meaning has already
been explained above. Only those who labor in the secrets of Torah and its mysteries [will
enter] there, and he who has not chosen it (i.e., the kabbalah) and has not taken pains for
Shabbat evening in this world, will not eat on Shabbat. And about them, it is said, "Indeed my
servants will eat, and you will go hungry, etc." (Isaiah, 65:13).
As for the group that busies itself with the secrets of Torah and the wisdoms of the Zohar, they are called "man," as is mentioned in Sefer ha-Tikkunim, p. 4: "Masters of the mishna are chicks. Masters of the kabbalah are sons." And about them it is said, "I saw and behold, the man." It does not say, "man," but rather, "the man," for even he who toils in this wisdom, and is therefore called "man," is not "the special man" who is fit to toil in it. For they do not have roots and beginnings from which to understand its words, as we explained above with the saying, "they are foolish sons and have no understanding" (Jer. 4:22). But "the special man" is not in this-world, and we feel our ways around like blind men to a wall within this wisdom. For the sages of truth (i.e., the kabbalists) have passed on, have left us to our sighs. And when "the man" mentioned is not around to teach the Wisdom, then also the birds of the sky, those students whose hearts were touched by God, who desire to fly to the sky without wings, say, "Who will give us limbs like a dove? We will fly and we will dwell in the tents of this wisdom."

Now, all of the groups that are among the people of Israel have been explained, and all of them as one are prevented from grasping this wisdom, each according to its own reason and approach. Until we are established in the world-to-come, "there is none to guide her among all the sons whom she has brought forth, etc." (Isaiah, 51:19). The meaning of this is that even though they are "sons," masters of kabbalah, they despair of laboring in this wisdom, and there is no doubt that these things were said in prophecy concerning these last generations. This is not like the opinion of the wise men of these, our generations, who think that they have already attained what is necessary for them and are happy with their lot. And indeed, the Scriptures bear witness to this, saying, "And he saw that there was no man, and was astonished that there was no intercessor" (Isaiah, 59:16); this is in negative language. Woe to ears that hear things thus, and woe to eyes that see things thus. His testimony, Blessed is He, is against us, and we do not have the heart to know, to return and to busy ourselves with this wisdom, to grasp the Blessed one. As it is written, "I looked and there was none to help, and I gazed astonished and there was none to offer support" (Isaiah, 63:5). And with our laboring in this wisdom, which through it redemption will come near, He will seemingly be the salvation of Shechinat 'Ozo, that is to say, they will be quick to cause her growth. As it is written, "Therefore has my own arm brought salvation to Me" (Isaiah, 63:5). "To Me" seemingly literally, and as was mentioned above in the words in which we started this introduction of ours, everything depends upon the business of this wisdom, and our prevention from busying ourselves with it causes the delay and tarrying of the building of our Temple and our splendor.

Indeed, it is explicitly explained, even in the words of the tanaim, that man does not completely fulfill his duties by dealing with the Torah, the mishna, the agada and the Talmud alone, but he is required to toil, with all his abilities, in the secrets of Torah and in the works of the merkava. For the Holy One, Blessed is He, does not take pleasure in all that He created in His world, except when his sons below labor in the secrets of the Torah, to become familiar with His greatness, His beauty and His merit. For because the plain meanings of Torah, its stories, judgements and commandments are according to their simple understandings, there is
not within them any familiarity and knowledge by which they can know their Creator, may He be blessed. For what is this Torah that your God commanded to you, things that seem like riddles and allegories? To take the horn of a bull and to sound it on Rosh ha-Shana, and you say that by this the spiritual satan, the prosecutor on high is involved. And things like these are involved in almost all of the commandments of the Torah, and according to the details of their judgements, the intellect cannot stand them. If this is the case, then where is the splendor of the Torah, and its beauty, and its greatness?

And about matters such as these, it is said, "If you have been righteous, what will you give Him?" (Job, 35:7); "and if you have sinned, what do you do against Him?" (Job, 35:6). For the reward and the punishment that are upon them are to you alone. Indeed, with the secrets of the Torah and with the intentions of the commandments is said the opposite; if the good, it is said, "Give strength to God," (Psalms, 68:35), and if the bad, it is said, "Of the Rock that begot you, you are unmindful" (Deuteronomy, 32:18). And it is said, "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have rebelled in me" (Isaiah, 66:24). Precisely "in me," and not "against me," seemingly, literally "in me." And these things are explained to be an affliction in the heart of God. And this is the secret of what is written above: that he who reads the mishna and the Talmud, called a "servant," uses his Master in order to receive an award. This is not the case with the Wisdom of the Truth (i.e., kabbalah), for he (i.e., the kabbalist) seemingly makes reparations, and gives strength and power above. And this is called one who labors in Torah for its own sake, without a doubt.

What is more, the human was created in order to learn the wisdom of the kabbalah. But his body needs to be clean from the beginning, through the practical commandments whose only purpose is this (i.e., the cleansing of the body); and they are necessary in all cases. And afterwards, the soul, which is called the candle of the Lord, the soul of man, can shed light in this body, like a candle that is within a glass oil-lamp and illuminates it and gives it power. [At that point], he can understand the secrets of the Torah and reveal its depths from within the darkness.

And every person of intellect will wonder at these things. And except for what has been written above, the idea of the difference between the simple Torah, which is the Torah of this-world and which is futile in the face of the Torah of the Messiah, and the Torah of the world-to-come, will not be understood. And this is the secret of formlessness and vain, destructive powers.

And while I came to expand upon the explanation of all of these words, time will fade and they will not. And indeed, we can understand briefly according to what has been mentioned above, for the award of commandment and simple Torah is of this-world and of the terrestrial Garden of Eden. And indeed above, in the higher world, it is not possible until man toils according to his ability, according to what his hand may grasp from the wisdom of the Zohar, and it is not according to stern judgement, for [good things] to come out for him from all of the gates of the world on-high, even though he makes pleasant with commandments and good deeds.
And therefore, part of the nefesh and the ruach remain below in the terrestrial Garden of Eden. However the neshama, which is part of the secrets of the Torah, is punished and is burned alone in the high palaces of the upper Garden of Eden, as mentioned above. As it is written, "This sacred life lives, when the neshama ascends;" it is not written "nefesh" or "ruach."

Understand this, and do not be in alarm when you see how many writings of the Sages are divided on this matter.

For all of the righteous and all of those who come into the world from the seed of Israel depend upon the body of the first man: this upon his body, this upon his head, this upon his ear, this upon his neck, etc. Likewise, all of the nefashot are dependent upon his nefesh. And all of the ruchot are dependent upon his ruach. And all of the neshamot are dependent upon his neshama. And just as the body of the first man is made up of 248 limbs and 365 sinews, so are his nefesh, his ruach, and his neshama. And all are dependent upon the Torah, which has 248 positive commandments and 365 negative commandments. And this is the secret of what the Sages wrote (Shabbat 118): "A certain rabbi said, 'of what is your father most observant?'" And this is hinted at by the sayings of the Song of Songs, where it is written, "And on what shall I make beautiful this decaying body, etc.?

All of the worlds are also in the guise of a single man, made up of 613 limbs and sinews. As we have found "wings of the earth," "navel of the earth," "eye of the earth," "heart of the heavens," and the like. And as is mentioned in the Zohar, parashat Toledot p. 134a: "There is not a limb in the human body that does not have its counterpart in the world as a whole, for as man's body consists of limbs, etc., so does the world. All of these created things are all limbs that act and react upon each other, etc." This is hinted at by what is written above, "To know it as a body, and to be known from where he comes, etc."

And it is said further, "And one should know and should look at this world from which he comes, and on what he is established." This is in such a manner that man needs to understand by toiling in this wisdom (i.e., kabbalah), until he knows where are his root and his holding in the body of the supernal man. And this is also the case in terms of his ruach, his nefesh and his neshama, as well as his holding in terms of specific commandments of the Torah, and where the essence of his holding is.

For indeed, above he said, "I saw and behold, there was no man" (Jer. 4:25). That is to say, there is nobody who knows through wisdom. And if that is the case, then from now on man is exempt and it is allowed for him to busy himself with this wisdom, since there is nobody that can teach it and that can receive it. And if this is received tradition, we will receive it, if it is not, how can we receive it? Therefore, he said in the manner of giving a reason, that the matter is not as you would think, for indeed, the Holy One, Blessed is He does not come to tyranny with his creatures (Avodah Zarah, 3). "For thus says the Lord, 'the whole land will be desolate" (Jer. 4:27). That is to say, even though in the future the land will be desolate, since there will be nobody who will labor in this wisdom, "I will not bring complete destruction" (Jer. 4:27). For
"the Lord of hosts has left us as a small remnant" (Isaiah, 1:9), a listed man in each generation, whether great or small. This is also the case in this, the last generation; we have not abominated and we have not loathed to break His covenant with us, heaven forbid. As it is written in the Tikkunim, as mentioned above, "In the last generation at the end of days, a certain assemblage will live by it, and because of it (i.e., the assemblage), liberty will be proclaimed throughout the land, etc.," as mentioned above.

Also in the Zohar, parashat VaYera, p. 118a, it is written: "When the days of the Messiah draw near, even the multitudes of the world (i.e., the simple masses) will discover the hidden secrets of wisdom, etc." Indeed, it is explained that until now, the words of wisdom of the Zohar were concealed, and in the last generation, this wisdom will be revealed and publicized. And [all] will understand and be enlightened by the secrets of the Torah, which those before us did not grasp. And with this the removal of the understanding of the simpletons are those who pose a difficulty and say that the generations have not improved; if the generations before us did not attain to this [wisdom], how can we know it? In this matter, He will close their mouths.

And indeed, this is simple and explained, for in these last generations there is a certain group that lives by these, and this wisdom will be revealed to them. But not all that want to take part in God will come and take part in Him. For the secrets of the Torah and its mysteries will not be revealed to humans through the power of material matters, but through the Godly flow (shefa elohi), which is influenced by His holiness on high through the medium of messengers and angels, or through Elijah the Prophet, remembered for his goodness. We will expand upon this at the end of this introduction.

And in this way, do not be surprised at what we will tell at the end of this introduction concerning the holy wise one who is revealed to us in our time and in this our generation. I cannot explicate, and if you want, you can understand from what is written in Sefer ha-Tikkunim: "'A generation goes and a generation comes' this is Moses, exalted is his merit." And as mentioned in Tikkunim 69, p. 110a: 'Rabbi Shimon said, 'Friends, certainly the Holy One, Blessed is He is numbered among us above and below, as is the case in this assemblage, the worthy of this generation that He will be revealed to it. And in the future all of this will be renewed by the Moses of the later generation, establishing the verse, 'What was is what will be.' And he will spread out into each generation, to each righteous and wise man that labors in the Torah, until they count him among their masters, etc.'" And these things are closed and concealed.

Let us return to the first topic, for there is no doubt that these things will not be understood through study by people of materials, but rather through oral transmission, or from the mouth of Elijah the Prophet, remembered for goodness, or from the neshamot that are revealed in each generation to those who see them. And the Ramban, may his memory be for a blessing, one of the later kabbalists, close to our generation, wrote at the end of the introduction to his book, his commentary on the Torah, in these words: And I bring [these things] through a
faithful covenant, which gives sound advice to all who look at this book, so that no reason can be reasoned. And do not think thoughts concerning any of the hints that I write concerning the secrets of the Torah, for I faithfully announce that my words cannot be grasped and cannot be known at all through any intellect or reason. Only from the mouth of a wise kabbalist to the ear of an understanding recipient (mekkabel) [can these things be understood]. And he who reasons them is foolish, and much thought causes damage and prevents any benefit. Do not vainly believe in those who go astray, for the harvest of his reasonings is only an opinion. For they will speak evil of God and will not be able to repent. Do not destroy the sight of God, etc." (Ramban on Genesis 1:1). And if the Ramban, may his memory be blessed, the last of all the Kabbalists, stressed this in his saying that his words concerning the hints and secrets of the Torah cannot be grasped by any means, then how can humanity think to understand through its study and through its intellect the words of the Living God, the words of the Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai, peace be upon him, whose words are like a blazing, consuming fire and are closed and concealed with a thousand seals?

And there is no doubt that if Rashbi did not understand and know through His Holy Spirit, he would not have commanded him (i.e., Rabbi Abba) to write. For Rabbi Abba was a great wise man who knew how to clothe and conceal things through riddles and hints, so that even the wise men of his generation would not understand.

And indeed, in each generation there are a selected few upon whom the Holy Spirit descends, and Elijah the Prophet, remembered for the good, is revealed to them and teaches them the secrets of this wisdom.

Now, today I will express riddles and wonders in complete agreement, for in each generation the grace of God amazes us and God enlightens us through the remnants that God calls in each generation, as mentioned. Also in this, our generation, the God of the first and the last generations has not ceased to redeem Israel; He is jealous for His land, and pardons His people, and He sends us "a watcher and a holy one who came down from heaven" (Daniel 4:10), the great, divine, pious Rabbi, my teacher and my Rabbi, our honorable teacher the Rav, Rabbi Isaac Ashkenazi, may his memory be for the world-to-come. He is full of Torah like a pomegranate, of the Bible, and of mishna, of Talmud, dialects, midrashim, hagadot, the works of creation and the works of the merkavah. He is an expert in the discussion of trees, the discussion of birds, the discussion of angels. He understands the wisdom of the face, which was mentioned by the Rashbi in parashat Ve'Ata T'chazeh. He knows all the deeds that men have done, and that they will do in the future. He knows the thoughts of men before they go from potentiality into actuality. He knows the future, and all of the things that exist in the whole world, and will always be decreed in the heavens. He knows about the wisdom of metempsychosis, who is new and who is old. He knows of the two sides of that man, on which place within the upper man he depends, and [on which place he depends] in the first man below. He knows amazing things about the flame of the candle, and the blaze of fire. He who looks and gazes into his eyes will see the souls of the early and the later righteous people. He
toils with them in the Wisdom of Truth. He knows a man's entire deeds by his smell, according
to the way of the boy in parashat Balak And all of the wisdoms mentioned were placed in his
bosom. [And he can put them to use] any time that he wants, without having to separate
himself and to study them. My eye saw and it did not turn away; such alarming things were not
seen and were not heard throughout the land, from the days of Rashbi, peace be upon him, and
until now.

And he did not attain all of this by way of practical kabbalas (kabbalot ma'asiyot), heaven
forbid, for their use is highly forbidden. Rather, all of this was from himself, by way of his
righteousness and seclusion, after his toiling for many days and years in both old and new
books on this wisdom. And he added [to the study of these books] righteousness and seclusion
and purity and holiness through the coming of Elijah the Prophet, who would reveal [things] to
him always, and would speak with him face to face and would teach him this wisdom.

And all of the wise men who knew this wisdom from then on, would labor in it in great secret
and not in the open. And each would reveal it only to one student, the chosen of the generation.
And even then, [he would reveal] only titles, by word of mouth, revealing a handbreadth and
concealing a thousand handbreadths. And this wisdom would break down and would become
smaller and would pass from generation to generation, until the Ramban, may his memory be
for a blessing, the last of the true kabbalists.

Now, do not approach any of the books of the later kabbalists, for from [the time of] the
Ramban and onward, the way of this wisdom was hidden from the eyes of all of the wise men.
And only a few of the branches of the introductions remained for them, without roots. And on
these [few branches] the later kabbalists, may their memories be for a blessing, constructed
their words through the human intellect. And you yourself can know and can stand the test, for
he who studies carefully can span and know most of their introductions and their general ideas
in four or five days. And all of their ideas are repeated in different words, and the heart of their
introductions is that there exist ten sefirot. And they wrote heaps and heaps of books on this
idea, which could have been written in two or three tracts. And we have not found this to be the
case with the first [kabbalists].

People of heart, listen to me, and do not dare to look at the books of the later [kabbalists] who
build according to the human intellect. He who listens to me will live secure from evil fear and
tranquil. Therefore I, the young writer, Hayyim Vital, wanted to grant these things with
vigorous secrecy, and the enlightened will understand.

And I will enlighten you and I will illuminate this path on which you will walk. Know that from
the day on which my teacher, may his memory be for the world-to-come, began to reveal this
wisdom, my hand did not move from his for even one second. And all that you will find written
in some tracts under his name, may he remembered for a blessing, should they be contrary to
what I have written in this book, then they are a complete mistake, for those [who have written
them] have not understood his words. And if there is something added to them that does not
accord with this our book, do not pay regular attention to it, for none of those who heard his holy words plumbed the depths of his words and his intentions, and they did not understand them, without a doubt. And if it occurs to you to think that you can clarify the good and put aside the bad, do not depend upon your wisdom, for these things are not transmitted to the mind of man according to human intellect. Reasoning these things is a great danger, and is considered to be cutting the shoots (kizuz b’netiot), heaven forbid. Therefore, be careful, and do not look at any of the tracts written in the name of my teacher, may his memory be for the world-to-come, except for that which we wrote for you in this book. And this warning should be enough for you.

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ה引きpeat ספ"ם תורם ת"ל' ת"ם וישאר (משנ' 1572)

ה引きpeat מחק "ו" של" על מגוון הח DEAD

אפר תעניות מטר, יdives באליפס, תימר ורגלי בן" ולא" ארב ויוסר רגה וﺬה"ב, ב_depth быть שלישראל זה, תפש חת, ישבתי
משתמש. ימדבב בשוחה, יכבר קציר, כדלי קרקע, אוגניד לא נשנני. חפוא לא עלה להחלנית. אוכי מובר ליברגים, ולא
עלתה אחרכת להחנה, ח🚂ר ביב מאקלים. הניחר והזה אלך ת"ו' שמעי. וול פלא, כי מנה, ביםiano resh ש㈲ חוק, "במקו
שוהא אל chipset, ווק נ tho צללי תום, שמע"ת' ק"ו' שניי הראל מהת חום תב. 'וכלו בכל קצף, וערפיי בוד לא און.

ונודע את עשר א"ל (ורשפלמ עימה פ"א ת"א) לע ד"ר ישאר比べ בה"מ תמי, בכרה קדהבי. יאנתנה את הפי לחקר וedithו

הל, עול תמחר קצין הזלתו. והודעד לא אן שי.

ותנוה. ד"ש בחיתות תバル, ופיי"כ ואטנם ודמשקיל בואריאת תדם דבעית חזרתייה כמ תדם דבעית חזרתייה כמ, לע יודו שפעו מובאר,

ובפרס בזTimeStringוז הז בוניה, אושר החדרה נשנויי קודה להב באזצל קעד תבצל תב, אושר שפעו בחרי ע"י ק"מ, השפקות

יתייה, זוג ילודות מלבו עליי ישוב, ידני מנתרוה. ליהוה ש пу רועה נודה корпус, ידחיייתית התפרסה לאניי דור
תפלות, תבזתון מונא ערבא בשמישה, יערק סוכת מصلاةים י"ו"משאר ח כוכב ונתני לבלתי שמי. חכימים 보' חזורא בפרסה
בארצות זה ק"ב ו'ו, "ל"על פסוק אליך תורו אל שמסי והאריך. שופעי נוכזו ושברביה, מונ"ג מימי DROP, ח"ה שפרד
כזבביה, דילירו את לי加重 התמיד הלפניר שאר פועל אסיע השם, אנואו מסטרא גראליי דאצרת בחוק הנבון עלין עדל מנדיד
ונוג, "ונעשנ לון שמן, בבני יום חסניית והתמאהושי וPACE הנך"ם, ונערש לע ירש歩,"לא לשלים אלאApiController של nghiệm יי, והודע
על שמק היה, והפי באנה (ברוך י"ו) כנ"ו תונוס בחרה שליא ושמה, גותי לא שמהפה ספריות על פנוי, ולא צי ליאור
ה UIL.

アイニューエクセプションーエイリアット, מאריסו הינת תבל, באמיסו יכ ס텍ס בחרה והז שמה. גותי השמכ תנובה, השמא ר"ל גוח, חודי
עליזים שלוש אם הוא, ביאמרמש ספרה מ⛷ cont (יאבוי פ"א מ"א) כפ הטעס בחרה שמה ועם ודיברים городе פ"ר, שנסים לי דר
תורה, הווה כתנה שאטנו פסק הולך, וכסניית התמיד מבל. בלחר הפרטרים לסיון וליי, והלמאז ציירזפי שטי מימי
תורהו מסקפ, הווה הז ויודו שאטנו פסק בחרה שליא והלמאז, גותי לא אליי עיגון מַע'ץ, ברואח המשמע
הווה הזם תאירון פ廨ותון.

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مولשפתו ממליל תובהייק הנקראה פפש, ממלש פשפשת את חנניה, שוהא בט"ילוב הנחהייג, שוהא הנ"ג שם אוד המַפששת
ממירלי"upil, ווהי יעד פלא פפש.
אלפים שנה קדוש שבראינו, יותר או אולם.

אולפים שנה קדוש שבראינו, יותר או אולם.

וַיִּתְנַשֶּׁה יִרְבוֹעַ וַתִּשְׁלַכֶּה, וַיִּלְמָשֵׂךוּ וַיִּפְסַל, וַיִּרְבּוֹעַ וַתָּשָׁלֵךְ וַיִּפְסַל.

וַיִּתְנַשֶּׁה יִרְבוֹעַ וַתִּשְׁלַכֶּה, וַיִּלְמָשֵׂךוּ וַיִּפְסַל, וַיִּרְבּוֹעַ וַתָּשָׁלֵךְ וַיִּפְסַל.

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לאוינו כן לפני מת Nullable, נ_votesبعدון, הקטנת ההגירה, וקם.python, "ר"פ.א.מ"כ מדריכי קורא שליל".

ל.jdesktop农场にある, זמיכת "לה"ו, ו"למכות ידועות."ו "בד.א.מ"כ מדריך קורא שליל".

לжал בודק, "בר", ו"למכות ידועות."ו "בד.א.מ"כ מדריך קורא שליל".

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 Wrestles, 
and divides the land, 
and see, 
and the last, Jeremiah.

Big, 
and life, and the world, 
and makes a dwelling, 
and it is entrusted to them.

So when it says: 'And behold, the world is divided into two, and good and evil are washed,' it is explained by the sages, 
and the world, and the sages.

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ראיתי, ולילה אחריו בימים שנושרו על הכתוב, ליודעם בהעלותך, ומתייראים של לבריות, "וכמה יום שם החשך לשנשארו בתוך", אלא, אילין אפרוחים בהם שלחין, כי איל מרקסיס.\(\text{כ"א}"\) טוב חגיגה כנ"ל, בהעלם ועליהם עוסקים המנהל, הנה נאמר בשבת לא"כ"י, "נעופה להשיב, ...\(\text{כ"א}"\) ההרים הקטנים, כי מלואית, והאמונה לע对孩子, ה Büyüklerin ve arkadaşlarının ışığının boğulmasında tüm@example.com şahitler olanlar, "אעשים בתורה את המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכز, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז, ואת המרכז,せて.
ולתקוע, נגע אלהים.

תוך הנתונה "מרמ, מהיכלן, המתקן כי, האמת, והתלמוד להחזיק אוי אלה דורותינו.

המעשיות המצות אתיא, מה "ופנייתו, את העולם אומות רק וכביכול, כפי שהם, תורת בהקדמתנו.

ילדךנאמר שכר כי, בנים זמרי מלהתעסוק עכ, שישו סבה, רמ, רז והשו, ב התורה.

 yabancı אתא מה, אלה מצות כמעט התורה נפשה או באזנו, ואתוקדת התора בסודות נענשת המקדשנו והפארתנו, הזאתilikחקרן הגאולה, יתקתקרב הנזקארה כפי ל, לבדך לך אשרפגיע ובמעה, יפה במצות דאיהי עילאה, תרעין. דעלמא, מה כל כפי אחד הזאת האדם לחזור בחכמה להאיר הזה בגוף "לקבל ובדיניה, ר,:expr şバック, בפשתיה והמשנה כחידות אפשר, בראשו, וזו הך כיאין, נוכל להבין, הדעת שקאם להקבёмכל חכמי, נשמתא בטובה.

הקבלה גופו אלא,artyindi, נשמתא ערפיה ובו כי, והעונש ובספוריה, אלה דברים ספק כי. הזאת האחרונים בנבואה, אתכםزة אלוכם שנראין, אשר צוהדברים כחستان כי, בהיותינו בחכמה למיעל אי לעלמא עילאה איחור הנאהemmמש, אכןיכלו, והמה כי לי, לי,锂חייתו, החובים כי, אין, נוכל להבין, הדעת שקאם להקבёмכל חכמי, נשמתא בטובה.

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ההערה, גוף בזאת, אתה הנשאמר ש, ושכן וכפי, בלבו, ובו כי, והעונש ובספוריה, אלה דברים ספק כי. הזאת последние בנבואה, אתכםزة אלוכם שנראין, אשר צוהדברים כחستان כי, בהיותינו בחכמה למיעל אי לעלמא עילאה איחור הנאהemmמש, אכןיכלו, והמה כי לי, לי,锂חייתו, החובים כי, אין, נוכל להבין, הדעת שקאם להקבёмכל חכמי, נשמתא בטובה.
כל הנאמנה, הנני מסתכל, ואני או אליהו כךشم שום, כי כל, ובדורינו חידה עולם.

דורות בחכמה מעתה, שייפן ומאכילה, חכם בהם בחכמה ידעוהו ווה, וישלח אלוהים דרך הדברים semiclassicalו, בפרטות כזונן ואיתו ופה, ונפשו ואיתו ושמה, אליהו הנביא כמו זו הקדמה מה "שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא שהוא ובו קראתם, ולכן产业升级 באמר, בתחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם, שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כמו זו ההקדמה עמה, "שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא שהוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר, בתחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם, שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כמו זו ההקדמה עמה, "שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר, בתחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם, שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כמו זו ההקדמה עמה, "שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם, שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כמו זו ההקדמה עמה, "שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כמו זו ההקדמה עמה, "שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כמו זו ההקדמה עמה, "שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חборא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא, בכל, כי יודע" אלא הוא ובו קראתם, وغيرها产业升级 באמר,תחילה וב,ll בבחכמה והם,שהארץ משיחא ולאשכחא רזין, דעלמא להראות". הותיר הרמזים חבורא עלול, "וכן ואמנת, הארי והן, אני, בסתרי התורה איהו, למהוי ואל, מפה ואליהו הנביאawi כ"שיהיה, והדרא קרא לקיימא,小编一起 änכל, והודויה מתחום החומרים, ולא בברכהوكعبد, ולא צדיקו ההכמים, כי אם המפעלים בצורותיהם, והם זה גםmidt להכמים. ארוז, אשה ובו פנים, кромеCAM, גםCAM, אך בה מפעלים בצורותיהם, גםCAM, אך בה מפעלים בצורותיהם.
ופרישות, לא בספר他说ו. גמור לאינו הנני, הקורא בשיחת ופרישותו חסידותו של כלם ומולם הזוחל, ו全镇ם придעים ו全镇ם רוחם, ולא усилиו זכרון אצלו. עשה שבלשון זה, deix, שירוה לעומק ושאנן, לחש "נסתרה אליהו, רוה זבהתה משכנם, לאו רוה זבהתו." אשכנזי לוריא אתורה, ויחמול עמו. מתוך ק"ל, בטוח ביניך אל. חיים ואכל, הזה dziי מאז החכמה והיתה הנזכרים אצלו, מעצמו, עץ ולא ולא, בכל ת鹵וש, ויש finns בת הכרות בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת "כי האלוהי בפרשת ת��יא ויהיה, תכן בראשונים קונטריסים, ובכל אוף ויעלה בשם פדרי, ויחולו במגוד והגדות, נפלאים וזופה, יי, שהייתה ינוקא, חדש יעלה... מורי בף יש לו, והנה.

והנה את השור, שאני כן בקהל מעשהות "ו, כי אפר שלוד יוי כעשרماء. אמות כ"ו הזמנות, ע"ס הסדרים ופורשיות, אחריו התנוקバック תמי ושובים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים. ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכפרים והשונים והנשנים, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכם, ובכן...
Popularization of the Kabbalah
Two Early Modern Perspectives

Boaz Huss, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

**ABSTRACT:** In this presentation Boaz Huss of Ben Gurion University discusses two texts, one from the sixteenth century, and one from the eighteenth century, illustrating the popularization of the Zohar, the foundational kabbalistic text, in the early modern period.

**This presentation is for the following text(s):**
- Minhat Yehuda
- Mitpahat Sefarim

**Boaz Huss**
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel
Duration: 52:49

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Introduction to Minhat Yehuda

Boaz Huss, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Notes: A commentary on Sefer Ma’rekhet ha-Elohut

R. Yehuda Hayat, an exiled Kabbalist from Spain, wrote Minhat Yehuda, a commentary to the early fourteenth century anonymous Sefer Ma’arekhet ha-Elohut, in Mantua, Italy, in the early sixteenth century. In the introduction to his commentary, R. Yehuda Hayat describes the sufferings he endured during his travels from Spain, via North Africa, to Italy, and discusses the importance of studying Kabbalah.

Hayat, who wrote his commentary at the request of the Sephardic exiles that resided in Mantua, presents in his introduction a list of recommended Kabbalistic treaties, foremost amongst them, the Zohar. The Zohar, written in Spain in the late thirteenth century and attributed to the second-century sage, R. Simon bar Yochai, gained an important place amongst Sephardic Kabbalists in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, but was almost unknown in Italy in this period. To the list of recommended books, R. Yehuda Hayat juxtaposes a list of books he rejects, which includes philosophical interpretations of the Kabbalah, as well as the writings of the thirteenth-century Sephardic Kabbalist, R. Abraham Abulfia, the founder of the prophetic school of Kabbalah.

While R. Yehuda Hayat’s recommended list, including the Zohar, reflects the Sephardic Kabbalistic canon of the late fifteenth century, the books that R. Yehuda Hayat warns against represent the forms of Kabbalah which were current in Italy in this period. Hayat’s emphatic -and very influential - declarations of the sanctity and authority of the Zohar served to undermine current Italian Kabbalistic trends and enhance the cultural hegemony of the Sephardic exiles.

R. Yehuda Hayat’s strong declaration of the sanctity and authority of the Zohar was very influential in the sixteenth century. His commentary to Sefer Marekhet ha-Elohut was printed twice, in Ferrara and Mantua, in the same year - and probably as a preparation to - the first printings of the Zohar, in Cremona and Mantua in 1558-1560.
Minhat Yehuda
Yehuda Hayat, 1558

Translated by Boaz Huss, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Notes: A commentary on Sefer Ma'rekhet ha-Elohat

It is written in Sefer ha-Tikkunim: "if along the road, you chance upon a birds nest" (Deut 22.6). "Fledglings": these are Torah Scholars (Talmidei Hachamim), whose merit makes the Divine Presence (Schechina) dwell on earth. "Or eggs": these are young students of the Torah (Tinokot shel beit Raban), whose merit makes the Divine Presence dwell with the people of Israel, and they are the masters of the Bible (Ba'alei Mikra). And while they are studying Torah or Commandment, who are the Holy One Blessed be He and the Divine Presence, they unite them as one, and inherit from them souls, that are called "Birds". Because the masters of the Bible and the masters of the Mishna are her wings, "the mother sits over the fledgling or the on the eggs" (ibid). She sits upon them with her four wings. About them it is written "four wings" (Ezekiel 1.6). Suckling, small countenance - these are four faces each. With these the mother sits upon them, and at time, she ascends from them. Yet, "the young (Banim)" (Ibid) - from her own womb, on them it is said, "sons of love". These are the masters of Kabbalah. On them it is written: "do not take the mother together with her young" (Ibid) - the Divine Presence never forsakes them."[1]

From here you can learn that the masters of Kabbalah have ten times the merit of the masters of the Bible and the Mishna. And even though it is impossible to comprehend all of its (i.e., the Kabbalah) depths, because the height and loftiness of its homilies, "Are not the Amanah and the Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? I could bath in them and be clean" (II Kings, 5.12). For the little perceived from its high and lofty homilies is of greater benefit than the much perceived from the lowly homilies.

How happy we are, how great is our portion that we have merited to know Sefer ha-Zohar, which our forefathers (such as R. Hai Gaon, R. Sheshet Gaon, R. Eliezer of Warms, Ramban, Rabad, Rashba and other sages) did not, although their little finger was thicker than our waist! They did not taste its honey, as it wasn’t revealed in their time. Do not be perplexed about this, because it surely was not revealed until the last generation, which we live in.
I have found a proof for that in Sefer Ha-Tikkunim: "Elijah said to R. Shimon: Rabbi Rabbi, how great is your merit! From this book of yours (i.e., the Zohar), many supreme beings will find nourishment, until it will be revealed to the lower beings, at the end of days, and through its merit `each of you shall return to his holding and each of you shall return to his family` (Leviticus 25.10)."[2]

It is explained here, that this book was intended to be hidden, and at that time the supreme beings, i.e., the angels, were to benefit from it, until the last generation, in which it would be revealed to the lower beings. And through the merit of those who learn and study it, the Messiah will come, for the land shall be filled with knowledge of the Lord through it, and this will be the cause for his coming, as it was written "through its merit `each of you shall return to his holding`".

You perhaps may say, that in this wisdom there are some things that are not rational, as the Divine Saint R. Shimon Bar Yochai said: `Not every mind can endure this, but only the saintly sages etc`. Even so, we must have complete faith in its words, `for this is not a trifling thing for you` (Deut. 32, 47), and if it seems a trifling, it is because of us. Thus, we must bend our heart, against our inclination, to except its words in truth with a whole heart, and to turn them into a crown on our heads. We must say: even if my heart inclines to the right or to left, I believe in whatever believed the divine saint, the candle of light, the glory of the Tanaite and the crown of the Sages, preferable than a prophet, R. Shimon Bar Yochai, and his comrades.

I Yehuda, son of my pious and sage father, R.Yakov Hayat, peace be on him, when I was still in Spain, tasted a small portion of honey, and my eyes have been enlightened. I have decided to look into and search this wisdom, and gathering strength, I have collected all that could have been found from this book. I have gathered a portion here and a portion there, until I had in my possession most of what can be found of it. I believe with perfect faith that this is the merit that helped me in all the predicaments that befell me during the expulsion from Spain....

After that, I arrived at the big and glorious town of Venice, through the sea, in rags. The Sephardic sages who resided there broke into tears when they saw me, and put cloths on me, may the Lord reward their deeds, in bad times may the lord keep them from harm.

If my power was the power of rocks, if my flesh was capable of suffering all these predicaments, it is surely because of the effort I have put in following this wisdom. This is what strengthened and kept me, as I have kept it, when no body else did.

From Venice I arrived to the great city of Mantua, and there I met an exiled Sephardic sage, pious and righteous in all his deeds, R. Yosef Yavetz. He, and other wise dignitaries, asked me to write a commentary on the book Ma'arechet ha-Elohit, as their heart wished `to gaze upon the beauty of the Lord to frequent His temple` (psalms 27.4). I wanted to fulfill their wish, and I did not withhold grain from them. Especially as I saw that this book is full of delights, short
but pure. This book is ten times preferable than the other books of this wisdom, because the others discuss the holy Sefirot, but they close the door. This book, on the other hand, intends to unlock the key, saying: `This is the gateway for the Lord, the righteous shall enter through it` (Psalms 118.20).

In a few places, I wished to discuss the great principals that are the special roots of the holy Kabbalah, as most Kabbalist wander unstably in them. And I have girded my loins like a man, to wage battle, sometimes against the Rabbi who wrote this book, and sometimes against his opponents, in a way that will clarify the mysteries.

I have called the name of this book "Minhat Yehuda". And even though I am not worthy to comprehend fully their ideas, and even less so to argue against them, I am like a dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant. I have seen that an anonymous author who resided in this area preceded me, but I did not like most of what he wrote. In places where there was no need of explanation he opened his mouth in a measureless gape, saying un-relevant things, and in the serious and important places he kept quiet. Furthermore, he tried to explain it using the principles of Philosophy, but `this is not the road, and that is not the town` (II Kings, 6.19). Even though I will bring some of his opinions, they will be few, and in those places where I cite him, I will refer to it as `the other commentary`. Thus, his opinions will be discerned from mine.

Because I have seen in this region some Kabbalistic books who can confuse the pure mind, I would like to warn you which books you should be careful from, and which books you must hold to.

The divine sage R. Isaac Ibn Latif, who wrote the books `ha-Shamaim ve-Haolam`, `Zror ha-Mor` and Sefer `Ginzei ha-Melekh` - his words are precious than pearls, but in matters of Kabbalah, he has one leg inside, and the other outside. So, look at some of it, but do not take is as a whole. If God wills, I shall sort out his sayings, the fine wheat from the waste.

I have also seen books written by a sage called R. Abraham Abulafia. In his foolishness and pride he called himself Abraham the teacher (ha-Moreh). Since the destruction of the temple prophecy was given to fools. And the meaning of `Moreh` in these parts is `fool`, as this is the Greek word for teacher, `shatia`, as Rashi interpreted in the verse `Listen you rebels (ha-Morim)` (Deut. 20.10). Beware of him and do not heed to his words, as his books are full of imaginations and forgeries invented from his own heart. He wrote the book `Or ha-Sekhel` (the Light of the Intellect), in which he walks in darkness. He also wrote `Moreh ha-Moreh` (the Guide to the Guide), a Kabbalistic commentary to the Guide (of the perplexed). See to what extent his foolishness reached! Interpreting the words of the Guide according to his own kabbalistic inventions, which the Rambam never had in mind! He also wrote Sefer ha-Shem - a commentary on the Name of Seventy Two. He filled it with drawings of circles, to impress the reader, as he thought that with this he would improve its deficiencies. It is full of forged combinations invented from his own mind. Concerning him the Rashba wrote in his Responsa:
`one of them was that scoundrel, may the name of the wicked rot, that Abraham, who, in Sicily, pretended to be a prophet and the Messiah. He drew after him some Jews with his lies. If I had not closed the door on him, in Gods mercy, with many of my writings and those of the holy communities, he would have destroyed them, with his many imagined and false words, that seemed like lofty wisdom to the fool. He put his mind on them for several days, repeatedly, making himself used to it, making numerical permutations of Scriptures and the words of the Sages, combining them with some true things taken from the books of wisdom`

And as to the sage Ibn Motot - do not let your heart inline to his ways, and do not approach the door to his house. He has in his hand the rod of wickedness that subverts from the right to the twisted way.

And these are the books you should approach:

Sefer Yezira, attributed to R. Akiva may he rest in peace. Sefer Ha-Bahir attributed to R. Nehunia ben Ha-Kanah of blessed memory - make them into a crown to your head.

Sefer ha-Zohar, let it not cease from your lips, but recite it day and night.

The books of R. Joseph Ibn Gikatilia of blessed memory, and R. Shem Tov De Leon, bind them around your throat.

The secrets of Ramban, write them on the tablet of your heart.

The books of R. Menahem Recanati may he rest in peace, bind them as a sign on your hand.

Sefer Ha-Marekhet with my commentary, let them serve as a symbol between your eyes.

Than you shall succeed in your ways and become wise.

From the Lord I ask help and say, `it is You who light my lamp; the Lord, my God, lights up my darkness` (Psalms 18.29)

**Endnotes**

[1]TZ 21b

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A commentary on Sefer Ma’rekhet ha-Elohut

Yehuda Hayat, 1558

Prepared by Boaz Huss, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

Notes: A commentary on Sefer Ma’rekhet ha-Elohut

At the heart of the text, there is a discussion on the nature of the divine and its relationship with the world. The author, Yehuda Hayat, offers an in-depth analysis of the book, delving into the complexities of Jewish mysticism and kabbalah. The commentary explores the concepts of the divine, the nature of creation, and the role of the soul in the universe. Hayat’s work is rich with references to earlier Jewish scholars and philosophers, providing a comprehensive view of the subject. The text is written in Hebrew and is accompanied by extensive notes and an index. An important contribution to the field of Jewish philosophy and theology, Hayat’s commentary continues to be studied by scholars and students today.
שני החדשים עם הקדメים לבראו הפילוסופיה זו מאנת והיוולו הלכתי להם ".

אתה שהורה וה oran את与此同时 הוא בϻ עירי בתוכי זהב אחר זכיתי גללוגים מבתיו שלית ואמינו רדידי השם שלם וה엄ל זאת החכם האלקי ר"פ

לא שיצאתי ואחר שפה נשאו את הנזכר אשתי על להזהירך מספרד הצריכים לפרש התולות היפות עמוס פיי כידברים והאמינו רדידי השם עלילות והכוני בעיבי בכל.

והלבישוני ימלטם אשר הימים המפסלת ובинтер גמלים לזרע והוליכנו במדבר יד אשרمنعתי רצונם מששחהו בחושך צרו וגו' ממערב.' }

והשליכוני לחם בינו לפשע לخمسים לבר סרים מפני והאמינו בבר סרים במעוטם והאמינו רדידי אלוהים הבר סרים מהם.

 ר"פ וששחוהו בחושך 'צרו ובבר סרים לבר סרים מפני והאמינו בבר סרים במעוטם והאמינו רדידי אלוהים הבר סרים מהם.

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בקולו, תשמע אל מפניו

והמוהו על הדר הקבורה ראש עכ賦 חるのがו מלבד או השכל ותחושך הלק וגו'OSE לכפר

וכם לישראל וידיות בבנפיש וגו'OSE לכפר

והמוהו על הדר הקבורה ראש עכ賦 חするのがו מלבד או השכל ותחושך הלק וגו'OSE לכפר

בفرح"ם ורוא שלוחת על כלו. והנה שלשה ספר השם חוה פ"י" ושאול על כל חותם פגואלי להבידיו של המהני. כי השב בחוד השילוש הספנות וכללו צדפים פגמים המוהוтвердים. והו שלוש הראר"א ו"ל הצהרותיו ואחד מהו את הנבכי

שופר עיניו ישראל ואובדנים שלום עניון לשיאל ובצייליאו וסחט בכוכבי כנה מ בשבועי וילדו ישראלישפראית הפרתי

בétablה השמות עכ"ל חכמים ושכון הקדוש הפרו שוחה כי מככל בזריב הדמויות והקצובים שחר חכמה

ברוח לאقوانين دمشق עלים חכמה זיימ והכתמיה. והנה ביאר עללו ומק㎞ה ענוז הרוחות המות الرسمي והمبادئ בני公園 נבר חכמה ב положительн עכ"ל" לimestepה המשנה לא יש אלא דרכך לבך ואל חרכה לא פאה בו יד ביד מצו

ורשים לחופש מדריך יותר ואל תמוקל

ואלה הספירות אשר תוקר עליהם ספר צוריה המכותה אל"ה הספר דברי המכותה אל"ה חוה און בקבנה אל"ה תועשו צורה

לרשיא: הספר תורה אל והמש מפרסונה ובו יהלן הרב פי"א יוביק"א אל"ה הורה ר" שמע ולייאון ענונים על

גנרטוריה. הספר תורה"פ בכתב על כל מחבר. וספיך הרב ר" פונדו מريقיא"ז של הקדוש לאוהל דר. הספר הפרתי פציע שההוא לזרופות ויין עניין ואיצוה את דריך ואתות. ונה"ש שלוח אファー כי אתה נולוגי יי"ל אלקים יני

והפר

Endnotes

[1] תקנון ווחר, כ"ה (תוקן 1)

[2] תקנון ווחר, כ"ב (תוקן 1)

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Introduction to Mitpahat Sefarim

Boaz Huss, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

R. Yakov Emden, one of the foremost Jewish intellectuals and rabbinic authorities of the second half of the eighteenth century, known for his fierce battle against Sabbatianism, wrote and published Mitpahat Sefarim, in Altona, in 1769. Mitpahat Sefarim includes lengthy arguments against the antiquity and authoritative status of the Zohar. It represents Emden's response to Sabbatianism still active at the time. It is also a response to the popularization of Kabbalah in his period.

Irked by the centrality of Zohar study amongst the Sabbatianists, Emden, a Kabbalist himself, sought to challenge the authority of the Zohar by proving that the Zohar was not written by the second-century sage, R. Shimon bar Yochai. Emden argues that the Zohar is a complex composition, which, although may include some ancient texts, includes also many later additions and corruptions. He provided many historical and philological arguments that prove that the Zohar could not have been written in the Mishnaic period. Emden's critique of Zohar, which was partially based on earlier critiques against its authenticity, was the most elaborated and influential criticism against the Zohar at the time. His work was very influential: his critique of the Zohar was adopted enthusiastically by nineteenth-century Maskilim, who objected to the Kabbalah altogether, while some of his arguments were also accepted by modern academic Zohar scholarship.

