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American Academy for Jewish Research
Center for Jewish Studies, CUNY-Graduate Center
Center for Jewish Studies, Fordham University
Institute for Israel and Jewish Studies, Columbia University
Monday, August 19th, 2019

All sessions are in Martino Hall, 45 Columbus Ave, Room 200A

10:00 Welcome: Magda Teter


11:45-1:00 LUNCH Martino Hall 525

Session I: Chair: David Sclar

1:00-2:00 Federico Dal Bo, “The Perception of Colors in Moses Chayyim Luzzatto’s 18th-Century Kabbalah”

2:00-3:00 Elly Moseson, God as Qualia: The Divinity of Sense Experience in Early Hasidism

3:15-3:30 Coffee Break

Session II: Chair: Magda Teter

3:30-4:30 Yaakov Deutsch, “The Execution of Frantz Ferdinand Engelberger”

4:30-5:30 Patrick Benjamin Koch, “An Exemplum of Someone Who Came and Tried to Challenge the Rav”

5:30-5:45 Break

Chair: Debra Glasberg

5:45-6:45 Rebekka Voß, “The Sense of Sight and Visual Trickery in Toldot Yeshu and Ma’ase Akdamut”

7-8:30 Dinner Martino Hall 901, 45 Columbus Avenue

Tuesday, August 20, 2018

9.00-9.30 Bagels, Pastry, and Coffee.

Session IV: Chair: Elisheva Carlebach

9.30-10.30 Andreas Gehringer, “They kept tightly closed their muzzles, eyes, ears, nose, whole heart and all senses” – The Soul, Senses, and Salvation During the Reformation Era


11.30-11:45 Break

Session V: Chair: Francesca Bregoli

11.45-12.45 Agata Paluch, “Ocular Script in Ashkenazi kabbalistic compilations”

12.45-1.45 Lunch (Martino Hall 525)

Session VI: Chair: Joshua Teplitsky


2.45-3.45 Oren Roman, “A Beautiful Song about Two Kedoshim (Martyrs) from Prostits”

3:45-4:15 Coffee Break

4:15-5:15 Round Table
Keynote

Brian Reilly, “Who Sees the Grail?: Perceptual Narrowing and the Borders of Dehumanization”

Violence against the Other in a persecuting society is often seen as enabled by the denial of that Other’s humanity. This Dehumanization or Infrahumanization Theory of Violence has recently been challenged by psychologists and political scientists who argue that humankind does not “cease at the border” as Clause Lévi-Strauss had held. Instead, as Paul Bloom argues, “our best and our worst tendencies arise precisely from seeing others as human.” In this talk I discuss how this seeing as in morality relates to the represented as in literature. I suggest that there is a fundamental ambiguity in our cognitive representations of how the Other perceives the world, either as an Intentional Agent with goals or as a Phenomenal Being with emotions. This ambiguity affects moral representations of the Other as human or infrahuman and explains, in part, literary representations of perceiving or failing to perceive the Holy Grail during the very “formation of a persecuting society” in Europe.

Texts Included

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“God as Qualia: The Divinity of Sense Experience in Early Hasidism” 10

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“The Execution of Frantz Ferdinand Engelberger” 26

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“The Torch of the Inquisition”: Representations of burning and drowning in sixteenth-century Cretan rabbinic texts 197
The Perception of Colors in Moses Chayyim Luzzatto’s 18th-Century Kabbalah

Federico Dal Bo, Marie Curie postdoctoral fellow at Autonomous University of Barcelona

The presentation concerns a passage from the 18th-century Italian Kabbalist Moses Chayyim Luzzatto’s *138 Doors to Wisdom*—probably is one of his most important and ambitious works. Departing from premises of Lurianic Kabbalah, Luzzatto’s *138 Doors to Wisdom* consists in a number of principles—called «doors»—that are then commented and explained in detail, possibly echoing contemporary manuals of Catholic scholastic theology based on Aquinas’ *Summa theologica*. This work seek to offer a systematic treatment of many topics that he explain according to a general conceptual and rational framework. The main assumption of this work is that every negative aspect of Creation and history shall be accounted as necessary to a general reunification with the divine. Accordingly, also the individual’s difficulty in grasping God’s supreme mystery shall be included in this dialectics between positivity and negativity.