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Concerning the author, I have already explained well and clarified my opinion in the first part, and I will not change it. Only if someone shall prove the opposite, than I will admit the truth and accept it. For the flawed mixture that is found in the Zohar, which I have explained there, seems like a new Torah. Furthermore, I find it very difficult to account for the great visions, the assemblies of angels, and the revelations of the Shekhina, which are mentioned many times in the Zohar, especially in the Idra. In the Talmud, only three lectures (on Ma`aseh Merkava) are accounted for, no more, and only four who entered the Pardes, no more.[1] If Rashbi of the Zohar is the famous Tanna, why is he not mentioned amongst the lecturers, or those who entered the Pardes? Furthermore, it is perplexing that according to the Zohar he was frequented by (deceased) souls and higher powers, while in the Talmud, at the end of the 4th chapter of Me`ilah[2], we have found that he complained that he was not visited by an angel even in times of distress? This may have happened before he suffered in the cave, but the other cases are difficult to account for.

I will preach then one more time to the house of Israel, even if, `indeed, I wrote down for you a threefold lore` (Proverbs 23.20). Happy are those who keep my ways, keepers of the word of the Holy One of Israel, who guard His covenant, who approach its gates early each day, to seek the word of the Lord, to know and observe all of the Lords commandments, to guard His precepts and laws, and to walk in His ways. These are the mighty creatures that do His bidding, ever obedient to His bidding, who remember to observe His precepts. Most important is not the homily, but the deed, as the wisest of all men said in the conclusion of his book: `the sum of the matter, when all is said and done: reserve God and observe His commandments! For this applies to all mankind` (Eccl.12.13).

I have already brought charges against those who study mainly the Zohar and throw behind their back the study of the commandments and the proper way to observe them. As I have written with Gods help in `Mishneh Lehem`, do not obey and do not submit to them. Even though it is written in the Tikkunim that with this compilation they shall exit from the exile, and through its merit you shall proclaim release.[3] Such sayings have diverted the Sons of
Israel from worship. They leave aside the books of the Talmud and all the books of Law and precepts, and do not worry about the proper conduct. They are interested only in Sefer ha-Zohar, nothing else. Verily, they delay the end of days. Many obstacles have come out of this, for our many sins, and it brought forth life of licentiousness and immorality. This strengthens the new and accursed sect of Shabtai Zvi (may the name of the wicked rot) who impels the end of days and incites my enemies to flung abuse at His anointed at every step. Woe to the generation that such had occurred in its time, as through that heresy spreads in the world.

We have already shown to those with open eyes, that the author of the book `Raya Mehemna`, should not be relied upon, as he wrote this only to recommend his merchandise. Yet, he surely did not mean to abolish the study of the fulfillment of the practical precepts, and to disturb the people form their deeds, God forbid....

Sefer Ha-Zohar is the holy of holies, and Sefer Raya and the Tikkunim likewise. Yet, the first is prior in time and in its worth - it was written in the times of the Geonim, whilst the author of the last was a Sephardic author. I have proved this with clear evidence, especially showing that he used the language of Sephardic authors. And even if a sage is preferable than a prophet, two prophets do not prophesize in the same tongue. Indeed, angels sent from above, and holy souls, accompanied the authors of these books of secrets, and aided them with this godly task, as it is mentioned at the beginning of the chapters of ha-Tikkunim. And it is agreed upon that this happened many times, to the great ones of their generation, even in exile, especially to the ancient ones. Thus wrote Rabad in his commentary to Sefer Yezira, at the end of the `Fifty Gates of Wisdom`: `The beauty (!) of the ancient sages who behaved according to the true Kabbalah, as we have found thirty two wondrous paths of wisdom that that sages of the Mishna have received etc, and as the teachers of the fathers were well known angles, which were sent from the Holy King (may His people be elevated), in order to teach and educate them in the paths of the ancient wisdom`, etc.[4] He continued to mention, at length, the names of each one of the angels that were sent to Adam, the fathers, Joseph the just, Moses our Rabbi, and Elijah of blessed memory. We have also found in Sefer Ha-Zohar, on the verse `This is the record of` (fol. 55b) and in other places. The Tannaim, Amoraim and Geonim were also frequented by Elijah, and the books Kana and Peliah, the works of a blessed sage, were written with the private divine assistance of divine messengers. Also in the last generations some sages were evidently known for that, such as the Rabbi Beit Yosef, who had a spiritual Magid, a well-known fact that cannot be denied. Likewise, the confirmation of the words of prophet from Avila in the days of the Rashba, which the Rashba himself, although it was difficult for him to believe, strongly confirmed.

However, it seems evident that the Holy Spirit shined also in the author of Raya Mehemna, whoever he may be. Because he was a great visionary, who envisioned with great resemblance the character of the ugly, defective, abominable Shabtai Zvi (and his sect, which he called `Erev Rav`), whose signs and descriptions are that of the distress of Sheol and Abaddon, four hundred years before he came into being. We have copied its words in
'Mizbeah Gadol'; you can find them well explicated there. This is indeed an evident wonder, real words of prophecy. He also informed of the heretical sects that are spreading in the world, of the impudent and barefaced rich people of our generation, of the officers of Sodom who boast over the poor people, those who govern Israel at the end of days, who despise them, and of the power of the oppressors who drive the people, and of their conduct with the Torah scholars (Talmidei Hachamim). From the beginning the author of the Raya Mehemna said thus, extensively, in several ways. His words are faithful and correct.

Yet, the fact that there are errors in Sefer ha-Zohar, as well as in the Raya Mehemna and the Tikunim, is not surprising. They have passed through the hand of authors, who copied them from vessel to vessel, and added to them things born out of their imperfection, making their own signs into supreme ones. Because of that they are deficient (as the author of Sharsheret ha-Kabbalah wrote, if the whole Zohar was to be found, it would weight as much as a camel load), as well as containing false editions, be they good and excellent, or be they false waste (and refuse as I have said in front of sages), covered with clay. We have shown this and gave examples of it, and even if they were said by a spirit or a Magid, one should not heed them. As the Ari said, in some cases the Magid lied to the Rabbi Beit Yosef, even though he was a holy angel. And he explained in Sefer ha-Gilgulim for what reasons such mistakes and errors happen in the words of a divine Magid. And this is not strange for us, because we have found such a case in our holy Talmud, the firm pillar that all the house of Israel relies on. The supreme saints, the Tannaim, have heard a divine voice (Bat Kol), in the holy land. And in that generation of knowledge of the first Tannaim, who were close to prophecy (even though they have learned from scripture that a divine voice may be used), they did not take heed, and did not stray because of it from the way of the Torah even a small bit. And R. Yehoshua debated against the divine voice and said: it is not in heaven, as the Torah was already given in Sinai, and in it is written `You shall divert after the many` (Exodus 23, 2), and we hold that we do not heed to a divine voice.[5] How much more so in the last generation, on impure land, we do not heed a Magid, a spirit or an angel to annul even one world of the Torah, God forbid, for `the word of our God is always fulfilled` (Isaiah 40, 8), `He issued His commands to Jacob, His statutes and rules to Israel` (Psalms 147, 19), `Sworn are the rods of the word selah` (Habakkuk 3, 9). Thus, I say to my soul, even if you incline to the right or to the left, do not stray to the right or to the left from the words of the Torah that God commanded his servant Moses, and do not deviate from anything that the real teachers of the Torah teach you, those who follow the law of the Lord, who have done no wrong, who stand in the breach and wish for the repair of the Golah, the scattered sheep, lame and expelled, and guard it from evil and meanness, and from every obstacle and impediment. `Your word is exceedingly pure, and Your servant loves it` (Psalms 119, 140), `Your commandments make me wiser than my enemies they always stand by me` (Psalms, 119, 98), `Blessed is the Lord, God of Israel, from eternity to eternity, Amen and Amen` (Psalms 41, 14), `Sing forth, O you righteous, to the Lord; it is fit that the upright acclaim Him` (Psalms 33, 1), `For the guardian of the earth belong to God; He is greatly exalted` (Psalms 47, 10).
The Israelite person, who is faithful to his God, must know, than, that there is no obligation to believe in everything that is found in the printed version of the Zohar, nor in everything that is found in writings and manuscripts in the name of the Ari. The Ari himself, of blessed memory, said in the hour of his passing away, that even his renowned disciple R. Hayyim Vital of blessed memory did not truly know and wholly understand even one principal of the secrets of the Torah, but only a small portion, as it is written in Nagid u-Mezaveh (and also, R. Menahem de Lonzano in his book ‘Omer Man’ criticized the Ari). What, than, should small foxes say, that are not proficient even in the holy language, and do not know the Aramaic language, but aspire to study on their own, or from an unfit teacher, the books of the Kabbalah.

Much more so after it became clear that bad weeds have grown in the lovely fruit Sefer ha-Zohar. These need weeding, as they are not compatible with our ancient true Kabbalah. But not everyone is proficient in the Torah, for its own sake, so that they will have assistance from heaven to remove all the slag of dross from the refined writings, the straw and chaff from the wheat, the grain from the waste, the lees from the preserved wine, the lumps from the clear oil of beaten olives for lightening.

Thus my son, guard yourself and be careful, take heed of my warning, do not lie in your heart to say, I shall investigate much, and will not stray at all from the way. Look well into Nahmanides introduction to his Torah commentary. The gist of the matter is whether my heart inclines right to the words of the Kabbalists, or inclines left to the external books, to the wise and their riddles, do not study what is inexplicable for you, do not investigate what is hidden from you, and do not rely on your own understanding. Do not be wise in your own eyes, like the Bedershi, at the end of Sefer ‘Behinat ha-Olam’[6], nor let your heart be quick to bring forth speech before God, like the author of ‘Nishmat Hayyim’ at the end of his book.[7] But, believe in what your forefathers believed in (‘Ask your father he will inform you’ [Deut. 32,7], ‘Ask the generation past’ [Job 8,8]) and your Rabbis, the authors of the Mishna, that was written and compiled by our holy Rabbi, the disciple of the true Tanna Rashbi, the disciple of R. Akiva, the disciple of R. Eliezer and R. Yehoshua, the disciples of R. Yohanan ben Zacai, the disciple of Hillel the elder, who received from the couples, who received from the prophets and elders, until Moses from Sinai. And from the words of the Talmud that the Tannaim and Amoraim have founded do not let your feet stray, and do not deviate from the verdict that they announce to you either to the right or to the left. Know that if one attempts to annul an impediment in their decrees he is seeking after evil, ‘today he says do thus’ etc.[8] We have learned from experience that everyone who at the beginning was lenient with the decrees of Hazal, at the end attempted to change the law.

Endnotes


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Yakov Emden, 1769

Prepared by Boaz Huss, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

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Endnotes


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Introduction to Triumpho del Govierno Popular

Anne Oravetz Albert, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Born a converso in Spain, Daniel Levi (a.k.a. Miguel) de Barrios emigrated to Livorno to convert to Judaism, and after some travels settled in the Sephardic congregation in Amsterdam. He is known to have continued to compose poetry for Catholics with whom he maintained contact in Brussels through the 1660s, and to have been ignited with messianic enthusiasm in the early 1670s.

The Triumpho del Govierno Popular, y de la Antiguedad Holandesa describes the political and religious 'government' of the community, and includes accounts of its literary and charitable associations, along with poems, encomia, funeral orations, and other miscellanea from de Barrios' Jewish oeuvre. This excerpt constitutes the opening of the work, part of a 58-page introduction which sets a theme for the rest by relating the exilic governance of the Jewish people to the six days of creation, and the restored monarchy of the messianic age to the seventh day, on which God rested. The seven numbered stanzas of the dedicatory poem correspond to the seven sections of this introduction.

Although the subject of the governance of contemporary Jewish society is unusual for early modern Jewish writings, the work is representative in some ways. It shows the remarkable association with Spanish literary and political culture among the converso-descended Sephardim of Amsterdam, it describes a fairly typical communal organization, and it tells us about the flourishing of literary 'academies' among some elite Jews. The interest in contemporary Jewish life as an object of exposition and analysis could also be seen as characteristic of the period, similar to Leone Modena's Historia de' riti hebraici, but concerned with cultural and political matters rather than with specifically religious practices.

Further Readings


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The Triumph of Popular Government
And of Dutch Antiquity
Triumpho del Gobierno Popular
Daniel Levi (a.k.a. Miguel) de Barrios, 1683

Translated by Anne Oravetz Albert, University of Pennsylvania, USA

The Triumph of Popular Government,
And of Dutch Antiquity

Dedicated in the Year 5443.
DANIEL LEVI DE BARRIOS.

To the most illustrious Lords Parnassim, and Gabbai of the Holy Congregation of Amsterdam,

Ishac Belmonte. Iacob Abendana de Brito.
Iacob de Pinto. Ishac Levi Ximenes.
Abraham Gutierres. Mordechay Franco.
Iosseph Mocat[a]

The Hebrews are flowers of the law,
And the masters are bees who, among the leaves,
sustain themselves by its keepers.

PREFACE

The saintly architect of the holy people
Calls the law science, and understanding
Because it gives them happy knowledge
Of that which he covers with his glorious mantle.
The Atlases of the firmament
Sustain* their beautiful congregation, and I sing,            *Parnassim means "sustainers"
Unless Nessus prevents it by stealing its honor,
And the shirt of Holland poisons it.[1]

The triumph of the popular government I sing,
To the sweet sound of the harp of history,
In a Hebrew chorus with a voice of weeping,
Which is an echo of the Israelite memory.
The waters of the red Rhadamanthus\[2\]
Do not flood the camp of its glory.
As much as I channel Orpheus' passion,
So much do I harness the spirit of David.

Give to me O Great God! in erudite zither,
A pen so sweet, and hand so resonant,
That it will serve as wings to your blessed law,
And that it will resemble your fiery dawn.
To the judges who consider your infinite majesty dwelling among angels,
I offer that which I sing, and that which I write,
Because through these, I receive your light.

To the most Illustrious Lords Parnassim, and Gabbai
Of the Holy Congregation of Amsterdam.

*Ishac Belmonte.*  
*Iacob Abendana de Brito.*

*Iacob de Pinto.*  
*Ishac Levi Ximenes.*

*Abraham Gutierres.*  
*Mordechay Franco.*

Josseph Mocata

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS LORDS.

1  *Democracy* means popular dominion in Greek; *monarchy* government of one; and *aristocracy* designates that of the noble betters.

2  The politico of the latter is strict, that of imperial sovereignty is severe: but democracy is more gentle, and better to the high patron.

3  He chooses the Judge whose rule is wise, who teaches with example and just proof, more than with words.

4  He who governs this way improves and elevates, because the voice of the people is a divine voice, and fortunate is the judge who knows to take it up.

5  God created the universe in six days,

6  and divided it into three worlds: the first
monarchy with high hierarchies; 
the second noble with celestial privilege. 
The third shows itself to be of elements in mixed 
and proportional groups. 
A propitious bond now holds all in the six,* 
*parnassim
With union, with nobility, and with judgment.

On the seventh day, God rested; 
his people did well to rest with Joseph.*

From the six Parnassim, justice comes 
piously to Joseph, who is the seventh: 
these are the seven Judaizing marvels 
that the tree of the law constantly signifies.

GLOSS I. 
The generality of political peoples consists of three main divisions: the first is monarchy, or singular, like that of Moses, Saul, David, and Solomon. The second is aristocracy, or noble; like that of Joshua, of the sacred Judges, and the Maccabees; and the third is democracy, or popular, like that of the Israelites in Egypt, in Babylonia, and in all the places where they are dispersed with the Mosaic law, ever since the Assyrians expelled the Israelites, and the Romans the Jerusalemites.

GLOSS II. 
Aristotle, with the authority of Homer, distinguishes monarchy from tyranny in that the monarch puts the good of the subject before his own good; and the tyrant puts his own good before that of his subjects. Moses distinguished himself [in this], putting the elect nation before his own life, praying to the Sovereign Majesty, either that he would erase him from his book, or that he would pardon the criminal offense that the Israelite people had committed against his eternal sovereignty. This is the one who is the good monarchical pastor, but not like Nimrod, who named himself monarch in Babel out of ambition, and is a tyrant, because with the desire to rule, he does not attend to the common utility, but rather erects towers of vain confidence, either by opposing himself to the divine superiority, like Sennacherib and Antiochus; or by eternalizing his name in images and metal engravings like Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander, and Titus.

On a similar topic a poet sang,
All this life is theft 
the burglar does not give an affront 
because since this world is a sale 
the robber is proper in it. 
You do not desire to castigate anyone 
for stealing silver, or copper;
because flogging is for he who chances to be poor in favor and appearances.
This world is a game of tricks that only he who steals can win, and rule.

With the sword of this example I defeat those who affirm majestic rule to be better than noble or popular for the conservation of the people, because rare is the royal that puts the benefit of his vassals before his own, and rare are the vassals who serve God more than the king, because most, caught in the spell of the world, only try to win the grace of the king; and the few who do procure the grace of God are not agreeable enough in the eyes of the vain, like those who are cheered by the lively vanities of pompous accoutrements. Thus I determine that a monarchy unlike that of Moses, with fear of God, deserves the name of tyranny, and that Moses, being so just, did not believe himself capable of ascending the Israelite throne, nor of taking the divine embassy, when he said to the supreme king: *Send for whomever you will send.*[3]

Jerome, Sixtus of Siena, and Francisco Vales, write that the dreamed statue represents the four monarchies, Babylonia, Persia or Media, Greece, and Rome. Better, they say it is the four general tyrannies, shown in four different metals: either for the coins that take foreign arms, or for the arms that take foreign coins. People imitate those showoffs when the wheels of fortune make them pompous with the vanity of seeing their colorful adornment; and when they are undone by the horror of seeing their feet of clay.

Monarchy is a kind of king shooting bullets of execution, with thunderous orders: and aristocracy is a sonorous harp handled by one who is affirmed in the seat of government, and practicing it bodily with his vigilant zeal, in order to keep it in good standing with his protection. The key of his affability is to temper the chords of the different wills, with the hands of his mercy and justice, to bring together varying desires in the agreeable harmony of conforming differences.

Sir Isaac Abarbanel favored my opinion, proving by various examples that the government of nobility is better than royalty; and if sometimes the divine dominion does not endure, it is because discord divides it, but when love brings the parts into conformity, it endures. Moses wanted a government reciprocally divided because aristocracy offers to the government the help that people give each other; and Moses knows that even in order to raise his hands to heaven, it was necessary that Aaron and Ur help him. Monarchy is an empire of one, and Adam was only one without Eve, until God saw that man being alone would not be good. For this Solomon says: *Two are better than one,* and Cicero: *The governor, and magistrate is a law that speaks.* Therefore, aristocracy is better for man than monarchy, as it was seen even by Moses, as God relieved him of it, adding to him the aristocracy in the form of the seventy elders whom He commanded him to choose, saying to him: *They shall share the burden of the people with you, and you shall not bear it alone.*[4] With the same consideration Isaiah said
about the holy city: *I will restore your magistrates as of old, and your counselors as of yore. After that you shall be called City of Righteousness Faithful City.*[^5]

Solon advises: Learn first to be governed, when you ambition to govern, because he who does not govern himself thus cannot govern others well. Moses governed with strength, as the more the eternal majesty exalted him with the monarchical and aristocratic gifts, the more he modestly desired that all would be prophets, so that all would equal him, and all being equal, they would not have occasion to hate the government of one, nor that of the nobles, including the two governments in the popular, which always elects the governor. Moses wanted this because (according to Pliny’s delineation), "He who may rule, and reign over all, is best elected by all." In this manner: "The art of governing the cities and republics of the world holds first and primary place among all the arts." Aristotle and Plato say about this: "The populace does not exist for the cause of the governor: rather the governor exists for the cause of the populace." From this I conclude that the popular rule[^6] is more beneficial than that of the nobility, and the crown, because there is no noble without the plebeian nor king without people; but there can be plebe without noble and without king, electing judges who, in administering and governing the republic, have and respect public things as private ones, and private things as public ones.

Therefore the popular government is better than the noble, if the noble than the kingly: because the popular, with reciprocal equality, maintains itself without the necessity of the noble, nor of the royalty, as the royalty and the nobility require the plebe that chooses the judges.

I *Democracy* means popular dominion in Greek; *monarchy* government of one; and *aristocracy* designates that of the noble betters.

[Glosses III and IV deal mainly with an elaborate history of Jewish monarchies.]

GLOSS V.

Which describes the three states of Israel, monarchical, illustrious [i.e., noble], and popular, and shows that in all of them is resplendent the particular providence that God has with the Israelites.

[Section I is a poem of praise for the so-called Third Monarchy (of Moses), and Section II explains why it did not last long.]

§. III.

*Which shows how it is more loving of the infinite omnipotence to conduct his people to the holy land than to administer medications to it, to liberate it from Egypt, and to part the Red*
All the attributes of the Lord are included in four: the first is physician, because no one knows as well as he how to apply natural medicines to ailments since he is the author of nature. The second attribute is that of redeemer, because only he has the power to liberate those who implore him from the strongest prisons as the people of Israel did, distressed and captive to Egyptian violence. The third attribute is that of wonder-worker, as he did when he broke the swollen waves of the Red Deep, guiding the Israelites in order to flood the violent Egyptians, and draw the elect people out of their oppression. The fourth attribute is that of life-giver, as it is he who gives a soul to each creature, and especially to man, instilling it in him with a puff of breath, and promising to return him to life as was revealed to Ezekiel chapter 37. Thus said the Lord God to these bones: ...

Several expositors hold that these bones are those of the Israelite corpses, a symbol of which is offered in the cadaver of Jacob and that of Joseph brought from Egypt to the promised land, signaling that all the righteous of Israel who die in foreign kingdoms will return to life in the sacred Jerusalemite homeland, as the translator Onkelos declares: and here the prophecy calls it land of the living, because they are resuscitated there, going out of death to life: and no people in the arms of death, like Israel in sickness, in prison, and in the persecution of the Pharaoh, more marvelously escapes than by the divine hand throwing the Canaanites out of the desired land. Thus I determine that it is greater to guide Israel in the manner of that time to the holy land, than to cure it, than to free it, and than to part the Red Sea, because only the author of the living can return and unite them in holy peace and brotherhood, guiding them by him[self] alone, and not by some celestial chaperone like the one that guided them in the exit from Egypt until it brought them into the promised Land. The healing, liberating, and miracle-working can be granted to the physicians, the powerful, and the magicians: but not the resuscitating as he granted to the prophet Elijah, and twice to Elisha, once in the hospice of the widow, and the other in the sepulcher of his terrible cadaver.

My son Simon Levi Caniso declared the same in the Masquil Eldad Yeshiva, in the following manner. [A short, repetitive paragraph follows.]

§. IV.

Which formally lays out the popular governments of the Jews in the places [to which] they were expelled.

The second popular government began with the Israelites dispersed by the Assyrians and continued with the captives of Judah in Babylonia. The former arrived as far as Zarphat, or France, with the Phoenicians; and the latter got as far as Zepharad, today Spain, with the Phoenicians, Babylonians, and the Kings of Dara and of Fez; that then included Barbary, encrypted in the anagram Zefarad which is Dara Fez. The Prophet Obadiah certified it: And
that exiled force of Israelites [shall possess] what belongs to the Phoenicians as far as France, while the Jerusalemite exile community of Sepharad shall possess the towns of Austria. [9]

There were three popular, or inferior Governments of Israel, one among the Egyptians
A dynasty called Pastoral
Another among Babylonians and Phoenicians.
The third is of Sustainers
Or Parnassim, with such facades
In various temples among various peoples
That in them God has his luminaries.

The infinite mercy also came to the Mosaic popular governments among the Babylonians, and among the Phoenicians, by the concert that they had with the three holy Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, [which] textually conforms to the 26th chapter of Leviticus: ...in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them or spurn them so as to destroy them, annulling My covenant with them: for I the Lord am their God. [10]

The first Israelites who sent gifts to the Kings of Judea after the Babylonian captivity were those of Spain among the Phoenicians, whence the ancient Rabbis said in the Gemara of Menahot in the last chapter: From Tyre to Carthage they know Israel and the Lord of Heaven. [11] Because Carthage is in Spain; and Julian in his adversaries number 134 claims that the Hebrews of Spain paid tribute to the Kings of Judah. Pellizer refers to this in octava 42 of the Gongorical Panegyric; and Fray Juan de la Puente in book 3 chapter 13 page 1 writes: the Jews who lived in Athens and in Spain persuaded the Athenian and Spanish Gentiles to build an altar to the Holy God of Israel.

The Doctor Isaac Cardoso, in the First Excellence of the Hebrews, folio 16, writes with Strabo, There are 4 types of men in the city of Cyrene: citizens, workers, foreigners, and the fourth Jews. And these four segments existed in all the cities. It would not be easy to find a place in all the world where, once this nation was received into it, it did not prevail, because Egypt, and Cyrene, many other provinces have admitted its religion, maintaining large congregations of Jews who have increased themselves with time and live with their own laws. [12] Josephus, in Antiquities book 14 chapter 12, affirms that those of his nation fill all corners of the earth; and Philo in the book that he wrote on the Embassy to Emperor Caius Caligula, introduces King Agrippa of the Jews, saying to the Emperor that Jerusalem is not only the metropolis of Judea, but also of many provinces where the Jews live, for colonies of Hebrews were transferred to them, as in Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Macedonia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, the Islands of Eubea, Cyprus, Crete, and in the other part of the Euphrates: and in sum all the fertile cities, and the settlements of Jews in Asia, Africa, and Europe are abundant, as much maritime as landlocked or islands. [13] And against Flaccus
the president of Egypt, he says that they will not fit in one sole province, because there are so many of them, settled in many cities, provinces, and islands of Europe and of Asia, recognizing as their head the holy city. Strabo, speaking of Alexandria, affirms that the Hebrews had assigned streets where they lived, with their own jurisdiction \((\text{fueros})\), with governors of their own nation, with absolute power as if they were a republic of their own.

According to the affirmation of Josephus book 1 chapter 5, the Hebrews or Israelites began to call themselves Jews for the Tribe of Judah which had seniority since those of the proper Tribe of Judah returned from the Babylonian captivity, along with those of Benjamin, and the fragments of the other tribes that had mixed with them. Chapter 2 of Esther tells us this, as it calls Mordechai, being Benjaminite, a \textit{Jewish man}; and Chronicles book 2 chapter 30 number 25 affirms that many of those of Israel will unite with those of Judah in the time of the King Hezekiah. Achior tells this to Holofernes in chapter 5 of Judith: \textit{Now they have returned to their God, and have come back from the places where they were scattered, and settled in the mountains, and returned to occupy Jerusalem}.\(^{[14]}\)

Those Israelites or Jews who do not rebuild the second temple will not lose their democratic government, giving clear light of the eternal divinity among the nations with observable demonstrations, as the prophet Micah announced in chapter 1 number 11: \textit{For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My name is great among the nations; and in every place offerings are presented unto My name, even pure oblations; for My name is great among the nations, saith the Lord of hosts}.\(^{[15]}\) Menasseh ben Israel in book 2 of \textit{Conciliador}, Jeremiah question 4, declared: \textit{In all the places where Israel lives, they know the holiness of the law, as the Real Prophet said in Psalm 72 verse 2}. In Judah is God known; His name is great in Israel;\(^{[16]}\) and according to Hebrew grammar the letter \([^{[17]}\] Bet which is translated as \textit{In denotes place: and this signifies that in all places where Israelites reside, the Blessed God is known by half of them}. David does not say that in Judah, but that in Israel great is the name of the creator: and Israel, being the first to be captive among the nations, began to publish among them the divine greatness as he said: \textit{Great is my name among the Nations}.\(^{[18]}\) Only the Mosaic people can testify among the nations that they have the true knowledge of the supreme archetype, who in chapter 43 of Isaiah twice calls them \textit{his witnesses};\(^{[19]}\) and in another place \textit{Light of the nations}.\(^{[20]}\)

Chapter 9 of Esther number 30 shows that in all 127 provinces of King Ahasueras there were Jews, and in all of them half had the divine knowledge,\(^{[21]}\) with which Darius, because of the miracle done for Daniel in the lions' den, announces to all those of his empire, that they should love the God of Israel, because he is a living God, and permanent from eternity, and his reign incorruptible, and his dominion without end.

\textbf{Endnotes}

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The meaning is not entirely clear. Nessus is the third named centaur in Greek mythology, a symbol of incivility and the wild side of human nature. He is said to have tried to steal Deianira, the betrothed of Hercules, just before their wedding. Hercules shot him with a poisoned arrow during the attempt, and before he died Nessus gave Deianira a garment soaked with his blood. He told her to take it to Hercules, since it would preserve Hercules' love for her, but actually it poisoned Hercules when he put it on.

Rhadamanthus was one of three judges of souls in the underworld, known for his stern and unbendable virtue.

Exodus 4:13, usually translated as "send someone else" (NRSV) or "make someone else Your agent" (JPS), but de Barrios gives a more literal translation.

Numbers 11:16

Isaiah 1:26

Text reads domicilio, abode, instead of dominio, rule, seemingly in error.

Ezekiel 37:6

Onquel. en Cant. 5.

De Barrios seems to refer to the resuscitation of the child of the Shunemite widow, and of the dead man who touched Elisha's funeral bier.

The quote is from Obadiah 1:19 (JPS), but where de Barrios has "France" the Hebrew has "Zarphat," and where he has "Austria" the Hebrew has "the Negev." It is not yet clear whether this is de Barrios' innovation, or that of his source.

Leviticus 26:44

see Menachot 110a

These lines are also found in Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews Book 14 Chapter 7, where they are attributed to Strabo. Similarly the last lines of this paragraph (ending with "a republic of their own") are included in the same chapter of Josephus.

Philo, On the Embassy to Gaius, chapter 36 lines 281-2

Similar to Judith 5:17

Malachi (not Micah) 1:11

Psalm 76:2 (not 72:2)

A Hebrew letter is inserted here, which looks more like a Kaf than a Bet.

Malachi 1:11

Isaiah 43:10

Isaiah 49:6

Esther 9:30 confirms the presence of Jews in all 127 provinces, but does not mention what portion of them have divine knowledge.

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Triumpho del Gobierno Popular
Y de la Antigüedad Holandesa
The Triumph of Popular Government
Daniel Levi (a.k.a. Miguel) de Barrios, 1683

Prepared by Anne Oravetz Albert, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Triumpho del Gobierno Popular,
Y de la Antigüedad Holandesa.

Dedicalo en el Año de 5443 [1683]
DANIEL LEVI DE BARRIOS.

A los muy Ilustres Señores Parnasim, y Gabay
Del Kahal Kados Amstelodamo,

Ishac Belmonte.  Iacob Abendana de Brito.
Iacob de Pinto.   Ishac Levi Ximenes.
Abraham Gutierres. Mordechay Franco.
      Iosseph Mocat[...]

De la Ley los Hebreos son las Flores,
bejas los maestros, que en las Hojas
se sustentan por sus Mantenedores.

PROEMIO
Llama Ciencia à la Ley, y Entendimiento
del Sancto Pueblo su Architecto Santo;
porque le dá feliz conocimiento
de lo ́q cubre con glorioso manto:
los Atlantes del Sacro Firmamento,
*sustentan su beldad de Kahal, y canto;*Parnasim significa sustenadores.
sin que el Nesso que hurtar su honor previene
la camisa de Holanda le envenene.

Del Popular Gobierno el triumpho canto,
al dulce son del Harpa de la Historia,
en Coro Hebreo con la voz del llanto;
que es eco de Ysraelitica Memoria:
Las aguas de Vermejo Radamanto,
no anegarán al campo de su gloria;
si qual Orphee, su furor enfreno,
y qual David, su espiritu encadeno.

Dame ò Gran Dios! En cytara erudita,
pluma tan dulce, mano tan sonora,
que sirva de alas à tu Ley Bendita,
y que parezca de tu lumbre Aurora.
A los Jueces que juzga tu Infinita
Magestade entre Angeles que mora,
ofrezco lo que canto, y lo que escrivo,
porque en ellos, la Luz de ti recivo.

Triumpho del Govierno Popular,
A los muy Illustres Señores Parnasim, y Gabay
del Kahal Kados Amstelodamo.

Ishac Belmonte. Iacob Abendana de Brito.
Iacob de Pinto.. Ishac Levi Ximenes.
Abraham Gutierres. Mordechay Franco.
Josseph Mocata.

ILUSTRISSIMOS SEÑORES.

1  *Democrasia* Popular Dominio
   quiere dezir en Griego; *Monarchia*
   Govierno de uno; y *Aristocrasia*
   de los mejores Señoril designio.
2  Es politico de este el escutrinio,
   fuerte el de la Imperial Soberania:
   pero mas docil la Democrasia,
   y mejor con el alto Patrocinio.
3  Elige al Juez que sabia la domina,
   quando con el exemplo, y justa prueva,
   mas que con las palabras lo doctrina.
4  El que govierna assi, agrada, y eleva,
   porque la voz del Pueblo, es voz Divina,
   y es venturoso el Juez que se la lleva.
5 Al Universo, Dios, crió en seys dias, 
6 y en Mundos tres lo dividió, el primero 
  Monarchico con altas Hyerarchias; 
  Noble el segundo con Celeste fuero. 
De elementos se vé, y de compañias 
Mixtas, y racionales el tercero: 
  *parnasim 
todo oy tiene en los *seys laso propicio, 
  con union, con nobleza, y con juyzio. 
7 En el Septimo Día, Dios reposa: 
  Gabay 
su Pueblo halla en *Josseph descaso bueno: 
de los seys Parnasim viene piadosa 
la Justicia á Iosseph. que es el Seteno: 
  los siete Maravillas Iudayzantes 
  que el Arbol de la Ley ciñen constantes.

GLOSA I.
La Generalidad de las Politicas Gentes consta de tres divisiones dominantes: la primera 
  Monarchia, ó singular, como la de Moysen, Saul, David, y Salomon. La segunda 
  Aristocrasia, ó Noble; como la de Isosue, de los Sacros Jueces, y Machabeos: y la tercera 
  Democracia, ó Popular, como la de los Israelitas en Egypto, en Babilonia, y en todas las partes 
que con la Ley Mosayca están divisos, desde que los Assirios esparcieron á los de Israel, y los 
  Romanos á los Hierusalemianos.

GLOSA II
Aristoteles con la autoridad de Homero distingue al Monarcha del tirano, en que el Monarcha 
antepone los bienes del subdito, á los bienes propios: y el tirano antepone [3] los bienes 
  propios á los del subdito. Singularizose Moseh, anteponiendo la electa Nacion á la vida propia, 
pidiendo á la Soberana Magestad, ó que lo borrara de su libro, ó que perdonasse la criminal 
ofensa, que contra su eterna Soberania havia cometido el Pueblo Israelitico. Este si que es 
buen Monarchico Pastor, mas no el que como Nimrod en el Babel de la ambicion, se intitula 
Monarcha, y es tirano, porque con el anhelo de mandar, no atiende á la comun utilidad, sino 
avlevantar torres de vanas confianças, ó para oponerse á la Divina Superioridad, como 
Sancherib, y Antioco; ó para eternizar su nombre en simulacros, y laminas de metal como 
Nabuchodosor, Ciro, Alexandro, y Tito.

Consemejante consideracion cantó un Poeta, 
  *Toda esta vida es hurtar, 
  no es el ser ladron afrenta, 
  que como este Mundo es venta, 
  en el es propio el robar. 
  Nadie veras castigar 
  porque hurta plata, ó cobre:
Este Mundo es juego de baças
que solo el que roba triumpha, y manda.

[4] Con la espada deste exemplo venço à quantos afirman ser mejor à la conservacion de las gentes, el dominio Magestuoso, que el Noble, y que el Popular: porque rara es la Magestad que antepone la conveniencia de sus vassallos à la propia, y raros son los vassallos, que sirven mas à Dios, que al Rey, porque los mas con el hechizo del Mundo, solo atienden à grangear la gracia del Rey: y los menos que procuran la gracia de Dios, no son tan agradables à los ojos de la vanidad, como aquellos que los alegran con los vanos luzimientos de pomposos aparatos. Assi distingo que la Monarchia, no siendo como la de Moseh, con el Divino temor, merece nombre de tirania, y que Moseh con ser tan justo, no se creyó capaz de empuñar el Cetro Israelitico, ni de llevar la Divina Embaxada, quando dixo al Supremo Rey: Embia aora por quien haz de embiar.

Hieronimo, Sixto Sinense, y Francisco Vales, escriven que la soñada estatua, representa las quatro Monarchias, Babilonica, Persa, o Meda, Griega, y Romana. Mejor dixeran las quatro Generales tiranias, figuradas en quatro diferentes metales: ó por las monedas que toman aun agenas armas; ó por las armas que toman aun agenas monedas. Imitan à los pavones quando hazen pomposas ruedas de fortuna, con la vanidad de ver su vistoso adorno; y quando las deshazen con el espanto de mirar sus pies de barro.

La Monarchia, es pieza de Rey disparando valas de execuciones, con truenos de .ordenes: y la Aristocrasia, es una sonora harpa, tocada del que assentado en la silla del Gobierno, le aplica si el cuerpo de su vigilante zelo, para tenerla en pie con su arrimo; la llave de su afabilidad para templar las cuerdas de las diferentes voluntades, y las manos de su misericordia, y justicia, para atraer las distantes atenciones con la agradable harmonia de las conformes distancias.

Favorece mi opinion Don Ishac Abarbanel, provando con varios exemplos, ser mejor el Gobierno de la Nobleza, que el Magestuoso; y si tal vez el Dominio Divino dura poco, es cuando la discordia lo divide, mas quando conforma el Amor las partes, permanece. Gobierno divisamente reciprocro queria Moseh, mas no Monarchico: porque la Aristocrasia ofrece la ayuda que se dan unos à otros para el gobierno: y Moseh conoce que aun para levantar las manos al Cielo, necessita [6] que le ayuden Aaron, y Hur. Y Monarchia es imperio de uno: y uno solo era Adam sin Heva quando vió Dios que estar solo el hombre no era bueno. Por esso dize Salomon: Mejor es dos que uno, y Ciceron: El Governador, y Magestrado es una ley que habla: luego para el hombre mejor es la Aristocrasia, que la Monarchia, que por ser tan pesada aun à Moseh; que Dios se la alivió, añadiendole la Aristocrasia en los Setenta Ancianos que le mandó escoger, diziendole: Y llevaran contigo la carga del Pueblo, y no la llevaras tu solo. Con la misma consideracion dixo por Isaías à la Sacra Ciudad: Y restituiré tus Jueces como al principio, y tus Consejeros como de primero: entonces te llamaras Ciudad de justicia, Ciudad
Solon aconseja: Aprende primero á ser governado ´q te atrevas à governar, porque no puede bien governar á otros, el ´q à si no se govierna. Governava de suerte Moseh, que quando mas lo exaltava la eterna Magestad, con los dones Monarchico, y Aristocratico; mas humilde desseava que todos fuesen Prophetas, paraque todos le igualassen, y que todos iguales, no tuviessen occasion de envidiar al govierno de uno, ni al de los mejores, incluyendose los dos goviernos en el Popular, que siempre [7] elige Governador: y esto anhelava Moseh, porque (segun delinea Plinio) "El que ha de mandar, y regir à todos, conviene ser elegido de todos." Deste modo: "El arte de governar las ciudades, y republicas del Mundo tiene el primado, y principiado en todas las artes. Dizelo Aristoteles, y Platon: "No se hace el Pueblo por causa del Governador: antes se hace el Governador por causa del Pueblo. De aqui faco que el domicilio Popular conviene mas ´q el de la Nobleza, y que el Regio, porque no hay Noble sin Pleveyo; ni Rey sin Pueblo: y pode haver Pleve sin Noble, y sin Rey, eligiendo Jueces que en administrar, y governar la republica tienen, y estiman las cosas publicas por particulares, y las particulares por publicas.

Luego mayor es el Gobierno Popular que el Noble, si el Noble que el Regio: porque el Popular con reciproca igualdad, se maniene sin necessitar de la Nobleza, ni de la Magestad, como necessitan la Magestad, y la Nobleza de la plebe que escoge los Jueces.

I  *Democrasia* Popular Dominio  
quiere dezir en Griego; *Monarchia*  
Governo de uno; y *Aristocrasia*  
de los mejores, Señoril designio.

GLOSA III...

GLOSA IV...

[19] GLOSA V.  
Describe los tres Estados de Israel Monarchico, Ilustre, y Popular, y que en todos resplandece la particular Providencia que tiene Dios con los Israelitas.

§ I...

§ II...

§ III.  
Instruye como es mas amor de la infinita Omnipotencia conduzir à su Pueblo a Tierra Sancta, que medecinarlo, que librarlo de Egipto, y que romper el Mar Roxo paraque lo passasse apie enjuto.

Todos los atributos del Señor se comprehenden en quatro: el primero de *Medico*, porque
ninguno como el sabe aplicar a la dolencia los medicamentos naturales respecto de ser Autor de la Naturaleza: el segundo atributo, es el de Redentor, porque solo el tiene poder para librar de las mas fuertes prisiones a los que en ella le imploran como fue el Pueblo de Israel congojado, y captivo de la violencia Egypciana. El tercer atributo, es el de Prodigioso como fue cuando rompio las hinchadas ondas de Roxo Pielago guiando à los Israelitas para inundar a los violentos Egypcios, y sacar de su opresion al Pueblo Electo. El Quarto atributo, es el de Animador, ó Vivificativo cómo es el de dar alma a quanto hase, y principalmente al hombre infundiendosela con el soplo de su aliento, y prometiendo volverlo a vivificar como manifesto a Ezechiel: cap.37. Assi dixo el Señor Dios a los huessos. Hare entrar en vosotros Espiritu, y vivires. Algunos Expositores tienen que estos huessos son de los cadaveres Israeliticos cuyo symbolo se ofrece el cadaver de Jacob, y el de Joseph llevados de Egypto à la Prometida Tierra en señal de que todos los justos que de Israel murieron en Reynos extraños, han de volver a tener vida en la sagrada Patria Hierusalemitana como advierte el Paraphrastico [1] Onquelos: y de aqui la Prophezia la llama Tierra de las vidas, porque han de resucitar en ella, saliendo de Muerte a Vida: y ningun Pueblo estivo en las braços de la Muerte como Israel en la enfermedad, en la carcel, y en la persecucion de Pharaon; que mas maravillosamente escappasse por la divina Mano echando a los Chananeos de la desseada Tierra. Assi Averiquo que mas es conduzir à Israel a modo de entonces a Tierra Sancta, que curarlo, que librarlo, y que romper el mar Roxo; Porque solo el Autor de las vidas las puede volver y unir en Sancta paz, y Hermandad guiandolo, por si solo, y no por algun Paranympho Celestial como las guio en la salida de Egypto hasta [27] entr alas en la prometida Tierra, y el curar, librar, y hazer Milagros suele conceder a los Medicos, a los Poderosos, y a los Magos: Pero no el resucitar como concedio al Propheta Elias, y dos vezes a Eliseo una en el hospicio de la biudá, y otra en la sepultura de su funesto cadaver.

La mismo declaró mi hijo Simon Levi Caniso en la Yesibá de Masquil Eldad, del modo siguiente....

§ IV.
Solemniza los Govierno Populares de los Iudios en las partes que fueron expulsos.

El segundo Govierno Popular, comencó de los esparcidos Israelitas por los Assirios y continuo con los captivos de Iuda en Babilonia: aquellos llegaron hasta Zarphat, ó Francia con los Chananeos: y estos se extremaron en Zeparad, oy España con los Phenizes, Babilonios, y los Reynos de Dara, y de Fez; que entonces comprendian a Barbaria cifrando en la anagrama de Zefarad que es Dara Fez. Certificalo el Propheta Abdias. Y los captivos de este exercito de los hijos de Israel que Chananeos hasta Francia, y los captivos de Ierusalem que en Zepfarad; heredaràn las ciudades del Austro.

Tuvo tres populares, ó inferiores
Goviernos Israel, uno entre Egypcios
Dynastia se llamó de los Pastores,
otro entre Babilonios, y Phenizios:
es el tercero de Sustentadores
o Parnasim, con tales frontispicios,
en varios templos entre gentes varias,
que en ellos tiene Dios sus luminarias.

También acudió entre los Babilonios, y entre los Phenizios la infinita Misericordia á los
Gobiernos populares Mosaycos, por el concierto que hizo con los tres sagrador Patriarcas
Abraham, Ishac, y Iacob, conforme textifica el cap. 26. del Levítico: En Tierra de sus enemigos
no los aborreci, y no los deseché por hacer baldar mi firmamento con ellos: que yo (soy) A. su
Dios.

A los Reyes de Iudea, después de la captividad Babilónica, los primeros Israelitas que emiaron
presentes son los de España entre los Phenizes, de donde dixeron los antiguos Rabinos en lo
Guemará de Menahot cap. ultimo: De Tiro a Cartagena conocen a Israel, y al Señor del
Cielo. Porque Cartagena es en España: y Juliano en sus adversarios n. 134. trae que los
Hebreos de España pagaván tributo á los Reyes de Juda: refierelo Pellizer sobre la octava 42.
del Panagírico Gongorico: y Fray Iuan de la Puente lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 1. escreve: los Iudios que
vivian en Atenas y en España persuadieron a los Gentiles Atenienses, y Españoles hizieesen
ara al Sancto Dios de Israel.

El Doctor Ishac Cardoso, en la Primera Ex-[30] celencia de los Hebreos fol. 16. escreve con
Estrabon, Quatro Generos de Hombres hay en la Ciudad de Cyrene Ciudadanos, Labradores,
Estrangeros, y el quarto Iudios: y estas quatro Gerarquias se hallan en todas la Ciudades.
No sera facil hallar lugar en toda la Tierra a donde una vez recivida esta nacion, no
prevalezca, porque Egypto, y Cirene, otras muchas Provincias han admitido su religion, y
mantienen grandes congregaciones de Iudios que se han aumentado con el tiempo y viven
con sus mismas leyes. Iosepho lib. 14. Ant. c. 12. afirma que los de su Nacion llenaron la
redondes de la Tierra; y Philon en el libro que escrivio de la Embaxada al Emperador Cayo
Caligula; introduce al Rey Agripa de los Iudios, dizendo al Emperador, que Ierusalem no solo
es metropoli de Iudea, sino tambien de muchas Provincias donde habitan Iudios, por las
colonias de Hebreos que en ellas se transfirieron como en Egypto, Phenicia, Siria, Cilicia,
Pamfilia, Macedonia, Athenas, Argos, Corinto, las Islas de Cubea, Chipre, Creta y en la otra
parte del Eufrates: y ensuma todas las Ciudades fertiles, y abundantes son habitadas de Iudios
en el Assia, Africa, y Europa, tanto maritimas como terrenas ó Islas. Y contra Flacco presidente
de Egypto, dize que no caben [31] los Iudios en una sola Provincia, por ser tantos, que se
estienden en muchas Ciudades, y Provincias, y Islas de Europa y de Assia, reconociendo como
cabeça a la Sancta Ciudad. Estrabon, hablando de Alexandria, afirma que tenian los Hebreos
calles señaladas adonde vivian, con sus fueros, con Governadores de su propia nacion, con
potestad absoluta como si fuera Republica de por si.

Comencaron sugun afirma Iosepho lib. I. c. 5, los Hebreos o Israelitas á llamarse Iudios por el
tribu de Iudá que tenía el Señorio desde que tornaron de la captividad de Babilonia los del propuesto Tribu de Iuda, con los de Benjamin, y los troços de otros Tribus que e mezclaron con ellos. Dálo á conocer el cap. 2. de Hesther en apellidar á Mordacheo con ser Benjaminita, Varon Iudio: y en afirmar el Paralipomenon lib. 2. c. 30. n. 25. que muchos de Israel se unieron con los de Iuda en tiempo del Rey Ezechias. Adviertelo Achior á Holophernes en el cap. 5. de Judith Convertidos ha poco al Señor su Dios fueron juntados del esparcimiento con que havian sido exparcidos y subieron a estas montañas: y tornaron á cobrar á Ierusalem.

No perdieron el gobierno Democrastico los Israelitas ó Iudios que no fueron a la reedicion del segundo Templo dando entre las Gentes con observantes demostraciones, clara Luz de la eterna Divinidad que lo advirtio al Propheta Micheas c. I. n. II. del Oriente del Sol, y hasta su Peniente grande (es) mi nombre entre las Gentes: y en todo lugar, perfume llegado a mi nombre, y presente limpio: porque (es) grande mi nombre entre las gentes: dixo el Señor de los exercitos. Menasses ben Israel lib. 2. Concil. en Ieremias quest. 4. declara: En todas las partes donde Israel habita, conocen la sanctidad de la Ley como dize el Real Propheta Psal. 72. v. 2. Dios es conocido en Iuda, en Israel grande su nombre que según la gramatica Hebrea la letra [ ]. Bet que se interpreta En denota el lugar: y assi significa que en todas las partes donde residen Israelitas, es condocado por medio dellos el Señor Bendito. No dize David que en Iuda, sino que en Israel es grande el nombre del Criador: y [...] Israel por ser el primero que fue captivo entre las Gentes comencó apublicar entre ellas la divina Grandeza que dize: Grande es mi nombre entre las Gentes. Solamente los Mosaycos pueden entre las Gentes testificar que tienen el Verdadero conocimiento del supremo Archetypo, que en el c. 43. de Esaias los aclama dos veces sus Testigos: y en otra parte Luz de las Gentes.

[33] El cap. 9. de Ester n. 30. presenta que en todas las ciento y veynte y siete Provincias del Rey Assuero havia Judios, y todas por medo dellos tenian el Divino conocimiento, conque Dario por el milagro hecho à Daniel en el lago de los leones, decretò à todos los de su Imperio, que adorassen al Dios de Ysrael, porque el es Dios Vivo, y permanente de eterno, y su Reyno incorruptible, y su Dominio sin termino.

**Archive:** University of Portugal, MS 1280

**Endnotes**

**Introduction to Sefer Ha-Heshek**

Moshe Rosman, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

**Notes:** The manuscript was discovered by Dr. Yohanan Petrovsky. For a detailed analysis, see his article, "The Master of an Evil Name: Hillel Ba'al Shem and His Sefer Ha-Heshek," AJS Review 28:2 (2004), 217-248

Hillel Ba'al Shem was an itinerant *ba'al shem* (Jewish shaman) who was active in the first half of the eighteenth century. He traveled extensively through Red Russia, Podolia, Volynia and Podlasie and even visited Bohemia, Bessarabia and Bukovina. He studied both with a rabbinic master, R. Zvi Hirsh of Miedzyrzec (Mezerich) Podlaski and several doctors, especially the university trained Abraham Isaac Fortis (Hazak), best known as a leader of the Council of Four Lands (*va'ad arba aratzot*), the chief institution of Jewish autonomy in Poland-Lithuania.

The 760 page manuscript *Sefer Ha-Heshek* is a *sefer segulot*, that is, a guide to practical Kabbala, specifying formulas to write in amulets or pronounce as part of magical ceremonies to achieve specific objectives, medicaments to prescribe for various ailments, techniques of exorcism, chiromancy, metoposcopy, and horoscopy, and more. The majority of problems presented for the ba'al shem to treat were associated with fertility and birth, although there also are prescriptions dealing with diseases and even social conflicts. Extensive use of Slavic words and Christian technical terms points to articulation between Jewish and non-Jewish cultures in the realm of popular mysticism.

Hillel apparently wrote his book in an effort to prove his *bona fides* as a healer, practical kabbalist and magician. He hints that some ministration of his had gone horribly wrong and this book was evidently part of his effort to regain his reputation and perhaps attain a lucrative position as the resident *ba'al shem* of some community.

The selected passages highlight Hillel's training, the problems caused by charlatans, the undesirable popularization of mystical techniques fostered by the publication of simplistic handbooks, and the tangled relationship between *ba'al shem* type practices and "proper" medicine.

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Sefer Ha-Heshek  
Hillel Baal Shem, 1739

Translated by Moshe Rosman, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Notes: The manuscript was discovered by Dr. Yohanan Petrovsky. For a detailed analysis, see his article, "The Master of an Evil Name: Hillel Ba'al Shem and His Sefer Ha-Heshek," AJS Review 28:2 (2004), 217-248

1) I, Hillel, lowly and disdained, gradually turned away from all mundane occupations and I thoroughly searched and investigated all of the methods until, with God's help, I found medicament for several medical conditions, as well as many magical expedients that Ashmadai the King revealed to King Solomon of blessed memory. And I functioned, with God's help, in several communities and in several locales, as people saw and can give solemn testimony. All that they saw clearly with their eyes and heard with their ears they testified to, with God as their witness, all of it trustworthy. Thus be extremely careful that this holy book gets into the possession only of one who is pure. He should do and behave according to the fit and proper custom, studying thoroughly how to come close and perform a given ritual. He should be precise in writing the amulets' consonants and vowels as I have thoroughly explained...

2) ...that the great doctor of blessed memory told me—the sage, the leader of all the Polish lands, who was a great expert and adept, named Yitzhak Isaac Fortis (in Latin): In 1654 there was a great epidemic and plague in the City of Rome. Those householders who swept their homes neatly and cleanly and who fumed and decorated with all sorts of beautiful appointments and fragrances and wore handsome clothes; all of them were saved. It is thus good to fume a house and its rooms with herbs and spices that leave a good odor...

3) If some man appears and says that he is a ba'al shem, even though he shows some recommendations from famous, well-known people; even so, he should not be believed until his actions are thoroughly investigated: Is he learned? Does he know the [Divine] names? Where they originate? How they function? Does he act according to proper practice? If so, it is permitted to take amulets from him... Obviously, if a kosher person goes and acts according to proper practice, but, God forbid, it happens that he is slandered, God forbid. Don't judge him[?] guilty until you come to his place; hearing is not the same as seeing. The whole matter is an act of the demons who get angry at someone who is always working [against], dealing with,
getting involved with and provoking them. Since they can't penetrate his immediate four cubits, they damage his income and not his person.

4) I, Hillel, lowly and disdained in the eyes of the outsiders, but not in the eyes of the insiders; I inquired and excavated in sorrow, investigating until I found, after several years of wandering about the country, a tiny bit, a defective taste of the beginning of the holy writings the Rabbi, the great Gaon, the Hasid, the adept in all of the chambers of Torah, exoteric and esoteric (except that he himself told me that he never dealt in this business except for once and he didn't succeed). His name is Zvi Hirsh son of the Great Rabbi called Avram, that is Abraham, the rabbi and yeshiva head of the community of Miedzyrzecz [Podlaskie], close to Brest-Litovsk, Tykocin and Wysoki Litewski in Podlasia. I sat and stayed there and from his waters, the words of the great rabbi, I thirstily drank a bit until I understood a miniscule amount [of the secret knowledge]. I copied from his holy books and through his agency, with God's help, gradually I came upon a cure to be able to know how to fix the defects that I caused in the past, even when wandering in an alien land, until I merit bringing our suit, a case of truth and justice.

5) This is the fate of Ahitophel who, in ancient times, committed a horrible act. So they found in the holy book, called Sefer Ha-Heshek ("because he is devoted to me" [Ps. 91:14]), that was carefully hidden. Seventy-two elders fasted and prayed great prayers, searched, and found it in an eastern wall-singling out the word "kotel"[wall], that is "qotel"[killer?], and dealing with them [the demons] and their names-and they succeeded. Then this book went from generation to generation. Today, however, God save us, they have begun tearing from the very roots. They have begun printing in Zolkiew some fragmentary books in their own name. One is Sefer Toldot Adam; [the others.] Mifalot Elokim, Zevah Pesah, Poel Gevurot. Everything was plucked straight out of the aforementioned holy book and people bought [these books] so that they came into the hands of riff raff who don't know or understand any book or wisdom; only whatever is in these little books. They don't know how things occur, and they don't even perform a proper practice as it is prescribed. Obviously, they don't know the origins or functions of the names, for they do not have the slightest knowledge even of the exoteric part of the holy Torah. For all names are derived from Torah verses, either the initial letters, concluding letters or middle letters of the words; or through other word manipulations such as ATBA"SH or ALBA"M and permutations and numerical value. All of these [manipulations] are so that the demons will not understand. There are many types of evil demons, destroying beings, earth and water spirits, Jewish demons and Gentile demons. Jewish demons also understand the Torah and the liturgy...

6) If a person's debility, God save us, is innate, or due to food or drink, or a fall in his house or on the road, or the failure of organs on the inside or outside of the body, then there is no call for holy names or other such expedients. One must utilize treatments from trained physicians who study and practice with great physicians, from many many books and are expert in chiromancy, in signs, or in the science of physiognomy. Everyone must study, understand very
well, and know the nature of the human being so that the patient will not be harmed, God forbid.

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Sefer Ha-Heshek
Hillel Baal Shem, 1739

Prepared by Moshe Rosman, Bar-Ilan University, Israel
לעקרת מזון, הקטרים ופומורי הלפידים לדפוס בק"ד, אלוקי לוחח חיבורו ההזמנה בשמם אחד ספר הולדות ואד מפשלות אלוקים בהו.


רכ כל מהספרים קתני אלו וארוג וידיעי וארות ספרי מגיצים אפילים מבנה שכתוקן אוכף גזים ופשת ידוע.

שמรณ מנוהל ונוגדד rode שאף עלים יזيرا אפיל בנהל של הוראה הקדושה שלח משמה ויצא מפסוקי התורה פרפרא ואפסר בהוראה פרפרא שיסתע תוכפה דעון מחצינו וידיעי ו_tex2 inspections[1] הדין וא"ת בצ"ש אלפל" וצדוקים וממסורㄇ ואת הספרים שלח הכל מפלי ועל ההוזנים באשר...

שהם בידו תוכפה דעון מחצינו וידיעי וחשון וידיעי וממסורים פמיים שידי יהודא שידי ארמני שידי יהודא ג"כ מביניה החרות

ותחפרל...[6] (шедш [.] 6)

ואם התוללשה בח כל לפיו ר"ל מצע התבש ואמכף אייזה איכילה והשתייה או אמיות נפילת הבינה או בכר או מאיות המכלות...

אמן התוללשה בח כל לפיו ר"ל מצע התבש ואמכף אייזה איכילה והשתייה או אמיות נפילת הבינה או בכר או מאיות המכלות...

מעל[1] האבירים הבינימין והвшиеם או לוחם触摸 או כא מתחלף של שמות קדושים או שאר עניינים צירוי לתחסן ברפואתmans רפואת מומיה הלמדים והעוסקים על קどうしても גודלן מתספורים רבים והת замеча וברך והברות הבכירות בדרכי הבכירות ובידע התכמה...

הפרטיים שעבל פארפקים למחין וuerdo על.ResponseEntity במדוד מה밌 או למדים הנפש אמס שלח קוח"ח התוללשה...

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"It is truly a wonderful thing," wrote the English clergyman James Neil, who lived in Jerusalem from 1871-74, "that men with the same wants as ourselves ...should do everything exactly opposite to the way in which we do it.\[1\] Obadiah of Bertinoro, who traveled from northern Italy to Jerusalem some four centuries earlier, would most probably have agreed, though his epiphanic experience of surprising strangeness occurred not in the Holy Land, but on the island of Sicily, among the Jews of Palermo. In late 1486 he left his native Città di Castello (in Umbria), where he had engaged in loan-banking but seems never to have married,\[2\] and traveled south, first to Rome and then to Naples. Although it is commonly believed that he departed from his home town with the intention of traveling to the Holy Land, either as a pilgrim or new immigrant, a careful reading of the first part of his 1488 letter to his father (re-translated below),\[3\] suggests that it was primarily the need to quickly leave Città di Castello that originally motivated him, rather than the desire to travel east. One suspects that he was accused of either financial or sexual misconduct - possibly with a Christian woman.\[4\] Several decades later, during the 1520's, at least two of the sons of Abraham of [Città di] Castello were slipped stealthily out of town on account of dangerous misdeeds involving non-Jews. In at least one instance, that of his son Elyakim, this involved relations with a Christian woman, whose angry brother (Niccolò) vowed, as Abraham informed his exiled son, to "tear you down...and root you out of the land of the living."\[5\] And in the 1550's an unmarried banker, Abramo of Montescoro, was successfully entrapped by Christians and sent to jail for having sexual relations with a married woman - who was sent to his home.\[6\] It is not unlikely that Obadiah, who as mentioned above, was also not married at the time of his hasty departure from Città di Castello, was involved in a similar scandal.

Of his brief sojourns in Rome and Naples Obadiah wrote nothing to his father in his 1488 letter from Jerusalem, though he may have reported on their Jewish life in an earlier letter home. The 1488 letter was written, as Obadiah himself noted, in response to a letter he had received from his father while he was in Naples. It may have been in Rome, while contemplating the Arch of Titus, or perhaps a bit later, while contemplating the Gulf of Naples, that he decided to set sail for the Holy Land, and after communicating his intention to his father received the letter in which he was "commanded" by the latter to describe "the manners and customs of the
Jews in all the places in which my foot has trod, as well the nature of their intercourse with the
gentiles among whom they live." Of Salerno, his next stop, he wrote almost nothing, although
he was there for some for four months, perhaps because the Jewish community was so small.[7]
It was in Palermo, his first stop on the island of Sicily, that he seems to have realized
immediately that he had found a subject worthy of his father's assignment.

In Palermo he encountered a Jewish society that was in many ways the reverse of the ones he
had known in northern Italy. The Jews were mostly poor and heavily involved in manual labor,
and this was reflected in their "tattered and filthy garments," which caused them, according to
Obadiah, to be "much despised by the gentiles." By contrast, the Jews of central and northern
Italy were better able to afford the local habit of "fare una bella figura." Already in the early
fifteenth century the heads of the communities of Rome, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, as well as
representatives of the regions of Romagna and Tuscany, passed a series of sumptuary
regulations, partially in order "to avoid arousing the envy of the gentiles," that prohibited, for
example, "any man or woman to wear any cloak of sable or ermine."[8] Such regulations would
have been unthinkable and unnecessary among the Jews of Palermo.

Although Obadiah was not critical of either their poverty or their tatters, he was quite taken
aback by the local habit of Jews both informing on and inventing accusations against each
other in order to settle scores, something that was far less common, though not unknown,
among the communities of the north. He was also quite surprised to see that among the Jews
of Palermo the laws of menstruation were observed "with great leniency," although there was a
mikveh installed within the compound of the main synagogue. As he certainly knew, in
northern Italy women were committed enough to their monthly immersions in order to
perform them, when necessary, even in rivers and streams, where they often had to
compromise their modesty.[9]

Yet, Obadiah also realized that there was one area of observance in which the Jews of Palermo,
as well other communities of the eastern Mediterranean, were more scrupulous than their
coreligionists in northern Italy- abstention from "wine of gentiles." As I have argued elsewhere,
their tendency toward stringency in wine and laxity in ritual immersion served for him as a
kind of metaphor for the difference between the religiousness of these Mediterranean Jews and
that of those among whom he had lived in northern Italy...More than seeking to praise
Palermitan Jews for their stringency in one area or find fault with their laxity in another,
Obadiah sought to highlight...the sharp differences between the two religious cultures."[10]

Endnotes
[3] The first English translation of Obadiah's letters from Jerusalem was done by "A. I. K. D," under the supervision of Rev. Dr. S. Davidson, and was published in Miscellany of Hebrew Literature (London, 1872). For a critique see M. Steinschneider in Hebraische Bibliographie 13 (1873), 124. It was reprinted, in part, by Elkan Adler, in his Jewish Travellers (London, 1930), 209-250.

[4] Local Italian authorities often imposed heavy fines, and sometimes jail sentences, upon Jewish men who cohabited with Christian women, especially if they were not prostitutes. See recently E. Horowitz, "Families and their Fortunes," in Cultures of the Jews: A New History ed. David Biale (New York, 2002), 580-82, and the literature cited there.


[7] See A. Toaff, "Salerno," EI, who strangely asserted that during Obadiah's sojourn there he "apparently frequented the medical school." It seems more likely, however, that he was involved there in money-lending. The earliest bank was founded there in 1479, and Jews were still involved in banking there until the very end of the fifteenth century. See Alfonso Silvestri, Il Commercio a Salerno nella seconda metà del Quattrocento (1952), 30-36, 523.

[8] A "cloak lined with fur," was permitted, however, "if none of the fur was placed on the outer covering of the cloak." Similarly, women were prohibited from wearing "any silk or velvet dress except in such manner that is completely concealed." The regulations were published in both their Hebrew original and in English translation by Louis Finkelstein, Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages (New York, 1924), 281-95.


[10] Ibid, 143.
Letter from Jerusalem
Obadiah of Bertinoro, 1488

Translated by Elliott Horowitz, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

First Letter (Part 1)

My strength and my stronghold, the protector of my portion: My eyes pined away from affliction and I experienced pain and sorrow when I departed from you, for my soul refused consolation at having abandoned you as you faced old age, with failing strength. And whenever I remember, dear father, that I have forsaken your hoariness, my eyes flow with rivers of tears. Yet, although I cannot do you the honor of serving you in the appropriate manner, since God has decreed my separation, and turned to wherever I turned, in this alone I shall serve you - by remembering you here in the land of the Jordan and telling you from beginning to end of all my comings and goings. And I shall prepare the dish in the manner of your liking by describing the manners and customs of the Jews in all the places in which my foot has trod, as well the nature of their intercourse with the gentiles among whom they live. For so you commanded me in the letters I received in Naples at this time last year (1487).

On the first day of the ninth month (Kislev, 1486), after having concluded my affairs in Città di Castello, the place of my origin, I set out and passed through Rome, arriving in Naples on the twelfth of that month. I tarried there for a long time, not finding any vessel such as I wished. I went to Salerno, where I taught gratuitously for some four months, and then returned to Naples.

In the fourth month, on the fast day of 17 Tammuz, 1487 I departed Naples on Monsieur Blanche's good and large ship, which carried nine Jews among its passengers. It was five days, however, before we reached Palermo, owing to a calm.

Palermo is the chief city and capital of Sicily, and contains about 850 Jewish families, all living on one quarter, which is situated in the best part of town. They are "the first born of the poor" - artisans, such as copper and iron smiths, and porters, doing also "all kinds of work in the field." And they are much despised by the gentiles, by reason of their tattered and filthy garments. As a distinguishing mark they are obliged to wear on their breasts a piece of red...
cloth about the width of a gold ducat. They are obliged also to provide many royal services, working at any public employment assigned to them, such as drawing boats to the shore or constructing dykes. And if anyone is to be executed or corporally punished, this is carried out by the Jews.\[^9\]

[The following section was deleted by Adler, Jewish Travellers but partially restored in J. R. Marcus, The Jew in the Medieval World, A Source Book: 315-1791 (1938)].

Among the Jews there are many informers, such that this transgression seems to them to have been abrogated.\[^{10}\] They continually betray one another publicly without shame, and if any man hates his neighbor, he conjures up some false accusation against him. Even if the matter is investigated and found to be false, the informer has no cause for shame,\[^{11}\] for according to local law and custom one who defames his fellow man behind his back\[^{12}\] is not punished.

The people here also observe the laws of menstrual separation with great leniency, and most brides enter the marriage canopy already pregnant. They are extremely zealous and meticulous, however, in abstaining from the wine of gentiles. One of them, who merely transported wine for a non-Jew from one place to another, was forced by his coreligionists to forfeit the profit, and was nearly excommunicated, except that he claimed to have done so unknowingly.

The synagogue at Palermo has not its equal on earth,\[^{13}\] or among the nations; it deserves great praise and commendation. In the outer courtyard there are stone pillars encircled by vines such as are to be seen nowhere else. I measured one of the vines, and it was the thickness of five spans. From there one descends by stone steps into the court facing the synagogue, which is surrounded on three sides by vestibules with large seats for those who, for whatever reason, do not wish to enter the synagogue. In the middle there is a splendidly beautiful fountain, and on the fourth side is the entrance to the synagogue, which is built in the form of a square, forty cubits long and forty cubits wide.

Facing east is the hekhal,\[^{14}\] constructed handsomely out of stone in the shape of a dome,\[^{15}\] for they do not place their Torah scrolls in an ark [of wood], but rather on a wooden shelf in the hekhal, inside cases adorned with crowns, and with finials (rimmonim) of silver and crystal at the top of their staves.\[^{16}\] I was told that the total value of the silver, crystal, and gold embroidery in the hekhal exceeds four thousand gold pieces. The hekhal has two entrances, one facing south and one facing north, and two officials of the congregation are entrusted with their opening and closing.\[^{17}\]

In the center of the synagogue is a wooden platform, the tevah, to which the readers ascend to lead the prayers. There are now five readers employed by the congregation, and they lead the prayers on Sabbaths and holidays with lovely voices and melodies, the likes of which I have not encountered in any of the places through which I passed. On weekdays, however, only a few
attend services in the synagogue, so few that a child may record them.\[18\]

There are several chambers surrounding the synagogue, such as that of the hekdeshe, where beds are provided for the sick and for strangers coming from distant lands who have no place to pass the night, [19] and the chamber of the ritual bath. [20] There is also the large and attractive chamber of the berurim, [21] who sit in judgment and regulate the affairs of the community. The community elects twelve berurim every year, and they are empowered by the king to fix taxes and imposts, to confiscate property, and to imprison. This proved to be a stumbling block and stone of offence, [22] for 'scoundrels and nobodies\[23\] frequently approach the viceroy with gifts so that he will appoint them as berurim, and they in turn channel the income from to the synagogue and the community to the viceroy, so that he will lend them support and see to it that their wishes are fulfilled. The berurim have placed an iron yoke on the neck of the people, [24] and their sin has been great, for the poor cry out all day against their oppressors, and the city's outcry goes up to heaven.

I noticed in Palermo that when someone dies his coffin is brought into the courtyard facing the synagogue, and he is eulogized there by the readers, who also recite laments over him. If the departed is a distinguished man, especially if he is a Torah scholar, the coffin is brought into the synagogue itself, and a Torah scroll is removed [from the hekhal] and placed on one of the four corners of the platform [tevah], with the coffin just below it, and he is eulogized and lamented there. This is done on all four corners of the platform. [25] The body is then taken to burial outside of town. As soon as they have reached the town's gate the readers begin to recite "Hear this, all you peoples" and the entire [49th] psalm aloud, and other psalms also in a great voice, until they reach the cemetery.

I have also noticed that on the nights of Yom Kippur and Hoshana Rabbah, after the evening prayers in the synagogue, the officials open the two doors of the hekhal facing north and south, and people remain there all night until morning. The women of each family come to prostrate themselves and to kiss the Torah scrolls. They come in through one door and go out through the other, [26] and all through the night one enters and one exits.

(The following section was deleted by Adler, Jewish Travellers)

They differ from our customs in many matters; for example, they recite the Shema in a loud voice, as is the custom also in all of Egypt and the Holy Land. And on Yom Kippur the reader does not interrupt his [Amidah] prayer to recite Selihot, but begins Selihot only after he has completed his own prayer. Moreover, they fall upon their faces [to recite Tahanun] at each of the Yom Kippur prayers. On the Ninth of Ab they recite Va-Ya'avor [based on Exodus 34] even more often than we do on Yom Kippur. And on Simhat Torah they do things that I shall not describe. [27]
I remained in Palermo from the 22nd of Tammuz 5247 until the Sabbath of Bereshit 5248. [28] Upon my arrival, the berurim asked me to deliver lectures on Sabbath afternoons before the Minha prayer, and so I did. I began lecturing on the Sabbath of the New Moon of Ab 5247, and God made me favorable in their eyes such that I was obliged, against my will, to continue every Sabbath. This proved to be a stumbling block for me, for I had come to Palermo with the object of going on to Syracuse, which is at the [eastern] end of the island of Sicily, having heard that this was the time during which the Venetian ships bound for Beirut, near Jerusalem, would stop there. But they hired counselors to frustrate my plans, [29] and told me lies, [30] and with a multitude of dreams and empty words, [31] as well as false and misleading oracles, [32] they deceived me and prevailed against me. [33] Like a bird caught in a trap I was kept there until the [Venetian] ships passed Syracuse and went their way, and through that bad business [34] I missed a good [opportunity for] crossing.

I therefore remained in Palermo speaking to the dead [35] and to women and children each Sabbath afternoon for nearly three hours, inveighing against informers and those who were guilty of intercourse with menstruants, as well as others sinners. The local elders informed me that many repented from the sin of Zimri. [36] While I was there the informers [also] desisted. I do not know if they have returned to their folly. [37]

Yet, in all the days of my service [38] I shall never reside among people who will love me as deeply and respect me as greatly as have the Jews who reside in Palermo. For as these [Christians] gentiles treat their saints, so have they treated me. The common people say that "the Lord God has sent me and His spirit," [39] and many asked for have requested a cloak and turban [40] from among my garments as a remembrance. Moreover, a woman who was allowed to wash and iron my linen would be acclaimed by maidens. [41] Whenever possible they engaged in excessive reasoning [42] to persuade me that I should remain with them for at least a year, and offered to pay as great a salary as I would ask, but I heeded not their voice, for my heart was set on going to the place of rest and inheritance. [43]

Endnotes
[4] From these words it appears that Obadiah departed Città di Castello less with the intention of travelling to Jerusalem than because unexpected circumstances suddenly made it necessary for him to leave town.

[6] It is clear from here that Obadiah was born in Città di Castello, not in Bertinoro.

[7] Isaiah 14:30, meaning here "very poor."


[14] For the use of this term among Mediterranean Jewry for the permanent receptacle in which the Torah scrolls are kept see Maimonides, MT "Tefillah," 11;2. For an illustration of the marble Torah ark constructed for Rome's Scuola Siciliana in 1586 see Arte ebraica a Roma e nel Lazio ed. Daniela di Castro (Rome, 1994), fig. no. 108.

[15] In the original: "ke-'eyn kapela," which apparently draws on the Italian "cupola," but possibly "cappella" (chapel).

[16] For some illustrations of Torah finials from Renaissance Italy see Garden and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy, ed. V. B. Mann (Berkeley, 1989), figs. 112, 115.


[19] On hekdes as the term used for local hospices in the later middle ages see S. W. Baron, The Jewish Community, 3 vols (Phialdelphia, 1942), II, 328-29. In northern Italy the commonly used word was mahaneh, See, for example, Joseph Colon, Responsa, no, 160; The Story of David Hareuveni ed. A. Z. Aescoly (Hebrew) (2nd ed Jerusalem, 1993), 56; Elijah Capsali, Seder Eliyahu Zuta ed. A. Shmuellevitz et. al, (Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, 1976-83) II, 252.

[20] This central location may have had something to do with the evident lack of popularity of the mikveh among Palermitan Jewish women.


[25] For the practice of eulogizing a Torah scholar in the presence of a Torah scroll see also R. Judah Minz's funeral in early sixteenth-century Padua as described by Capsali, Seder Eliyahu
Zuta, II, 254.


[27] For some speculation on these Simhat Torah activities see Horowitz, "Towards a Social History," 148-49.

[28] This was approximately four months over the summer and early autumn of 1487.

[29] See Ezra 4:5.


[33] See Obadiah 7.

[34] See Ecc. 1:13, 4:8, 5:13.


[36] See Numbers 25, but especially Sanhedrin 82b, where according to one opinion Zimri engaged in 424 prohibited acts of intercourse in a single day, and according to another merely 60.

[37] Ps. 85:9.

[38] Job 14:14.


[42] Ecc. 7:29.

[43] Deut. 12:9

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Letter from Jerusalem
Obadiah of Bertinoro, 1488

Prepared by Elliott Horowitz, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Printable version in PDF format
בֶּעָנִיפָה:
מִסְפַּר תָּמִיתָי של יַרְשָלָם
(H. Schedel)
מִסְפַּר סֵפֶּר של האֲריָנָמה שְּפִּיל
Liber Chronicarum, Nürnberg 1493
עָלָמָה בָּאָרָיוֹת בִּיהְ דִּמְפִּירֵים הַלַּאָמִיתִים הָאֵנְגָּריִים.

סֵפֶּר הָדְמוֹקָה רְמוֹת: סֵפֶּר-אָוֹת, שְׁמוֹן, בֵּית אַל
02-99734555

אִירָבָה א

הָדְמוֹקָה אַלָּכְוֶם בֵּיהֵ דִּמְפִּירֵים עָרַי הָכָה. שָׁלוֹחַ כְּמֹאָה יְסַדְּרֵי יִרְשָכָה יְדָרוּ מֶבְחָרָה לֶבַחַז.
וְזֵר לֶבַחַז טֶבַעַתָּיִם וְרֶמֶרָה לְבַרְחַזֵה בְּלִבָּהָ.
אָמְנִי כְּי אָמַן.
עָזִי מֶבַע, עָזִי הָלִיך, מַחֲשָׁבַת, עָזִי אָמֵרְתָּ מִי עָזִי, עָזִי אָמֵרְתָּ מִי עָזִי, אָמְרָהָ הַמֶּמְפִּירֵים מַעֲשָׁבָה מַעֲשָׁבָה.
הַנָּחַת מָשָׁר כְּרַבָּה לְעָזִי הַמֶּמְפִּירֵים הָנָחַת: הָנָחַת בַּכּוֹסָה, הָנָחַת בַּכּוֹסָה. אֲבֹא אָבֹא.
פָּלַל יָסֵרְתָּ מִי יָסֵרְתָּ, יָסֵרְתָּ מִי יָסֵרְתָּ, יָסֵרְתָּ מִי יָסֵרְתָּ. אָמְרָה הַמֶּמְפִּירֵים אַלָּכְוֶם מִי אָמְרָה הַמֶּמְפִּירֵים. אָמְרָה הַמֶּמְפִּירֵים אַלָּכְוֶם מִי אָמְרָה הַמֶּמְפִּירֵים.
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ואישים כל אכלה בברך בוקד עיניהם על מבケース ולבישת טהום.
ובכן红外 התוקף שניהם ע様々 עננים דרור נראים ללא קיום.
מאז ביומתאされました العدو ודרכאן המלך אחד השיבות שפע העניין.
הświיצי הלשון העשון נתון ולא זות ע素晴ים שאוסר לא חכמה.
yssey יכים וירחיה להידעת, והלוותם עיר ביורש לא חכמה.
לא כדת נאם כדה הודו, והزوا נקדים לא יאכזו.
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ולא ימות בין טל זורית וידידים משך כּא בשתי המלך לא יתכלה יי ממקום.
לקחש עתיד שיפוריה ביניהם צילום ערורי והיוויב לזרות אל אשר שיאן השבטים.
보호ל יאדו שיפוריה ביניהם עירובו וידידי וידידי ממולאיה או כל נכרתי rematch את החבלי.
עך ונכון להארכו, לא לא ליכס נכון השם: חמשית השرصد והיירה.
עדכון הנכון ההארכה:
ערכו דוד בכרך של אוסן ולא לוכס וידידי רשע פה בתוכנו, ידית.
לאחרי הג'ג ישבו בפיגורן. 

3. ליבש עם 167 

ובש וושרגת בפיגורן. נושיא במחנה. 

3. אacaktır במחנה. 37

שוש לחשוב על המלחמה. 

4. בטולס במג'ה. 41

בדל עם הטולס. 

4. א Carlton עם הטולס. 38

א自治区 בתפקידים. 

5. א自治区 בתפקידים. 39

اعتماد קשר עם הטולס. 

5. א自治区 בתפקידים. 40

המרחיב את המלחמה. 

6. א自治区 בתפקידים. 41

יושב עם המלחמה. 

6. א自治区 בתפקידים. 42

בשליטה במג'ה. 

7. א自治区 בתפקידים. 43

przedsiębiorstw בטולס. 

7. א自治区 בתפקידים. 44

נחשב לبطل במטבח. 

8. א自治区 בתפקידים. 45

בשליטה במג'ה. 

8. א自治区 בתפקידים. 46

המרחיב את המלחמה. 

9. א自治区 בתפקידים. 47

اعتماد קצינים רבים ראשונים. 

9. א自治区 בתפקידים. 48

המרחיב את המלחמה. 

10. א自治区 בתפקידים. 49

اعتماد קצינים רבים ראשונים. 

10. א自治区 בתפקידים. 50

המרחיב את המלחמה. 

11. א自治区 בתפקידים. 51

اعتماد קצינים רבים ראשונים. 

11. א自治区 בתפקידים. 52

המרחיב את המלחמה. 

12. א自治区 בתפקידים. 53

اعتماد קצינים רבים ראשונים. 

12. א自治区 בתפקידים. 54

המרחיב את המלחמה. 

13. א自治区 בתפקידים. 55

اعتماد קצינים רבים ראשונים. 

13. א自治区 בתפקידים. 56

המרחיב את המלחמה. 

14. א自治区 בתפקידים.
החברה, אוお得 המתנה, נ샆: מספרים ומכונים שונים. סביר להניח שהחברה, או חברה מסוימת, פועלת במספרים שונים, וספקים שונים. בעקבות זה,.complete text is missing from the image.
לאחר שנעלם צהריים,ITY רוזנה לכמה עשרים נזירה של ששים, והימים החלו להלביש את המים, המשחתות, פותחים את האהלים. החיים היו יפים, עצים עולים מים בשתי-שלוש מטרים, כל מה שהירה צדקה, המשון היה עמיד, וה_objs של החולות התחילו להתנשאו ב😅

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בצומת העץ התותח הmodelName, עם עשה שבעה ימים, ושתי שבעה נשים, והם הס��ים את הטרף ומשתתפים בברכת יום יום. מגן, שחלומות בניו של המלך, חזרה מביאה את המים, והחיים נמשכו, жизни(writer) ו-גוריים(ם).
בכל הסצנאות צובה המתה. כי היא לא וחיה המרכז של כליאslashי הרוזנות ואשה ספרי ישנה.

עליה בדישיה הלוות ולכל כך מתכונת להוזנה, כי היא לא מישנה, וישנה מהсеўי של התוכן שלה כויה ובלסרות רבים התוכנים, יחד עם האנשים.

שאנו יאני, כי הרבר היה נ(Control מבריק הטרפעילותuyo על כל אוז˂ה הוזנה.

הלעג, כי כולם רומח: כמكدיה בתי הוזנה מומחיים, שלהם לי落ו, של אחת הוזנה ביער של מחנה, שלהם ביער של מחנה, ביער של מחנה, של אחד הוזנה ביער של מחנה.

שלח את עליי קור כויה. מתכונת-death כמבדיה של הוזנה של מחנה, של אחד הוזנה ביער של מחנה.

אש-Smith או חלק ההוזנה של מחנה, של אחד הוזנה ביער של מחנה.

ומני אוניה, בונט והמות המלאים של אוניה, והוא מספר לא בנמי.
 mostrando que a revolução no Oriente Médio é uma das causas mais recentes de instabilidade política e econômica em todo o mundo. As consequências dessa instabilidade são notórias, com aumentos significativos nos preços dos petróleo e outros combustíveis fósseis, bem como uma crescente instabilidade econômica e social em vários países. Além disso, a instabilidade no Oriente Médio tem implicações para a segurança global, com a possibilidade de propagar-se para outros regiões do mundo. 

Ao mesmo tempo, é importante dizer que a questão da segurança e da estabilidade do Oriente Médio é complexa e multifacetada, com uma série de fatores desempenhando um papel importante, incluindo a instabilidade política e econômica, a presença de conflitos armados e a instabilidade social. Além disso, é importante lembrar que a questão da segurança e da estabilidade do Oriente Médio é uma questão global, com implicações para a segurança internacional e a segurança de todos os países do mundo.

Em resumo, a questão da segurança e da estabilidade do Oriente Médio é uma questão complexa e multifacetada, com implicações para a segurança internacional e a segurança de todos os países do mundo. É importante que as questões da segurança e da estabilidade do Oriente Médio sejam abordadas de maneira sistemática e eficaz, com um olhar amplo e multifacetado para garantir a segurança e a estabilidade global.
נכתבו המילים "The Rise of the Ottoman Empire", in: A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730, by Abukir, pp. 130-137.
לא ניתן לקרוא את התוכן המוצג בערכים המוצג בתמונה.
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ץוהרי חוח, "The Number of Jews in Medieval Egypt", Journal of Jewish Studies, XIX (1968), pp. 8-12


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בכת החפירות שנערכו במצרים, ניתן לקבוע כי המגמות התרבותיות והתארכויות התדרדו במהלך התקופה הפרסית והיו平板ות בתהליך התפתחות פרוזדור של עם יהודי במצרים, המהווה את המszęה בין ימי הביניים ואולפנברג.
ביישמע Sgt. Moni Goldberg, וגייסות ממגוון ענפים: ערכו, פעלו, הפגינו כוחות בולטים. בהלוחם פנתה ענישה לשלישיות מקצועית, והנהלת סגלית, והנהלת סגליתامية, והנהלת מחלקה, והנהלת יחידה, והנהלת יחידה. זה ויורדים קרובים בין כל יחידות, הפקדות ו_INTERFACE של יחידות. זה ויורדים קרובים בין כל יחידות, הפקדות ו_INTERFACE של יחידות.
ظاهرة האותיות הנwrites בחינה
ואיזור משותף

.גנובס: יוהאן konzeil.コンゼル
.מואס: מסיבת המין

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.קונפ. מסיבת המין
.אנטנניא: אנטיוניאן
.שובה מכונה: שבית החרמון

51
Introduction to The Letters of Bella Perlhefter

Elisheva Carlebach, Queens College, CUNY, New York, USA

Notes: Bella Perlhefter's (d. 14 Elul, 5470 = Sept. 9, 1709) literary effects of Johann Christoph Wagenseil, a Hebraist scholar at the University of Altdorf.[1] The Jewish letters appear among other collections of ephemeral texts (such as Hebrew tombstone inscriptions) apparently to serve pedagogical and scholarly purposes.[2] Wagenseil had previously devoted one immense tome to contemporary Jews.

The literary legacy of Bella bat Jacob Perlhefter (born c. 1650) provides a rare glimpse into the life of a seventeenth-century Jewish woman (other than Glikl). An accomplished writer, instructor of music and rhythm, and entrepreneurial seventeenth-century businesswoman, Bella was born to a prominent Viennese Jewish family and appears to have received an excellent education. After the expulsion of Jews from Vienna in 1670, the family resettled in Prague. Bella's husband, Ber Eibescheutz, took her family name after their marriage.

The central source of anguish in Bella's life was the death of her seven young children. She commemorated them in an innovative way that ultimately serves as an eloquent memorial to her own life. She urged Ber to compose in Yiddish a work of moralistic literature to which she penned the introduction. Be'er Sheva (Seven Wells) contains a chapter named for each of their deceased children. It has never been published, but was copied many times as a source of consolation to parents similarly afflicted.

Bella's surviving letters are preserved in the Wagenseil collection (Ms. 80 in Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig). They date from the winter of 1674-75. From these letters we learn that Bella lived in the small south German Jewish community of Schnaittach while her husband travelled as a Sabbatian maggid or worked in the atelier of Johann Christoph Wagenseil, eminent scholar and Hebraist, in Altdorf. Bella corresponded with Wagenseil directly. Her ornate Hebrew writing exhibits a high level of Jewish learning. In addition to her own letters, she served as composer and writer of Hebrew letters for other Jewish women. Her own letters and her role as a letter writer for others allow us to raise the question of epistolary as a somewhat neglected primary source for the early modern period.

Astonishingly, despite decades of scholarly interest in social history, the history of daily life, and the interest in Jewish women's history, various troves of correspondence that have been
located, identified, and even published, have generally been used for other purposes such as philology, rather than for the window into these aspects of the past that they open. Correspondence is a complex genre with many limitations. Without the survival of complete two sided exchanges over significant stretches of time it is difficult to construct a narrative. Letters tell us nothing about the development over time of the self that writes, distinguishing them from even the most primitive and cursory autobiographies. Formulaic model letter collections, *brivshyteller*, which Bella likely employed, allow letter writers to appropriate entire segments, from salutations to closings, obscuring the individual voice.

Yet, letters have strengths as historical sources that even autobiographies cannot match. By their nature, letters address concerns of the moment of writing. While writers surely adopt poses to impress the recipient, granting or withholding information depending on their relationship, their letters were certainly never intended for publication and often for no other eyes than a single reader. We cannot overemphasize how vital a means of communication they were, how central to the maintenance of family, of community, of commercial ties in an age when distance and travel shaped Jewish life to a great extent. Letters generally touched upon matters of immediate concern, events not yet altered to suit the concern with posterity. Social and cultural historians of early modern Europe have been using correspondence for decades to enrich their studies of family history and the history of private life.[1] A *geniza*’s worth of private correspondence from the early modern period remains scattered in collections, unjustly neglected by many historians of early modern Jews.