The passage deals with the nature of colors, their perception, and their role in acquiring esoteric knowledge of God. While commenting on a difficult expression from the *Zohar*, Luzzatto elaborates on the distinction between the knowable and unknowable—i.e. perceivable and non-perceivable side of God. Luzzatto metaphorically describes these two sides respectively as «the Daw of Bedolach» and the mysterious Godhead called «the Head that is unknown». Accordingly, Luzzatto implicitly elaborates on several Kabbalistic treatises on colors—the writings of the 13th-century Spanish Kabbalist Joseph Gikatilla, the *Zohar* as the main Kabbalistic work of the 13th century and its later commentary of the 16th Spanish Kabbalist Isaac Luria, transmitted by his pupil Chayyym Vital—and argues that colors play an important role in knowing the esoteric mysteries of God.

In particular, Luzzatto implicitly employs the art of separating colors—chromotography—in order to provide a theoretical supplement to his doctrine of emanation. On the one hand, he emphasizes that humans are able to know according to both senses and intellect. On the other hand, he argues the the most hidden side of God cannot be known—especially maintaining that perceptions are deceiving. The nature of the supreme «Head» is apparently perceived by the sense of sight, and yet offers a contradicting assessment of reality. Therefore, Luzzatto draws a clear distinction between what can and cannot be perceived. Accordingly, he argues that «the Daw of Bedolach» contains «all colors together» and
perpetually transmutes from one color into another, while the «Head» lays beyond a clear perception and is rather contradicting—therefore ultimately unknowable.

Bibliography


Jonathan Garb, *Kabbalist in the Heart of the Storm. Rabbi Moshe Hayym Luzzatto*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2014 (in Hebrew)


There is a distinction (he-presh) between «the Dew of Bedolach» (Zohar 2:176b) in which all colors (kol ha-gwanim) can [mystically] be contemplated (demitchazyen) and «the Head that is not known» (reisha de-lo ity'ada) (Etz Hayyim, 11:2:1). For the «Dew of Bedolach» shows (mar’eh) all of the colors together (kol ha-gwanim be-yachad), yet the latter one shows (mar’eh) [itself] as one thing and suddenly as it appears (nir’eh) as it is not this thing but rather the opposite of what we have seen (hephech mi-mah she-ra’INU). It always is in this self-changing [state] (be-hitchalfut zeh) and the «yes» and the «no» (hehen we-halaw) appear (we-yera’eh) at the same moment. One cannot even grasp (ein masigin) anything at all, since the «yes» and the «no» will [simultaneously] be but rather one cannot attain (’omdin) anything at all, since it sometimes seems (nir’eh) there is the «yes» and suddenly it seems that there is nothing at all (nir’eh she-eino klal).

Commentary
In this passage there are seven observations [to be done].
1. There is a distinction between «the Dew of Bedolach» in which all colors can [mystically] be contemplated: yet it still seems difficult [to understand] why [«the Head that is not known»] is a matter of doubt. [Why] is it not like the «Daw of Bedolach» in which there are all the colors, as it is said about the former one? The answer is as follows.
2. For «the Dew of Bedolach» shows all of the colors together: this is simply as the Zohar explains: there are both Grace and Right (he-chesed we-ha-din)[Zohar 2:128b]. So, in the [stone of] Bedolach (Gen 2:12) all the colors can be seen and the one does not rule out (makchish) his fellow (chabiro) and yet [in the «Head that is not known»] it does seem that one things rules out the other.
3. Yet the latter one shows [itself] as one thing and suddenly as it appears as it is not this thing but rather the opposite of what we have seen: it seems as if (ke-illu)
we made a mistake when we saw the first one that wasn’t as we have seen it but rather in different way.

4. *It always is in this self-changing state:* this is clear according to the notion of government that we mentioned above [in the previous chapter].

5. *And the «yes» and the «no» appear at the same moment:* that is to say, they are opposite (*ha-hafakhim*): the one rules out the other.