**Endnotes**


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The Letters of Bella Perlhefter
Bella Perlhefter, 1674-75

Translated by Elisheva Carlebach, Queens College, CUNY, New York, USA

Notes: Bella Perlhefter’s (d. 14 Elul, ה"נ = Sept. 9, 1709) literary effects of Johann Christoph Wagenseil, a Hebraist scholar at the University of Altdorf.[1] The Jewish letters appear among other collections of ephemeral texts (such as Hebrew tombstone inscriptions) apparently to serve pedagogical and scholarly purposes.[2] Wagenseil had previously devoted one immense tome to contemporary Jews.

I
From Bella Perlhefter to Johann Christoph Wagenseil, Dec 11, 1674.
(Weinryb, 338-339. Letter III.)

With the permission of my husband I come before him with apologies

To his shining countenance and his esteemed greatness, exalted and praised for his praises are never done, he is the dear and venerated one, a Torah master who has ten measure of Torah and counsel...I compare and name him but I have never seen him, I call his name without knowing him, but I have heard that he is called in German Eure Excellenz Herrn Doktor Wagenseil, may the Lord guard him, and may peace be with all of his. I honor him above the dearest thing; I will write to him some lines and some letters. Before I begin to speak and to compose my words I bow before his Torah honor. And although I am not worthy to speak to his honor, not to say to write to him, a humble and young woman such as myself, and I am not even as one of the maids who attends my master to wash his feet, but necessity is neither praiseworthy nor contemptible and I reply to honor you. It is my husband, my master, who lives with my lord in his quarters, who wrote to me last week how my lord desires that I come to join my husband in Altdorf, on a particular day, Tuesday the 13 of kislev.[12 December 1674] to join his celebration and to attend the party that he is arranging for the gentlemen who come before him. My witness is in Heaven and my support above that it is impossible for me to come to my husband in Altdorf now, for I have a small child, with whom would I leave him, and who can I appoint to watch over him, and if I take the child with me, the cold is great, and there is very much snow and a small child cannot tolerate the cold because she has not left the house since her birth. And the third reason, even if I were able to get there, I said to myself now is not
the ideal time for this, for my child is small and she often cries in the manner of small children who cry, and I know that my lord is accustomed to restful calm, and how can I come before him with the cries of the child, may she live. [Bella switched genders of the child in mid-discussion.] Therefore I decided I will not come at this time, but when God decides to broaden my boundaries at some future time, for everything has its time under the heavens, and there is no person who does not get his time to celebrate, and when that time arrives, I shall come to my husband who is with my lord, to see how he is faring in the house, if he is still hale and healthy, as he writes me constantly of the generosity that my lord constantly bestows upon him and upon all the members of the household. May God reward him in accordance with his deeds, along with his wife and children after him, may they live, and may he succeed in all his endeavors, as King David has said in the first Psalm, "he shall be as a tree planted near a water fount..." These are the words of the woman of lowliest spirit, tender in years, speaking with impediment of lips and writing with dark hands and with broken pen, and the look of it will testify that I have written in haste. Isabella, called in the Hebrew language Bella (or Bila), daughter of the noble and generous Mar Jacob Peril hefter z"l from the holy community of Prague. Written on Monday, 12 Kislev [5]435= December 11, 1674.

II
From Bella to Wagenseil. 28 January 1675.
(Weinryb, p. 339 no. IV; Ms Leipzig folio 90)

I bow in homage to your glorious Lordship who is adorned by every wisdom, strength and beauty. Who is expert in all the Torah, the exalted Sir, Rabbi Johanan Wagen Seil, may the Lord guard him. I am the woman who stands before my lord because my husband and master does not have the leisure to inquire after my lord's welfare because he is always busy with his writing, as my lord well knows. Therefore I have come instead of my husband to inquire after his welfare and the well being of all the members of his household and to inform him that here in this village there is a farmer who has good wheat, that is, one sheaf [zimra] for eight and a half gold coins. Therefore, if my lord wishes to purchase wheat, please inform us through the villager who brings you my letter and then we will send the local farmer with his wheat to the house of my lord, and you can purchase according to your desire. Yesterday I sent you veal, tender and good weighing 15 1/2 liter; in German, fifteen and a half "pfund" [pounds], at one half liter for three kreuzer [she says tselemer, Yiddish substitute for Kreuz], and indeed yesterday I received the payment for the above-mentioned veal. Aside from these matters, I will not burden him with my ugly script, for I do not have the leisure to write to him appropriately in accordance with the honor due him, as I am constantly busy with my daughter, may she live, for a woman has no other purpose than her children. Therefore I will conclude now, and may you receive and accept peace and blessing from the Lord of all hosts and from myself and my husband a thousand times, in accordance with the soul of a woman who prays for the well being of his scholarship and the well being of his household, may God bless them with peace and blessing forever, the humble woman who writes with the permission of her husband, Bila, also called Isabella, daughter of Rabbi Jacob of the Perl hefter family of Prague. First of the
Peace and life to you, now and forever, noble lord, my beloved husband, great scholar, R. Ber, may the Lord guard him. I inform you of my health and that of our daughter, and I likewise hope that in all your 248 limbs, nothing is amiss. Know that I have received your letter and I rejoiced to read that you are well, and the exalted lord Eure Excellenz and his household are well. I will notify you concerning the matter that you wrote about, the rabbi of the holy community of Wertheim. This week, two men from the holy community of Wilhermsdorf arrived this week, and they told me that the rabbi of Wertheim was not at home, but his wife told them that surely if her husband were to arrive home she would beseech him to write a response to you as he promised you in Kreilsheim. And that you have further written to me about coming to your place, to teach meholot to the wonderful only daughter of your master the great scholar, her name escapes me, may God watch over her, it is puzzling to me that you add, "and to teach her to play the zither," for you know that from the day of my mother's death, I took an oath not to play any musical instrument, and now how an I violate my oath? But it is possible that during my free time I will come to teach her meholot, if I will be accepted there. Concerning the compromise you made with those people, they are screaming that you should write for them a compromise contract [shtar pesher], and it would be worthwhile for you to come here one of these days if you can. Know that your beautiful daughter, may she live, you would not recognize her if you saw her. I will not linger now, for I am tired of writing Hebrew for humble women like myself; I have done all this to please your master, and please send my regards to his wife and children and to all the members of his household, and to each master for himself, from your loving wife Bellla, daughter of Mar Jacob Peril Hefter z"l of the holy community of Prague. (written Sunday, parshat Vayera, Nov. 1674?)

Illuminator of the eyes of the sages in Halakha, with the taste of his sweetness, blessed is He who has chosen him and his learning. For he is none other than my beloved, my dear and wise husband, prince of Torah, R. Ber, may the Lord watch over him. The first matter is fear of the Lord; the second, I will apprise you of our health, thank God, and other such matters, so that they will not be unknown to you. Know, my beloved, my husband, that I received your letter on the first day of the week of parhsat Va'yetz. I rejoiced over your letter as one who had found great treasure, when I heard of your good standing and condition. The merchant you wrote about, who my brother David does business with all the time, lives in the city of Nurnberg and his name is Avraham Zut. And know that I've given the cantor the kast money for the month to
come, may it be a good one. And know that this very day, letters arrived here from Prague, from my second brother, Mar Zalman, and he wrote that I should not worry about our clothes and furniture, for he is safeguarding them closely as though they were his own. He wrote further that your brother in law, Mar Hirsch took your contracts [shtarot] from R. Hayim Lichtenstadt without your knowledge, and came to R. Hayim demanding payment for them, and he [R. Hayim] refused. Then he brought witnesses to the lay leaders [ketzinim], may the Lord protect them, that more than half the money from these contracts belongs to him, "of the partnership that I contracted with my brother-in-law, R. Ber now living in the holy community of Schnaittach. The lay leaders adjudicated that he [R. Hayim] should pay him [Hirsch] half, while the other half should remain until you come here yourself and explain matters to the lay leaders, so that they can know the nature of your partnership. And know that there has been a quarrel between the former lay leaders and the new leadership, each laid the previous [communal] debts on the other, until an order came from the ministers of the court that they should be jailed until they paid. And one of the apostates denounced them, saying that Simhah Winiberg the apostate who was killed here in Prague in 1666, the [Jewish] community had bribed one Gentile to kill him. That Gentile was not here at this time. What did the lay leaders do? They investigated in the place to which the Gentile had relocated, and they fell upon him at night and brought him here to Prague, where the ministers got hold of him [or jailed him, tofsu], and the Gentile cried out "you are falsely blaming the Jews, for they did not ask me to kill him, and I did not kill him, and who knows who the real killer is?" Therefore, the ministers, y"h, sent to the Kaiser, y"h, and I heard from reliable sources that an order came from the Kaiser yh that the local ministers should release the Jews, since the Gentile falsifies and the apostate denounces, and an apostate is not trustworthy. Regarding other matters, I cannot elaborate now for lack of time. And know that Moshe was not here to deliver your letter, a householder from Schnaittach brought it to me. Once again, may you receive blessings from the Master of the world, and from me, your wife, your beloved, Bila, daughter of R. Jacob Perl Hefter, may his memory be a blessing. And spread the canopy of peace to the illustrious gentleman, the sage and master Johan Wagen Seil, and to his wife, her full name and those of the children elude me, and to all the gentlemen individually. Parshat va-Yeitze. [December, 1674?]

[Added in the margin: If you could come here one of these days, for some business, how lovely that would be. May my ugly script not displease you, for I had no leisure because of my daughter, may she live, who always wants to be with me. [From] the holy community of Schnaittach.]  
[the apostate is infamous Wenzel Winbersky, on which see Putik and others]
The Letters of Bella Perlhefter
Bella Perlhefter, 1674-75

Prepared by Elisheva Carlebach, Queens College, CUNY, New York, USA

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Printable version in PDF format
IV. Bella Perlhefter an Johann Christian Wagenseil

... (Text in German)

V. Bella Perlhefter an ihren Mann Beer

... (Text in German)

VI. Bella Perlhefter an Ihren Mann
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Trent 1475
The Responses of a Pope and a Jewish Chronicler

Kenneth Stow, Haifa University, Israel

ABSTRACT: This presentation discusses two responses to the 1475 trial of Jews accused of ritually murdering a Christian boy, Simon, in the city of Trent. One comes from Pope Sixtus IV and another, a century later, from a Jewish chronicler, Joseph ha-Cohen.

This presentation is for the following text(s):
- Bull of Sixtus IV
- `Emeq haBakh'a

Kenneth Stow
Haifa University, Israel
Duration: 36:09

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Introduction to Bull of Sixtus IV

Kenneth Stow, Haifa University, Israel

Notes: See on these issues, Kenneth Stow, "Papal Mendicants or Mendicant Popes: Continuity and Change in Papal policies toward the Jews at the end of the Fifteenth Century" Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. ed. S. McMichael. Leiden, 2004, 255-73, and the literature cited there, including references to texts noted here.

In Pope Sixtus IV’s bull of 1478 and in Yosef Ha-Cohen's (1496-1575) ‘Emeq ha-Bakh’a (started in 1558, and finished in 1575, but not published till 1852), we see the incipience of an historical and an historiographical modernity. Though the text of Yoseph Ha-Cohen may seem principally a biblically stylized account of a ritual murder libel, in fact, it reveals an historian capable of divorcing the present from the past. Medieval historians who preceded him notably were incapable of making such a division. For Ha-Cohen, the past exists in its own right, not, as it was for medievals, the bearer of present-day values that require illustration. He carefully distinguishes between actors as individual with individual wills.

In looking at this text, our immediate interest is not to know what happened at Trent in 1475. There was a libel that the Jews had killed a boy named Simone and then drained his blood for ritual uses. So strong was the belief, so resilient, and so useful for the community of Trent, located on the Adige river about an hour North, by today’s standards, from Verona in Italy (a town that was already part of the German Empire and whose Jews spoke German or Yiddish, not Italian), that it was not formally condemned until the mid-1960s, much to the regret, it seems, of late twentieth century Tridentine clergy. The entire Jewish community of Trent, its males, anyway, was burned at the stake, and the women were forced to accept Christianity and their children taken from them until the pope intervened, as well as his emissary, Bishop de' Giudici, who nearly paid with his life for condemning the trial, the executions, and the other happenings.

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especially his recourse to biblical grammar and syntax. He is also most definitely tendentious.

However, Ha-Cohen is not monolithic. There are people associated with the Church, who may be positive or negative; they are not icons for set images. Humanists, like the bishop of Trent, who presses the libel forward, are dangerous. Ha-Cohen seems aware that the pope was highly angered. Depictions like this would not appear in earlier historical writing. Real individuals do not fit well with tales of the past that are purely illustrative of (supposedly) eternal values and truths. Moreover, what Ha-Cohen says is also verifiable. Pope Sixuts IV was indeed angered. This is clear from the (following) bull Sixtus issued in 1478. He seemingly acquiesces to a reality from which there is no return. Jews, whether innocent or guilty—and the pope seems to know they were innocent—had been judicially murdered. They could not be brought back to life. But the real message of the bull is that such incidents are not to be repeated. Jews might be convicted only following proper judicial procedures and incontrovertible proof. Innocent Jews were not to suffer. It is true that in taking this stance, Sixtus was also defending himself against political enemies. But this is secondary. The law was the law, and Sixtus insisted it be observed.

Yet a legalist stance would also have been medieval. Many might not realize this, but it is absolutely true, certainly in terms of theory, with but one or two exceptions over the centuries. Innocent III, as Sixtus’ texts notes, had said that only Jews who violate the law merit sanctions. What made Sixtus modern, or portending modernity was something else, which, in fact, was the truth he had to face that the medieval attempt to maintain a balance between restricting Jews, as the Church most certainly had ordained, and guaranteeing basic rights, was no longer viable. Too many forces were militating against it. In the Papal States, the solution would be a ghetto, a kind of limbo where Jews would reside unless they consented to conversion, which, of course, the vast majority did not.

Others, however, those who rejected the medieval equilibrium just described, saw the Jews as potential polluters of a pure Christian society, in just these terms. The Jews were "dogs," they said, who sought to "steal the children's bread," meaning the Eucharist, which they wished to contaminate. The Eucharist, however, was also synonymous with the martyr. Simon of Trent was a Eucharistic martyr, the body of Christ, the Church itself, incarnate. The ghetto established to prevent Jewish pollution, therefore, was a "kennel." Did not Pope Pius IX, in 1871, the year after the ghetto was abolished by the rulers of the new secular Italian State, say that "Jews were now barking (latrare) up and down the streets of Rome.

Against this view, Sixtus IV represents a last gasp to reestablish the old medieval way of doing things. It failed.
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Sixtus, servant of the Servants of God. To our venerable brother, Johannes bishop of Trent, greetings and apostolic benediction. Divine piety has made us solicitous to provide for the safety of souls and to ward off danger to the extent possible. Some time ago, the praetor of your city of Trent, whose fame precedes him, opened an investigation against some Jews then dwelling in your city who were said inhumanely to have murdered the Christian child named Simon. He carried out the investigation as the gravity of the affair demanded, and as was incumbent upon his office, and those found guilty he condemned to the ultimate penalty. But many people began to complain loudly; and in various locales, they began to interpret the matter with considerable suspicion. We, in order to remove all such suspicions, and in such a manner properly to perform our pastoral duty, and so that the truth should be made known to the faithful, have diligently had examined and inspected the closed transcript [of the trial] held by this praetor against the Jews. This transcript, protected by our seal, was sent to us by you and your [official]. The examination was carried out by a number of our venerable brothers Cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church, and also archbishops, legal experts, and the auditor of trials of our apostolic palace. They met frequently, and after examining with great care each phase of the trial, they reported to our consistory that the trial itself had rightly and properly been concluded. We, accordingly, sharing the sentiment of our brothers [just mentioned] regarding the account [of the trial], commending as well the zeal and diligence of your brotherhood in God [Hinderbach], nonetheless, wish and enjoin upon your brotherhood that in the pious devotion now commenced, you do not allow, following the decree issued in the General Council by our predecessor Pope Innocent III, of blessed memory, anything illicit to be done that might result in injury to God or contempt of the Apostolic See, or which might be perceived as potentially and inexcusably contravening canonical sanctions. And the observance of this injunction we entrust to your conscience, concerning which we trust in God.
You must carefully ascertain that no Christian, on the pretext of the foregoing matter [of Simonino] or for any other pretext, barring the judgment of an earthly power, should presume to kill, mutilate, wound, or unjustly extort monies from them [the Jews], or prevent them from observing their rites, permitted by law. In addition, we wish and enjoin upon your authority, that you apply all diligence, to restore the children of the condemned Jews, to their baptized mothers, along with their mothers' dowries, wherever they may now be held. Those who oppose this decree or rebel against it will feel the weight of ecclesiastical censure and other [pertinent] laws. This letter is effective notwithstanding other apostolic letters or prescriptions in contradiction. Dated at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, one thousand and seventy eight, the twelfth of the Kalends of July, in the seventh year of our pontificate.

Endnotes

[2] I.e. secret, confidential
[4] In other words, the decree of the Fourth Lateran of 1215, but in fact the full text of Sicut Iudaeis non issued by this pope in 1198 and then edited into the 1234 Decretales via the Council, with the significant clause intended by Sixtus IV elided, namely, that the protection of the bull applies only to Jews who do not machinate against the Church: which is to say, in this instance, that Hinderbach had violated this rule at Trent, since, as bishop de’ Giudici had reported, the whole story was a fiction and there was no plot; but after the fact, there was nothing to be done but to ratify the trial, for the proceedings technically were correct, even if the results were unjust, and then to warn against repetition; hence, the enormous circumlocution, a master diplomatic stroke, but one that Hinderbach unquestionably, as a legist himself, understood.

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Bull of Sixtus IV
Pope Sixtus IV, 1478

Prepared by Kenneth Stow, Haifa University, Israel

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SIXTUS IV 1471-1484

Rome, 20 June 1478

Sixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei. Venerabili fratri Ioanni, episcopo Tridentino, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Facit nos pietas divina solicitos animarum saluti consulere, et illarum, quantumin nobis est, periculis obviare. Cum itaque pridem pretor civitatis tue Tridentine, fama publica referente, contra nonnullos Iudeos, tunc in ipsa civitate commorantes, qui Christianum infantem, nomine Simonem, occidisse inhumaniter dicebantur, prout rei gravitas exigebat, et suo incumbebat officio, ad inquisitionem descendisset, et repertos culpabiles ultimo supplicio deputasset, multique propter eam ira graves murmure, et sinistra quadam suspicione in diversas partes rem ipsum interpetrari cepissent, nos, ut suspicionis huiusmodi omnis tolleretur occasio, et in tanta re debitum nostri pastoralis officii servaremus, utque facti veritas cunctis fidibus innotesceret, processum clausum per ipsum pretorem contra Iudeos predictos habitum, et ad nos postea per to destinatum, tuque et nuntii nostri sigillis munitum, per nonnullos ex venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sancte Romane Ecclesie cardinalibus, archiepiscopis quoque, referendariis nostris, et causarum palatii apostolici auditoribus, inspici et examinari fecimus diligenter, qui super hoc sepius congregati, ac singulis ipsius processus partibus accurate inspectis, tandem processum ipsum rite et recte factum in nostro consistorio retulerunt. Nos igitur, una cum eisdem fratribus nostris per relationem supradictam idem pariter sentientes, necnon studium et diligentiam eiusdem tue fraternitatis in Domino commendantes, nihilominus volumus, et eidem fraternitati tue per presentes iniungimus, ut in hac pia fidelium inchoata devotione non permittas, iuxta decretum felicis recordationis Innocentii pape III predecessoris nostri, in concilio generali editum, alicuius alicuius attemptari, quod in Dei iuriam, aut sedis apostolice contemptum cedat, vel
Introduction to `Emeq haBakh'a

Kenneth Stow, Haifa University, Israel

In Pope Sixtus IV’s bull of 1478 and in Yosef Ha-Cohen’s (1496-1575) `Emeq ha-Bakh’a (started in 1558, and finished in 1575, but not published till 1852), we see the incipience of an historical and an historiographical modernity. Though the text of Yoseph Ha-Cohen may seem principally a biblically stylized account of a ritual murder libel, in fact, it reveals an historian capable of divorcing the present from the past. Medieval historians who preceded him notably were incapable of making such a division. For Ha-Cohen, the past exists in its own right, not, as it was for medievals, the bearer of present-day values that require illustration. He carefully distinguishes between actors as individual with individual wills.

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The moon was dressed in darkness [a lunar eclipse, boding evil] on the night of the fifteenth of Nissan in the year 5235, the year of 475 and 1000. On those days, during the Passover holiday, the villain [Enzo; a misreading by Letteris][1] struck down a two year old lad named Simon, in Trent, which is in Italy.[2] Unseen, he placed the boy in a cistern near the house of Samuel Balt [di Bonaventura of Nuremberg] the Jew. As expected, the Jews were blamed.

At the bidding of the bishop [Hinderbach], the Jew[s]' house[s] was/were entered [and searched], but they did not find the boy. The search party left. But the next day they found him. The bishop then ordered that they go and see the child where he [actually] was. In addition, all the Jews were to be seized. Their lives were then embittered. They were tortured with the cord (hoisted in the air with their arms tied behind their backs), so that they confessed to what they had not plotted [let alone done]. One very old man named Moshe, and he alone, did not admit to this great lie. He died under torture. May the Lord requite his righteousness.

Then two learned Christians came from Padua men[3] who knew both theology and [canon] law. They came to investigate [the real facts]. This investigation infuriated the locals, who wanted to kill the Paduans.

The bishop condemned them[4] and embittered their lives with [hot] pincers and burned them [to death]. Their pure souls flew heavenward. The bishop confiscated their possessions, as he had planned, and he filled his chambers with mangled flesh [lit., tarefah].[5]

Then they said in Trent: the boy is holy, and, behold, he performs wonders. The bishop spread the "good news" to all the provinces. The people virtually fell over one another in their zeal to see the boy; nor did they come with empty hands. The people, all the peoples, hated the Jews, wherever Jews lived, and spoke to them only meanly.

The bishop wrote to the pope and asked: Make a saint of this boy, canonize him, for he is holy. The pope then sent a Cardinal, a legate [the Bishop of Ventimiglia Battista de' Giudici], to investigate thoroughly. Which he truly did. He saw the whole affair was nonsense.[6]
examined the boy [the corpse], too, which he discovered had been embalmed in spices and perfumes, as is done to the dead. And then he chided them [the bishop of Trent and his entourage], saying publicly that it was all a lie. This infuriated the people, and the legate had to flee. He set himself up in Rovereto, the city nearest to Trent [and under Venetian rule, unlike Trent, which the Emperor nominally controlled], and then he asked for the transcript that recorded all that the unfortunate ones [the suffering Jews] had said, as well as the sentence that had been passed on them. Following which, he arrested a domestic [or just employee] of the villain [Schweitzer] who had [really] killed the boy. And the villain indeed confessed. He said that this was all the bishop's doing, who had put it into his mind to finish off the Jews. This domestic, this man, the bishop [de' Giudici] brought to Rome, where they spoke to the pope. And the pope did not canonize the boy as the bishop had petitioned, in fact, had petitioned over and over, almost daily. They called him Beato Simone, but saint he is not called to this very day.

And now, Lord of Hosts, righteous judge, remove the blindfold from the uncircumcised of heart[7] who believe such lies, who validate deceit. For because of this lie, we have been killed time and again, like sheep for the slaughter. Save us for your name's sake.

Endnotes
[3]Likely the ref. is to Antonio Capodilista, who defended the Jews. Notable here is that so many Paduan legists, in opposition to the Perugian tradition of Bartolus and Baldus, were among the strongest opponents of Jews, including Bishop Hinderbach himself and G. F. Pavini.
[4]The subject switches back to the Jews; did something fall out of the text?
[5]Nahum 2:13: "[Where is] the lion that tore victims for his cubs and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his lairs with prey and his dens with mangled flesh? 14: I am going to deal with you--declares the Lord of Hosts." Clearly Ha-Cohen has this whole section in mind.
`Emeq haBakh'a
Yosef Ha-Cohen, 1575

 Prepared by Kenneth Stow, Haifa University, Israel
Anti-Jewish Accusations in Poland: A Medieval or Early Modern Phenomenon?

Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

ABSTRACT: Anti-Jewish accusations of host desecration and ritual murder, both of medieval origin and nature, became characteristic of the early modern period in Poland. Despite their medieval roots, some of the medieval characteristics of the accusations were gradually lost in the early modern period, even though their traces continue to appear in the sources. The presentation discusses the loss of theological significance of the accusations. The host desecration accusations gradually become church robbery cases, even if some theological rhetoric is retained, and the blood libels become cases of Jewish hostility and not of reenacting of the Crucifixion.

This presentation is for the following text(s):

- A Decree by the Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,
- Criminal Trial Concerning the Innocent Child Jan Krosnowski

Magda Teter

Wesleyan University, USA
Duration: 52:34

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Introduction to a Decree Concerning Church Robbery

Magda Teter

The text presented here is a decree of a Lithuanian Tribunal against Jews involved in a church robbery in a small Lithuanian town in 1700. As with most court records preserved in Poland this document is a summary of the trial, it is repetitious, repeating testimonies, each time it refers to a previous court action. Some of these verbatim repetitions have been shortened here. For Polish court records, it is extremely rare to have full records of interrogations similar to those found in Inquisition records in Italy, or Spain. Most of the time, it is a final narrative, composed by the court scribe for permanent record, the so called “clean copy.” The “clean copy” is based on notes compiled during the whole trial known as brudnopis, literally “a smudged/dirty copy.” The brudnopis was customarily destroyed after the “clean copy” was filed. As a result we are left with a scribal narrative, with actual testimonies omitted, roughly summarized, or with some verbatim fragments sometimes included at the scribe's discretion.

The text presented here shows a narrative that can be seen as a transitional narrative from the medieval, although characteristic of the early modern period in Poland, host desecration accusations that include miracles caused by the abuse of the host to narratives of church robbery, a criminal offence. Toward the end of the early modern period era, theological significance of the accusations is gradually lost even in Poland, although, as in this document, the traces of theological anti-Jewish rhetoric continue to appear in sources. A similar transition process occurs with ritual murder accusations, which are gradually transformed into narratives of cruel murder cases, devoid of their religious significance.

For more information about the accusations of host desecration against Jews see, the introduction to chapter VIII: “O Świętokrädzwach Nayświętszego Sakramentu” [On the Desecrations of the Most Holy Sacrament] from Stefan Żuchowski’s book Process Kryminalny o niewinne dziecię Jana Krosnowskiego [A criminal trial concerning the innocent child Jan Krosnowski] (Sandomierz 1713?).

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A Decree by the Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,
Concerning a Church Robbery

Akty izdavaemye vilenskoiu kommisieiui dla razbora drevnikh aktov
Court Records, 1700

Translated by Magda Teter

Year 1700, in the month of June, on the 19th day

Before us, the principal judges of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, has come a case concerning an accusation [filed] by God’s Reverend, priest Dawid Podebronowicz of the Komayski parish Church, and by its sacristan, Krzysztof Łukaszewicz, against the infidel Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, from the city of Pinczów, the leader [of the gang]; Nochim of Lublin, Israel of Przeworsk, Yohel of Murawa near Nikliszporek—sacrilegious thieves wandering from town to town in order to steal, and against Moszko alias Moyżesz, also known as Senator, who lives in the town of Wiżuny, who is their leader as well; and against his helpers: Kasrel Moyžeszowicz, Jakub Izakowicz, Abram Salmonowicz, and all [leaders of] Jewish kahal of Wiżuny and Kowary, who are now in Wilno [visiting] lord Jan of Goryszewo Goryszewski, esquire [stolnik], the under-starosta of Wilkomierz, and the lease-holder [arendarz] of Wiżuny to take counsel about this robbery.

[The plaintiffs claim] in a decree presented to the accused persons that: on the 26th of April of the current year 1700 the above mentioned Jews, Jakub Salomonowicz, Nochim of Lublin, Izrael of Przeorsk, Johel of Moraw, who were wandering and stealing in the various royal towns, especially in the city of Wilno, and causing a lot of damage to people, just before the commencement of the Tribunal had begun its proceedings, and knowing well about the generous donation of the miraculous painting of the Most Holy Virgin in the Komayski church, decorated in gold, silver, pearls and other gems, awoke a appetite for these gems, and somehow in their thievish manner broke into the Komayski church through a strong door; and having broken the ciborium with axes, dared to take with their foul hands the sacra sacrorum, a box with forty communion wafers for the Jews in other kahals, offending the Lord’s Sublimity. At the same time they stole two empty chalices, and having stripped the altar of St. John, and the painting of the Most Holy Virgin, off its pearls, golden rings, silver and other splendors that were on this painting, and two silver hanging candelabra, they took them with their sacrilegious hands.
And not being satisfied with this, they also broke into the sacristy in a thievish way, and stole a large silver monstrance and the parish priest's money, and many other things, which according to the registry of items, are easily worth twelve thousand zloty. And so, they, in their adamant malice, stripped the Komayski church, and [thereby] God's glory, off their silver and splendor. And they took it all to the accused Moszko, who lives in Wiżuny, and at his place they divided the spoils and the money; and so, when the parish priest noticed this godless robbery of the Komayski church, he notified lord starosta Rumborski, who is the church's patron, and with his people began to inquire about the robbery, requesting that should anyone see the stolen items or anyone selling them, he should inform [the starosta]; several days after this inquiry ... having searched for the sacrilegious thieves of the above mentioned items--clothes, golden crowns, and silver candelabra, Lord Stanisław Giedroyć and Lord Stanisław Moygis, in the absence of the parish priest, caught the now-accused Jew Jakub Salomonowicz and other impious Jews in his company, and some Jewish women, as they were hiding in the field two miles from Kowersk, and brought these accused thieves, Jakub Salomonowicz and Iohyl of Murawa, with two Jewish women, to Kowarsk, where the Jews of Kowarsk, with all their kahal, apparently empathized with the robbery, and, therefore, became participants and accomplices, [for ] they organized a tumult, on April 29th of the above mentioned year, and disregarding the severity of the common law designed against such dissolute people, they retook these Jewish thieves, the Jew of Murawa and the two Jewish women, whom they now hide among themselves. These were the Jews that Lord Giedroyć and Lord Moygis had arrested and for whom they had received guarantees from the kahal, but despite these guarantees, no one knows where these Jewish men and women are.

And Jakub Salamonowicz [sic] after having been left alone, and [apparently] desiring to avoid serious punishment, which he deserved because of his crimes, took an iron candlestick and attempted to hurt himself in his throat and side, almost killing himself. And, therefore, the parish priest of the Komayski church, who had brought the case forth, who had accepted the report of the lords, and especially the testimony of the accused, Jakub Salomonowicz, that the stolen silver and the church's ornaments can be found in the house of the accused Jew, Moszko alias Mojżesz Senator, who lives in Wiżuny, where they all lived before and after the robbery, beseeched the lord Goryszewski, the court official, podstarosta Wilkomirski, at the time the lease-holder of the estate of Wiżuny, to seek justice against this Jew Moszko, and to release him to court. And [the priest] sought help from lord Raiecki, the starosta of Rumborsk and a collator of the Komayski church in order to demand of lord Goryszewski and his wife, who are dissidents in religion and, therefore, enemies of the Roman Catholic Church, to release the accused Jew at once. Not only did Lord Goryszewski not bring the Jews to justice but also accepted them in his manor and guaranteed the safety to those accused Jews, Kastel Moyżeszowicz, Jakub Izakowicz, Abram Salomonowicz, living in Wiżuny, and this Jew, Moszko, their leader and sacrilegious thief, and evident bandit, and treated them lightly, despite the pleading of the Komayski parish priest. And so, when the plaintiff [the parish priest], desiring to take the case to the court of the main tribunal, and having entrusted the
criminal to the tribunal guards, in a friendly manner requested that the Jew secured by lord Goryszewski be brought in, not only did [lord Goryszewski], clearly in violation of the rules of the tribunal, not bring the Jew, Moszko, but also, here in the city of Wilno, on June 5 of the current year, gravely threatened the life of the priest, who is the plaintiff, and who now [accuses] lord Goryszewski of failing to bring the accused Jews to justice for [the crimes of Jews repeated here]... by hiding the Jewish vagrants, thieves, and bandits and providing them with advice and support, and also [accused him] of treating these Jews [here names of all of them again] lightly, and of willingly releasing the Jews that had been caught and demanded before the court [do wskazania paenas criminalissimas-untranslatable] to return or to reimburse for the golden, silver items and other decorative things stolen from the Komayski church and for the expenses, which the priest has had and still has....

And, after repeated postponements of this case on June 9, 12, and 16th on which the accused infidel Jew, Jakub Salomonowicz was brought in person from his arrest to stand in court in person, on June 19 of this year, the representatives of the infidel Jew, Jakub Salmonowicz, lord Jerzy Woytkiewicz and Paweł Rewiensi, having seen copies of these proceedings, and Jan Suroż Frąckiewicz and lord Michał Bohdanowicz, in presence of the priest of the Komayski Church, having been summoned by court officials [finally] appeared in court and the court proceeded with the trial. Therefore, representing the plaintiff, Lord Frąckowicz, stated his case against Jews, Jakub Salomonowicz, present here under arrest, Moyżesz-Senator, Kaszrel Moyżesowicz, Jakub Izakowicz and Abram Salamonowicz, and against the whole Jewish kahals of Wiżyuny and Kowary, and the local [kahal] here in the royal city of Wilno beyond the Gate of Troki, also against Nachim of Lublin, Izrael of Przeorsk, Iohil of Murawa, and lord Goryszewski...that at night of 25th onto 26th of April of the current year, these accused Jews broke into the Komayski church and having crashed the ciborium [pyx] with an ax they took the box with 40 pieces of the Host [kommunikanty], and gave it to other Jews and kahals or perhaps hid it somewhere, and they took two empty goblets, and a picture of the Most Holy Virgin and they stripped the altar of St. John off all ornaments, silver and gems, and they took two silver hanging lamps, and having broken into sacristy, they took a large silver monstrance and the plaintiff's money, all worth about twelve thousand zloty. And they took all the silver to Moszko, the Jew of Wiżuny, and they probably split the silver and money among themselves; and then, when they were fleeing Wiżuny, after the capture of the above mentioned Jakub Salomonowicz and Iochil of Morawy, his companion with two Jewish women, who were brought to Kowarsk by Lord Gieydoryć and Lord Moygis on April 29 that year, the Jews of Kowarsk having organized a tumult, recaptured the Jew of Morawy and the two Jewish women. But, having received the information that the Jew of Wiżuny illegally held the silver stolen from the church, Lord Goryszewski was asked to bring him to the office just as any criminal would have to be [brought]; but the kahal of Wiżuny offered a bail for him, and because Lord Goryszewski is a dissident in religion, he released this criminal to their hands without doing justice, and causing delays in court procedures. Moreover, committing all kind of excesses in our courts, [the Jews of Wiżuny and Lord Goryszewski] threatened the well-
being of the plaintiffs, which is showed in the excerpts [of testimonies?] given on June 5th of that year, in the report of the generals, and in the registry of the losses filed in the Wilno magistrate.

And the plaintiff requested that the arrested Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, be sent to torture so that one can extract more information, but Lord Rawienski, a patron of this Jew Salamonowicz, protested and stated that his client is not guilty, not even a suspect, because he did not commit any theft and [he said] that the plaintiff had not proven anything, because nothing was found with him, and he only met the other Jews and they continued along, and when they were captured they took only him to Kowarsk, and the others fled, which perhaps means that they were guilty. But he is innocent, and that's why he did not flee. And so, citing article 61 in chapter eleven of the common law statutes, asked that the case be referred for further inquiry. To this protest by Lord Rawienski, Lord Bohdanowicz responded that it was unnecessary to send this case for further inquiry because everyone in the Wilkomierski district knows that the Komayski church was robbed by the Jews. And the items displayed in this court had been found with the accused Jews, in whose company this Jew found himself; and therefore considering the deposition by the Jew during the first round of corporal inquiries, he requested that the Jew be punished; and if necessary the sacristan of the Komayski church should take an oath.

And Lord Woytkiewicz, representing Jakub Salamonowicz, was arguing that Jakub Salamonowicz was closer to being acquitted because he was innocent, not a suspect and was captured without any stolen items, and in order to prove his innocence even better, he requested that the plaintiffs, if they claim that he is guilty, testify according to the law in the inquisition/inquiry and that this whole case be referred to a higher court [locum loci]. And in this case we [court] require, for the moment, no oath from the parish priest of the Komayski church, and the sacristan, and send Jakub Salamonowicz, who had been captured with stolen items, for corporal inquiry under torture, which is to take place on June 21 in the usual place, and thus we set the date for the final hearing for June 23.

And after the corporal inquiry of the accused Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, when this case returned to court on June 26, the representative of the plaintiff priest of the Komayski church, lord Frąckiewicz, demanded that the Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz be brought personally to the court, and others agreed. And lord Frąckiewicz, the representative of the plaintiff read the results of the inquiry of the Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, that took place as it was decreed by our court, on June 19th, it was signed by the generals and which follows verbatim [de verbo ad verbum]: The confession of the Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, made in on June 21, 1700 here in Wilno, in accordance with a decree of the main tribunal.

First before the inquiry, this Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, did not admit that he was in Komaie, robbing the church with those other Jews, that is with Izrael of Przeorsk, Nochim of Lublin, Ichil of Nikliszporek, but that he only heard on the side that the above mentioned Jews, Izrael
Nochim and Ichel, having celebrated Shabbat [odprawiwszy szabas], left Wiżuny and went to Komaie, and having returned from there with silver, sold it to the Jew, Moszko, a.k.a Moyżesz, known as Senator, for ninety thalers, and they picked up the money and only forty five zloty was left with Moszko in Wiżuny. But after the first pull, Jakub Salamonowicz confessed that the Jew, Meier, an arrendator of Onikszty, had persuaded the other three Jews to rob the Komayski church, and when he was further queried he confessed that he had also been in their company, when they opened the church at night not with fire but with a tool [witrych], he stood as a watch guard at the cemetery, while the other three broke the ciborium with axes and stole the box with holy Hosts, two goblets and two silver plates from sacristy, a monstrance, two lamps and sold all this silver to the Jew, Moszko Senator, in Wiżuny, and they gave to Moszko the box with hosts, which he said looked like nickels. And [Moszko] then took them out with his lewd hands, and having put them on paper, he gave them to his wife to hide, and they conspired to burn the [hosts]. During the second [pulling] he confessed that the rest of the silver they had taken to Meier, the Jew of Oniksztan and a relative of Moszko's, but [Meier] did not want to take it because [he was upset] that they had not come to him first, and that's why the other three Jews had the silver items, with which they were recaptured in Kowarsk. And during the third [pulling] this Jew, the thief, confessed that during the fair of St. George in Wiżuny, Ayzik, the Woynoyski arrendator, and a son of Gerson the arrendator of Lord Sokołowski, conspired with Moszko Senator and his three companions to steal this silver, and they were supposed to divide the loot up but then they did not give him anything; and Ayzik ordered the thieves not to tell anyone where they go, and only to tell that we were going to Rakiszki, and in the tavern where Ayzik's wife [worked?] they drank vodka and beer and they inadvertently went to Komay, and hid in the fields till the evening. And he did not confess to any other theft. Piotr Adamowicz, the general of His Majesty the King who was present during the interrogation [confessata], signed with his own hand.

And after reading this [report of] interrogation, the complaint by the plaintiffs and the registry [of lost items], ... [we see] seeing proofs, which have come form the interrogation, that Jews had broken into the Komayski church without violence, opened the lock with a tool [wytrych], and broke the ciborium with an ax, and [then] stole the box with hosts, and two goblets, and two silver trays, a monstrance, and two lamps; and they took all this silver to Moszko, the Jew of Wizuny, who dared to put the hosts onto his sacrilegious hands [ad manus sacriles] and in offense to the Christian faith hid them. And it has been evidently shown that these numerous sacrilegious Jews of Kowarsk knew whom to recapture, and the kahal of Wiżuny also knew whom to bail out, and Lord Goryszewski did not want to release Moszko, the Jew and leader and a notorious thief, whom he also bailed out. And it has been shown that this Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz was in their company, and participated in this robbery, and that this was a collaborative robbery; that's also according to further testimony by the Komayski church sacristan, Krzysztof Łukaszewski, that on April 25 of the current year the accused Jews now bailed out by Lord Goryszewski, the Brest official and other people, had broken into the church, then broke the ciborium with axes, took a tin with forty six Hosts, two empty goblets, which they may have taken to kahals, and they stripped paintings of their ornaments and gems,
took two hanging lamps, and a large monstrance from the sacristy, all worth twelve thousand [zloty?]; and after the [thieves] had been caught and brought into Kowarsk, the Jews of Kowarsk recaptured them on the 29th of April, having created a tumult, thus the Jew of Morawy and two Jewish women were recaptured.

Therefore, since this Jew Moszko of Wiżyny bought the church silver from these thieves for ninety thalers, and hid these evildoers in his house, after the Wiżyny kahal had pledged for them, and still did not bring them to court after our judgement over Jakub Salamonowicz, [the general and representative of the priest demanded that Moszko and] also Nochim, Izrael, and Ichil and Moszko the Senator, and those Jews of the Kowarsk kahal, who had known about all this, and some Jews of the Wiżyny kahal, who had bailed Moszko out but failed to bring him court, be punished by life burning; and because Nochim, Izrael, Ichil, Moszko and those who had bailed them out: Kaszrel Moyżeszowicz, Jakub Izakowicz, Abram Salamonowicz and all the Wiżyny kahal, and elders of the Kowarsk kahal, as well as Lord Goryszewski with his wife failed to show up in court, [the general demanded that] they all be sentenced to infamy and that an order of arrest be issued. Moreover, in order to compensate for the loss of silver--worth at least twelve thousand or in generous estimate twenty four thousand that the church had suffered--and also for the court expenses--all worth about six hundred Polish zloty should be paid from their estates, businesses, merchandise, arendas and other assets to the parish priest of the Komayski church.

The patron of Jakub Salamonowicz, Lord Rewienski responded that his client, that is Jakub Salamonowicz, was innocent, because Izrael, Nochim and Ichel forced Jakub to participate when they went to rob the church, and they put him on guard while they were stripping the church of the ornaments, and he did so unwillingly, and they even did not give him any of the silver they had stolen, but gave everything to Moszko the Senator, and he was captured without any stolen item on the way to Kowarsk.... And [Jakub Salamonowicz] did not touch the silver, or the money, and nothing was found on him, and he [emphasized that Jakub] was not guilty of anything that the priest of the Komayski church had brought forth, and he demanded that his client be freed upon an oath.

Lord Bohdanowicz, the representative of the priest, responded that Jakub Salamowicz has no excuse, saying that the other Jews forced him into this, because no one can be forced to do things like that, and moreover, after the third pull during the interrogation he confessed that Ayzik, the son of Gershon the arrendator of Lord Sokółowski, and Moszko Senator persuaded him to commit this sacrilegious act, having informed him about everything during the fair of St. George, and, therefore, he had known well why they had gone to Komaye, and, therefore, he could not have been forced to do it, and, therefore, [lord Bohdanowicz] demanded that the Jew be sentenced to death by live-burning....

And finally, Lord Woytkiewicz broadly speaking, stated that this Jew confessed under torture in terrible pain not knowing what he was saying, and only now he is confessing what really
happened and [lord Woytkiewicz] demanded that [Jakub] be asked to take an oath and after
that be freed. And so we in this case between Dawid Podebrynnowicz, reverend priest of the
Komayski church, in representation by Jan Krzysztof Łukaszewicz, the sacristan of the said
church and the unfaithful Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, of the town of Pinczów, and Nochim of
Lublin, Izrael of Przeworsk, Ichil of Morawy, Moszko Moyal, known as Senator, Kaszrel
Moyalowicz, Jakub Izakowicz, Abram Slamonowicz, and all Jewish kahal of Wiżuny and the
elders of Kowarsk and also Lord Jan of Goryszew Goryszewski...based on the evidence
submitted by reverend parish priest of Komayski church and also the corporal interrogation of
the Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz, who had confessed to have participated in this sacrilegious act
of robbery of the Komayski church with other Jews, we the court taking into account the
common law and holy justice...sentence the above mentioned Jew, Jakub Salamonowicz to
death by burning as a sacrilegious thief, and we order that the execution take place at the usual
place at a time to be specified and the remaining accused to pay the losses in the Komayski
church caused by Jews, and worth 12 thousand złoty, and generously [sowito] estimated for 24
thousand, and the court expenses estimated at 600 zł, all together 24,610 złoty to be paid from
the estates and domains, houses, businesses, arenda, moveable and immoveable property
wherever they can be extracted. And we sentence the accused Jews themselves, Nochim of
Lublin, Izrael of Przewors, Ichil of Morawy, Moszko Moyal, known as Senator, Kaszrel
Moyalowicz, Jakub Izakowicz, Abram Slamonowicz, and all Jewish kahal of Wiżuny and the
elders of Kowarsk and also Lord Jan of Goryszew Goryszewski and his wife for participating in
the plot and not releasing Moszko the perpetrator of sacrilege and the leader of the band to
infamy, and we order these now fugitives [infamisy] be announced all over and that they
should be arrested so that they can be executed.

And ... the oath of the sacristan follows: 'I Krzysztof Łukaszewicz swear in the name of God
Almighty, One in Trinity that on the night of April 25 to 26th 1700 the infidel Jews Jakub
Salamonowicz of Pinczów, Nachim of Lublin, Izrael of Przeworsk, Ichil of Morawy near
Nikliszporek, Moszko--also known as Moyal Senator, who have been bailed out by Lord
Goryszewski, an official of Brest [stolnik Brzeski] and others, broke into the church in Komaye
be opening the lock, and having broken the ciborium with an ax, they stole the tin with forty six
Hosts, two goblets, which they took either to the kahals or something else, [and they] stripped
paintings of their ornaments, silver and gems, and they took two hanging lamps and from the
sacristy they took a large monstrance and money, all this worth twelve thousand złoty. And
when they were captured in a chase and brought to Kowarsk the Jews of Kowarsk recaptured
the Jew of Morawy and two Jewish women on April 29, 1700 having organized a tumult. And I
swear, God Help me, that this Jew Moszko of Wiżuny bought the church silver from the thieves
for ninety thallers, and hid the evil-doers in his place, whom in the end the kahal of Wiżuny
took under their guarantee. And if I testified unjustly, please God destroy me. And after the
accepting this oath, the general, Piotr Zynza, who supervised the court, following the common
law and the court order, pronounced the infidel Jews: Nochim of Lublin, Izrael of Przeors,      Ichil of Morawy, Moszko--also known as Moyal Senator, Kasrel Moyalowicz, Jakub

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Izakowicz, Abram Salamonowicz and all of the Wiżuny kahal and the elders of the kahal in Kowarsk to be fugitives [infamisy] deserving death and issued an order of arrest; and he pronounced Lord Jan Goryszewski and his wife as infamisy as well. And therefore, we the court, deem this decree valid.

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Akty o evreiakh
A Decree by the Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Court Records, 1700

Prepared by Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

Roku tysiącznego siedmsetnego mca Junii dziewiętnastego dnia.

Przed nami siedzieliśmy główni na trybunale w w-m x-ie Lit-m z województw ziem y powiatów na rok teraźniejszy tysiączny syedmsety obranymi, gdy z porządku registrowanego ku sądzeniu przypadła sprawa w Bogu wielbnego imię księdza Dawida Podebronowicza--plebana kościół Komajskiego, z delacsey pana Krzysztofa Łukaszewicza--zakrystyana tego kościoła Komajskiego z niewiernym żydem Jakubem Salamonowicza z miasta Pinczowa, samym pryncypałem. Nochimem z Lublina, Izraelem z Przeworska, Johelem z Murawy z Nikliszporku, dla złożyczywa od miasta do miasta włóczącymi się świętokrzedzami, Moszkiem alias Możżeszem przezywającym się Senatem, wmiasteczku Wiżunach mieszczącym, z temi lotrami przewodnią maającym, także z poręcznikami onego, Kasrelem Możżeszowiczem, Jakubem Iżakowiczem, Abramem Salomonowiczem, y całym kahałem żydowskim Wiżuńskim y Kowarskim, starszymi tego [245] kahału wszystkimi, w Wilnie na ten czas zostającemi, w spolnej radzie do krzędziży będącemi, tudzież z imię panem Jane z Goryszewa Goryszewskim--stolnikiem Brzeskim, podstarościem Wilkomierskim, dzierżawcą Wiżuńskim y samym ięmć, za zakazem obżalowanum osobom podanym mieniać o to: iż przerzeczeni obżalowani żydzi, wiedząc dobrze o szczeroblewym na kościół Komajskiego y obraz cudownej Nayświętszej Panny przez pobożnych dobodziejów w różnym splendorze, złocie, srebrze, perlach, kleynotach nadaniu, na które obżalowani żydzi zawzięwszy appetyta, po różnych miastach, snać y w mieście i.k. mci Wilnie, immediate przed zaczuciem sądów głównych trybunalskich złożyczywstwem się bawiwszy, nie mało szkody ludziom poczyniwszy, w roku teraźniejszym tysiąc siedmsetnym ze dnia dwudziestego piątego na dzień dwudziesty szósty mca Apryla, w nocy, wmyślni iakowemiś złożyczyśkimi sposobami, przez mocne y warowne zamki do kościoła w Komaiach, w powiecie Wilkomierskim będącego, y tam rozłupawszy siekierkami cymborium, śmieli y wążyli się pomienieni żydzi niewierni, Jakub Salomonowicz, Nochim z Lublina, Izrael z Przeorska, Johel z Morawy, sprośnemi lotrowskimi rękoma swemi sacra sacram tangere, puszkę cum venerabili ze czterdziestą sześcą komunikantów wziąć y drugim
do kahałów żydom na eluzją maiestata pańskiego oddać, czyli też gdzie zadziewi, przytym dwa kielichy próźne wziąwszy, obraz nayświętszy Panny y ołtarz Jana świetego odarzys, perłą pierścienie złote, srebra w tabliczkach y inne różne splendory na tymże obrazie będące, także lamp dwie srebrnych w kościele wiszących, sacrilega manu pozabierali, a niekontentując się tym, ale włomawszy się takowym że złodzieyskim sposobem do zakrystyej, monstrancyą wielką srebrną y pieniędzy załużającego imć xiedza plebana, co tam być mogło, y innych niemal kościenlanych rzeczy, podług osobliwego regestru, co może żalujących pamiętać, y wiedzieć, letko rachując na złotych dwanaście tysięcy wykradli, kościoł y chwałę boską z ozdoby dla zapamiętatey złości swey obnażyli, y te wszystkie srebro y splendor w kościele Komayskim pokradzony, zniósszy do obżalowanego żyda Moszki, w Wiżunach mieszkaśćego, iakowsę między sobą exdiwizią kradzieży y pieniędzy za to y Moszki wziętych, czynili, zatym gdy żalujać imć xądza pleban Komayski, postrzęgęszy takowe bezbożne okradzienie kościoła Komayskiego, dawszy o tym znać wielominowemu imć panu staroście Rumborskiemu, iako kolaforowi tego kościoła, a za dodaniem od imści ludzi po różnych mięscach opyt czynili, że kościoł okradziony doniósł, ięśliły się rzeczy kościenłe gdzie pokazali, y iakowych złoczyńców przedających, aby do żaluazăcego dawali wiedzieć upraszał; po którym takowym opycie, w kilka dni dla nieustającej o tym świętokradztwie quaerimony y queareli imć xiedza plebana Komayskiego, za rzadzeniei Neywyszszego Pana, który chwały swey świętey zawsze jest vindex y za okazaniem lica skradzonych wyz wysyraźnych rzeczy, szmatów, koron złocistych, srebrnych y lamp a za poścignieniem y nagonieniem incarceronanego, teraz obżalowanego żyda Jakuba Salomonowicza, drugich żydów towarzystwa jego świętokradców, żydowkami dwoma pół mile od Kowerska w polu uchodzących, gdy niektórzy z ichmć panów obywatelów, mianowicie imć pan Stanisław Gierdoyć y imć pan Stanisław Moygis, w niebytności żaluazăcego xiedza, uganiając tych żydów y żydówk, iako iawnych y przelicznych złodzieiów uchwytałwszy, tylko obżalowanego Jakuba Salomonowicza y Johyła z Murawy z dwoma żydówkami przez Kowarsk prowadzili, tedy żydzi w Kowarsku mieszącące, całym kałalem swoim, snać poczuwając się do tego złodzieystwa, będąc uczestnikami et complices, uczyniwszy tumult w roku tymże wysz pisanym msca Apryla dwudziestego dziewiętego dnia tych złodzieiów żydów y żydówk, nic ne respektując na srogość prawa pospolitego, na [246] takowych swawolnych ludzi opisanego, niesłużnie od prowadzących wysz mianowanych osob żyda z Murawy y żydówki obiedwie odbili, odgromili, u siebie przechowywali y przechowując, których żydów imść pan Giedroyć y imć pan Moygis in instanti kahałow Kowarskiemu przyparczili y aresztowali, mimo które przypreczenie niewiedzieć gdziego tego żyda y żydówki podzieli, a Jakub Salomonowicz zostawszy y sam iedn tylo osadzonym będąc, chcąc uś panen srogich, za takowy kryminal przez siebie zasłużonych, porwawszt lichtarż żelazny, samego siebie w gardlo y w bok ranił y mało o śmierć przyprawił. Zatym żalujać imć xądzie pleban Komayski, wziowszy wiadomość z relacey pryncpala, osobliwie z obżalowanego Jakuba Salomonowicza, że nie mało splendoru y srebra w kościele Komayskim pokradzionego u obżalowanego żyda Moszka alias Moyżesa nazywaącego Senatora, w mieście Wiżunach mieszkaćego, u kogo przerzeczeni żydzi przed okradzieniem kościoła y po okradzieniu czas nie mały mieszkali, znayduje y jest u onego, iako prawo każe, żalujać imć xądzie pleban Komayski u obżalowanego
imć pana Goryszewskiego--podstarościego sądowego Wilkomierskiego, dzierżawcy na ten czas Wiżuńskiego, uczynienia sprawiedliwości z tego żyda Moszka, lub też z tym licem o wydanie onego, sam prze się y przez listoną instancją, oraz onterpozycją imći pana Raieckiego--starosty Rumborskiego, iako collatora kościoła Komayskiego, upraszał, tedy obżalowany imć pan Goryszewski, spólnie z ieym panią mażonką swoją, iako będąc dissidentami in religione, a zatym kościołowi Komayskemu rzymskemu nieprzyjaznemi, in instanti obwinionego żyda żałującemu nie wydali, ale faworyzantami iawnemi złoczyńców stając się, na parkę tym żydom obżalowanym Kasrelowi Moyżeszowiczowi, Jakubowi Izakowiczowi y Abramowi Salomonowiczowi, w Wiżuńach mieszczącym, tego żyda Moszka, pryncypała spolnego y świętokradce, napierwszego uczestnika, iawnemu lotra, spolnym lotrom ze dworu na parkę wydawszy wy przyparzęce onych przyiwoszy, za częstokrotną przez żałującego imć xiądza plebana Komayskiego requizycją, nie tylko sprawiedliwości z onego nie uczynił, ale czas od czasu zwlekając, złoczyncom folgował: dla tego ieszcze gdy żałujący, chcąc tak strasznego kryminału w sądzie głównym trybunalnym windykować, tego kryminalistę pod wartę trybunal-skę oddawszy, o stawienie żyda przyparzęconego u imći pana Goryszewskiego przyiacielsko upomniał się, tedy obżalowany popełniając pod sądami głównemi trybunalnemi iawnym zbytek y exces nie tylko stawić tego żyda Moszka nie deklarował lecz srogą przegrożkę na zdrowie żałującego imći xięda plebana tu w mieście Wilnie w tymże wysz pisanym roku msca Junii piątego dnia uczynił, o które to przez obżalowanego imći pana Goryszewskiego w nieuczynieniu sprawiedliwości z obwinionych żydów, a przez żyda Jakuba Salomonowicza wespół drugimi pryncypałami od niego powołaniem, spólne rady y namowy z żydami kałahu Wiżuńskiego y Kowarskiego, także z żydem Moszką, alias Moyżeszem nazwanym Senatorem, o wykradzenie kościoła Komayskiego o przechowanie żydów włóczęgów, złodzieiów, lotrów, onym rady y pomocy dodawanie, chcąc prawem czyinić [sic], tak z obżalowanym Jakubem Salomonowiczem, w więzieniu będącym, iako y ze wszystkiemi obżalowanemi żydami do stawienia, ante omnia u sądę naszego głównego trybunalnego w Wilnie odprawiającego się przez imći pana Goryszewskiego żyda Moszka, alias Moyżesz, nazwanego Senatora y paręczników iego żydów Kasrela Moyżeszowiczca, Jakubu Izakowicza y Abram Salomonowicza, spólnych lotrów, przyparzęconych y w przyparzęce przyiętych a z kałahu Kowarskim y szkoł onych o niesłuszną pomienionego żyda, złodzieja z Murawy, żydówek dwóch odbicie, onym pofolgowanie y dostawienie także onych, iako szkole Kowarskiej przyparzęconych, dobrze imści znaiomych [247] y gdzie teraz się obracał, ponieważ mając ich sobie przyparzęconych dobrowolnie wypoślić wiadomych, a za nie stawieniem za tak iawną przez obżalowanych żydów swawolą, także złodzieystwo, do wskazania paenus criminalissimas, do powrócienia, abo nagrodzenia pokradzionych w kościele Komayskim złota, srebra y innych rzeczy, splendoru kościelnego y szkód nakładów prawnych, które żałujący imć xiąd pleban spendował y spendue teraz, zachowawcze sobie w dalszym procederze prawnym wolne tey żaloby melioratią, lub też do zniesienia inszey protestacye y et in toto do kogo z prawa ukazano będzie salwum ius tym zakazem, na którym rzecz dostatecznie opisana, przed sąd główny trybunalny zapozwał. Do któryry sprawy po zażywanych do niewiernego żyda Jakuba Salomonowicza z pod wary na każdym terminie personaliter stanowionego, dylacjach y dobrodzieystwach prawnych, to jest
na dniu dwudziestym miesiąca Junii patronów y po przydaniu naszym onemu panu Jerzego Woytkiewicza y pana Jerzego Woronowicza, y pana Pawła Rewienskiego, na dniu dwunastym po wzięciu na copię z zakazu, na dniu szesnastym na copie ze wszystkich spraw w podaniu onych na dniu ninieszym to jest dziewiętnastym tegoż miesiąca Juny, anni praeidentis, za przywołaniem przez ienerała stron do prawa, przez aktorów pan Jan Suroż Frąckiewicz--kraży cz Wileński, y pan Michał Bohdanowicz, a od niewiernego żyda Jakuba Salamonowicza pan Paweł Rewienski y pan Jerzy Woytkiewicz patronowie za mocami prawnymi sobie do tey sprawy danemi y ustne zelecomi przy bytności tak imć ziedzą plepana, tudzież zakryysana kościoła Komayskiego, iako też y żyda Jakuba Salamonowicza, z pod warty postawionego, oczewisto stawali y prawnie rosprawowali się. Zatym strony powodowowe patron pan Frąckiewicz podanych obżałowanym niewiernym żydom Jakubowi Salamonowiczowi, tu pod wartą będącemu, Moyżeszowi--Senatorowi, Kaszrelovi Moyżeszowiczowi, Jakubowi Izakowiczowi y Abramowi Salamonowiczowi y całym kahalom żydowskim Wiżyńskiego y Kowarskiego, za bramą Trocką tu w mieście i. Kr. Mci Wilnie Nochimowi z Lublina, Izraelowi z Przeorska, Iohiłow i Murawy z Nikloszporiku, do brom na ulicach Subacz y Trockiej będących, poprzybiianych, a imć panu Goryszewskiemu za bramą Trocką ku zborowi ewangelickiemu idącemu oczewisto w ręce podanych piąciu stronic, przez ienerała Piotra Zynze zakazu, zeznaniem onego oczewistym przed wielmożnym imć panem pisarzom ziemsłim Wilenskim y koła sądów naszych uczynionym słusznie y iawnym dowodów, żałób aktorów swoich iteriumin wniósł: że obżałowany żydżi w roku teraźniejszym tysiąc siedemsetnym ze dnię dwudziestego piątego na dzień dwudziesty szósty mca Apryla w nocy, przez zamki do kościoła Komayskiego dobywyszy się, cymborium siekierami rozłupawysy, puszkę ze czterdziestą komunikantów wzięli y czy drugim kahalом y żydom na elużą maiestitu pańskiego oddali, czyli też gdzie zadzǐli, kielichów dwa próżnych wzięli, obraz świętego Jana z ozdób, srebra, kleynotów odali, lamp dwie srebrnych wiszących zabrali, do zakrystye wymawszy się, monstrancyją srebrną wielką y pienędże aktora pozabierali, szkody na dwanaście tysięcy złotych uczynili, które srebro do żyda Wiżyńskiego nazywającego się Moszka zanieśli y czy tym srebrę, czyli też pieniędzmi za srebro u Moszki zanieśli y czy tym srebrę, czyli też pieniędzmi za srebro u Moszki wziętymi podzieliły się, a potym gdy inuż z Wiżun uchodzili za poścignięnym y złapaniem pomienionego Jakuba Salamonowicza y Ichola z Morawy, towarzysza iego, z żydówkami dwoma, którycg gdy imć pan Giedyroyć y imć pan Mogys do Kowarska przyprowadzili w reoku tymże teraźniejszym y tegoż msca Apyla dnia dwudziestego dziewiątego, żydżi Kowarscy, uczyniwszy tumult, żyda z Morawy y żydówek dwie odbili, za wzięciem jednak inuż pewnej wiadomości, że żyd Wiżyński nad prawo y wszelką [248] słuszność srebro kościelne od tych złodzieiów nabywać, złodzieiów czas nie mały przed tą kradzieżą y po kradzieży u siebie przechowywać ważył się, aby onego do sequestru urzędowego y do imśi pana Goryszewskiego, iako podstarościowego sądowego Wilkomirskiego, a dzierżawy Wiżyńskiego, wzięto lub też żałużącym iako łotra, złodzieja wydano, abo też sprawiedliwość uczyniono, imć pana Goryszewskiego od żałużującego proszono; kahał tedy Wiżyński imści pana postarościowego zabygysz, iawnego łotra na parenkę wziół, a imć pana Goryszewski y sama iemyć, będąc dissidentes in religion, łotra lotrom na paręę wydali, sprawiedliwość nie uczynili, sądy czas, od czasu odkładali, a nad to popełniając pod sądami
naszemi exces, przegrożki na zdrowie aktörów czynili, czgo processem od aktorów na obżałowanych przed namisz sądem zaniebsonym y per extractum w dacie roku teraźniejszego tysiąc siedemsetnego, msca Junii piątego dnia wyiętym, tudzież relacji ienernalsk y regestrem poczynionych szkod w grodzie Wileńskim aktykowanych dowiodszy y że przy licu żyd Jakub Salamonowicz wzięty jest, które przed nami sądem pokazywano, donioszny tego żyda Jakuba Salamonowicza, aby doskonalsza w tym mogła być wiadomość, na tortury wskazania prosił, a pan Rewienski, żydowi Salomonowiczow przydany patron, odczwawszy się wniosł, że pryncypał onego nie wienien, nie podeyrzany, nikomu z złodzieystwa niewywodził się y w tey sprawie strona powodowa żadmym nie dowiodła dokumentem, aby on był co winien, lica przy nim nienaleziono, ale tam z drugimi żydami wszedł się y zaięno siedź drogą, potym gdy ich dogoniono, zaięno do Kowarska przyprowadzono, tamci pouciekali, to snać byli y winni. On zaś iako nic niewinien, to też nie uciekał, zaczym alleguią prawa pospolite statutowe, artykuł sześćdziesiąt pierwszy z rozdzialu jedynastego, dla lepszego obiaśnienia tey sprawy na inquizycją odesłania żądał. Na takową pana Rewienskiego kontrowerszą pan Bohdanowicz prawnie replikując doniósł, że niepowinna by wyprowadzona inquizycja, bo każdemu yle w powiecie Wilkomierskim jest rzecz wiadoma, że kościół Komayski żydzy okradli, lice które u sądu naszego pokazywano przy tychże winowacyach, przy których y ten żyd był, naleziono, zaczym podług pierwszy instancye żyd pod wartą będącego na corporalnej inquizycyj wskazania, a jeżeli tego potrzeba, tedy y do przysięgi zakrystypanowi Komayskiemu na szkodach y wszyskich punktów w żalobie inserowanych zabierają, uznania oney a na żydzie Salamonowiczu simul et paenas criminales decerni upraszał. E contra pan Woytkiewicz od Jakuba Salamonowicza stawają, a dowodząc tego, że bliszszy by był do odwodu żyd Jakub Salamonowicz, iako niwczym niewinny, niepodeyrzany, bez żadnego lica wzięty, ale żeby niewniesność onego lepiey y doskonale obiaśnienia się mogła, gdzie jego wzięto, aby ci ludzie, iżeś ten żyd jest co winien, podług prawa przynajmniej panami inquisitorami zeznali, do zwysz wyrażonego przez pana Rewienskiego allegowanego referiująć się prawa, tedy sprawy inquisitią ad locum loci odesłania prosił y domawiał się. W ktorey sprawie z oczwistey stron przy postanowionym z pod warty żydzie Salamonowicz kontrowesyi, my sąd przysięgi żadney, do którey się od imię xieđa plebana Komayskiego stawając panu Krzysztofowi Łukaszewiczowi-zakrystypanowi Komayskiemu zabieranó, na tenczas nie uznawając, żyda Jakuba Salamonowicza, iako przy licu wziętego dla dostatecznej informacyey w tey sprawie na corporalną inquizycją na tortury wskazujemy, które torturey dnia dwudziestego pierwszego praesentis nad tymże żydem przez mistrza na miejscu zwykłym odprawić się maja, a nia dwudziestego trzeciego tegoż msca Junii strony finalną w samey rzeczy roswprawę przyjąć powinni będą. A po odprawionej nad przerzeczymy żydem Jakubem Salamonowiczem corporalney inquisicyey, gdy ta sprawa na [249] dniu dwudziestym szostym tegoż miesiąca Junij ku sądzeniu naszemu przypadla, tedy za przywołaniem ieneralskim stron do prawa, od imści xieđa plebana Komayskiego wysz wyrażany patron imię pan Frąckiewicz stawając, tego żyda Jakuba Salamonowicza z pod warty personaliter u sądu naszego postawienia affektał, za postawieniem którego ab utriunque zwysz wyrażeni patronowie stavali. Zatym pan Frąckiewicz patron actoreae partis przypadlego tedy sprawie terminu dekretem sądu naszego
oczewistnym na dniu dziewiętnastym tegoż miesiąca Junii ferowanym słusznie, prawnie, dowiodzcy, inquisicią podług pomienionego sądu naszego dekretu nas żydem Jakubem Salamonowiczem czynioną, na piśmie z podpisem ręki ieneralisckiej od daną czytal, która de verbo ad verbum tak się w sobie Confessata żyda Jakuba Salamonowicza za dekretem sądu głównego trybunalskiego, roku tysiąc siedmioletniego pierwszego miesiąca Juny w Wilnie czynioną. Naprzód przed samą confessatą nieзнания się ten żyd Jakub Salamonowicz, aby miał z drugiemi żydami, to jest Jzraelm z Przeorska, Nochinem z Lublina, Jehielem z Nikliszporku, być w Komiaach y łupaść kościół, tylko z boku słyszał, że ci pomienieni żydzi Jzrael, Nochim y Jehiel, odprawiwsky szabas, z Wizun szli do Komay y z tamtąd powrociwszy ze srebremsi nadaz, przedali żydowi Moszkowi alias Moyżeszowi, nazwiskiem Senatorowi, za dziewięćdziesiąt talarów bitych y te pieniądzde od niego odebrali, tylko złotych czterdzieścię pięć zostało przy Moszku w Wizunach. Za pociągnienniem tedy pierwszym Jakub Salamonowicz zeznał, że Meier żyd, arendarz Oniksztański, tych trzech żydów podmówił do tey kradzieży kościoła Komayskiego, daley gdy się pytano przyznał się że y sam ten to Jukub żyd był w tey kompanie z niemi, kościół bez ognia w nocy wirychem otworzyli, on stał na strazy u drzwi na cmentarzu, a tamci trzey cymborium siekierami wylupali, puszkę z nakrywką y z komunikantami świętimi wzięli, w zakrystyey kielichów dwa y patyny dwie, monstrancją lampy dwie wzięli y całkiem te srebro w Wizunach Žydowi Moszkowi Senatorowi przedali, komunikanty święte z puszki, które mieli być iak piątaki, tegoż Moszka z puszką oddali, który z puszki na sproszę ręce swe wysypał, a potym, w papier wypawszy, do skrznii dał żonie swojejchachow y namuwiłi się z sobą, że mieli w ogumi spalić. Za drugim razem, zeznał że reszzę srebra mniezszych od Moszka żyda pozostałego przenieśli do żyda Meiera Oniksztańskiego, krewnego Moszkowego, który, że nie wprzódz u niego byli, nieprzyżioł y przy tamtych trzech żywach został srebra, co mieli wychodząc z Wizun, z którym to srebreem odbito w Kowarsku. Za trzecim razem wyzał ten Jakub złodziej, że Ayzik, arendarz Woynoski, syn Gierszona arendarza imści pana Sokolowskiego--stolnika Infalskiego, będąc na iarmarku w dzień świętego Jerzego w Wizunach, namówił z Moszkiem--Senatorem iego y tamtych trzech, dawszy informacyą, aby szli do wykradzenia tego srebra, że mieli z nim szielić ie, ale potym nic mu nie dali, przykażał tedy tym złodziemi Ayzik, aby niepowiadal żenie onego, ięślihi się pytała dokąd i dotycze, powiedzieć że do Rakiszek idziem; w tey karczme gdzie żona Ayzika pili wodkę y piwo; a tak niepowiadać się poszli do Komay, tamże w polu siedzieli czekając wieczora. Jnney kradzieży, gdy się pytali nie przyznał się. Piotr Adamowicz--ienerał J.k. mści, przy confessacie były, własną ręką podpisałem. A po przeczytaniu tey inquisicye, żaloby, relacy, y registru donosił, że co iest od imć xiedza plebana Komayskiego w uroszczoney y zaniesioneż żalobie wyrażono, to wszystko na widok się pokazało z inquizicye, że żydzi bez ognia w nocy kośćol Komayski zamek wytrzynem otwarywszy wykradli cymborium siekierami rozłupali, puszkę z nakrywką y komunikantami wzięli, kielichów dwa patyny dwie, monstrancją, lampy dwie [250] zabrali y te srebro do Moszka żyda Wizuńskiego zanieśli, który z niemi maącą przewodniąy srebro kościelne prawem pospolitym obwarowane nabywać, komunikanty ad sacrilegos manus wysypywać, y one na eluzy prawdziwe Chrześciański wiary chować ważył się. Już tedy evidentissime pokazało się, że ci żydzi, przyzickie świętokradce; widzieli żydzi Kowarscy, kogo odbiąć,
wiedział kahał Wiźuński, kogo naパーę brać, a imś pan Goryszewski niechciał Moszka żyda, przewodze y przylicznego złodzieja, wydać, ale drugim żydom naパーę dał, sprawiedliwości czas od czasu zwołając uczynić niechciał, przyparczenie przyjął. Pokazało się też y to że y ten żyd Jakub Salamonowicz z niemi w kompanie był, uczestnikiem teży kradzieży jest spolna ich wszystkich na takow zły y niesłychany uczynek była obrada; na dalszy tedy ijeszcze dowod hanu Krzysztofowi Łukaszewiczowi--zakrystyanowi Komayskiemu, na tym: iako w roku terazniejszym tysiąc siedemsetnym ze dnia dwudziestego piątego na dzień dwudziesty szósty miesiąca Kwietnia, w nocy, obwinieni żydzi, w przyparęce u imści pana Goryszewskiego--stolnika Brzeskiego y innych osób będące, przez zamki do kościoła Komayskiego dobywyszy się, cymborium siekierami rozłupiwszy, puszkę z czterdziestą sześcią komunikantami, a kielichow dwa próżnych wzięli y czyli do kahałow, czyli gdzie oddali, z obrazów ozdoby odarszy, śrebro, keynoty, lamp dwie wiszących, z zakrystey monstrancyjną wielką y pieniędze zabrali, szkody na dwanaście tysięcy uczynili; za poścignieniem zaś złoczyńców y przyprowadzeniem do Kowarska, żydzi Kowarscy dnia dwudziestego dziewiątego Apryla, uczyniwszy tumult, żyda z Murawy y żydówki odbili; na tym: iako Moszko żyd Wiźuński śrebro kościelne do tych złodzieiów za talerow dziewięćdzieściąt nabył, złoczyncow u siebie przechowywał, których potym kahał Wiźuński na parenkę wziól, do iuramentu zabierając, do onego uznania, a po wykonanym iuramencie tak żyda Jakuba Salamonowicza, personaliter u sądu naszego postawionego, iako teź Nochima, Jzraela y Jehila y Moszka przezywającego się Senatora, tudzież żydów kahału Kowarskiego, że zniemić znacic przewodnią mąćąc, Jichila żyda y żydówki dwie odbili, tudzież żydów kahału Wiźuńskiego, że Moszka żyda naパーke wzieli, onego niestawili na paeny criminalne żywo ogniem spaleniem wskazania y tak na wykoanie przysięgi, iako teź na uczynienie nad Jakubem Salamonowiczem executiey terminu złożenia; a że się teź Nochim, Jzrael, Jehil, Moszko y paręcznicy onych Kaszrel Moyżeszowicz, Jakub Jzakowicz, Abram Salamonowicz y cały kahał Wiźuński y Kowarski--starsi tego kahału y imś pan Goryszewski y pani małżonka imści do prawa nestawali, tedy na upad w rzeczy wzdajna y żydów na infamją y na łapanie, imści pana Goryszewskiego, y panią małżanką z przyczyn w żałobie wyrażonych na infamię tylko, przytem za szkody kościołowi Komayskiemu na dwanaście tysięcy złotych pocznione, sowito dwudziestu czterech tysięcy, osbolwie za szkody, nakłady prawne w tey sprawie errogowane, sześciolet złotych polskich z kopami wpisnego y pamiętnego et cum lucris nam przychodzącemi, na majętnościach y dobrach obżałowanych, domach, kromach, handlach, towarzach, spawach, arenach y na innych wszelkich majętnościach onych, leżacych, ruchomych, sumach pieniężnych, gdziekolwiek będących, żałującemu imści xiedzu plebanowi Komayskiemu wskazania, y tak pomienionych żydów na upad w rzeczy wzdanych, iako teź imści pana Goryszewskiego y panią małżąke imści, według prawa coaequationis, ex nunc za infamisow uzanania y dla publikowania tey infamiey ienerała sądowego przydania publikować y proklamować nakazania, a iako za summę wysz wyrażoną dla uczynienia na pomienionych obżałowanych osob dobrach, odprawy, tak na poścignienie y złapanie pomienionych zwysz wyrażonych żydów, dla [251] uczynienia nad onemi przez mistrza executiey do urzędów grodzkiego lub ziemskego Upitskich y innych wszelkich sądów tych woewodztw y powiatów, gdzie osoby y doba onych okążą się, z założeniem paen prawnych y odesłania, a do Meiera żyda,
arendarza Oniksztańskiego y do Ayzyka, arendarza Woynowskiego, do czynienia prawem salwy zachowania u nas sądu prosił y domawiał się. A od Jakuba Salamonowicza, patron onemu przydany pan Rewienski odezwawszy się, replikował, że pryncypał onego, to iest Jakub Salamonowicz nic niewiien, bo Jzrael, Nochim y Jehel tegoJakuba gwałtem z sobą wzięli y tamci tak kościoł lupyli, iako też y splendor brali, a iego na straży postawili, on iuż im ponieważ nie kompaniey dopomagać, ale służyć musiał, iemu ani tego srebra, co pobrali, ani też pieniędzy, co za srebro wzięli, nie dali, ale to wszystko przy tamtych y przy Moszku Senatorze zostało, y on kiedy szedł do Kowarska na dobrowolny drodze, bez żadnego lica wzięto, bliższe to Jakuba Salamonowicza na tym: iako żydzi Nochim z Lublina, Jzrael z Przeorska y Jehiel z Murawy, idąc do Komay, niewiedząc w iako sposób, gwałtem niemal onego z sobą wzieli, aby stał na straży prymusił; na tym: iako on do tego srebra nietykał się y tak samego srebра, iako też pieniędzmi za one nie brał; na tym, iako żadnego lica przy nim nienaleziono y niwiczy w obwałowaniu imści xiędza plebana Komayskiego winnym nie jest, do przysięgi uznania, a po przysiędze od żałoby przez imści xiędza plebana Komayskiego do onego uroczczony uwolnienia doprzaszał się. Replikując na to pan Bohdanowicz, patron imści xiędza plebana Komayskiego doniosł: że Jakub Salamonowicz tym się nie może excusesować, że go gwałtem drudy żydzi wzieli, bo do takich rzeczy nikt nie może prymusić, a do tego pokazało się z inqizycyea za trzecim pocięgiem zeznaney, że go Ayzik arendarz Woynyski, syn Gierszona arendarza imśi pana Sokołowskiego--stolnika Jnflanskiego, z Moszkiem Senatorem, na święty Jerzy, na iarmarku, spolnie ich wszystkich czterech, dawszy im informatąj do takiego złego bezbożnego uczynku namówili, zacy iuż wiedział, poco do Komay, a ile do kościoła szedł y czego miał się spodziewać, iuż tedy to było dobrowolne zezwolenie, do tego nikt niemogł prymusić y innemi obszernie wniesionemyprawnemi relokwawszy ratiami, za przysięgą zakrystyana tego, żyda na garło żywo spaleniem y na inne srogie męki wskazują, a drugich na upad w rzeczy y na paeny krminalne, a na dobrach wskazu podług pierwszego strony swey domawiania decerni żądał. Na koniec pan Woytkiewicz, szeroce odpowiadając, że ten żyd na torturach z bolu wielkiego y sam niewiedział co mówił, ale teraz tak zeznawa, iak w samey rzeczy było, zaczym przy wyszszym stawiać domawianiu y na punktach zwysz wyrażonych, do przysięgi zabierając do oney uznania, a po przysiędzie od żałoby uwolnienia, a do drugich żydów zwysz specyfikowanych imści xiędzı plebanowi Komayskiemu salwy zachowania prosił y domawiał się. Atak my sąd w tej sprawie w Bogu wielebnego imści xiędza Dawída Podebrównicza--plebana kościoła Komayskiego, z dylacjey Jana Krzysztofa Łukaszewicza--zakrystyana tegoż kościoła Komayskiego, z niewiernym żydem Jakubem Salamonowiczem, z miasta Pinczowa, samym pryncypałem, Nochimem z Lublina, Izraelem z Przeworska, Ichilem z Morawy z Niklisporka, Moszkiem Moyżeszem, przyzywającym się Senatorem, Kaszrelem Moyżesowiczem, Jakubem Izakowiczem, Abramem Salamonowiczem y całym kaḥalem żydowskim Wiżuńskim y Kowarskim starszemi tego kaḥalu, także z imśi panem Janem z Goryszewa Goryszewskim--stolnikiem Brzeskim--podstarości Wilkomierskim, dzierzawca Wiżuńskim y samą iemći, z oczewistey między imścią xiędzem plebanom Komyskim a żydem Jakubem Salamonowiczem z pod warty do sądu postanowionym kontroversyey, poniewas tak z produkty y [252] dowodów imści xiędza plebana Komayskiego, iako też z odprawionej nad
żydem Salamonowiczem corporalney inqizycyei iawnie y widomie u sądu naszego pokazało, że ten żyd Jakub Salamonowicz do okradzenia kościoła Komayskiego był uczestnikiem y sam do szkod świętokradztwa y złodzieystwa z drugiemi żydami popełnionego znalazł się. Zaczym my sąd, do prawa pospolitego y świętey sprawiedliwości przychłaiać się, a na dalszy dowod zakrystyanowi Komayskiemu p. Krzysztofowi Łukaszewiczowi, samemu iednemu, na tym iako sprawiedliwwe w roku teraźniejszym tysiąc siedmstoym ze dnia dwudziestego piątego na dzień dwudziesty szosty msca Kwietnia w noc obwinięni złodzi w przyparęce u imści pana Goryszewskiego--stolnika Brzeskiego y innych ichmci będące przez zamki do kościoła Komayskiego dobywszy się, cymboryum siekierami rozłupawszy, puszę ze czterdziestą sześcią komunikantami, a kielichow próźnych dwa wiżeli y czyli do jahało czyli też gdzie oddali, z obrazów ozdoby odarszy, srebro, kleynoty, lamp dwie wiszących, w zakrystyey monstrancyją wielką y pieniadze zabrali, szkody na złotych dwanaście tysięcy uczynili, za pościennieniem zaś złoczyńcow y przyprowadzeniem do Kowarska, żydzi Kowarscy dnia dwudziestego dziewiątę Gożyda z מויertyjnym dwadziestym piątym na upad w rzeczy wzdaiemy y wiedzą uczyniona by, nakazuiemy, a drugich obwinionych wszystkich, iako prawu nieposątokradce, na peni kryminalne, to jest, na spalenie się tych odzieystwa z drugiemi, na infami y przewodni Gożyda Moszka z Moszkiński, dnia dwudziestego czterych na upad w rzeczy wzdaiemy y wiedzą uczyniona by, nakazuiemy; a iako za summe zwysz wyrażoną dla uczynienia na pomienionych obżalośnych
osob dobrach odprawy, tak na poścignienie y łapanie samych obżalowanych [253] wszystkich zwysz wyrażonych żydów, dla uczynienia nad onemi na garłach przez mistrza executiey do urzędów grodzkiego, albo ziemskiego powiatu Upickiego i innych wszelkich sądowych tych woiewodztw y powiatow, pod któryemi dobra obżalowanych okazają się y osoby pościgną y złapanie być mogą, a którego sobie z ichmośći panów urzędników strona do tey sprawy użyć zechce, założywszy na specwnnego temu dekretowi naszemu paeny prawne odsyłamy. A do żydów Meiera, arędarza Onikszańskiego y Ayzika Woyneyskiego, któryęc z konfessaty żyd Jakub Salomonowicz powołał y do drugich, do których prawo drogę pokaże, salve aktorowi temuż y na potym do konwinkowania onych zachowuiemy. A gdy dzień dwudziesty ośmy tegoż miesiąca Junii anni praesentis, tak dla wykonania przysięgi; iako też dla publikowania proclamowania pomieniony infamiey przypadł tedy pan Krzysztof Łukaszewicz, zakrystyan kościa Komayskiego, przy postanowionym z podwarty u sądu naszego żydzie Jakubie Salomonowiczu, z roty kancellaryje naszey wyięty, a przez ienerala czytaney iramento sobie nakazany w te słowa wykonal: Ja Krzysztof Łukaszewicz przysięgaw panu iedynemu Bogu wszechmogącemu, w Tropcy swiętychedyinemu, na tym: iako sprawedliwie w roku teraźniejszym tysiąc siedemsetnym ze dnia dwudziestego piątego na dzień dwudziesty szosty miesiąca Kwietnia, w nocy, niewierni żydzi Jakub Salomonowicz z miasta Pińczowa, Nachim z Lublina, Izrael z Przeworska, Ichel z Morawy z Nikliszporka. Moszko alias Moyżes, przezywający się Senator, w przyparęce u imści pana Goryszewskiego--stolnika Brzeskiego y innych będące, w nocy przez zamki do kościa Komayskiego dobywszy się cymborium siekierami rozłupawszys, puszkę z czterdziestą sześcią kominkantami, a kielichow dwa prożnych wzieli y czyli do kahałów czyli tež gdzie oddali, z obrazow ozdoby odarszy, srebro, kleynoty, lamp dwie wiszących, w zakrystyey monstrancją wielką y pieniđe zabrali, szkody na złotych dwanaścięcysy tuçyni uczniili, za poścignieniem zaś złoczyńców y przyprowadzeniem do Kowarska, żydże Kowarscy dnia dwudziestego dziewiątego Apryla, uczniwszy tumult, żyda z Murawy y żydówki odbili; na tym: iako Moszko żyd Wiżunkis srebro kościenne od tych żlódziejiw za talerów dziewiędziesiąt nabył, złoczyńców w siebie przechowywał, których po tym kaha Wiżunski na paręku wziol, naczym wszyskim iako sprawedliwie przysięgaw, tak mi panie Boże dopomóż, a ieśli niesprawedliwie, Boże mie ubiż. A po wykonaniu przysięgi Piotr Zynza ienerał sądów naszych pilnujący, dość czyniąc prawu pospolitemu y dekretowi naszemu, w izbie sądowej et in foro publico, niewiernych żydów Nochima z Lublina, Izraela z Przeorska, Ichila z Morawy z Nikliszporka, Moszka alias Moyżesza przezywającego się Senatora, Kasrela Moyżeszowicza, Jakuba Izakowicza, Abram Salamonowicza y cały kahał Wiżunsky y Kowarski, starszych tego kahału, za infamisow na garł y na łapanie osądzonych, a imści pana Jana Goryszewskiego--stolnika Brzeskiego--podstarościego Wilkomirskiego, dzierzawcowe Wiżunskego y panią małżonkę imści za infamisow publikował y proclamował y relacyjy publikacyey swey, a loco publicationis rediens, iducialiter zeznal. A zatym my sąd dekret sądu naszego, na dniu dwudziestym szóstym msca Junij terazniejszego roku ferowany, we wszystkich punktach y paragrafach nienaruszenie przy mocy zachowuiemy y utwierdzymy y ony do ejecutiey porządkiem prawnym przywodzie pozwalamy. Któża sprawa do xiąg głównych trybunalu wielkiego xięstwa Litewskiego jest zapisana.
Introduction to Criminal Trial Concerning the Innocent Child Jan Krosnowski

Magda Teter

The text is a chapter from an eighteenth-century anti-Jewish book *Process Kryminalny* published around 1713 by Stefan Żuchowski, a canon in the cathedral church in the town of Sandomierz, following a ritual murder trial in that town that started in 1710. This was his second book. The first book, *Odgłos processu przewiedzionego z Żydami* [A Report of the Trial against Jews] published in 1700, was a telling of the first ritual murder trial that Żuchowski instigated in 1698.

The chapter presented here lists cases of the accusations of desecration of the host in Poland and abroad in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Such accusations against Jews of Host desecration emerged in the thirteenth century after the Catholic Church sanctioned the doctrine of transubstantiation in 1215. The first story involving a host miracle resulting from mishandling of the host by a Jew comes from a letter Pope Innocent III wrote to Archbishop of Sens. The doctrine of transubstantiation was not accepted in Poland until 1420, with the exception of Cracow, which formally accepted it in the fourteenth century, and two other towns, which had some cult of the Corpus Christi by the second half of the fourteenth century.

The myth of host desecration by Jews came to Poland late. Although Żuchowski mentions cases in Poznań in 1399, and in Kazimierz, near Cracow, in 1407, there is no evidence of these cases outside of polemical anti-Jewish works. Before mid-16th century there are few, inconsistent, and vague stories about Poznań, and a more developed legend emerged only in the late 16th century, with two books published about it in 1583 and 1589. The timing is not accidental, Poznań at the time was a prominent Reformation center, and the Protestants challenged the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

The first documented case of the accusations of host desecration against Jews in Poland took place in Sochaczew in 1556, and was also popularized in printed polemical works against Jews. This case, too, is linked to the Reformation and Counter Reformation. The main instigator of the trial, Cardinal Luigi Lippomano, a papal nuncio at the time, was a strong opponent of the Reformation and a propagator of the Catholic dogmas. The Sochaczew case became a venue for a religious polemic between Protestants and Catholics in Poland.
The spread of the medieval accusations against Jews of desecrating the host in Poland are closely to the two early modern developments: the Reformation and the invention of the printing press.

**Additional Readings**


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Criminal Trial Concerning the Innocent Child Jan Krosnowski
On the Desecrations of the Most Holy Sacrament
Process Kryminalny o niewinne dziecię Jana Krosnowskiego
Stefan Żuchowski, 1713?

Translated by Magda Teter

[p.44] Having killed Christ, the unimaginable Jewish malice, not being able to reach Him, who now rules in Heavens, seeks the innocent [Christ] hidden in the bread, all the more greedily that godless Catholics themselves give Him to them.