6. *One cannot even grasp anything at all, since the «yes» and the «no» will simultaneously be:* [it is not that one is unable to] grasp that there are two things like those, for that there would be no doubt about this. Rather, [the doubt lies in the fact that] we initially saw [something that was such and such] and after that it appears that this very matter (*she-oto ha-‘inian ‘atzmo*) is not at all such and it is not at all so. Accordingly:

7. *But rather one cannot attain anything at all, since it sometimes seems there is the «yes» and suddenly it seems that there is nothing at all:* the principle of the matter is that the all the interconnections (*kol ha-chiburim*) stay in its interiority [i.e.: of the «Head that is not known»] in a concealed way (*be-‘elem*). Yet [the «Head that is not known»] radiates (*mezdaheret*) through the mystery of its government, and it is this principle, since its government depends on its radiance and this splendor (*zohar*), what we cannot understand [is] whence it comes from, because it appears (*she-nir’eh*) [at first] so and [in a second moment] it appears so, and we don’t understand this. And so, you will find that what is inside (*be-fnim*) cannot even be seen (*nir’eh*) and what is possible to grasp (*efshar le-hasig*), this is the splendor, and it is also is a matter of doubt and is unknown. Therefore it is called «the Head that is not known».
The Perception of Colors in Moses Chayyim Luzzatto’s 18th-Century Kabbalah

Federico Dal Bo, Marie Curie postdoctoral fellow at Autonomous University of Barcelona

The perception of colors in Moses Chayyim Luzzatto’s 18th-century Kabbalah

(רמח״ל) לוצאטו חיים משה חוכמנה פיתחי קל״ח פתח, 1 זו זו ומכחישות ברدل׳א מהמראות נולדים הספיקות זו זו והשלまとめים של גוזני בגוונין בכל שיש טלא. הא"י רדל׳א: לענין בין הפרש יש טלא בגוונין כל מתוחין דבדולחא טלא ענין א. המפרשים. הבוחנות הז׳ בו יש זה במאמר 18. המפרשים.

1 BB = Print 1992, Bnei Brak; C = Print 1848, Cernowitz; K = Print 1785, Korec; KR = Print, 1880 Krakow, P = Ms Klabgsbald, Victor Paris; R = Ms Bodleian Library MS. Reggio 30; J87 = Print 1987, Jerusalem; J9 = Print 2009, Jerusalem; W = Print 1887, Warshaw.

2 המפרשים גוזני מתוחין דבדולחא טלא ענין מתוחין גוזני בגוונין בכל שיש טלא רדלים הא"י רדלים

3 ומכחישות ברدل׳א מהמראות נולדים הספיקות זו זו והשלまとめים של גוזני בגוונין בכל שיש טלא. הא"י רדל׳א: לענין א. המפרשים. הבוחנות הז׳ בו יש זה במאמר 18. המפרשים.

4 גוונין כל מתוחין דבדולחא טלא ענין א. המפרשים. הבוחנות הז׳ בו יש זה במאמר 18. המפרשים.

5 רדלים היפך אלא זה דבר שאינו נראה ومיד ממה שראינו.蝙 התחל תמיד עומדת והיא זה פרש א. הא"י רדלים לענין בגוונין כל מתוחין דבדולחא טלא ענין א. המפרשים. הבוחנות הז׳ בו יש זה במאמר 18. המפרשים.

6 בזאת נאמר שכך.

7 גוונין כל באבה שיש טלא דבדולחא טלא כיוון שיש טלא דבדולחא טלא irr שבדולחא טלא א. המפרשים. הבוחנות הז׳ בו יש זה במאמר 18. המפרשים.

8戶 הנראות שבדולחא הואㄧ התשובה קרויה למה קשה.

9 באבה שיש טלא דבדולחא טלא נראות שבדולחא טלא א. המפרשים. הבוחנות הז׳ בו יש זה במאמר 18. המפרשים.

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הנה המיום שמות רביםigar השם במלים רבות, והם-wage עצים ענביים ורשויות, מעשה ידיו של אחאי. 

אף על פי כן, כלים שונים, לרבות הכס והשנה, הם-wage עצים ענביים ורשויות, מעשה ידיו של אחאי. 