In the year 1213, in France, a Jew had bought the Host from his female servant, and intending to stab it, placed it in a box where he had seven silver coins. When he saw that the coins changed into Hosts he converted and went to Rome where he was christened by Pope Innocent.[1]

In the year 1305, a Jew was unable to burn the Host, which he had bought from a [Christian] woman, so he stabbed it with a dagger and when the blood began streaming out, everything was revealed, and the Jews were punished and expelled; and today the church Salvatoris Bullientis testifies to the truth of this miracle.[2]

In the year 1300, in Cracow, Jews, having broken into a church and stolen the Most Holy Hosts, which they stabbed, trampled upon and scattered on the roads, were arrested by Catholics and placed them on the wheel [for torture].

In the year 330 [sic], in Gustrow,[3] a Jewish woman was converted when during the stabbing of the Host, a voice of a child was heard. The Jewish woman then found the sacrilegious Jews in the synagogue and [45] retrieved the Host wrapped in a bloodied kerchief. The Jews were burned along with the woman who had sold them the Host, and a chapel to the Miraculous Host was built.

In the Duchy of Megapol [Great Poland?], Bocerus described two hosts stabbed by Jews.

In the year 1338, in Germany, in the town of Pulkau, blood was streaming out of stabbed host,
for which Jews were punished by the Prince at the order of the Pope Benedict.\[4\]

In the year 1369, in Brussels in Brabant, Jews were discovered because of the blood streaming out of the Host, for which they were torn into pieces.\[5\]

The same year, in Louvain (?) Jews were condemned to the stake for the same crime and the bleeding Host was placed in the chapel.

In 1414, in Köln, a Jew, dressed up [as Christian], took communion and went to a corner where he took the Host out of his ugly mouth; when he saw the Host had turned into a crying child, he began to flee the church, but the Devil stopped him, and threw the crying child into a ditch in the adjacent cemetery. That's when the people run out of the church, along with priests, and that miracle converted many Jews.\[6\]

In the year 1466. In Spain, when [Jews] could not burn or destroy hosts they had obtained, they took them to the Dominican monastery in Segovia and were punished by death.\[7\]

In the year 1426, in Vienna, a woman sold the Most Holy Host to Jews, for which Emperor Frederick ordered that three hundred Jews be burned and the woman be torn into pieces with clamps \textit{kleszczami}.\[8\]

In the year 1433, in Dywona [Dijion?] a Host stabbed by Jews, and bleeding was deposited in the local chapel with the approbation of Pope Eugene IV.

In the year, 1434, in Dekendorf, Talmudists, having stabbed the Host, and beaten in on an anvil, threw it into an oven. For which the majority of these earthly Devils was burned on metal sheets and quartered.\[8\]

In the year 1452, in Silesia, many Jews were burned for offending the Host.\[9\]

In the year 1492, in Czech lands, in a small town Sterberck [Sternberg], a Jew, Eleazar, was burned with thirty others, \[46\] for buying the Host, then stabbing it, and making it bleed.\[10\]

In the year 1510, in Szpandaw [Spandau], a Jew, Solomon, having bought the Host for six grosze from some crook, cut it with a knife, so that it was divided into three pieces. Two, he sent to his friends in Brandenburg, and one, stabbed and bleeding, he kneaded into a dough and threw into an oven, where he suddenly saw a child in great brightness, and so he hanged the bread in the synagogue. In Brandenburg, because they could not clean the blood of the second part of the stabbed Host from the table, they cut the piece of the table, and with the Host took it to a wedding in Hostenburg. The Jew, Maier, gave it in a basin, to the bride saying: here you have something to rejoice, here you have the Christian GOD, and so again almost 40 Jews stabbed the Host, and so the blood was streaming profusely. And for this, the Margrave Ioachim of Brandenburg ordered to burn thirty [Jews] in Berlin after the Holy Apostles, and
Pawel Form, who had sold them the box with Hosts, was flayed, and Jews also admitted to having tortured seven children, about which below in chapter XI.\[11\]

In the year 1540, in Breslau, they stabbed the Host according to the *Zwierciadło Przykładów*.\[12\]

In the year 1514 [sic], in Halle, a baptized Jew pretended to be a priest and, having received the Hosts, sold two of them to other Jews and the third, one out of his own unbelief, he beat it so much that it was covered in blood.\[13\]

In the year 1592, in Prague a Jew Lewek, a cruel beast, having stolen three Hosts from the Franciscans gave them to Jews, who blasphemed while stabbing them: "If you are a Christian GOD, show your power." And he did show it because on a clear day, a lightening hit the house of the sacrilegious men and burned it, the three [Jews] had run away, but were caught and torn with pliers and impaled. \[14\]

In the year 1619, at the borders of Spain, a Jewish woman under disguise was discovered. And because she had taken the Host out of her mouth and put it in a kerchief, she was placed in a barrel and immediately burned.\[15\]

In our Poland, since Jews who had been expelled from foreign countries found Paradise, so the Hell of all crimes, especially against the most holy Host and innocent children opened up.\[16\]

\[47\] In the year 1399. In Poznań, King Jagiello founded a church of the Corpus Christi for the Carmelite friars in a spot where three Hosts (which had been stolen from the church of the Dominican friars by a [female] servant of the Devil, sold [to Jews] and then stabbed in the cellars of the Świdnica house, covered in blood healed a blind Jewess), having been taken out and buried, were revealed by kneeling cattle. The Hosts were floating in the air and descended into the hands of the reverend father Jan Ryczywól, \[17\] and miracles followed. Jews, apprehended, were roasted in fire along with the [Christian] woman, and were devoured by dogs to which they had been attached, as the book entitled *Deposit Ciała* [the deposition of the body] published in 1663 testifies. \[18\]

In the year 1407, in Cracow, a church of Corpus Christi was built in Kazimierz on the spot where the most holy Hosts were found in the mud, after they had been mutilated by Jews. And Miechowita reports that the Jews were expelled from Cracow to Kazimierz after they had been [accused] of killing a child. \[19\]

In the year 1508, on the fifth of April a rabbi was accused of desecrating the holy Host and other crimes by reverend Mikołaj, a Dominican scholar, in a public trial in the church of Mary the Virgin on the [Cracow's] market square, and subsequently burned. \[20\]
In the year 1556, in Sochachew, Dorota Łaszecka, having taken communion in the Kozłowski church on the Saturday before Easter, without the confession, sold it for three thalers to Jews. [From this Host] Jews collected [a few] cups of blood. They were burned along the woman, who had confessed that he had had a child by one of the Jews, whom she smothered before it was baptized, and buried it in a Jewish cemetery. That [is reported] from the letter of Aloysius Lippomano, a papal nuncio in Poland at the time. [21]

In the year 1562, in Skierbieszow. [22] The church bell-ringer sold the holy Host to the Jews of Krasnystaw, which they buried in fire, and the fire was extinguished. The priest fled and the Jews got off because of gifts. [23]

In the year 1580 in Oświęcim, two [Christian] perpetrators of a sacrilege were burned because they had given stolen Hosts to Jews. Jews, a great disgrace, were saved from death because of Judas’ sack. [24]

Also in Pilica a Catholic was burned and Jews were freed. [25]

[47] In the year 1580, a Jew, who had blasphemed against the most holy sacrament, was burnt.

In the year 1598, in Pułtusk, a certain villain, Krzyczkowski, having stolen the Host, sold it to Jews of Płońsk for four złoty, when apprehended he confessed to all. Jews first denied [everything] under torture but later they confessed that they were blinded and not being able to see their way they could not run away. The pyx was found in dung and they Host were returned to church in a procession. Jews were burnt.

In the year 1600 in Bochnia, a man from Masovia having given the holy hosts to Jews, frightened and [pressured] by his conscience, but not being able to find consolation even by confession, turned himself and his landlord in to the magistrate. Jews, Jacob Ickowic, Frącek Icko Wronka, were freed under bail and guarantee from lord Mikołaj Borzynowski. They fled when a royal decree ordered them to present themselves [in court]. Their protector, having been called to participate in the Sejm, [26] died suddenly. Jews were expelled. Achacy Kmita presents the reasons for this trade of Judas in his printed book. In the year 1698, the wife of Icko Wronin [sic], gave birth first to a piglet and then a monster ugly like a turkey. [27] And after another monster [28] was born, maned with rabbit teeth and a tail like a snake, to expiate it by means of magic they dared to obtain the holy host. At the same time King Stefan’s cassocks that had been stolen from Niepolomice were found in the house of the said Frącek. Just before the expulsion decree a demonic ghost [29] entered their synagogue after lightening had hit it. It disturbed them so much that they closed the synagogue, which shortly afterward was confiscated and they were expelled.

In the year 1619, Jews of Kalisz bought the holy host from a [Christian] woman from Sobótka
and they tormented it, but they found many protectors and because of them justice was delayed even though it was about an injury to our GOD himself.\textsuperscript{[30]}

In the year 1669, on the last day of July, in Łowicz, at the inquiry before the committee led by Reverend Primate Prazmowski, a certain Murzynkowic a fugitive from a certain monastery confessed that when he was a priest in the parish church of Mary Magdalene in Poznań, he took two chalices and having thrown out the remains out of the pyx \textit{[?cup pand a pixide]}, he took the hosts and sold them to Jews for which he was incarcerated. But he fled in lay clothes and engaged in smithcraft (since he was a son of a blacksmith) in different villages. And in Pałęcz he seduced a wife of a certain man and lived with her without marriage and also with her daughter, committing incest. Having been asked about sacrilege he denied whatever he confessed under torture claiming that he confessed so under great pain but after persuasion of the committee, moved to achieve salvation of his soul, he acknowledged in clear voice and with a contrite heart, spontaneously pouring out tears in front of the image of the crucifix: When I served as a chanter in Chełm in the year 1669, I stole the host and sold it to a Jew, Lewko, in Kalisz for about eighty or ninety zlotys. I took it from ciborium, and the keys were in the church. Beforehand, I made a contract with Lewko regarding the purchase. He encouraged me to do that in Kalisz. And when I brought [the host] to Lewko’s home, he took it in his hand and stabbed it with a knife. Blood poured. I saw it with my own eyes. His son was present and others whom I don’t know, about four or five. It happened around a carnival,\textsuperscript{[31]} the [Jews] were jabbering among themselves. I did not ask what they needed it for. I also stole the hosts when I served as a teacher in Rzysko. I sold it to a Jew Samuel of Dobra. A Jew Marek of Kozminiec knows about it. In the year 1662, just after Easter they gave me about sixty or seventy zlotys, I cannot remember exactly. The third host, I stole in Miłkowice, and [I sold it] to the Jew Solomon of Dobra and his son-in-law in 1663 for about sixty zloty, as his son-in-law knows. And later, in the year 1667, also in Miłkowice I stole the host and sold it to this Solomon for sixty zlotys. I also sold the host in Warta to Jews, Moses and Jacob the glazier, with whom I made a deal. I don’t know others, but there were three of them, and they always asked me to do it. They were supposed to give me sixty zlotys but I don’t know what they gave me in the sack, because I did not count. I did that in the current year before Easter Sunday from the tomb [of Jesus in the church] and I did not exchange it for another host. I never sold them unconsecrated regular host because they would recognize [that it was not consecrated] and they had asked me to bring in true consecrated hosts and not the regular ones. They check by stabbing it to see if blood flows. I did not ask what they need it for, I never hesitated to sell it to Jews. I believe that this is true most holy body and blood but I did it out of greed. I stored this host in the church of Miłkowice in a tomb near the altar right next to the pulpit, till the festival of Ascension of Christ. The following day I sold the host at the fair in Warta to Jews and ... no one knew about this theft, [my?] wife did not know, [my] daughter did not know. She came to visit me during the Pentecost Sunday but she left on Monday. I visited the tomb of the Holy Sacrament only once during the holiday in Kalisz. The host that bled was consecrated by priest Swieykowski of Chełm. The money that I made from the hosts I used for food and clothes\textsuperscript{[32]}
and I never confessed these crimes so that I would not be regarded as a heretic, and I have never replaced the consecrated host with the unconsecrated host, even though I could have. He was turned over to the magistrate and burned. Jews fled.

About 1670, in Mława, a Jew Kurek bought a host with a pyx from a thief. When they stabbed it blood poured out. And the host was seen the following day in the air, and bells were heard above the house where the criminals were found. Two sons of this Jew Kurek converted to Christianity and they were studying in Pułtusk in 1704, living in a seminary there.

In Mamin during the tenure of Bishop Trzebicki, local riff raff dug a ditch and burned an arrendator because of the holy host, just because the local priest said "you should be burned."

In the year 1696 in Sandomierz, on the Thursday during the Easter Week, a woman took to the Jews a host, which she had received and then spat out into a kerchief, but she was apprehended and convicted to death.

In the year 1696 in Rawa, six Jews were caught and accused of stealing silver and the Host together with the monstrance from Zelazne during the Octave of the Corpus Christi. Two [Christian] carpenters, their accomplices, were immediately hung, and Jews I don't know if they were let off.

In 1710 in Łęczna on the fifth Sunday after Easter, seven Jewish men and women, and the church bell-ringer were burnt by a decree of the Guardian of the divine Justice of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and not the sacrilegious criminals. Eighteen hosts were found along with other church objects and the Judas confessed that he took one host along to Gdansk and the rest were used for magic.

In the year 1712 an arrendator was expelled from Jędrzejów ... because of the host bought also from the local church bell-ringer.

And as if Jews did not have enough ways to make money, through credits, and commission, they rush to rob churches, where they also obtain the most holy host, either on their own or from other sacrilegious criminals, and when the parish priest does something about it, one need to provide him with support and food, and it is rare that he can find protectors of justice. If only the Torah [33] was stolen from Jews from their synagogue, all would chip in and they would not wait to avenge their injuries. And we Catholics, don't we believe in CHRIST, when we--to his insults--prevent prosecutors [from reaching justice], and often because of Jewish money for which we will have to pay GOD with our souls. I will mention only some of the sacrilegious acts because it is impossible to list them all.

Before the year 1648 in the city of Cracow, a chalice was stolen from the church of St. Anna, a large silver crucifix from the church of Mary the Virgin, a golden chain from the monstrance was taken from the church of St. Szczepan, antependium from the church of the Trinity,
candlesticks from the Franciscan church, in the district of Piaski silver from a painting was stolen too. All this was found with Jews. Catholics were punished but the Jews bribed their way out.\[34\]

In Piotrków, Jews were executed for such theft of church silver. It is remembered that an old Jew was executed, and on a shoulder of a young one a dove sat [before the execution] as a sign of a calling to the Faith, which he accepted and was beheaded afterwards. That's what the Piarist fathers relate.

In Kościelec near Cracow an arrendator bought a pyx, and the Archdeacon of Cracow, Father Opacki did all he could to execute the Jew and to expel others from the breweries in his parish.

... In Opatowiec, Bałuty, Denków, and Opatów Jews, who arrived from Lithuania to work, robbed four churches.

In the year 1688, in Chełm Jews were also executed along with a Catholic for robbing a number of churches, from which they stole the silver and the holy sacrament for sacrilege and magic.

Also in Sienna, a Jew was executed because of church silver and relics of St. Anthony, which he called little bones, [35] and he showed the place in manure where he had buried them.

In Koźminki near Kalisz they robbed a church, from which they stole church silver and six thousand zlotys in cash and six thousand zlotys in jewels from the parish priest there. They were executed in Piotrków.

In the year 1694, a man from Rus's of a town Wręż was burned after he had robbed a parish church in Bełz and sold eighteenth hosts to a Jew of Sokale. But the intervention of grand lords on behalf of Jews resulted (and God forbid even a Bishop issued a decree to dismiss the case)\[37\] in the judge's taking of two hundred thalers, and letting Jews go by a decree ad evasionem\[38\] registered in the municipal court in Bełz.

In 1696, Jews robbed the church of the Holy Spirit in Sandomierz as the trial I instigated in 1698 testifies.

In 1697, in Ćmielów a goldsmith stole silver from the altar of St. Anna. The gold got into Jews' hands but only the goldsmith was executed.

In 1697 in Wołyń [Volhynia], Jews had a robbers' guild. They robbed over twenty churches of silver around Łuck, e.g. in Targowica, Stepań, Beresteczko etc. They even stole silver from the Bernardine friars in Luck, and so [the friars] were left with no chalice for mass. The [Jews] divided the silver in a tavern of a certain arrendator in Targowica. Finally, they were caught robbing an Orthodox church\[39\] in Luck, but some of them managed to flee. The arrendator in
Targowica witnessed miracles from the crucifix that he had buried and converted to Christianity, he was then beheaded. The rabbi's son and two others were burned. And this was an association of such Jewish traders[40] to which they probably also admit those who because of greed rob churches for them.

In the year 1698 Jews of Przytyka robbed a church in Wrzosie, but because putting Jews on trial is so difficult here, some of them fled and [the opportunity] was lost.

In 1700, Jews of Opatów bought silver stolen from a church in Szczeglice.

In 1702, Jews stole silver from a church in Frysztak, all worth twenty thousand. Lord Józef Rosłowski, the standard keeper of Parnów, [41] having spurned a bribe that had been offered to him, out of Christian piety ordered that five [of those Jews] be burned, and four received the sentence of Infamy. But only twenty nine grzywien of silver were returned, from the rest they minted fake coins. They had also robbed seven other churches.

In 1703, Jews robbed several churches in Głogów and surroundings.

In 1711, Woyciech Floryk along with other criminals robbed a church in Ulanów and sold the silver to Jews, some in Biłgoraj, some to a Jew, Leyba the butcher, in Góraiec. His confession was filed on August 7 in the town of Oleszyce.

In 1712, in Kożuchowek in the region of Drobinki, Jews of Łosice bought a ciborium with hosts from a thief. He was burned but Jews did not confess even under torture, even though the silver was found with them.

In 1712, I, as the synodal commissioner, along with Lord Castellan of Zawichost, issued a decree against Jews who from criminals bought silver and ciboria stolen from churches in Chobrany, Pskanów, Gliniany, Sobótka. And they asked [the criminals] to bring hosts. [The decree was] passed in Opatów on the eve of the festival of John the Baptist.

In 1713, in the court of Sanok, there is a case against Jews concerning church robbery in Hoczew. [The Jews] were betrayed by a baptized woman .... They Jews were hoping for the case to be thrown out of court as in the case of butler silver, which after the case had been dismissed[42]-- twenty years later -- were found among them; and in 1710 they were tried for that in Jarosław at the Tribunal; or as this Gypsy who had to pay more for the case to be dismissed[43] than the horseshoe [he was accused of stealing], which he swore he had not stolen. But he returned the horseshoe in the end.

Endnotes

[1] Henricus Spondamus [Henry de Sponde], Annales ecclesiasticci. [Several copies preserved at
the library of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow]; Also Jan Kwidtewicz Roczne Dzieje Kościelne od Roku Paźskiego 1118 Aż do Lat Naszych (Kalisz: Typis Societatis Jesu, 1695, 21. On this case see, Miri Rubin, Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1999), 31-32.


[3] In northern Germany.


[5] Henricus Spondamus [Henry de Sponde], Annales ecclesiastici. Szymon Hubicki, Żydowskie Okrucieństwa (Cracow: 1602), 3. Miri Rubin gives 1370 as the year of the accusation, see Rubin, Gentile Tales, the map, p. xiv, and 181-188.


[9] This might be a reference to the 1453 accusation in Wrocław/Breslau, see, Rubin, Gentile Tales, 76, 119-28.

[10] Henricus Spondamus [Henry de Sponde], Annales ecclesiastici. Also, Hubicki, Żydowskie Okrucieństwa, 4.


[12] Reference to the Speculum Exemplorum, a popular book of exempla, published in numerous editions in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and then republished many times again in the seventeenth century.


[16] A cliché in early modern Poland that Poland was "a paradise for Jews, a purgatory for the clergy and a hell for the serfs."

[17] The name can be translated as a "loud ox" or a "screaming ox."

[18] He also cites, Śleszkowski, Dostateczna Genealogia Żydomska.

Christiano Ab Anno Domini 1378 Usque as Annum Domini 1431.

[20] Cites Marcin Bielski, *Kronika Wssytyego Swyata Na Ssesc Wiekow a Na Czwory Księgi Takiez Monarchie Rozdzielona* (Cracow: Hironim Scharffenberg, 1554 [1551]). And Mojecki, *Żydowskie Okrucieństwa*. In Bielski, 405v: "Tegoż roku żyda w Krakowie spalono przekonawszy go pismem, który wiele przeciw ciału Bożemu mówił." [That year (1508) a Jew was burned in Cracow after it was proven in writing that he had spoken against God's body.]

[21] Hubicki, *Żydowskie Okrucieństwa*, 5r. Hubicki himself notes the importance of print there "Pisał też w tej sprawie Aloysius Lipomanus Nuncius Aposto, które listy w Rzymie potem wydrukowano." [Aloysius Lipomanus (Luigi Lippomano), Apostolic Nuntio, also wrote about this case, and his letters were later published in Rome].

[22] Skierbieszów at that time belonged to the bishop of Chełm.


[25] Sejm, the Polish parliament, a diet.

[27] Cites Jan Achacy Kmita, *Process Sprawy Bochenskiej z Żydam o Najświętszej Eucharistiej Sakrament od Żydow u Świętokradcow Kupiony y Cudownie Okazany* (n.p.: n.p., 1601 [1602]).

[28] *Łatka*, in old Polish means a doll, puppet, but here clearly means a monster.

[29] *Latawiec*.


[31] *Mięsopust*.


[33] Przykazanie.

[34] Cites Sebastian Miczynski, *Zwierciadło Korony Polskiey: Urázy Ciężkie y Utrapienia Wielkie, Które Ponosi Od Żydow Wyrazające Synom Koronnym Ná Seym Walny w Roku Panskim 1618* (Cracow: Máciej Jedrzeiowczyk, 1618). The year 1648 above appears to be a mistake.


[36] Rusin.

[37] Inhibicya, a decree from high authorities, e.g. the king or bishop, ordering a dismissal of a court case.

[38] This implies that the plaintiff's witnesses did not appear in court.


[40] Kontubernia handlów żydowskich.

[41] Chorąży Parnawski.

[42] *Ewazyja*, a court case is thrown out of court because the plaintiff’s witnesses fail to appear in
court.

[43] Evasionis.

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Process Kryminalny o niewinne dziecię Jana Krosnowskiego
O Świętokradzach Nasywsieńszego Sakramentu
Criminal Trial Concerning the Innocent Child Jan Krosnowski
Stefan Żuchowski, 1713?

Prepared by Magda Teter, Wesleyan University, USA

[44] Zabiwszy żywego, że w Niebie królującego Chrystusa, dostać nie może złość niepokąta Żydowska, szuka niewinnego z Herodem okrutnym, w osobach chleba utaionego, z tym większą łacnością, że im go sami bezbożni wydając Katolicy.

Roku 1213 W Francyi, Żyd u służebnice swoiej kupioną Hostyą (chcąc zachować na skłócie) puszkę gdzie miał siedm pieniędzy srebrnych wrzucił, które w Hosty wedząc odnienione nawrócony poszedł do Rzymu, y tam od Innocentego Papieża okrzczony został.[1]

Roku 1305. W Paryżu że Sakrementu S. Od Białogłowy kupionego, Żyd niemóg na pateli spalić, puginałem uderzył, z którego się krew rzuciła, y wydała, Żydzi skarani y wyfnani a Kościół Salvatoris Bullientis, Cudu tego, po dziś dzień, prawdę iawną pokazuie.[2]

Roku 1300. W Krakowie Kościół okradszy, Hostyę SS pokłoli, podeptali, y po drogach pozacierali dla zdeptania ich, od samychże Katolików wzięci, z suspicyi z koła wplatani.

Roku 330 [sic]. W Gustrowie przy klościu Hostyi, głos dziecięcia płaczącego nawrócił Żydowkę, która świętokrądzcow potom znalazszy [45] Hostyą, we szkle w chustę uwinioną, w bożnicy, y pokrwawioną wydała; spaleni Żydzi z Niewiastą co Hostyę sprzedała, a kaplica Hostyi Cudownej wystawiona.

W Megapolskim Xięstwie dwie Hostyę uklote od Żydów opisał wierszami Bocerus.

Roku 1338. W Niemczech w Mieście Pulka, krwią skłota płynęła Hostyą o co z rozkazania Papieża Benedykta są od Rakuskiego Xiążece pokarani.[3]

Roku 1369. W Bruxellach w Brabanci, przez krew choynie płynącą, wydani Iudaszowie, targani kleszczami.[4]
Tegoż Roku w Lowanium, o tosz skazani na stos, a Hostę skrwawioną w kaplicy złożono.

Roku 1414. W Kolnie Żyd przebrawszy się Kommunią przyjął y w kąt poszedszy, z ust brzydkich wyiał; widząc obroconą w osobie dziecięcia iescze płaczącego, uchodzić z Kościoła począł, ale mu Czart zastąpił, rzucił tedy w dołek na Cmentarzu dziecięcą płaczące na co z Kościoła gdy się ludzie biegli i Kapłani, Cud opowiedział y wiele Żydów przy sobie nawrócił.[5]

Roku 1466. W Hiszpanii, gdy nie mogli dostanę Hostyi, ani spalić ani zniszczyć, d Klasztoru Dominikańskiego w Segovium odniesł, o co byli śmiercią skarani.[6]

Roku 1426. W Wiedniu niewiasta przedała S. Hosty Żydom, za co Frederyk Cesarz kazał Żydów trzysta spalić, a Niewiastę kleszczami targać.

Roku 1433. W Dywionie takaz Hostya skolta od Żydów, y skrwawiona za Eugeniusza Czwartego Papieża approbacyą, złożona w Kaplicy.

Roku 1434. W Dekendorfie Thalmudystowie Hostyą S. Kłowszy, na kowadle kowalskim zbluźnierstwy tłukli, potym wpiec wrzucili. Za co także tych Diabłow ziemskich większą część blachami popalono y poćwiartowano.[7]

Roku 1453. Na Śląsku bardzo wiele Żydów o uczynioną Hostyi S. Obelję popalono.

Roku 1492. W Czechach w miasteczku Sterberck, Eleazar, Żyd [46], za kupioną Hostyą y pokłotą oraz krwią płynącą, y zdrugiemi trzydziestą ogniem spalony.[8]

Roku 1510. W Szpandawie Salomon Żyd za sześć groszy, u łotra iakiego kupiwszy Hostyą nożem kraiał, aż się na troie Hostyą rozpadła, dwie części posłał sowim przyiaciołom, do Brandenburgu, sam jedne skłotą krwią oblaną w placek zagniotszy w piec w rzucił, gdzie dzieciątko w wielkiej światości widział, y ten placek w Buźnicy zawiesił. W Brandenburgu że krwi ze stołu z drugiey partykuły skłotey ciekącey zetrzeć niemogli, odlupiwszy trzaskę y z częścią Hostyį do Hostenburgu na wesele z sobą wzięli, którą Żyd Maier na misie Pani młođej oddał, mowiąc: masz się z czego weselic, oto masz Chrześciańskiego BOGA, y tak znowu czterdziestu prawie Żydów Hostyą kłoli, że krew obficie płynęła, za co Ioachim Brandeburski Margrabia trzydziestu w Berlinie w piątek po S. Rożesłańczu spalił a Pawła Form, który im z puszką Hostye przedał, y w pasy darto, Żydzie przyznali się y do dzieci siedmiu umęczonych, o czym niżey w roz. XI.[9]

Roku 1540. We Wrocławiu, iako także Hostyą ukłoli Zwierciadło Przykładów.

Roku 1514. W Hali, Żyd krzczony Kapłanem się [nie będąc nim] uczynił dostawszy Hostyi dwie Żydom przedał a trzecią sam z niedowiarstwa tak tłukł aż się krwią oblała.[10]
Roku 1592. W Pradze Żyd Lewek [besty a okrutna] ukradł trzy Hostye S. oddał Żydom, którzy ie nozami koląc, bluźnili: Iesli iest BOG Chrześcijański, ukaż moc swoje y ukazał bo piorum uderzywszy w dzień pogodny, w dom ten światokradców spalił, trzec co uciekł, wziętych kleszczami targano, y na pale powiiany.[11]

Roku 1619. Na Granicach Hiszpanyi. Żydówka przebrana y postrzeżona, że S. Hostyą z ust w chwustkę wzięła, w beczkę wsadzona, zaraz spalona została.[12]

W Polszcze naszej iako wygnani z krajow Cuszych Żydzi Ray znaleźli, tak też piekło się na wszystkie kryminały, osobliwie przeciwko Sakramentom SS y dzieciom niewinnym otworzył o tym pod tytułem Depozyt Ciała &c 1663 wydana świadczy.[13]

Roku 1407. W Krakowie, woła na żydow Kościół także Bożego Ciała na Kazimierzu zbudowany, na tym miejscu gdzie Hostya SS od żydów skłote w błoto wrzucone, znalezione.[14]

Przydaie Miechowita, że ich potym o dzieci zabię z Krakowa za Kazmierza wypędzono.[15]

Roku 1508, dnia piątego Kwietnia, przekonany Rabin od X. Mikołaja Doktora Dominikańskiego przez publiczny dowow w Kościele P. Maryi w Rynku o obelgę S. Hostyi, i inne excesy, oddany Urzędowi, y spalony.[16]

Roku 1556. W Sochaczewie Dorota Laszecka Hostya, S. w Kościele Kozłowskim przedał, którą w ognisku zakopali, gdzie się upominki wykręcili.[18]

Roku 1580. W Osmieciu dwoch świetokradców spalono, o wydanie Żydom ukradzionych Hostyi, Żydzi sami (sromota wieczna) za Iudaszkowskim workiem od śmierci wolni.[19]
[48] Roku 1580. Żyd bluznierca Nasywtszeg SAKRAMENTU spalony.

Roku 1598. W Pułtusku okradszy Hostją Łotr nie iaki Krzyczkowski, Żydom do Płońska za cztery złote przedał poimany z suspicji wyznał. Żydzi na mękach parli się, ale potym wyznali, ża zaślepieni drogi przed sobą niewidząc, uchodzić nie mogli, znaleziona puszka w gnoiu y z processyą do Kościoła Hostye wzięte Iudaszowie spaleni.[21]


Roku 1619. Żydzi z Kalisza kupili u Niewiasty z Sobotki Hostę świetą y nad nią się pastwili, znaleźli wiele Fautorów, y Protektorów, dla których się sprawiedliwość choć o samego BOGA naszego krzywdę przewlokła.[23]

Roku 1669, die ultima Iulii Lovicia na Konfessatach przed wysadzonemi Xiążęcia na on czas I.M. Prażmowskiego Prymasa Kommissarzami nieiaki Murzynkowic profugustz pewnego Zakonu wyznał že będąc Presbiterem u Fary u Maryi Magdaleny w Poznaniu wziął kilichy dwa y cuppam apixide wysypawszy, Hostye odkrzcł [49]. Żydom tamże przedał za co wasdzony, z Karceres się wyłamawszy uszedł in habitu lascali kowalstwo po wsia robiąc (iako Syn niegdy Kowalski) w Pakendzu Żone od Męża odomowiwszy mieszkał z nią na wiarę z Corką iey także incestum commisse pytany o Świętokradztwa lubo co na torturach zeznał że to z bolu wielkiego uczynił jednak pervasionibus ad salutem anima motus D.D. Commissariorum Corde contrito effusisque lachrymis coram Imagine Crucifizi sponte et claravoce recognovit. W Chelcach służac za Kantora ukradłem Kommunikant, y Łewkowi Żdowi przedałem w Kaliszu Anno 1669 za złotych Osmidziesiąt albo Dziewięćdziesiąt circiter ex Ciborio go wziąłem klucze były w Kościele uczyniłem przed tym z Lewkiem kontrakt o kupno on mie na to namawiał, w Kaliszu y odniosłem mu go do domu wziął go w ręke Lewek nożem pchnął pokazala się krew widziałem sam ozyma memi raz tylko pchnął był Syn iego przytym, y drudzy których nie znam czterech albo pięć, było to około Mięsopustu, szwargotali tam z sobą zaraz na coby tego potrzebowali nie pytalem w Raysku też służąc za Bakalarza ukradłem Kommunikant
przedałem go Samuelowi Żydowi w Dobrey, wie o tym Żyd Marek z Kozminka Anno 1662, po Wielkiej nocy zaraz dali im za to złotych Sześciadziesiąt czyli Siedmdziesiąt circiter nie mogli pamiętać. Trzeci Kommunikant w Miłowicach ukradłem y temusz Salomonowi w Dobrey z Zięciem iego Anno 1663, wie otym tenże Zięci iego za złotych Sześciadziesiąt potym Anno 1667. Tamże w Miłkowicach ukradłem Kommunikant y temuż Salomonowi przedałem za złotych Sześciadziesiąt. Hostyą przedałem w Warcie Żydom Moyżeszowi y Szklarzowi Iakubowi z ktemarem targ uczynił drugich nieznam trzech ich było, zawsze mię o to prosili, mieli by dać im złotych Sześciadziesiąt, ale niewiem co mi dali w worku, bom Ich nieliczył, tom uczynił in Anno Currenti wziąłem ią przed lutrzną w Niedzielę Wielkonocną z grobu y nieodmieniałem nigdy [50] inszey Hosty, prostego też nieprzedałem Kommunikanta, bo by go poznali y o co mię prosili, abym prawdziwie Konsekrowane a nie proste im nosi, mai inszey Hosty, prostego te

S. kupiono tylko X Pleban Chełmski, te pieniace com za Kommunikanty brał, provictu et amictu obracałem, y tych zbrodni nigdym się niespowiadał, często żeby mię niemieli za Heretyka, y nigdziem *Hostiam non Consecratam in lacum consecratum supposui* mogł bym być, ale tego nieuczynił. Oddany Urzędowi potym spalony a Żydzi pociekali powołani.

Okolo Roku 1670 we Mławie żyd Kurke kupił u Żłodzieia S. Hostyą y z puszką, którą gdy kłoli w nocy w piwnicy nożami krew się rzucia, Hostyą nazaiutra na powietrzu widziaan była, y dzwony słyszane nad tym domem, w którym należono Złoćzyńcow Synowie dwa tegu Kurka ochrzeczeni, uczylsi się w Pułtusku in Anno 1704 w Seminarium mieszkali.

W Maminie za Księienda Biskupa Trzebiickiego o Hostyę S. kupioną Arendarza [że tylko X Pleban wyrzekł, trzeba by cie spalić] Pospolstwo dol wykopawszy spaliło.

Roku 1696 w Sendomirzy Białagiłowa w Wielki Czartek S. Hostyą przyjętą w chustę wypłutą iuż była do żydow zanióła ale postrzeżona na śmierc tamże w Mieście dekretowana.

Roku 1698. W Rawie złapano sześciu Żyドów, o skradzenie [51] w żelazny tak sreber iako y Hostyś S. z Monstrancją pod czas Okrawy Bożego Ciała, y dwoch Slosarzow Complices, których zaraz powieszano, Żydzi niewiem czy się nie wykręcili.

1710 w Łęczny *Feria 5ta post Festa solennia Pascha* dekretem ferowanym, tamże w mieście z roskazu I.M. P. Strażnika W.X. K. BOGA sprawiedliwości (nie Świętokeradzcow) obrocone, Żydoż Żyadowek siedm spalono y Podgorskiego Dzwonnika, osiedmaś wyanych Hostyś SS> y inne Koślone rzeczy: gdzie Iudasz wyznal że jedę Hystyą [sic] wziął z sobą do Gdańska, drugie
Roku 1712. Z Jędrzejowa Arendarz (ledwie tam przyjęty przeciwko prawu) wygnany, o Hostyą kupioną także u świętokradzce Dzwonnika.

A że niezostało iuż sposobów Żydom na kredyty, na Prowizye brać pieniędzy, a przecie lekko robiąc powinna się mieć dobre; rzucili się do łupienie y kradzieży Kościołem, gdzie oraz y Nayświętszey Hostyi, lubo sami lubo od świętokradzcow przewodniow sowich dostają, o co kiedy który Pleban czynię pocznie, to mu potrzeba y życze y gotowizę, a ieszcze rzadko dojdzie dla Protektorów sprawiedliwości. Niech żeby ieno žydom Przykazanie ukradziono z Bożnicy, ieżeli by wszyscy na to się niszadali nieciekali, żeby się zemścić krzywdy. My Katolicy, czy nie wierzmy w Chrystusa, o ktorego wzgarde Aktorom czyniącym, przeszkadzamy, a ieszcze dla pieniędzy podobno żydowskich, ktorych BOGU duszą Przypiąćć bydzie trzeba. Niektore Świętokradztwa, wieku naszego wspomnienie, bo ich spisać wszystkich niepodobna.

Przed Rokiem 1648. w Krakowie u S. Anny kielich na Zamku Trzybularz u P. Maryi Krzyż wielki srebrny, u S. Szczepana łączoty z łoty z Monstrancyi, u S. Troyce Antependium, u Franciszkjanów lichtarze, na piasku srebra z Obrazu pokradzione u Żydow zostały, Katolicy pokarani, Żydzi się okupili.[24]

W Piotrkowie Żydow tracono, o takąż sreber Kościelnych kradzież [52] stary žyd zapamiętał stracony. Młodemu Golebica naramieniu padła na placu, znakiem była jego powołania do Wiary, którowy przyjaźnymi ścięty, to z relacyi OO. Piarum Scholarum.

W Kościele pod Krakowem puszkę z Hostyi Arendarz kupił, I.X. Opacki Archidyakon Krakowski czynił o to, że żyd stracony y wszyscy z browarów z tey parafii przez dekret Grodzki wyfnani Wodzisławscy zaś żydzi complices dąja dolampy tamże oliwę.

W Opatowcu, w Balutowie, w Denkowie, w Opatowie: razem cztery Kościoły okradli żydzie, którzy tu aż z Litwy byli na tę robotę przyszli.

Roku 1688. w Chełmie tracono także żydów y Katolika o skradzenie kilku Kościołów gdzie że srebrm zabierali y SSm: na obelgę y czary sobie zwykle.

W Siennie Żyda także stracono o srebro Kościelne y Relikwie Święt: Antoniego, którego gnatkami nazwał, pokazawszy gdzie ie był zakopał w gnoiu.

W Kozminku pod Kaliszem okradł Kościół, gdzie zabrali y srebra Kościelne y Plebanowi na złotych sześć tysięcy y I. M. Panu Łętkowskiemu w pieniądach y w kleynotach na złotych Sześćtysięcy tych stracono w Piotrkowie.

Roku 1694. Kościół Farny w Bełże Rusin z Wargę okłradszy, z puszką osmnacze Hosty przedał żydowi Sokalskemu, Rusina spalono za żydami instancie wielkich Panow sprawiły, (a żal się Boże y od Biskupa pewnego niegdy Inhibicya wydana), że Sędzia wziąwszy dwieście
talerow bitych, żydow przypuścił ad evasionem przez dekret w Aktach Grody Belskiego zapisany.

Roku 1696. Kościół Świętego Ducha w Sendomierzu okradli także żydzi process moy świadczy 1698 wydany.

Roku 1607. we Cmielowie z Ołtarza Świętego Anny złotnik srebro pobrał, które się żydom dostało. Złotnik tylko stracony.


Roku 1698 z Przytyka żydzi Kościoł okradli we Wrzosie, ale że u nas process z żydami trudny ktorzy zaraz pouciekali przepadło.

Roku 1700. W Szczeglicach pokradzione srebro Kościelne pokupili żydzi Opatowscy.

Roku 1702. we Frysztaku Kościele żydzie na Dwadzieścia Tysięcy srebra zabrali, I.M. P. Iosef Rołowski Chorąży Parnawski okupem sobie Ofiarowany z pobożeńst Chrześcianskiej w zgardożywsy, piąciu spalić kazał, a na czterech Infią otrzymał, niewrocio się tylko dwadzieścia dziewięc grzywien srebra bo z drugiego tynfy y szostaki fałszywe bili. Ciż siedm inszych Kościołów okradli byli.

Roku 1703. W Głogowie y bliższych Kościołów kilka żydzi pokradli.

Roku 1711. Woyciech Floryk z drugiemi drabami okradli Kościół w Ulanowie że srebra które przedali żydom jedne w Bilgoraiu, drugie Leybie Rzeźnikowi w Goraycu, są Konfessaty iego w Mieście Oleszcach dnia 7 Augusta opisane.

Roku 1712 w Kozuchowku w ziemi Drobinkiey. Żydzi z Łosic puszkę z Hostyami u złodzieia kupili ktory spalony żydzi na torturach się niechcieli przyznać, choć srebro od nich licem wzięto.

[54] Ruku 1712 z Opatowskiem żydami jest dekret moy iako commisarii synodalis z I.M. Panem Kasztelanem Zawichoyskim statutionis Żydow ktorzy srebra z Kościołów w Kielczynie w Chobrzanach, Pskanowie, w Glinianach, y w Sobotce osobliwie puszki pokradzione od drabow skupowali y iako naywiecy kazali im przenosic o Hostye ich prosili, ferowany in Vigilia Festi S. Ioannis Baptistae w Opatowie.

Roku 1713. Jest sprawa w Grodzie Sanockim o pokradzenie Kościoła w Hoczewie, z żydamie,
których wydała przekrzcionka zabierającą się na komprobację, a żydzi na Ewazyi w ląt
dwadzieścia licami od nich odebrano, y 1710. w Iarosławiu ich na Trybunale o to sądzono, albo
iako ow Cygan który więcej było potrzeba dać od dekretu Evasionis, niż się podkowa stała,
podkowę (przysiągszy że iey nieukradł) wrócił.

Endnotes
[1] Henricus Spondamus [Henry de Sponde], Annales ecclesiastici. [Several copies preserved at
the library of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow]; Also Jan Kwiatkiewicz Roczne Dzieje
kościelne od Roku Pań skiego 1118 aż do lat naszych (Kalisz: Typis Societatis Jesu, 1695, 21.
[4] Henricus Spondamus [Henry de Sponde], Annales ecclesiastici. Szymon Hubicki,
Żydowskie Okrucieństwa (Cracow: 1602), 3.
Caesarem Baronium. Tomus XV Rerum in Orbe Christiano Ab Anno Domini 1378 Usque as
Annum Domini 1431 (Cologne: 1622).
Caesarem Baronium. Tomus XVII Rerum in Orbe Christiano Ab Anno Domini 1448 Usque as
Annum Domini 1471 (Cologne: 1624).
[7] Hubicki, Żydowskie okrucieństwa, 3. He also mentions Śleszkowski, Sebastyan Śleszkowski,
Dostateczna Genealogia Żydowska. (Brunsberg: Schonfels, 1622), Chapter 10.
[8] Henricus Spondamus [Henry de Sponde], Annales ecclesiastici. Also, Hubicki, Żydowskie
okrucieństwa, 4.
[9] Cites Śleszkowski as a reference, but see also, Hubicki, Żydowskie okrucieństwa, 3-4..
[10] Żuchowski cites Przecław Mojecki, Żydowskie okrucieństwa, mordy i zabobony (Cracow:
1589), chapter 12. But see also, Hubicki, Żydowskie okrucieństwa, 3v.
[13] He also cites, Śleszkowski, Dostateczna genealogia żydowska.
Caesarem. Baronium. Tomus XV Rerum in Orbe Christiano Ab Anno Domini 1378 Usque as
Annum Domini 1431.
[16] Cites Marcin Bielski, Kronika Wssythyego Swyata Na Ssesc Wiekow a Na Czwory Księgi
Takiez Monarchie Rozdzielona (Cracow: Hironim Scharffenberg, 1554 [1551]). And Mojecki,
Żydowskie okrucieństwa.
[17] Hubicki, Żydowskie okrucieństwa, 5r. Hubicki himself notes the importance of print there
“Pisał też w tej sprawie Anloysius Lipomanus Nuncius Aposto, które listy w Rzymie potem wydrukowano.”

[18] Hubicki, Żydowskie okrucieństwa, 5r-v.
[22] Cites Jan Achacy Kmita, Process Sprawy Bochenskiej z Żydami o Najświętszej Eucharistiey Sakrament of Żydów u Świętokradców Kupiony y Cudownie Okazany (n.p.: n.p., 1601 [1602]). See also, Hubicki, Żydowskie okrucieństwa, 5v-6v. Hubicki also mentions Alfonso de Espina, Fortalitium Fidei.
[23] Cites Śleszkowski.