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והנה המיום שמות רביםigar השם במלים רבה, והם-wage עצים ענביים ורשויות, מעשה יד
A fundamental tenet of Hasidic ideology is the omnipresence of God. The idea that God is immanent in all things and can be found in all situations is repeatedly stressed in Hasidic literature. This belief was often justified on the basis of Kabbalistic theories of creation, which maintained that God emanated the substance of the universe from His essence. On the basis of this view of the nature of reality, there developed in Hasidism the imperative to recognize the presence of God not only at sacred moments but everywhere and in everything. This, in turn, led to an increased focus on mundane activities and bodily experiences as possible loci of divine revelation.

While these ideas are ubiquitous in Hasidic literature they are rarely treated systematically. The preferred mode of discourse in Hasidism was the sermon in which classical texts were expounded through traditional forms of hermeneutics. Furthermore, the primary goal of these sermons was to promote a certain kind of praxis while its theoretical justification was generally of secondary concern. Finally, the originality, complexity and subtly of some of the notions developed in Hasidic literature along with the lack of a terminology sophisticated enough to express them may have contributed to the rather confused form they often took.

The texts presented here are striking in both their form and their content. In addition to being relatively theoretical and expository they promote an original understanding of the divine nature of subjective experience and of sense experience in particular. According to these texts, when we perceive an object we perceive only its perceptual qualities, which are given to us in subjective experience. Since such qualia (the qualitative character of sensations) are not themselves material they must perforce be spiritual, or, in other words, they must be divine. By differentiating the materiality of the object, which is its external form, from one’s subjective experience of its qualities, which is its true spiritual essence, one can come to recognize it as a manifestation of God’s divinity. Conversely, the lack of awareness of God’s presence in the world is merely the consequence of a mistaken understanding of the nature of our own perceptual experience.
Although this theory is not limited to sense perception but embraces all subjective experience, including intellelctive and affective states, the explicit focus on sensation reflects a view of the divinity of experience, as such. As a positive view of subjective experience, the theory further offers important insight into the Hasidic understanding of the body and bodily experience more generally. The soul does not merely inhabit the body but permeates it in all of its aspects, including what is perhaps its most corporeal—sense experience.

The first text is the “Second Introduction” to Magid devarav le-ya’akov (Koretz, 1781) containing a collection of discourses attributed to the Hasidic figure Dov Ber, the Maggid of Mezritsh (d.1772). This introduction, written by the Maggid’s disciple Solomon of Lutzk (who also published the collection), is presented as “the key to the book.” As a collection of sermons, the book itself lacked any sustained discussions of its theoretical framework and so Solomon decided to compose an introduction in the form of an essay delineating what he took to be the essence of the worldview that the Maggid assumed throughout his sermons. What is particularly striking about this text, is the appeal to sense experience in support of the idea that God is present in all things.

The second text is a complementary discussion of the same topic found in Solomon of Lutzk’s own collection of sermons Dibrat shelomo (Żółkiew, 1848). It is a relatively theoretical passage excerpt from a longer more hermeneutical sermon. Even more so than in his introduction to Magid devarav le-ya’akov, Solomon here focuses on the divinity of sense experience in particular. The passage also contains a first-person account of an interaction he had with someone who came to him for spiritual advice, a relative rarity in Hasidic literature.

The third text is a discourse found in another collection of sermons attributed to the Maggid, Or torah (Koretz, 1804). The actual author of the passage remains unknown, however, and it contains a number of features that distinguish it from most of the other discourses in this and related collections. Although it is in the form of rather dense and arcane interpretations of a series of biblical texts it presents the idea of the divinity of subjective experience in the rather unusual form of deductive propositions amounting to a kind of sorites polysyllogism. Here, as in the previous texts, the material object in itself is differentiated from its qualia, which is viewed as divine. Particularly interesting is the fundamental role given to the experience of desire as the connecting factor between sense experience and the apprehension of spiritual reality.

The fourth text is another anonymous discourse found in a further collection of sermons attributed to the Maggid, Likutim yekarim (Lemberg, 1792). Here we find
a description of a very practical application of some of the theoretical ideas found in the other texts—consuming alcohol as a means of heightening one’s emotions during worship. The use of food and drink to induce religious enthusiasm was widespread in the early Hasidic movement and, as the “witticism” with which the passage concludes suggests, the popularization of such practices was treated with a measure of ambivalence within the movement, even if they were still upheld in principle.

The presentation will discuss the originality of the view of sense experience found in these texts, their origins, and their social and historical impact. It will also address the question of the relationship between the appearance of such new attitudes toward the body and bodily experience and the emergence of modernity. Finally, it will explore the difficulties faced by the authors of these texts in speaking about these topics using traditional modes of discourse as well as the challenge of relating such modes of discourse to contemporary ways of construing subjectivity.

Bibliography:
God as Qualia: The Divinity of Sense Experience in Early Hasidism
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Solomon of Lutzk, *Magid devar av le-ya’akov* (Koretz, 1781), Second Introduction (unpaginated)

The Second Introduction and the Key to the Book

Here I venture to speak/ and muster my strength/ I have seen fit to preface/ words of love, set in sockets of fine gold, none other than the words of our master, teacher and rabbi the author/ the precious words I received from him/ for beloved friends, the Jewish people/ who cleave to and are united with God and His Torah/ as a key to this pure and holy work, to open various closed discourses/ so that it not be like a sealed book/ locked and shut up/ to those who have not gone in and gone out/ the voice of my believed knocks/ as they said in the *Zohar* (II, 14a) “R. Simeon said [to R.] Eleazar his son: [ʻArise and] pass thy hand over his mouth, [for he did not know of such,] for he is not accustomed to it’”/to quench their thirst/so they might understand, with the application of their intellects and attention/the first fruits of their strength.

First of all, one ought to know that "the whole earth is full of His glory” (Isa. 6:3) and “there is no place empty of Him” (*Tikunei zohar*, 123b) and He is within [all] worlds, etcetera (cf. *Atkinu se’udata* and *Zohar* III, 224a). That the vitality of the Creator, blessed be He, is everywhere can be observed empirically (*nireh be-hush*) in every object. For a given object will certainly have some taste or smell or appearance or love—that is, it will be something beloved, or else something dreadful or beautiful or possess some other similar attribute. And if we divest it of its materiality and consider solely its spirituality such as its taste or smell or one of its other above mentioned [attributes] in themselves, it will certainly be observed empirically that it is something that cannot be sensed (*murgash*) with hands or eyes of flesh but is rather something sensed in an apprehension (*nirgash be-hasagah*) by the person’s vitality and soul alone. It must therefore certainly be something spiritual, the vitality of the Creator, blessed be He, which inherest in this material object like a soul in a body. It is similarly so with all objects and all movements as it is written in the book *Hovot ha-levavot* (2:5) “all your movements are tied to the will of the Creator.” There are in all of them sparks of vitality drawn from the
Creator, blessed be He, who is “the bundle of life” (I Samuel, 25:29), “the light of life” (Job 33:30; Ps. 56:14), “the fountain of life” (Ps. 36:10) and “the life of life” (Tikunei zohar, 116a) and from Him is vitality drawn down into all things from the highest rungs to those below. This is [the meaning of] the constriction (tzimtzum) of His blessed presence, which dwells among those below. And each spark derives from its own particular world. For example, [in the case of] an object of love, the love within it originates in the [divine] world of love. That is, there must certainly be a source and root from where the love for any object of love originates.

In order to make the nature of this root a little more comprehensible let us consider [as an example] the spirituality of the root of love itself, as mentioned. We observe empirically that it is nothing but the vitality of the Creator, blessed be He, that has been constricted, as it were, so that it might be apprehended in the aspect of love. However, there is certainly vitality and spirituality that is apprehended not in the aspect of love but rather in some other aspect, such as the aspect of fear or beauty or one of the other attributes. They are all certainly vitality and spirituality as mentioned, but each one is apprehended differently than the others for they were constricted in a different constriction, that is, into a different apprehension. In their essential inwardness, however, they are all identical for they are vitality and spirituality, as mentioned—they all originate in a single root within which there are no distinctions at all.