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Introduction to Seder Mitzvot Nashim

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Notes: notes field

The advent of print in the mid-fifteenth century brought with it a major cultural change from the period of manuscripts. The printing press could make multiple copies of any given work available in a relatively short period of time and at a cheaper price than a scribe could ever have done. Jews quickly learned the importance of this new technology and by the late fifteenth-century, many classic works of Jewish scholarship, including the Hebrew Bible and portions of the Babylonian Talmud with commentaries, had been published. However, it was only when printing was combined with the vernacular that full possibilities of the press were realized. The Seder mizvot nashim, or The Order of Women's Commandments, was an early attempt to use printing and the vernacular to educate Jewish women about their religious obligations, particularly the three commandments that from at least mishnaic times had been specifically connected to women: (1) the taking of a piece of dough before baking bread and some types of cakes (hallah; see (2) the lighting of lights on the eve of the Sabbath and festivals, and (3) observing the various rules of ritual purity during and after periods of uterine bleeding. Written in Yiddish by Rabbi Benjamin Slonik and first published in Cracow in 1577, the book tried not only to teach the law to women but to convince them of the importance of proper observance. As such it was both a law book and a homiletical work of sorts. A comparison with legal works published during the period, such as Rabbi Jacob ben Asher's Four Columns (Araba`ah Turim) and Rabbi Joseph Caro's Shulhan`aruk, highlights some of the differences in approach between legal codes written for rabbis and students of Jewish law and a text that expected no specialized knowledge of its readers.

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The Order of Women's Commandments
Seder Mitzvot Nashim
Benjamin Slonik, 1577

Translated by Edward Fram, Ben-Gurion University, Israel

Notes: notes field

[2a] [1] We shall praise God for he is worthy of praise. He rules above and below. He nourishes all creatures. It is for this reason that we wanted to write a lovely booklet for women, for the betterment of the body and the adornment of the soul - unlike songs and tales. Rather, containing only God fearing things so that everyone should know what to observe and what to avoid; what she must do and what she may not do.

Also, one cannot publish enough didactic books since no one knows when his time has come. So this booklet will teach the right way. Therefore dear pious wives, do not tarry and do not spare a few groschen because you will find the foundation and reward of the commandments in it; in particular with respect to hallah, niddah, and kindling lights, and how one should go about doing one's charity.

And no one single person has invented [the contents of] this booklet or has made it up in his head, rather it has been gathered and taken from many books. And he has received permission from rabbis so that we do not err and should not, God forbid, instruct anyone incorrectly.

When at times one finds a young bride who does not know the measure of hallah, and similarly with respect to her menstrual period, when her life depends on it, she can sin and thus bring harm to her children for the commandment of niddah is divided into many varied topics. One can spoil an entire dress because of a small beet [stain]. This means that one can ruin the body with one small thing for which the soul must suffer great discomfort.

A man may also take delight [in this booklet] for there are some wives who cannot read. Such a wife must often err. Therefore, her husband may instruct her so that she will take care of her matters well and not sin away both worlds (i.e., this world and the world to come) and not follow the evil inclination altogether. For this world passes in an instant, and there [in the next world] is eternal life. And there one must give a proper reckoning
Now not everyone knows what is a proper deed and what is a sin; therefore buy this booklet quickly, for no one need earn better interest than the great reward that God will provide. Further, you will find in this booklet, that which concerns the precept of kindling lights and other precepts as well.

Now, dear wives, do not make it hard on yourselves and start to read this booklet so that you will have a great reward from it. And this is the main thing: as long as a woman is alive and well, she should read this booklet every month. Thus she will rejoice in this world and in the next world she will enjoy Paradise. And it will also be easier for her, for she will know her precepts well and will not need to ask a rabbi. For at times when one does not properly understand something and has no rabbi or she is embarrassed in his presence, she makes something that is not straightforward, kosher and if one should consult a rabbi about it, it might be clearly forbidden. Or she might declare something prohibited and very serious for herself that she need not have done for it is not God’s will. Therefore, when she becomes an expert in this booklet, everything will become clear as day to her and she will not have depend on her own reasoning. She will overcome all her misfortune and will often benefit from it in this world and have the proper reward from the principal in the next world. Therefore accept some advice and give this booklet your favor, and do not hesitate to give few groschen for it right away. Thus you will have good fortune and eternal life. Amen and so may it be His will.

If there is something that she needs to look into very urgently and she wants to find immediately, she should examine the list of sections in the back [of the booklet] so she will find it in the booklet. For each precept is numbered; you will be able to proceed according to it. However, it would be better if you read it continually and become familiar with it so that you will not have to search.

Every woman is obligated to kindle lights on the eve of each Sabbath and festivals and this is a great mitzvah. And she makes the blessing, “Blessed are You God, our Lord, King of the universe, who has sanctified us with his commandments and commanded us to kindle the Sabbath light.” In Yiddish translation this is, “Blessed are You God, our master, who has sanctified us and has commanded us to kindle Sabbath light.” Afterwards she should say this: “May it be [Your] will that my children be illuminating in Torah and the work of Heaven.” In Yiddish translation this is, “May it be Your will that my children be illuminating in the Torah and in the work of Heaven.” And whoever is meticulous in [saying] this, God will bestow on him children who will light up the world with their Torah.

And the commandment of kindling lights is commanded to women, and they are obligated to keep it because they have extinguished the light of the world and have darkened the world with their gluttony. For they wanted to eat from the apple and on account of the sin that she ate the apple, therefore we must die. And because she has extinguished the light of our lives, so she must rekindle the lights.
And there must always be two lights to represent the limbs of a husband and a wife. In a man there are two hundred and forty-eight limbs, the number RaMaH, and in women there are two hundred and fifty-two limbs, like the number RaNaB. The limbs of both man and wife total five hundred. And the two lights are called “ner, ner,” also totaling five hundred to show that the soul of a husband and wife is as one soul. How does it come about that we compare the soul to the lights? The biblical verse says, “The light of God is the soul of man.”[2] This means that the light of God the Lord is the soul of man. And do not think that man's soul gives God, blessed be He, light, God forbid. Because “the light dwells with im”[3] so God, blessed be His name, has no benefit from the human soul, for God has no need of his creations for he created all His creation by the will of His great mercy. And the soul is soothed by the radiance of the Shekhinah, and that is the joy and pleasure of the soul. And therefore the woman must kindle lights because she extinguished our light and she must also suffer the pain of menstruation because she spilled our blood. Therefore she has the pain of menstruation and must go for ritual immersion. And the ritual immersion is like a repentant who was a murderer and repents. And so it is also with hallah, for she has corrupted us who are called, “Israel, Holy unto God, the first of His produce.”[4] That is in Yiddish, “Israel is holy unto God, the first of His grain.” Therefore, she must also [5a] take hallah. So it [hallah] is called “the first of your dough, you should separate hallah,”[5] that is in Yiddish translation, from the first of your dough you should separate hallah. Therefore a woman must observe the three commandments.

Therefore, dear daughter, wake up and open your eyes and your deaf heart[6] and pay attention to a Divine utterance and do not take it at all lightly and see and mark well that the commandments can never be fully fathomed. For they guard the body from the tribulations of the grave[7] and the soul from the torment of Hell. And for that reason woman was created in [God's] tenth utterance, late on Friday afternoon, close to the holy Sabbath, to show that with woman creation was fully completed. Therefore, you certainly see that the whole world depends upon a woman's thoughts. I may well tell you, for when a woman does not have proper intent she corrupts her children and the world's foundations for no righteous person (tzaddik), who is called the foundation of the world, can be born at that same hour. And, because of this, God, blessed be His name, notes this well and is saddened by all his creation. And therefore, we must unfortunately suffer in the Diaspora and our bodies and possessions are consumed. And who is responsible for this? - the woman when she does not want to bethink herself properly, and when she, God forbid, is not mindful of God's commandments. And poor man can have no good fortune or well-being if he does not have a pious wife. That is why, God, blessed be His name, loves a woman who is pious. She is her husband's crown. If she does as I have written here, she fulfills the biblical verse, “May the glory of the Lord endure forever; the Lord will rejoice in his works.”[8] This means, “May the honor of God, blessed be His name, be everlasting; God, blessed be His name, will rejoice in his creation.” These are the pious, properly conceived children.
And one should be careful to make a fine quality light as Rabbi Huna said, “one who regularly
careful to try and make a fine quality light will have sons who will be talmudic scholars.” And
some are careful to make two wicks, one representing the command to remember the Sabbath
and the other representing the command to observe the Sabbath. And if one does not have the
means to purchase both lights for the Sabbath and for Hanukkah, the Sabbath lights have
precedent. And so too, if one does not have the means to purchase both lights for the Sabbath
and wine for Kiddush, the Sabbath lights have precedent because of happiness, because there
can be no happiness without light. And one should not be quick to kindle the lights well before
nightfall because then it is not clear that one is kindling them to honour the Sabbath. And one
should also not wait too long to kindle them either. And when one kindles the lights one should
say, “Blessed are You, Lord our God, king of the universe who has commanded us to kindle the
Sabbath lights.” Men and women are equally commanded to kindle the lights, however, women
are especially charged with this command as it is explained in the Midrash that Eve
extinguished the light of the world, that is to say, she brought it about that Adam would die.
And Maimonides gave a different explanation saying that women were charged with this
command because they are generally around the house and deal with domestic matters...

Men and women are equally commanded to have a light burning in their homes on the
Sabbath. Even if one does not have what to eat, one must go begging to get oil with which to
kindle the lights for having light is a pleasure of the Sabbath.

Women are charged with fulfilling this command more than men because women are generally
found around the house and they deal with domestic matters. If one does not have sufficient
funds to purchase both the Sabbath lights and wine for Kiddush, the Sabbath lights take
precedent. And so too, if one does not have sufficient funds to buy both Sabbath lights and
Hanukkah lights, the Sabbath lights take precedent because of the happiness that they cause
for there can be no happiness without light.

Endnotes
[1] A mostly Latin character transcription of much of the introduction based on the 1602 (Basel)
edition appears in Max Grunbaum, Judischdeutsche Chrestomathie, reprint, 1882
[2] Prov. 20.27.

[5] Num. 15.20. The Hebrew citation is not precise.


[8] Ps. 104.31.

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Seder Mitzvot Nashim
The Order of Women's Commandments
Benjamin Slonik, 1577

Prepared by Edward Fram, Ben-Gurion University, Israel

Notes: notes field
تدريب מיניון. תן ביכֿליון ועטלך רבותים דע ועיין כונן קולן. ד"ע גלעד תור אוספים.

ביכֿליין. עט תמできます צליל ו ההתבהר דע ועיין קולן. ד"ע גלעד תור אוספים.

גוזר. א. וא נאגר ד"ע מתאר ושותה וזו ד"ע אפרים וגלעד שסטול. לש"פ מיר מונע.

ניח בידן וגלעד. א. ואנדר א. ואת איברג וטלפ. ו oran 'א אומרים זו תמ נריק ושבע חכמה.

גו נויים ביכֿליון וואז ד"ע צבעה אודר פֿ実際に קולן דע ועיין ושתות רביעים שמל' יב ועיין ושתות

פר ציוני. וירש ועתות ואודר פֿ実際に ביכֿליון. וואז זו בלעプ ד"ע מוזה פֿן

ליכפח ועטלך: א. 'אנדרו מיניון ד"ע נלעך וירש topo ד"ע גימאך.

אנדר העטלך א. "אנדר א. ואת צרו אודר. ווילו אפרים וגלעד וואז אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. צי

אנדר העטלך ביכֿליון א. "אנדר א. ואת נאות וידעו העטלך לועם אודר אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. לצ

ד"ע ציון אודר ווילו אפרים וגלעד וואז אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. צי

ד"ע ציון אודר ווילו אפרים וגלעד וואז אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. צי

ד"ע ציון אודר ווילו אפרים וגלעד וואז אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. צי

ד"ע ציון אודר ווילו אפרים וגלעד וואז אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. צי

ד"ע ציון אודר ווילו אפרים וגלעד וואז אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. צי

ד"ע ציון אודר ווילו אפרים וגלעד וואז אודר וגיון. ווعدل א. צי
הנביא. זה שהשאה אחר האבות Мо ו_alignment: left; margin-left: 0; margin-right: 0; text-align: left; line-height: 1.7;}

ורעליה והוא ידבר לפני כל אנשי הארץ ולענות

ואז, ורעליה לפני כל בני דת ואלו דרומ

אכן שפתח ואנו עלות ורעליה וענה ורעליה

ועב שקר בסינה ואת אליעזר מנהור דר שטוט

שימר דבר אדם ושערת אוחי דבר פנים צו

렇כנן לייאי, ואר איה ואל ונירכד ודא

ותעור זה חというのは צו.

ג' אייך אריקלפי ויראו אה鹳 лиידליר, ווא דואל, ליכדרן או צין, אול חרב שבע

ואז, או האייל טורב זומ טוב ואוז, או אייך י EventEmitter מצוה, או' 멸 consulate, דコード בורפה. בור ישאה, או אלוהים עיק הילוך ואשר קשתה בין חבטות והמקיל ברש

ועבוק: או אז אייך י EventEmitter לכלום ורישות גוז אנOccurredה, או לוה גהיליקות

ד' ב"באנון, אז זומ פרנסאן, או צין, ליכדרן פונים שבע: ור נא זיל ולזא, או,

ויי צלון שיקוף כפוארית פוחתת במקל iptず, שיקום: או אייך י EventEmitter שוי דואל

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ofire עולם; לוחרים מעש או או ציז אליסיסד או בישפור גוז איים קיבר ודא דון

עולם דער לייכדרן מיט אייר תמר. או' דו מתעד פונים ציון או אז או צור ובו

יאו. או זייו שירות נלידליר, או הלッチ, אוז, אוforgettable לייכדרן, או דער ליכדרן או לועש עבד או. עוז, ווא זייו שירות נלידליר, או הלッチ, אוז, אוforgettable לייכדרן, או דער ליכדרן או לועש עבד או.

פיקסר שיאב וייר איקז בלו נוף קירד בו דער הלוח פונים דוע אפיל ציון או, פון צו.

עלברז ונותני, או אז אז, או מצוה, או דרモノ שינאיקב או. יוריד דינ, ווא דינ, ווא

ליכדרן פונים ציון עלעך פון lynx או מון, או ויריד די ליכדרן או ציז. או', די ליך מון

אל מופלי פרויזי, וו' או קזם או ליכדרן דיוי או מאכי או, או ויריד, או איים מאוכז לדון

ינו ויונר, או, אלבס, או, וייבגי מהרי, או ציאו פון, "או, או דרモノ, או, או.
בעל תשובה טייטש דן נישט הט זילוער צינדן אונזר זיא אויך זיא אונ גוט פון אך ליכטר ליכטר דרום זיל דיו' אין בישאפן געטליכי גאשן זי האט אויך דרום פרוכטין גלייך זיל גאר עבין דזית תְּבוּאָתֹה דערבט דאזאיז איז אזו דר דרויף'. כך ליכט דז דען צו שפוט וייזן אם שבת איין. חיבוט צוייא זיל זיך מיר דאז מינט חלהדרום מוז דיא דיא שערץ. וער גלייך עֲרִִיסֹתֵכֶם נעמן אייז תירימו גיהיישן. דא זיא איין איין. ת' חלהalnum צויא און איין וייזן איין. מיין איין די ניט בישירמן גרינדן זיא זיך בישאפן' ג' פון אין דער און איין וואך פֿונפֿיצג צוייא און גלידר הונדרט איין גיוועזן איין מיט און גין דורך זיין גינאד גרושר בישאפן' ישארל גוט היילג ליכטר דער פסוק שפריכט דרייא דארום הלטיןכלל זיא זיאו וולות ווועגן און זיאו בלוט איין ווועגן און איין. אכֿטין טויא ווען בידרף גוט אל דאז דיא און איין. אכֿטין זאיטן צויא און גלידר הונדרט איין גיוועזן איין מיט און גין דורך זיין גינאד גרושר בישאפן' ישארל גוט היילג ליכטר דער פסוק שפריכט דרייא דארום הלטיןכלל זיא זיאו וולות ווועגן און זיאו בלוט איין ווועגן און איין. אכֿטין טויא ווען בידרף גוט אל דאז דיא און איין. אכֿטין זאיטן צויא און גלידר הונדרט איין גיוועזן איין מיט און גין דורך זיין גינאד גרושר בישאפן' ישארל גוט היילג ליכטר דער פסוק שפריכט דרייא דארום הלטיןכלל זיא זיאו וולות ווועגן און זיאו בלוט איין ווועגן און איין. אכֿטין טויא ווען בידרף גוט אל דאז דיא און איין. אכֿטין זאיטן צויא און גלידר הונדרט איין גיוועזן איין מיט און גין דורכ

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$\text{Jacob ben Asher, Tur, Orah hayyim 263}$

$\text{ז"ה ו"ה ל"שת ר"ה פי ה"ה ד"ה ו"ה ה"ה ל"שת ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה пластישנ פ"ה ה"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה שה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"שבת ו"ה ו"ה plastishen פי ה"ה ו"ה嗝ה"ה ב"ה ל"شاب
Joseph Caro, Shulhan `aruk, Orah hayyim 263

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In the case of a guest, a yad to light the candles and the guest to take the shidduchim (partnership) are not valid; for if the guest does not eat, he is not in a position to light the candles. For, on Shabbat, the nirt is in their home, it is required, the women and one of the men, one of the two. He is Shabbat enjoyment in general; for the nirt is a Shabbat nirt, the candle is purchased from his hands, so long as there is no mezuzah on the door. The home is for the cooking of the woman and one of the men. For, the nirt is without, the home is because of Shabbat nirt, for Hanuka and the nirt is for Shabbat nirt to purchase, so long as there is no mezuzah (the door) and so forth.

Publisher: Isaac Prostiz, Cracow, 1577
Archive: archive field

Endnotes

First end note[1]
Subsequent end notes[2]

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Introduction to Keshet U-Magen

Talya Fishman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Scion of a rabbinic family heavily involved in legal deliberations pertaining to the Jewishness of the conversos, Simeon Ben Zemah [1361-1444] composed an anti-Christian polemic that is striking in a number of ways. The passage in question is methodologically noteworthy in that invokes -- and cites -- passages from the New Testament alongside contemporaneous rabbinic sources. Duran concludes that the practice of baptism among the earliest (non-Jewish) followers of Jesus, was intended as a way of initiating pagans into the Jewish legal category (of biblical origin) of "resident alien". He claims, in other words, that the earliest missions to the Gentiles were designed (by rabbinic Jews) to bring non-monotheists into a legally-recognized "outer circle" of Judaism.

This extraordinary passage should be considered within the following historical contexts:

1. The efforts by humanists -- Jews as well as Christian -- to reconstruct the historical and doctrinal origins of Christianity by mining ancient sources without overt theological bias.
2. The effort of certain Jews who were learned in Christian sources -- and particularly of those involved in "reclaiming" conversos -- to evaluate Christianity both historically and theologically, in order to determine whether it warranted the label of "idolatry".

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But [Jesus's] intention was that [the gentiles] fulfill the Noahide commandments. And thus they wrote that Jesus commanded the gentiles to undergo baptism [in the name of] the Father, the Son and the Spirit, and that, by means of this baptism, they would be saved -- after acceptance of [the prohibitions against] idolatry and against sexual immorality, and [the doctrine of] Free Will. And in this they relied on our Rabbis, of blessed memory, who said [BT, Yeb. 46b]that if one underwent circumcision but didn't undergo immersion, it is as if he was not circumcised. Therefore, they established baptism as a principle in accepting converts. And it seems that his [i.e., Jesus'] intention was to accept [each] as a resident alien, whom we call "an uncircumcised convert"-- who takes upon himself the seven Noahide commandments.

That which demonstrates that they only did this to attract gentiles to their faith is what one of them sent in an epistle to another, regarding one who had written him saying: [Galatians 5:2] "I, so-and-so, say to you that if you undergo circumcision, the Messiah will be of no avail to you." Now, how would it hurt them them if they were circumcised? Rather, he wrote this to them to reassure them, lest they feel fearful because they were uncircumcised.

He also wrote to them testifying to them that anyone who was circumcised is bound by the entire Torah -- and in this he taught the eternality of the Torah for Israel. For inasmuch as one who is circumcised is bound by the entire Torah, he must circumcise his son, in keeping with the Torah's commandment. And this will continue from son to the son's son, until the end of the world [i.e., forever].

And it is also written by him[1] [Acts 28:17-18] that when one of the Apostles was brought to Rome, bound in chains, he called to the Jews who were there and said to them that he had not done anything against the Jews, and that he did not differ at all with their ancestral custom. He also said that the Jews of Jerusalem had not found in him anything deserving of the death-penalty. And had he differed with the Torah, he would have been deserving of the death-penalty.

And similarly, he wrote in one of his books that he believes in everything which is in the Torah.
And in another place he wrote that he had not sinned against the Torah of the Jews.

He further wrote, rebuking the Jews, in the *Epistle to the Romans* (2:17-26):

If you call yourself a Jew and rely upon the Torah, and boast of [your relationship to] God, and recognize His will, and discern that which is useful because you are an expert in the Torah. And if you are sure that you are a guide for the blind, and a light for those who walk in darkness; and that you can teach those who do not know, having, in the Torah, the form of wisdom and truth: Why should you then rebuke others, and not rebuke yourselves? You preach, "Do not steal", but you steal. "Do not commit adultery", but you commit adultery. "Distance yourself from idolatry", but you steal from the sacred. "Glory in the Torah," but by sinning against the Torah, you diminish the Divine Glory. And the Divine Name is desecrated among the gentiles on account of you, as it is written.[2] Circumcision will, indeed, benefit you, if you observe the Torah. But if you sin against the Torah, your circumcision will be considered uncircumcision. And if the uncircumcised one observes the covenant of the Torah, his uncircumcision will be considered as circumcision."

Until here, Romans. He thus teaches that the Jewish people are obligated to observe the Torah -- and that if even the uncircumcised observe the Torah, it will be reckoned to them as if they were [bound by a] covenant.

But this is only true for someone who was forcibly converted [anus] and was unable to be circumcised, or whose brothers died due to circumcision; or for resident aliens. The implication of these words is that Jesus and his students never intended to abolish the Jews' observance of the Torah.

**Endnotes**


[2] Isaiah 52:5: “And constantly, unceasingly, my Name is reviled”.

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Keshet U-Magen
Simeon ben Zemah Duran, 14th - 15th centuries

Prepared by Talya Fishman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Publisher: Published: Livorno, 1790?; reprint: Jerusalem, 1970

Endnotes

Introduction to Respuesta A Un Cavallero Frances

Talya Fishman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Notes: Cited in Yosef Kaplan "Qelitatam shel gerim ba-kehilah ha-portugalit bi-Amsterdam ba-Meah ha-17: Parshat Lorenzo Escuerdo" in Proceedings of the Seventh World Jewish Congress (Jerusalem, 1981), vol. 4: 100

Orobio de Castro (himself a former converso) was heavily involved in the project of encouraging conversos to return to their ancestral faith in seventeenth century Amsterdam. The distinction made in this passage between "the seed of Abraham and Children of Israel" on the one hand, and Gentiles who recognize the God of Truth, on the other, illuminates two broad historical developments:

1. It reflects the emergence of a biological (dare I say, "racial?") definition of Jewishness among conversos and former conversos, a legacy of Iberian rhetoric about "limpieza de sangre."

2. It may be seen as evincing Jewish anxieties about accepting Old Christians as converts to Judaism at a time when religious identities were particularly labile. [See Introduction to Kol Sakhal.]

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Respond A Un Cavallero Frances
Orobo de Castro, 17th century

Translated by Talya Fishman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Notes: Cited in Yosef Kaplan "Qelitatam shel gerim ba-kehilah ha-portugalit bi-Amsterdam ba-Meah ha-17: Parshat Lorenzo Escuerdo" in Proceedings of the Seventh World Jewish Congress (Jerusalem, 1981), vol. 4: 100

So too, the covenant between God and the seed of Abraham and the Children of Israel will last forever. And the gentiles who recognized the God of Truth and worshiped Him will be gerim in Israel, and beloved of God. But they will never become Israel, or the seed of Abraham. For Israel is not a spiritual entity, but rather, a nation -- for better or worse....

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Notes: Cited in Yosef Kaplan "Qelitatam shel gerim ba-kehilah ha-portugalit bi-Amsterdam ba-Meah ha-17: Parshat Lorenzo Escuerdo" in Proceedings of the Seventh World Jewish Congress (Jerusalem, 1981), vol. 4: 100

אלהים לאולונים א"ר לעלם לא יהי לישראל אלא לורע אברכים. כי ישראל אהבי יש רוחני אל� אומן, א"ר לעלם Woody -

Archive: Ets Hayim Library Amsterdam, MS. 48D6, folio 307r.
Between 1391-1492, large numbers of Spanish Jews underwent baptism, some under threat of violence, and some of their own volition. As Jewish husbands and wives, parents and children, found themselves intimately-related to kinfolk who professed Christianity, a range of rabbinic legal problems arose pertaining to marriage, divorce, inheritance and other matters of personal status. Rabbi Zemah b. Shlomo Duran of 15th century Algiers was from a family of rabbis who addressed many of these legal queries.

In the excerpted passage of the Responsum, R. Zemah reprimands the interlocutor for the term he had used in referring to former *conversos*. This population, he emphasizes, are of Jewish *stock*, and thus must not be perceived as converts to Judaism.

As in the excerpted passage from Orobio de Castro (of seventeenth century Amsterdam), R. Zemah's remarks point to the emergence of a "biological" definition of Jewishness (among Iberian Jews and *conversos*) and stresses the need to distinguish, theologically, between New Christians who revert to their ancestral faith and Old Christians who convert to Judaism.
Fez, to the learned Rabbi Nathan Busti and his colleagues, may the Rock preserve and keep them:

You asked, my brothers, regarding one who came and claimed that he was a kohen—whether or not one can believe him, for calling him first to read from the Torah.

Answer: ...

And even though there are a small number of them who mix with the idolators and take their daughters as wives, they are only the tiny minority—[Jer. 3:14] one from a town and two from a family. And one of them who does this is alienated from the rest and despised, and they subsequently refrain from mixing with his offspring/seed. For they consider this seed as idolatrous, as is the law, since his mother is an idolator...

I will now return and respond to your words, in which you wrote ruling invalidation of the priesthood for those of the anusim who come and claim that they are held to be kohanim. First you wrote, using these words:

Regarding the matter of these gerim who come from the Kingdom[s] of Catalan and Castile and Portugal to convert [lehitgayyer] and to enter under the wings of the Divine Presence. And each one of them says (that) "I am a kohen", etc.

And this is the gist of your language.

One who examines your words will find in them a great error. For God forbid that Jews in all their places of residence would be stupid [enough] to call up first to the Torah, for the kohen’s portion, one who was an idolator and converted. For this is not done in Israel. And an idolator who converts can never claim and say that he is a kohen. For where would this priesthood of his come from? And how can you pose this question?

You must catch that these [conversos] are not called by the term gerim [i.e., "converts"] for they are [Isaiah 41:14] the worm of Jacob; they are considered [ibid] maggots of Israel, and
are not called "gerim" for this purpose, but rather, penitents...

And we have learned that they [i.e., the talmudic sages] only use the term "ger" for one who was an idolator and entered under the wings of the Divine Presence, and took upon himself the entire Torah. And someone who accepted the seven Noahide commandments, and agreed not to practice idolatry, is called a "resident alien." And he is called this because we are permitted to allow him to live among us, as it says in tractate Avodah Zarah [64b] in chapter ha-Sokher. This being the case, you were mistaken in referring to the penitents of the anusim as "gerim"...

I also see these words of yours as incorrect, and there is nothing in these claims that would invalidate the offspring from the status of priesthood. For we have not found that one who is born of uncircumcision is unfit to be a kohen. This is (also) because Israelites, though uncircumcised, are called "circumcised". And even though the uncircumcised one violates the law regarding one who does not circumcise himself, still, his offspring is [ritually] valid [for marriage to a Jew and for priesthood]. And he is regarded as one who is circumcised, as they say in Chapter HaNoder in tractate Nedarim [31b; in Mishna Nedarim 3:11]: One who vows [not to benefit] from the uncircumcised is forbidden [to benefit] from the circumcised of the nations of the world, and is permitted [to benefit] from the uncircumcised of Israel. For an idolator, even if circumcised, is called "uncircumcised", and an Israelite, even if uncircumcised, is called "circumcised", as it is said, [Jer. 9:25], "For all the gentiles are uncircumcised, and the Jews are uncircumcised of heart".

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ש"ת יכין ובורות חלוק ב סימן ג.

פאם אל המשכילים רבי נון בבדורי ויהו"א.

שאלתנו את השענים כי יש ארוכות קטנות ואינה יש ל להם מחוות בחקוקת בחורית/בתורת/ארושא ואילו.

שאלתנו את השענים כי יש ארוכות קטנות ואינה יש ל להם מחוות בחקוקת בחורית/בתורת/ארושא ואילו.

ишעון ... אמרו"א שישראל מנהרגים עב"ם ירקודים מחוותיכים לשם עשים איש ואילו יצרו מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

ממשהו יצרהו דשם וארוך ואתו אוצר מחוותיכים ונתנו יצרו מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

והיו דניין כים שבא"ע.

אחותו ושורק בע.reward בҳלילו סמך ירדוי מנהרגים עב"ם מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

וזה לשוןם על עניין אולר גזר ושבא ממליך קסם ימהורג מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

שארינן פי' זה תורך לישעון.

המיעני והדיבריכם/בדיבריכם/מיצא בהנה נישנה דורות שש היולדו planta לה נישרו כל הפקר ומריו מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

ולשון לונם שושן כא וגרים הבא ואחר מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

וביד החפים דיה אולר נפגר 년ו צייג ליפelijke לושרת תייקב מתי ישראל והпущיסرام ואינו קריאשין לורה כי אם

בוכל תורעה....

וזא להם יארים ב JAVA"ש שלוחה כל לימ sınıf על"ם מנהרגים עב"ם מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

עליל שעון מימה של כל הנה ודרל לערב דע"ם נקרה וNAMESPACE מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

בפרוך ושם"א שלוחה בולך מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

גו דיבריכם אלו הוא רוחא שארים בנוים אויבים בשנינו על"ם ש UIView מחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

ישｖי UIView המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו יצרו המחוותיכיםنظمם ואילו.

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ב틀ל ישראל שועב"ש אפי' מ nào תקאר אויר וישראל אפי' מ nào תקאר מזמור כי כל התוים שלום כבית ישראל עדלו.

לבד.
Introduction to Kol Sakhal in Behinat HaKabbalah

Talya Fishman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Notes: Based on Talya Fishman "Voice of a Fool": an Early Modern Jewish Critique of Rabbinic Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 150.

Kol Sakhal, literally, "Voice of a Fool", is a critique of rabbinic culture written under cover of pseudonym by the colorful Venetian rabbi, Leone Modena [1571-1648]. Well-versed in Christian sources, Rabbi Modena interacted with learned Christians from all over Europe as teacher, preacher and interlocutor. Noblemen and clerics who went "slumming" in the Venetian ghetto raved about Modena's sermons, and Rabbi Modena referred to Paolo Sarpi, legal and theological consultant to the Venetian Senate -- who was denounced by the Church for his excessive contact with Jews-- as "my friar."

The passage in question, part of a revisionist code of Jewish law, envisions a world in which many people, inspired by their attraction to the Hebrew Bible, draw near to Judaism. Leone Modena's own environment was rife with religious seekers who fit that description: Apart from conversos who were negotiating their own relationships with normative rabbinic communities in Venice, Amsterdam and Hamburg, there were large numbers of Chretiens sans eglise in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e., Old Christians of malleable confessional identity (among them, Michael Servetus, Jean Bodin, Guillaume Postel, Laelius and Faustus Socinus). Those who adopted anti-trinitarian perspectives were labeled judaizing heretics.

Kol Sakhal's iconclastic suggestion that conversion to Judaism be made easier for individuals already drawn to the Hebrew Bible raises the question of whether there may have been an underground Jewish proselytizing movement in this period, as claimed, in the 1640's, by the Portuguese Jesuit, Antonio Vieira.

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Notes: Based on Talya Fishman "Voice of a Fool": an Early Modern Jewish Critique of Rabbinic Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 150.

Converts. It was necessary to circumcise and ritually immerse every convert, according to their [rabbinic] arrangement.[1] But they did not understand and paid no attention to matters upon which the foundation of the nation, its greatness and success depend.[2] As they did with every order and arrangement they made, all is destruction and corruption. By this I mean that they ought to have explained regarding one who comes to convert that, after warning him[3] and [after] the investigation - by which it is made clear to us that his coming is for the sake of heaven and not for some external purpose[4] -- he should be informed of the virtue of circumcision and its reward.[5] If he wishes to circumcise himself, well and good, and if not, let him immerse himself and become a Jew.[6] And this will be sufficient for him to participate in testimony and marriage, inheritance and bequest--and everything else like the rest of the Jewish people. Not to make his property ownerless and the laws of Sodom that they commanded in this regard[7] -- go and check them. However, any sons born to him after his conversion are to be circumcised at eight days.

They would already have some support [for this lenient position] in the Torah, for a resident alien was not required to circumcise himself and it was not an impediment for him, except with regard to the eating of the paschal sacrifice, and nothing else.[8]And this is not mentioned regarding Jethro or anyone who converted [9]that he circumcised himself.

This would have made it easier for the nations, enabling them to enter under the wings of the Divine Presence[10]or[11] to assume the yoke of our Torah,[12] if it were most easy and pleasant, but always according to what was commanded by Moses, man of the Lord.[13] [And perhaps] an entire nation and kingdom would already have become Jews, or more than one, and our redemption would draw near, as I have hinted to you in the Second Essay, chapter 6; study it
and return and study it. I know that you will acknowledge that the sages of the Talmud are truly the pillars of Exile who support and keep us in the Galut [Exile] as long as there are still days on earth--if the God of heaven and earth does not send forth his hand and take us from it.

Endnotes


[2] Kol Sakhal wishes to present Judaism as universally appealing, and therefore accuses the rabbis of discouraging conversion by their insistence upon circumcision as a prerequisite. Cf. the claim in a medieval Hebrew treatise that Paul’s limitation of circumcision as a requirement for admission into the community of early Christians contributed heavily to Christianity’s success (Profyat Duran, Kelimat ha-Goyyim, p. 28). And see Modena’s assertion in two sermons that the convert’s entry into Judaism must be made easier, cited in Rosenzweig, pp. 537-38.

[3] The potential convert is to be warned about the drawbacks of throwing his lot in with that of the Jews, people who submit to the yoke of the commandments, for which they are ridiculed and persecuted by their neighbors (BT, Yeb. 47a).


[6] Cf. the position of R. Joshua, who asserted that the prospective convert need only undergo immersion in order to become a Jew. This position was rejected by the rabbis, however, in favor of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus’s requirement of circumcision and immersion (BT, Yeb. 46a). However, cf. Yom Tov Lipmann Muelhausen’s statement in Sefer Nizahon that "one who believes correctly is a Jew even if he is not circumcised, although he is guilty of one transgression" (in Bem-Sasson, "Disputation and Polemics," EJ 6:94).

[7] This may be a reference to the rabbinic ruling that a convert’s descendants do not inherit his wealth, if they were conceived prior to his conversion to Judaism (BT, Kid. 19b; BB 149a. See Maimonides’s rationale for this rabbinic ordinance, MT. Hil. Nahalot 6:10). Some medieval scholars evinced uneasiness about the Talmud’s story of a Jew who tried to keep the property of a deceased convert. See, e.g. Ha-Meiri, Beit Ha-Behira on BB 149a.

[8] Exod. 12:45, 12:48. In identifying the ger toshav (resident alien) with an uncircumcised convert to Judaism, Kol Sakhal may be following the lead of Ibn Ezra, who understood the term toshav as a reference to an Israelite, inasmuch as the Torah had earlier excluded the uncircumcised from partaking of the paschal meal (Ibn Ezra on Exod. 12:45). Moreover, Karaites understood that the term ger appearing in Exod. 9:19 included the category of ger toshav (Weiss, Melilah 1, p. 41 citing Ohel Yosef). Cf. Philo’s understanding of ger in Wolfson, Philo, 2:364-74. Alternate rabbinic understanding of the term ger toshav are reflected in BT, AZ 64b and in Gerim 3, in Higger, p. 33.

[9] This passage reflects Kol Sakhal’s indebtedness to the rabbinic perspective, for the perception of Jethro as a convert is not biblical but midrashic (Sifrei, Num. no.80; Mekhîlta,
This term is used by the rabbis to describe conversion to monotheism in a pre-Sinaitic context, as in the case of Abraham's proselytizing activities. (See, e.g., Rashi on Gen. 12:5).

Cf. the distinction made in First Essay, n.204 and in Second Essay n.298.

I.e. conversion to Judaism proper.

This epithet appears in Josh. 14:6.
Kol Sakhal in Behinat HaKabbalah
Voice of a Fool
Anonymous (attributed to Leone Modena), 1623

Prepared by Talya Fishman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Notes: Based on Talya Fishman "Voice of a Fool": an Early Modern Jewish Critique of Rabbinic Culture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 150.

Publisher: Edition by Isaac Reggio, (Gorizia, 1852)
Introduction to Records of the Metz Beit Din

Jay R. Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts, USA

Until roughly 1789, the hallmark of Jewish communal autonomy was the authority granted to rabbinic courts to adjudicate civil cases involving Jewish litigants. Nevertheless, the exclusive civil jurisdiction of these tribunals was challenged regularly by individuals seeking to resolve their disputes in the general courts. The bestowal of Jewish emancipation in France was conditioned on the agreement of the Ashkenazic communities of Alsace and Lorraine to surrender their judicial authority in the civil sphere. In Metz, the much esteemed rabbinic court (beit din) continued to convene until early 1790. Three registers from the beit din are preserved in manuscript at the YIVO Archives in New York. Commencing in 1771, the registers contain nearly two decades of judicial cases totaling 1167 decisions.

The two cases that follow pertain to the guardianship of orphans -- a common matter before Jewish and general tribunals. The first case involved two hearings. At the first, held in August 1771, several accusations of mismanagement of the orphans' estate were brought against the guardians; five months later, following additional developments, at a new hearing in January, the court issued a second ruling. Much can be learned from the details concerning the investment and leveraging of assets, and also from the efforts of the beit din to defend the institution of guardianship while also seeking to protect the welfare of the orphans. Two additional points are worth noting: First, the reason guardians were appointed, even though the mother was alive, was due to the general unwillingness of rabbinic courts to appoint women, unless so instructed by the husband before he died. Second, the beit din concluded its January ruling by referring to the coercive measures at its disposal. Nevertheless, it is unclear what these measures entailed and whether the beit din still had the authority to enforce its rulings.

The second case, which also came before the beit din in August 1771, involved a woman who had been appointed by the French court as guardian over her son. Now that the boy had reached the age of thirteen, he expressed a desire to dismiss his mother as his guardian. It is important to note that after going to the French court, the mother was able to return to the beit din - with full recognition of her new status -- to resolve the outstanding monetary issues. Moreover, the beit din's handling of the case, particularly its familiarity with the details of local French law, suggests that a cooperative relationship between the rabbinic court and the French
A civil court had emerged. Clearly, it was no longer possible either to prevent members from taking their cases outside the community or to malign those who did.

**Additional readings**


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Records of the Metz Beit Din  
Court Records , (1771-1789)  
Translated by Jay R. Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts, USA

Case 1: 21 Ab 5531 [1 August 1771]

The brothers R. Lazar and R. Feivel of Barchingen,[1] guardians (apotroposim) of the orphans of R. Michael Barschingen, approached us, the Beit Din, at the request of relatives of the orphans of the deceased, and in accordance with the obligation set forth in the court decision of 24 Iyyar 5528, to give an accurate accounting before the Beit Din, of all the expenses and revenue of the orphans of the deceased. The relatives of the orphans appointed as an attorney Rabbi Yozel Merchingen to represent the step father of the aforementioned orphans, the katzin R. Itzik Puttlingen to stand behind him for the benefit of the orphans and to look into the account, particularly what requires special scrutiny. And following the inspection by the attorney [he] found some problems and claims against the guardians, as he reported at length before us concerning each and every detail. These are in addition to other claims against the guardians advanced in writings by relatives, who are inclined to remove the guardians and entrust the funds of the orphans to a person of means who will give them more than five percent per year, especially because the orphans are exhausting their principal, since they do not receive more than five percent per year, which is not sufficient for even half the orphans' needs, as is clearly evident in the expenses according to the account of the guardians.

The orphans' attorney also claimed that the guardians ought to pay for all of the accounting expenses [possibly: attorney's fees] to date, since they are responsible for this. He also claimed that the guardians included in their account the interest (revahim) [on funds they borrowed for] expenditures that they made on behalf of the orphans, but we have never heard that the orphans are obligated to pay for interest insofar as the guardians were always in control of the orphans' money and did not pay for anything out of their own pocket. He also claimed that the guardians are obligated to cover all the debts that they have recently incurred but have not paid, and also must pay in accordance with the court decision that the community of Barschingen owes to the estate.

After we heard their arguments at length concerning the claims of accounting problems made by the attorney, and after we, the Beit Din, looked into the account, and insofar as they [the
guardians] answered the attorney on each point, we have not found a clear claim to remove the guardians; we have found only what was stated in the body of the account to be out of order, and there are some errors in the account they presented to us. Therefore we have decided to hold onto the account that had formerly been in the hands of the Beit Din and to return the new account to the guardians, and also to hold onto the receipts and expenditures included in the more recent account s that we will be able, at an opportune time, clarify this matter in favor of the orphans.

We, the Beit Din, have also decided that the guardians must provide a signed list to the katzin R. Itzig Puttlingen, as well as all the written documents that they have in their possession that belong to the estate of the deceased, and he will send the list to the Beit Din. And concerning his claim that the guardians are obligated to pay for all the accounting expenses, those that were incurred before the relatives and the account that was made before the month of Shevat 5530: The interest on their expenditures will be deducted from their account. We have found that one offsets the other, [i.e.] that the guardians are not obligated to pay for the accounting expenses, and against this, the interest [they had listed] will be deducted from their account.

And concerning the request of the attorney to turn over a certain sum to a person of means who will provide a yield of more than five percent per year so that their principle will not be exhausted: We have decided that since the guardians had some difficulty meeting their debts, we cannot exact from them the six thousand livres that were given to them as guardians in the Beit Din decision of 24 Iyyar 5530, according to the conditions explained there. Indeed what they have left over from the six thousand livres is valid, as explained in the court's decision, and according to the account presented by the guardians before us, the Beit Din. We have found that they now have only approximately eight thousand eighty five livres in cash, including the portion belonging to the orphan Lazar who has reached the age of majority.

We, the Beit Din, have also decided that since one of the two brothers traveled abroad, and in the court decision of 24 Iyyar 5528 it was stated that no one may be appointed even as an auditor who is not under the authority of our master, the Av Beit Din. We have therefore found that Lazar is obligated to provide security sufficient in the eyes of the Beit Din in France, amounting to three thousand livres from today until next Rosh Hashanah, and if not, the relatives have the power to remove him as guardian and to give it [guardianship] to a person of means in France who is acceptable to the Beit Din. And owing to the debts that they have incurred, a security [will now be required] until the guardians take an oath that in the future they will carry out their duties for the sake of heaven and will pay everything possible that is for the benefit of the orphans, in all ways set forth in the Beit Din decision. R. Feivel also demanded cash from R. Lazar equivalent of eight months' worth, and one month from the younger orphan as a security.

This decision is executed by the Beit Din, today, Thursday, the twenty first day of Menahem 5531. The Beit Din consisted of our Master and Teacher, the Gaon Av Beit Din; and Rabbi
3 Shevat 5532 [8 January 1772]

The *katzin* the honorable Itzik Hess of Puttelange, step father of the orphans of the late Michael of Barchingen came before us, the Beit Din [complaining] that his wife is distraught over the fate of her children, that the property of the orphans of Michael is diminishing from day to day, making it necessary to consume their principle. According to the account of the guardians the orphans only have yield (*prix*) from six thousand *livres*, which generates three hundred *livres* per year. And they must pay the step father, Itzik, six hundred *livres* per year, in accordance with the court decision of 24 Nisan 5531. Accordingly, the Beit Din is inclined to accept the cries of the earliest ones, that is, the relatives of the orphans to take whatever is in the possession of the guardians and give it to a person of means, who will provide more than five percent per year, in order not to consume the entire principle of the orphans. Let him who dictates the letter be its executor. For Itzik would like to receive what is in the possession of the guardians as security, sufficient in France, and in exchange for the yield on six thousand *livres*, as he is willing to maintain the orphans and provide for their needs, food, and livelihood until they are grown.

He also argued on behalf of his wife that the guardians did not uphold even a fraction of all the previous decisions, and that everything in their eyes is a laughing matter. The decision of 21 Menahem 5531 was repeated several times, that Lazar was required to give a security, sufficient in France, for three thousand *livres* and that the guardians were obligated to present a list, signed, to the *katzin* Itzik son of Y. of Phalsbourg, comprised of all the written records that belong to the orphans of Michael. They still have not provided this list to Itzik, and Lazar has not deposited the security.

After we heard the words of Itzik, we, the Beit Din, issued a decision that Lazar is hereby removed from his position as guardian and is obligated to give the amount of three thousand *livres* to Itzig, via a security sufficient in France and acceptable to the Beit Din and to the relatives. Itzig will maintain two of Michael's orphans, and those that are determined, by lottery today, will go with Itzig, for food, sustenance, and all their needs until they are grown, in exchange for the yield on three thousand *livres*. Itzig is required to give a guarantee in the Beit Din that he is willing to maintain the two orphans in exchange for the yield on three thousand *livres*, according to the foregoing terms, until they are grown. Feivel, since at the beginning of his appointment as guardian, the orphans' money was given only to these two brothers together, each one assisting the other, and now that one of them has gone to another country, the package has come apart, therefore, if Feivel deposits a sufficient security that is acceptable to the Beit Din and the relatives, he will be given priority to maintain two of the orphans of Michael until they are grown, with respect to food, sustenance, and all their needs, for the two orphans that will be given to Feivel by lottery, in exchange for the yield on the funds he still has in hand. He is also obligated to give a guarantee in the Beit Din that he is willing to
maintain the two orphans in all the aforementioned respects. And should he refuse, then he is also [to be] removed from the position of guardian.

And now our decision is issued, sanctioned by all the coercive measures at its disposal, that the guardians will uphold all that we, the Beit Din, have decided regarding the expenses of the guardians. And this is to affirm that all that is mentioned above will be executed within thirty days, from the day that this decision is announced. The guardians are also obligated to pay Itzig what they are obligated according to the preceding decisions, otherwise subject to punishment by the aforementioned coercive measures.[2]

This decision is issued by the Beit Din, today, Tuesday, the third day in the month of Shevat 5532. The Beit Din consisted of our Master and Teacher, the Gaon Av Beit Din; Rabbi Sender Katz; and Rabbi Mordechai ben R. Lieberman Levi.

**Case 2: 7 Ab 5531 [18 July 1771]**

Concerning the dispute between the wife of Rabbi Jacob Coblentz and her son, from her first husband, Gershon: The wife of R. Jacob, represented by her husband in the presence of her son, sued her son because she was appointed [his] guardian according to their customs, and now that he has reached the age of majority he [wishes] to dismiss her as his guardian before the notary at his own expense. [She demands that he] also pay her for what he owes her according to the records that were presented before us, the Beit Din, amounting to three hundred eighty-six livres. And her husband Jacob sued the orphan for three louis d’or for school tuition. He also demanded that [the son] give him and the curateur[3] with a décharge [discharge] before the notary.

The orphan, Gershon, sued his mother for the amount of fifty-five livres for what remained of the rent [of the house] after expenses. He also sued her for three hundred eighty-six livres for revenue that she received from R. Neta Emrich, from the day of her marriage to her husband R. Jacob until his having reached thirteen years of age. And according to the conditions of R. Jacob, he was obligated to maintain the orphan at his table without compensation. He also sued him for seven louis d’or for his having taken from him cash (pèse) that belonged to the orphan. He also sued him for two-sevenths of gold and a silver cup. He also demanded that she return to him all of his clothing and porcelain and one lamp, and also to return to him all the notes of indebtedness that had been transferred to her as guardian, as set forth in the decision of the Beit Din that was executed after the death of his father, and to give him the funds that she collected of the aforementioned debts.

After we heard the matters in dispute and the claims of each, we have found that since for whatever amount one conceded to his fellow that he owes him, and that even after conceding the point each one still owes his fellow according to his claim, we, the Beit Din, have decided
that the wife of R. Jacob can take an oath that she is exempt, that she owes her son nothing. And if she swears that her son still owes her, she can hold onto all of his clothing and porcelain and lamp and cup, equivalent to the amount he owes her according to her claim. And if what she has in hand is not sufficient to offset what she claims he owes her, and she still wishes to take from her son what is left after the deduction [of expenses], then the son should take an oath attesting that he owes her nothing. And after the oath he is obligated to give her and her husband and to the curateur the décharge in any possible way by asking experts whether the décharge is sufficient in [ordinary] French handwriting, without make use of a notary. And concerning R. Jacob's suit to recover tuition expenses, it is not at all like R. Jacob's words.

We have also decided that the orphan is entitled to receive the revenue from Neta Emrich annually, and he does not require his mother's waiver. (The wife of R. Jacob is also obligated to return all the notes mentioned in the prior decision of the court). This decision is issued by the Beit Din, today, Thursday, the seventh of the month of Ab 5531. The Beit Din consisted of our Master and Teacher, the Gaon Av Beit Din; Rabbi Berr Fulda; and Rabbi Mordechai Levi.

Endnotes

[1] Barschingen is in the Moselle region, not far from Sarrebourg. Ten Jewish families resided there in 1772.


[3] The curateur was a legal representative, usually designated by a judge, until the child reached age of majority

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Records of the Metz Beit Din
Court Records, (1771-1789)

Prepared by Jay R. Berkovitz, University of Massachusetts, USA
לمحاיבים מאות כל האופני המבוארי. ההבילה שמוזכר סותר הוא酡 ל.Len המאות ולא היה זהividad הקור.setData התנפקת וכותב: "Au מצאנוchein שולד כותר ומותר שמעון."

"לא נלכדו封闭 התנמקה והמאמרות. של" ולחבצי יהודה בך הכל ומישרנה לבלוב היריעה: על האופני המבוארי.

במענה". ועמה יוליך מוחמד דמי מתקנות. מב"ו, ולשון על עשה הידשה והר הים הדוקים כמס CONCAT

הפסח הזה אני מפי". והו והה伊拉 יאמור וימי הלוחות התוקף".א"ל" ו"ה" זהון" ואמר"ו" ו"ה".

וזה" חכם תוקף. י"ב, חכם והנהמה שאוהב ויטהר דמי בתוקף".א"ל" ו"הב" ו"ה" אשודר"ו מדריך י"ל.

ג' שבעת תוקף.

באל פלפלנ" ב" חכם "א"יך התש מדמשק והורמה של ייחי הנמנה". מ"וכיא聯合" המבוארים שבשנת המבכה על בית שנן

יחר מיכائيل עד" לתוונית ממי כי בורם דע וחכורה לחלק הקור. באשר שמי והשם לשהופר, הם אשופת觀察, או"י ח рынке

אפרים כי י suiv תוחלת חכם חכולים המשverity והמאה. המObjectName" פברית, ש"ל הליאב וורכון כ"אץ הנה" לישנה הנהו

ליווי שהלענה מסף פופ" ב" הנהו עדיק". "א"יך הנהו ושינ מתור החבר מש"ל הליאב, ש"ל הליאב,_fwd נלייה המשverity והמאה.

ליווי השורקניאמס לקודל עם" ב" הנהו עדיק" "א"יך הנהו ושינ מתור החבר מש"ל הליאב, ש"ל הליאב.

אלפים ליווי הנה" שנמרח תלחום את התתימה לכל זכירה ולופנהו, שהלפרט על יערל. עב עוד השפתו" ד" קנה

שהמאמרים, עד כימי וקולו פאול מסקוט מכל המחבר, הקומפטיים, חובל עיברעדו והתאрапים ואנשלאבירא ברשראות שפתו" ד" קנה

שכון ח pois שאר מון גלאע ולחבריו למדינת ב"כה עם הנהו" ג"ה והב" ומאתנו

ובף התורה ל总书记在 התוקף".א"ל" והב" ומאותו וחוות ב"כה ומאתנו

ולורה של שמעון המברר בשאר" א"יך הנהו" ואירידש ולחוזיות א"יך הנהו"(UI המברר.

לحرم שכי השלושי ליווי ליווי" חכם הנהו" כא" ישון מימתי מגיעה עד"ח יאצק הנהו" ובו" כמזר רבע החבר ב"ב ש램זר להחוזי השין החומרים הפרי

ющимירית א"יך הנהו" שברע השורקניאמס לקודל עם" ב" הנהו עדיק" "א"יך הנהו ושינ מתור החבר מש"ל הליאב, ש"ל הליאב.

במקוה ממוקד" א"יך הנהו ושינ מתור החבר מש"ל הליאב, ש"ל הליאב,_fwd נלייה המשverity והמאה.

לא שנה ב"כה עם הנהו" ג"ה והב" ומאתנו

ובף התורה ל总书记 והחוזיות א"יך הנהו"(UI המברר.

ולורה של שמעון המברר בשאר" א"יך הנהו" ואירידש ולחוזיות א"יך הנהו"(UI המברר.
ונלארה שמשמעה דבירי ריבוד והשכיניו; [1] שבקדמה מצאנו מקרא של איזי סכ תורו או תלמידי חכמים בלא יראת הוהוא שואר
כ"א תוקפק לחיי הפרת נ הזאת._mobתחנו בד"א שאשתו, ו"הו"י כחלם לשבעת הפרת לפני מה שנאמר
שבה תוקפק לורי, ו"י כלות לחזותי לכל מלך[ו]איילין (ותרתא או הופגעי) ובניו עשה חבקה ובו"י ח_BINDING הל הפיל טענה. ואמו.
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שבה תוקפק לורי, ו"י כלות לחזותי לכל מלך[ו]איילין (vider במעש) משברות בחול זה, ושאלה אבריה ואמר להם
דרישṇוע על בחות פעל ובאטרע וג"ד היבורו ר"י משבר אל מה שבר ר"י וחבקה ו"י צא מאיתא ושחיות מהל"ך
כל ההוב[ו]א"ת שמשכין, [3] הפסוקvla צא מפי בד"א הוהי ז"א השם שבונה ימי לחודש א"תקי"א לクリーム
ואד"ו טנאא א"ב נו"ז ו"ה מז"א הכרה פלדזה, ו"ה מז"א הכרה פלדזה.

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Endnotes

The main point of proper study of the Torah, that which is precious in the eyes of [our Sages], is to study and to teach [others] to observe and to perform [the commandments]. The members of the Great Assembly thus established [the liturgical formula in which] we plead before God every single day: “Plant understanding in our hearts with which to understand, intellectualize, listen, learn, and teach, observe, perform, and fulfill all the words of the study of your Torah in love.” Avot 4:5 distinguishes between the individual who studies in order to teach and the one who studies in order to perform. R. Ishmael says: He who studies in order to teach is given the ability to study and to teach. He who studies in order to perform is given the ability to study and to teach, to observe and to perform. Study is declared greater [than performance] only because it leads to performance, for no ignoramus [可以更好] can be pious, as our Sages of blessed memory stated (Kiddushin 40b).

The holy Torah has warned us about this holy principle many times pairing the words שומשETH and שומשETH: the former relates to study, and the latter is to be taken literally [to mean action, practice, or performance]…. It is a simple and well-accepted principle among Jews. And this is what Nahmanides meant in the “Ethical Letter” he sent his son: “Be very careful to put what you study [your Torah] into practice. When you rise from the book, think about what you studied to see if there is something in it that you
can now fulfill, etc.” We must therefore grasp [what we have learned] and speak of those things about which we have been commanded in several places.

It is clear that just as teachers are obligated to teach their students well and properly and to supervise them well in all their doings, it is doubly incumbent on each rabbi in his community to supervise all affairs of the community or congregations directly under his control, to sift through their public and secret actions, to correct whatever he finds [problematic] before it spreads, lest it harm himself and others, to correct that which is twisted in a timely fashion, whether in private or in public, for he is the father and the rabbi of all members of his city or community, and is obligated to care for all their needs in the areas of Torah [i.e., religious study] and divine service. He will be required to give an account of this in the future [i.e. he will be judged by God].

Scripture has made an important point with relation to someone who kills another unintentionally. “The community shall save the murderer from the hands of the blood redeemer and return him to his city of refuge where he had fled. He shall live there until the death of the High Priest” (Numbers 35:28). In other words [scripture] makes the return of even the unintentional murderer [into society] dependent upon the death of the High Priest, because the latter should have prayed that such a tragedy not happen to the Jewish people … If the greatest figure of a generation [גדול הדור] or a city is thus punished for something he didn’t know about, it is even more obvious [that he will be punished] for what he did know about but did not protest.

In the first prophecy of the prophet Samuel concerning Eli and his household we find God, may He be praised, telling Samuel: “In that day I will fulfill against Eli all that I spoke concerning his house, from beginning to end.”

And I declare to him that I sentence his house to endless punishment for the iniquity he knew about—how his sons committed sacrilege at will and he did not rebuke them.” Earlier the biblical text had stated: “[Eli] said to [his sons]: ‘Why do you do such things? I get evil reports about you from the people on all hands. Don’t my sons! It is no favorable report I hear the people of the Lord spreading about. If a man sins against a man, [the Lord may pardon him; but if a man offends against God, who can obtain pardon for him?]’” In other words, [Eli] admonished [his sons] and nevertheless the faithful judge [God] considered it as if he had not spoken to them,
because that admonishment was already at the wrong time. He should have done it immediately as soon as they began to do evil, but he didn’t. Nor did he do what was appropriate to them. Because of these lapses, [his actions] were not acceptable to the Holy One [ה께], blessed be He, as [the Sages] of blessed memory stated, and that is why he was punished. This is even more true for [a religious leader] who does not admonish at all…. [The Sages] say, anyone who has the opportunity to protest and does not do so will be punished…. Anyone who has the opportunity to reprove the members of his family and does not will himself be punished for the sins of his entire household; the people of his city—he will be punished for the sins of his entire city; the entire world—he will be punished for the sins of the entire world!

[There follows a lengthy passage from Sabbath 54b]

I have copied out all of this so that a person cannot say, “What can I do about this problem? People will not accept [reproach] from me.” You can only use that excuse in a situation where it is certain that [the people] will not accept your words. It is in such circumstances that it is said: “Leave the Jewish people alone. It is better that they sin in error than in full knowledge of their sins.” And it seems to me that this applies also to what appears in tractate Yevamot (65b): “Just as it is incumbent on the individual to proclaim that [reproof which] will be accepted, it is also incumbent upon him not to say something that will not be accepted.” This only applies when it is clear to him that the people will not accept his words. But if he is only in doubt, he cannot exempt himself from the obligation. In order to free oneself from this great commandment of “Reprove [your kinsman]” upon which all the essential elements of the Torah [ה התורה] depend, a great justification [ישוב] is required. In any case, I have already cited the halakhic authorities to the effect that we cannot invoke the rule of “Leave the Jewish people alone” regarding a commandment stated explicitly in the Torah. … One must be more strict regarding a scriptural matter than a rabbinic matter: regarding the former, even where you are sure that they will not accept [your words] you must rebuke repeatedly, reprove and chastise until they do accept it….  

We see from the words [of the sages] that the more socially important a person, the more he is obligated to reprimand others, and no man may free himself from this obligation…. If you are in doubt as to whether your reprimand will help and yield fruit
or not (God forbid), you must [reprimand] even concerning a rabbinic matter, and of course about a scriptural matter. It goes without saying that if you know that your words will be useful and bear fruit [that you must utter them.] If it is something mentioned explicitly in scripture, you must reprimand whether you are sure or in doubt. We must always reprimand over and over, rebuke and pounish, and we make any excuse to justify the just divine laws. From all the evil that befell Eli and his family, we see that reprimand must be done promptly, in the proper time, and he who reprimands earliest is to be praised for he keeps his friend from sin when the latter is bound [to his evil behavior] only by weak bonds [literally: bonds of vanity], and it is easy to eradicate.…

Every individual must judge for himself how far reprimand can reach, and he should not say: I have reprimanded and reproved, and why should I do it further?

It is clear that a person does not fulfill his obligation by delivering a public sermon or two in which he decries this or that sin. Not everyone attends [sermons], and those who do come won’t necessarily pay attention. Even if they do listen they don’t necessarily understand. And even those who understand won’t, woe is us, necessarily repent immediately. [This is not to say that public sermons are useless.] Sermons should be given, and the practice should not be abandoned for it is a good one. It is proper that the ways of God be promoted in public whether softly or with anger and rage, more or less frequently as appropriate. The preacher must only direct his heart towards heaven [i.e., he must preach for the right reasons].

And in addition to such public reprimand, we must not desist from private admonition. Thus I have seen righteous people, men of [good] deeds, teachers of righteousness and those who stand in the breach [ברור, mx], who, whenever necessary, would either summon someone or go and see the transgressor. They would adjust their behavior according to the situation of the individual until they had brought him back to the good [path]. The truth of the Torah has great power, and even “empty-headed” [ריקנים] Jews desire and long to repent and to be full of commandments like the pomegranate. They merely require someone here below to help them to obtain the aid of heaven. It is obvious that someone who offers reproof and moralizes in public for an hour or two does not have the power in his heart or the tongue to express the specific
particular formula [いただく] needed for each individual, nor to respond to each false justification for doing that which is forbidden that has been implanted in the sinner’s heart by the Evil Desire. Further hours and days are needed with each person to warn him and encourage him, to hear and respond to the details of his sin, to make him realize the truth, to enable him to repent [lit., to place his repentance in his hand], so that he may go in peace and inner happiness.

There are broad categories of [sins] that most people, woe is us, easily fall into—to put it mildly. Some of these have already been mentioned, and other similar ones have not. But all of them require strengthening, and renewed reminders each month and week so that whoever has forgotten will remember and whoever has not forgotten will inevitably discover something new by studying them, listen and add more holiness and purity.

Human behavior can be divided into three categories: thought, word and deed. We should admonish people about these three categories so that they may live in this world and the next.

“Thought” about God, may He be praised, includes total faith in every one of His truthful words as reported by His holy servants in whom signs of His good spirit appeared, as well as love and fear [of God] and other similar commandments that are to be continuously present in the heart of every Jew as Maimonides says in The Book of the Commandments. [Also included in this category are] inner acceptance of the justice of any tragedy that may occur in our lives, the prohibition not to hate others in our hearts nor to seek their harm, and so forth.

“Speech” about God, may He be praised, includes directing one’s heart, recitation of the Shema, prayer, blessings and hymns, study of the Torah, care [not to] take His honored and awesome name in vain, and of course [the prohibition of] lying, [care concerning the taking of] oaths and swearing, and going to non-Jewish courts. [Speech] concerning one’s fellow man includes curses, defaming, gossiping, inciting arguments, bearing a grudge, placing a stumbling block before a blind man by giving bad advice, as our Sages have explained, and many other such things. As Rabbi Akiva noted: “Love thy neighbor as yourself” is a great principle in our religion.
“Deeds” about God, may He be praised, include circumcision which is the sign of the holy covenant in the body of man, the warnings concerning how to have one’s hair and beard cut, care concerning forbidden foods—both those listed in scripture (proper slaughter and checking of the animal for disease as well all forms of taref food, porging, soaking and salting, various worms, and leavened bread on Passover) and those imposed by the rabbis (bread baked by non-Jews, their wine, milk and cheeses, warnings concerning clothes forbidden because they contain mixed threads and men’s clothes on women and vice versa). [Also included here are] the commandment of wearing fringes on the four corners one’s suit, remembering and observing of the Holy Sabbath Day and the divine Holy Days and the Intermediate Days lest we perform any main or subsidiary act or transgress the laws of rest, each forbidden in its own way, and the joy on those days that one must experience with his household and children and all the matters attached to them … and the proper writing of [Torah] scrolls, phylactery and mezuzah scrolls, and the proper wearing of phylacteries on the arm and head.

Deeds between man and man include the extent of one’s diligence in matters related to the sacred and to purity, and strengthening most of the six pillars upon which the world stands, the ban on taking interest, fraud [הונאה] and theft, raising one’s hand against another—much less actually striking him, and of course murder. All of this amounts, more or less, to an abbreviated table of contents of this entire pamphlet. [The preacher] must also call periodically on all the various Jewish craftsmen such as slaughterers, checkers [of animal carcasses for kashrut] and porgers, overseers of milking and the making of cheeses and wine, tailors and barbers and those who work leather for religious purposes, and scribes of Torahs, phylacteries and mezuzot, and those who maintain ritual baths and so forth. You must teach each of them the main points of his obligation and [remind him] that he must be take precautions, for these are the ones who allow the public to be righteous [רבים מצדיקים הם כל], and the entire community relies upon them. They should know the laws of their craft, and must carry them out in sanctity and purity. It is known, as we have already noted, that a major contributing factor in their diligence is our checking up on them, and looking into their actions. Because of this they do fully what is required of them so as to avoid punishment and be fired if they are found lacking. Though they act initially out of mundane motives [i.e., to keep their jobs], they eventually will come to act out of piety,
and sanctity will continually grow within the holy community.

How precious are those who admonish and clarify matters to the people of God. [Admonitions] are to be recited in any language and in any way that will enter into the hearts of the listeners so that they will accept these words pleasantly. This is a great and unparalleled religious deed, it gives pleasure to the Creator for [the admonisher] causes God’s name to be loved. He is fulfilling that great rule, “Love thy neighbor as yourself.” Not everyone has studied the law and, woe to us, forgetfulness is found even among those who dwell continuously in the houses of study—and of course even more so in someone who does not devote himself full time to study. It is considered a great act of charity to remind them and encourage them in the continuous fear of the Lord.

All the more so is this true concerning our brethren, the children of Israel who come from the lands of the diaspora and who neither know nor have they seen the path on which every Jew must walk. We must especially teach and encourage them, make them aware of the truth and show them the path on which they must walk and the deeds which they must perform. I have already heard pious, scholarly and wise people expressing sorrow about the lack of diligence concerning this in a knowledgeable and wise people. Truthfully, every Jewish city should have a special confraternity [חברה] devoted to this, parallel to the many confraternities devoted to every other religious matter. This should not be overlooked. It should be the foundation stone. Those who come from slavery to redemption of the soul, from gloom and deepest darkness into the bright light of the Torah that enlightens the eyes, may the Redeemer and Savior be praised and glorified—what can they do when they come and there is no one to teach them as is proper the main principles of the faith and the commandments of God’s pure Torah, especially those [commandments] that come up frequently and that one needs to [know how to] observe all the time. And there are also those [commandments] that we just mentioned, such as forbidden foods, what kind of clothing may be worn, keeping the Sabbath and Holy Days, and [the demands of] sanctity and purity that go along with them, together with all the details that are especially necessary. As things come up concerning these commandments men and women ask their neighbors who perform them by rote [מצוות אנשים ונשים ממלומדות—i.e., the neighbors perform these commandments by habit rather than out of genuine knowledge]. Often there is something of a gap between the knowledge level of the asker and the responder.
Moreover, often some of the [newcomers] are naive and don’t know enough to ask. They just assume that something is allowed because they weren’t raised [to be aware of] what is forbidden. We have heard [stories] from them that bring pain and sorrow to our hearts. Those who grow up on this path, follow it and grow old on it, acquire for themselves (even if they don’t negatively affect others), improper opinions and actions that are not to be done among the people of God. Their lives are not lives. Their punishment will be minimal so long as they act out of ignorance, but they are obligated nevertheless to seek answers and to ask of their local communal authority, for this is the obligation of every individual Jew.

The greater punishment is applied to, and hangs upon the neck of, anyone who has the opportunity to teach and to encourage but does not do so. He sees and hears and then goes home. Why is there no sacred confraternity of scholars and of those few whom God calls “pure minded” to aid in the redemption of the souls of their brethren whom the Holy One, blessed be He, has removed from slavery to freedom and from suffering to joy. They should have the principles [of faith] written in a single book. It should include the foundations of true faith and the laws, both general and particular, that every person needs [to know], so that we can educate them and teach them, each according to his ability, one day at a time, until they can make him [i.e. the former converso] aware of the main points. This is a meritorious deed available also to women, the daughters of God. They should teach [other] women everything that is appropriate to them. Any man or woman motivated to go further in this sacred work and to enter deeply into the fear and love of God, should ask and read, and study His Torah that enlightens the foolish. He should go to the sages and become wise. After a proper beginning that will leave a good impression on the soul, he will find precious treasures and fill himself with opinions and deeds that are desirable to our God, blessed be He. His soul will come to despise any despicable or evanescent act, and keep it at a distance.

One must also prepare answers appropriate for each individual, taking into account the person’s age and place of origin where he lived outside the congregation of the Lord and sinned, transgressed, and did evil, day after day and time after time, against his will as well as willingly, in ignorance [of the law] as well as intentionally. God will judge him for every sin, transgression and evil act, and he will have to pay for
each. If he repents, however, God will accept his repentance and have mercy upon him.

We have to remove from the [former conversos] the false idea that is widespread among virtually a majority of our people who come from slavery of the soul, for this [view] is a stumbling block and a trap. They think that so long as a man is uncircumcised he is not yet considered [halakhically] a Jew, so that his sins are not yet sins and his transgressions and rebellions are so-to-speak non-existent. They are greatly harmed by this. Some of them have remained long in their transgressions and did not hurry to save their souls. I have seen some who had already come to a place of freedom, yet continued to sin, arguing that they still had to go back to bring their family. They didn’t want to circumcise themselves [for fear of being caught as judaizers by the inquisitorial authorities]. They did not listen to those who taught [otherwise], arguing, as above, that if they sinned and transgressed, this would not be considered a sin. Then they would leave [for the Iberian Peninsula] but never arrive, having drowned in the sea. This was their punishment in this world.…

Some of them think that the day of their circumcision is the first on which they are responsible for their sins. Only a very few of them [express] regret over their [false] opinions and everything [they had done] for years that had angered God. This is a mistaken opinion and against the principles of our Holy faith. For we have a rule (Sanhedrin 44a): Even a sinner is nevertheless considered a Jew with regard to all punishments and forbidden things. Circumcision is a commandment like all other commandments in the Torah. Even though circumcision is “the gate to the Lord through which the righteous enter” and the sign of the sacred covenant in God’s congregation, the [rest of the] Torah does not depend upon it. Thus anyone who is of the Jewish race is obligated to observe all the other commandments in the Torah even if he does not bear the mark of circumcision. An uncircumcised Jew whose older brothers died at circumcision [and is therefore himself exempt] is nevertheless a Jew.

Scripture, describing the entrance of the Israelites into the land of Israel (Joshua 5:5–6) says: “Whereas all the people who came out of Egypt had been circumcised, none of the people born after the exodus, during the desert wanderings, had been circumcised. For the Israelites had traveled in the wilderness forty years, etc.” In other words, all those born in the desert during that entire period of forty years were not
ספר הכהוניות

עש缩水יהו ביהון עם ר(fout = השכוהות
מקולס בפומיה נпиיה
והוא שלושה חונים חורים בים, אלה אחריה רבכוןיה תורודיה

נופס עלארשים כפולא בן חשם ש"א-ט"ו
ללא חיתות שטמה
וסך שנה ברה"א ו'שתה"ג ישאר נגדי תלם
שمامיהו וחושבע, מפורים עד קוריאה
הנואר האמוניה ומכולי אלתי
כמוהו ר"ש פואול אבדוק אוליה
הרב תפוחר ש"תי דרר שפואל
שחייה ראש הרכינ אוגניאא בהדר

וזהה וניא לארו מצוה עם הופעת בודה
וכראים ק.TimeUnit מפורים פלקגיים מפורר השבורה דחי
שמדיא נועה שאך מוחר שנירדה אחר
במקו משולה עת נמל הפורת הדנעה המפורים
ויב ניקונה ריבים פuracion דרכי

הוגאת אחא חלום

יודליש, חסמא

262
הכדורים בצבע נחלHDR מבקשים שראינו יישום זה עבורן.

והוא לא璨 בכל שומר שמרני מהפכנית באופרתו שיש לדון בו.

לכלומר,ünkールום, נbecר זה המגיין על היה או אד לא聱, אלא בברח ואוליגים.

אזכרו,/accounts, למיהרה על חוד שלום ולאったら, תכני ברור

אעמה, ו㎝ה בלאר אול אמור בין בין שומע להምרה. בככר ארעי קצץ מגרפלים

ורבבנו שמדור על מדיה עד היה המגלריה המבוססת, שבל תלמידי זילוי לא קמע שזירה שלצאת ו㎝ה מאיו בהודו והגלריה עד

כמניים מאלדיס, ו㎝ה ils, ובווכות רבעה זה, היא קמע מתנגש ולה טפידותה.

ןברבח החנהה

פייק הדליפה היא חברה מודרניתgpio ואלомер שלדולצ'ו לשפוש

לאמשה, למחרק של אישים שלגדה ברגלנים לפני בכיל שום

veroלות צבר מרבע באה להיבנ ולשלם לע§וף האלомер שלמר שלושה

ולכימים ברל רֶבי הדליפה וחרבם בבריים. תכון בום (באמות דר מז) משעה

שבלטהanto כדי שלדם שאינו מרבדו על מטר� כר זה הלימר שלבר, והלימה על מנה

לשם מוסקן בדיע הלימר שלמר הלימה. אלה נברוה הדליפה 좌ל אלה

ולשנה סובבט לע$וף הלימר וכבר יושב בשלא (דוחו מ$ם). הבמה

פגמים מחלת הדליפה והדול הצרפתית על ירק רになりました הווה חיסון לשלשה (בריה מ$ם),

шаяפר engו יהודים (שמ$ה), והרבה ברג ימי, שימר顧 והמועה, וועידת המסומן.
הביא את יהודה והביא עמו שלוהמה, והביא את יהודה והביא עמו שלוהמה.

לפי שהניהרה בנהויה והביא עמו שלוהמה, והביא את יהודה והביא עמו שלוהמה.

ש שנים נושה ושבה בן חזקיהו עתה. והביא את יהודה והביא עמו שלוהמה.

לפי שהניהרה בנהויה והביא עמו שלוהמה, והביא את יהודה והביא עמו שלוהמה.

ויען יהודה, ובכיתרה של חוכמה של יהודה מאורר טעובל של אוורית, שהיא אשה של יהודה.

ואף כי מעניית.leave לא יכול יקרות של אוורית, שהיא אשה של יהודה.

שב.IsAny יהודה, ובכיתרה של חוכמה של יהודה מאורר טעובל של אוורית, שהיא אשה של יהודה.

ואף כי מעניית.leave לא יכול יקרות של אוורית, שהיא אשה של יהודה.
וכנשנה מצאתי לך, והזע גרוס שלך תקבלנהلفי ותחסן ב’ חסן, בף’ חסן.
וכנשנה, ואים ברך לומך, כר’ לעשנף מוכה.

_completion

שב החנה והעדה הרטוקת לדור gammאי והנה ותפירה, והנה והנהферיר חמלה גומלBeth
fungus. וזה הוא שנינו בחיה, אשר באה בכות שלמה עם כל האמונה והסנה, והנה והנהף.

Completion

"שהสวม לא ינוגע, ובו ויתתענה והזע והזע התנווה מותה בהלילה

"דרור מ.tail כל כי אנה שולפים מביתו ומעיילו וינינ, ורימתי קרש

זה להתי בכל כי אנה אבואתה, י’ל堵ף, י’לענינ, י’לענינ ממלוכנ, י’לענינ יהונת ג’h

י’לענינ ינו, כל כי אנה משפאות לאשה להות אנה כי אנה משפאות על אנה בוחר.

באחרון הוא משל אנה, כי אנה אנה משפאות על אנה בוחר, כי אנה אנה משפאות על אנה בוחר.

אני accomplishment בו ניאיק תנווה מה כריו, י’לשהạnhрешי מייסר, י’לפשי מוניטון

י’לניאיק, י’להי בירה, י’להי בירה, י’להי בירה, י’להי בירה, י’להי בירה, י’להי בירה, י’להי בירה, י’להי בירה.

יאסר אם לא הקיבצל מחיה, י’דל ר￡תשנף בירה, י’דל פ’を通して מחיה, י’דל פ’を通して מחיה.

ינשף לדע זה וייקרק לא ענה, י’דל שישנא היוך בירה, י’דל פ’を通して מחיה, י’דל פ’を通して מחיה.

יאסר אם לא הקיבצל מחיה, י’דל ר￡תשנף בירה, י’דל פ’を通して מחיה, י’דל פ’を通して מחיה.
òaפגטקה

ככל שיא שאל אטר או כה防腐 אטרה בדער שיא כקה
מגננין, שיא נאסר והא אטר לא יקרה, עליי נאסר עת
והמד אטראלה המוקס שיזה שינני ולא שי מויי מברכתי בUTDOWN: "יש לי כי ה
ארץ, הארוז תואר תורי ויאו אטראלה במקש פרק חם על נמס (כמו שהו
נשון נסס) על אטר לאמר יותר ינשון כו ממעה על אטר שלא פאר דער שיא
נשון, דודין נקוה מברכתי לה שיא כקה פמקו, לא שיאו דרפוק, לרעי ה
יוד יוש לעל descon אטר אטר ↘עון ממעה וריה דודר.tk הוב שיא consequentialי
הטיל בך, יימされる כשת המקסוק ואטר וברבר המשור מברפק פרא וארוס biologist (אם מאי) [בעיה פק מי], ים בקר לזר במקש פרך או פלאבוק פקטורית
עשתו, הוי תמר כשת נון פאבל סופר, ודשל תמר אפר לל檗 עריאה לה
ויאו לא יקרה, עד לבג פסית פסית ראות התמצה והوثائق במיקס במכים
לך.

ופסק

וכל חפץ.Deusa קפס apo, אר שמיי ברא אטר או вари דריך או הרבח
הידלעם אלא בטלות שיא ודרכו האם ה. שמיירור והשרי אפילות
לא מסע עמרות, מאיי ה רחש של ה צבר גו בצל שיא פיי ישראל אשאקה
ויה במשי פ独一 פ❊كارכ ויאו ודיכו ה. את ה. עבר יידע מחרاحة משיחה יריא
וז蹊ࠧ fark כנין (פעירות ימ גו מיר) מד אוסPAL המקס נורת מסות פחדו
בקרוק.
ויִתָּנָה
(זֶה זֶה) שְׁמֵאָרָה (מְשֹּׁלָה בַּהֲנִי כָּזָּר) מְבַרֶּךְ אֶדֶם אַדְוֶין. וּוּדּ נְעַל אֶדֶם שָׁמוֹשַּׁם אֶת בָּרוֹךְ אִישָׁה גֵּרְגֶּרֶת אַחֲרִית. וְהָה הַיָּדוֹת אֶל עַדָּן שְׁמַע אִישָׁה מְבַרֶּךְ אִישָׁה. וּדָעָה בָּרֹק אֶל בָּרֹק אִישָׁה.

וּבָרָם
לֹא גָּכַפְתָּ נָעַפְתּ נָעַפְתּ שָׁמְשָׁה בִּשָּׁם הָאֶלֶּה, לֶפָּה שָׁמְשָׁה נָעַפְתּ הַמְּבַרֶּכֶת בּוֹדֶקָה לַעֲבוֹרָה, וּנְתֵנָה הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית תּוֹלְדוֹת. וּבָרָם קָשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה שְׁמַע אֶת הָאֶלֶּה, וּנְתֵנָה הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית. וּמְבַרֶּכֶת בּוֹדֶקָה לַעֲבוֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וָרָא הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּנְתֵנָה הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית. וּמְבַרֶּכֶת בּוֹדֶקָה לַעֲבוֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וָרָא הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּנְתֵנָה הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית. וּמְבַרֶּכֶת בּוֹדֶקָה לַעֲבוֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וָרָא הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּנְתֵנָה הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית. וּמְבַרֶּכֶת בּוֹדֶקָה לַעֲבוֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וָרָא הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּנְתֵנָה הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית. וּמְבַרֶּכֶת בּוֹדֶקָה לַעֲבוֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וָרָא הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וּנְתֵנָה הַיָּדוֹת אַחֲרִית. וּמְבַרֶּכֶת בּוֹדֶקָה לַעֲבוֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה.

לִכְעַבֶּר אוֹר הַבַּלּוֹת שָׁמְשָׁה שְׁמַע אֶת הָאֶלֶּה, אוֹר הַבַּלּוֹת שָׁמְשָׁה שְׁמַע אֶת הָאֶלֶּה. אוֹר הַבַּלּוֹת שָׁמְשָׁה שְׁמַע אֶת הָאֶלֶּה. אוֹר הַבַּלּוֹת שָׁמְשָׁה שְׁמַע אֶת הָאֶלֶּה. אוֹר הַבַּלּוֹת שָׁמְשָׁה שְׁמַע אֶת הָאֶלֶּה.

לֹא נִגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וְלֹא נִגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וְלֹא נִגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. וְלֹא נִגְשָׁה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה.

לָא רָאָה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. לָא רָאָה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. לָא רָאָה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה. לָא רָאָה בְּלַעֲבֹרָה בָּרֹק אִישָׁה.
ורא

והנה מものが שבפלחא בדבכי רחבה בשורח החבה מקהל. ומכלל

던ורמה שמענה לכל נודע缅甸ית חובה והרחבת משלח של בחית.

או בור רוב חמש או נמצא בנפטרה, 표יד חליפה לרב יוחנן דנאהית באל גם ד賦י.

[למ נא]. בולו בשתי המס千亿 או תニー חתירה והשכורה פעית של אהל, אפיי

בלש מפרשים יוחנן דינו תואר בשורח, או צורך זכר של חנה, או צורך זכר.

וזה שער לשער הראל או חסרי מרמה או מס〒. האלוולו מקיחי הדור

נשונת וחוסן וחוסן وكل מצריך או למשורר לטחוט יחסו ומקשה, אם המWarnings

מע().'ו, וכל הבר שאר שופר ברוח ירא החראה על פי בעה, שערוריתו אריה שחרה

נשישת בקמה יהודא, וכל חוקא להInputChange wir dio משמש, שמצע ממנה את

היבר וו הרך בששה שטיו כי אם בו בחול גישו נאם היה לברך מקוה.

נש ראתו הזראה של רוחה בשNumberFormatException של בנ רווח, והה תגשה על שלש

תעמלות של ברו שלא עודיך חקלה, או,/full המראה, או

אמנם

ושר החכמים בטוח ויהו بطוח בטוח התכלהencies (הלף ה') זה

لوم, ושכחתו איש לא לשים לא ישמサイור ושתוק פום שבירת בשר

ולא דבר אבשלום או אמר אך אם מוח לו מוב צעדי ש窭א אברושי ואמן.

אלא מעזה לעיל תחייתו ונוצר וללך השיש, ילך זכר וחלות השמש לאحرم.

מלוכל, שעמי עירוב חוכה או זומכר, או כדי יביסת ממעון לחקר ולדריך למשרה.

ולא הוא משכון עשה ראו שמעה והחלים בראות הרבון ושתאירו השוהו על

עומרו ושקיע באכד להמחה שמעה והחלים והיו השלום לשון

עומרו וה.irv ריקו עלי חברו ושכחתו בשם 의עד והחלים והיו השלום לשון.
סֵפֶר הָדוֹקָתָה עַם כָּרְמַן םִיפְרָר, פּוֹקְשׁיָה.
ภาชนะ 270

 בכל ומרא, ח一如既יתו בחינת והיוות הנבואהpriseיה, וייתכן כי היותו בברא שמא יאשר בברא שמא ה ※ ◆
יך מידי שספנתו יותי הים, כי שאלו בשאול יא יעבדו באד הים, וישפטה וה咻ו.
Href תומרה.

ולפי

שנוני זעדה מהתוכן, ולפי זה הגיה שודות מוחשבה יזרע מעשה.

ることは על אדם שלעיר ולפי זה הגיה שודות מוחשבה יזרע מעשה.

ומכלל

”焕ираון“ יד יתבך בפש עלי, כאשר שפתיו הבירה ברכות וחזרה.

והלך עזרה, והרא תوبة שפתי הכבד והעוצר לכנפה, ואין אך.

ולמאר לעקר, וידריך ומאות, והלך עזרה שלם, وفيו עמדה בשק אולם הלעון.

והלך עזרה, והלא את שעג חיאת והעוצר והחזרה והפנה והמענה ומ CallingConvention Society, שג עברה, מכל גלו.

בתרות רבי, ו”סקא ואמה לזמן גמק.

ומכלל

”הפעות“ יד יתבך, ת息息 המעלהchaft שראה את כרי קדשה טמא של.

את, וחזרה הקיפה אחרון והשדתה יפה, והשחירה ומכללה אגדה, והן.

נה שצעיה כנט שיוותת ודיקוקות, hol met למה, הנקר והרידה ומלאה, ימי.

הלועה, והราม מנשה, והנה שצעיה כנט שיוותת ודיקוקות, והם.

וזה ציצית על ידי הנקר הדכת, והירה וபחת והם שכת קדש ומשה, והמצוה והם של.

מעוני עליו החילה לפני כל אגרה עד ה”, והמשתה מה.” מהשגרה והם.

וסב הים, והدعاء שליח שלפוממות והן בויות בגברא.

ומכלל

שבן אודらない, עד המורה בטן המקרה וה𝑗וינט, ויוחם והב

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ודע, והмишу רע התי יח ותך קדך לע הכהן כות אוכ תור עקר נמר הכהן והיה אתי.

פשז, וכל הזложений כי יָזֵר נימי נ𝒷ונתיות היה.

וביכולת היה קדך כל כּל מתכון שבכב אש אים משכלופת.

כּלプリ לַיהודים, פּנֵי השואפות והמסדרונות והיילודים והיישובים.

הדברים הם זה עידון לַיהודים, והדברים אֲהַבָּה קדך ותתִּים קדך.

וההתוכנה מתכון בּוֹזַית בשוקריים מביתים לי בת הָלָּב,صلا נושי אחיו וירוחם.

מהכּל אוכתネタ שָלום לעת מתכון שָבָּה, כל אלה נושי אחיו וירוחם.

מהמצה בּוֹזַית בּוֹזַית בשוקריים מביתים לי בת הָלָּב,صلا נושי אחיו וירוחם.

ולכן, הכּל מָכְרָה נודע בּוֹזַית בשוקריים מביתים לי בת הָלָּב,صلا נושי אחיו וירוחם.

לכן, הכּל מָכְרָה נודע בּוֹזַית בשוקריים מביתים לי בת הָלָּב,صلا נושי אחיו וירוחם.

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לא שמעתי דבר מילה לה, ויהי מוזיא הראשה עשויה כל שהוא½.

אמרת שבת, אמרת שבת, ישב חולם וכשבל תמצית שה edi לא י тыся.onloadᆯ א עבודות, מברק שמי מר החכמה שלidle זכן לאMethodName, ודודי אומד והיה, ודודי שמצית ולא מתה.

וזי שראיתיה שליד שלוד הלוחים שלוא כלشر, המอันตร חולם כה ליה.

וזי שראיתיה שלוד הלוחים שלוא כלشرك, המיתו חולם כה ליה.
לביא את הביר, ולא רצה למלכ את ענני, ולא שימש בוכק פירית חמה ו看了看 שלם אינני, ולא מתמדתי, ידך לא אบาท את, אלא ענני ביחוד זה, שיען יטושו את ענני, ויריו משתה שלמה, אשר בצפונה [לא לבר] קומת שואלת להולך חמש יאואר יאירו ומרדך מלא שמחה.

לולו
כי הודו שלים, כי אם לא מכמה כי ראשו אני יעזרו להם,图案 דה שמחה, הוא רוח, והיה ומושך, הוא יענני הוא חכמה, הוא דוקל (קדוכל מיח מחי), הוא שמיא להולך, הוא כל ענני, הוא יאואר, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא אייל דבורה, הוא הענן, הוא כל ישן הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו.הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו. הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו.הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו.הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו.הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו.הוא ישן הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו, הוא יעזרו.
לא עתני את הרבקה כנראה שהייתה בעלה של בתם של ראובן ורחל. לא מצאתי משמעי ידיעות. התפרסמה低调ם חזותיים רבים שלא היו ידועים בכל البلاد. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות שונים. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות אחרים. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות אחרים. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות אחרים. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות אחרים. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות אחרים. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות אחרים. לא מצאתי ידיעות במקורות אחרים.