And this is what is stated in the Tikunei zohar (99b; cf. Zohar I, 91a) “And in her do all supernal images appear”—that is, [this occurs] by means of the constriction [into specific] apprehensions. [Each of these attributes] is in the aspect of the feminine in relation to what is above, for it receives from the root of roots. And the enlightened will understand. This is why they are called worlds (olamot)—the vitality of the Creator is hidden (mitalem) and constricted in particular apprehensions. They are also called attributes (midot) because they are estimated and apprehended in a particular measure and quantity (midah) and not in another. In truth, however, each [attribute] includes all of the others for the beginning of the drawing down from the root of roots was for the sake of His blessed kindness (hasdo) to benefit His creatures and He needed to constrict (le-tzamtzem) and draw down to the [given] attribute [vitality in a limited form] like a line and a spark. And this is the vitality and splendor (ve-hitpa’arut) of the Creator, as it were. This is in accordance with [the verse] (Gen. 2:7) “And he blew into his nostrils” the spirit of life—[about which it is commented] “All who blow, blow from their essence” (Shefa tal, Introduction; cf. Sefer ha-peli’ah, 8b). It was possible for [the vitality] to keep being drawn down infinitely—in accordance with [the verse] (Deut. 5:18) “with a great voice, and it went on no more” (read alternatively as “that did not
— but since this was not [God’s] intention He needed to overcome (*le-natze’ah* [this tendency]) so that His blessed glory (*hodo*) could be revealed and it could be connected (*me-kushar*) to this given attribute (*midah*) and apprehension. These matters are very profound and require extensive explanation as to how it is in each world—“for one higher than the high watcheth [and there are higher than they]” (Eccles. 5:7)—but I am here being brief [and aim] only to stir the ear to hear while studying this holy work.

To return to our topic, there is nothing that lacks a root above, as mentioned. This is why the holy tongue contains the infinitive (*makor*), the active verb (*po’al*) and the passive verb (*nifal*). The infinitive corresponds to the root of the thing, as mentioned; the active verb corresponds to the acting person who draws down from the above-mentioned source (*makor*) and root; and the passive verb corresponds to the thing that is drawn down from that source and root. Take, for example, joy (*simhah*). There is the [supernal] world of joy, as mentioned—that is, the vitality of the blessed Creator that is apprehended in the [form of] the attribute of joy. This is the source (*makor*). The person who is joyful actualizes (*po’al*) and draws down upon himself [joy] from the above-mentioned world of joy at a specific moment before which he had not been joyful. And the person’s experience of joy itself is the actualized (*nifal*) [joy], as mentioned. Thus, although all a person sees [of an object] is the spark, which to the eyes of flesh appears to be small, if he is sensible and intelligent and divests it of the materiality within which it is clothed and imagines in his mind that it is nothing but divine vitality taken from the supernal source, as mentioned, the light and vitality [of the object] will become infinitely large and mighty—for in its spirituality and vitality it is connected to its source. And in each thing he will see its supernal root and source. One can perhaps say that this is the meaning of the verse (Isa. 61:10) “I will greatly rejoice (*sos asus*, lit. ‘rejoice I will rejoice’) in the Lord.” That is, [the word] “rejoice” (*sos*) is the source (*makor*) [while] the meaning of “I will rejoice (*asus*) in the Lord” is that when I will rejoice in the Lord and be alert and recall that [the joy] is a holy spark from God then I will certainly be connected to the source, that is, the above mentioned [word] “rejoice” (*sos*). And this is also the meaning of [the verse] (Deut. 15:10) “Thou shalt surely give [him], and thy heart shall not be grieved [when thou givest unto him].” That is, when you give and you understand that through this giving the source of the giving of charity is awakened then certainly “thy heart shall not be grieved.” And the enlightened will understand. This is the manner in which a person should constantly consider his own attributes, whether love, fear or one of the other attributes, as well as his speech and voice and
thought. He should recognize that they are vitality and spirituality and each one of them certainly derives from its supernal root and source—that is, the root of love from which [love] is drawn down to all creatures and all objects of love and similarly the root of fear and that of the other attributes, as well as the root of the world of speech from which speech is drawn down to all speaking [beings] and to all other creatures as well, for they all contain utterances of the Holy One, blessed be He. His blessed vitality is like the [undifferentiated] voice, while the garments within which the vitality has been constricted are like speech, which clothes and constricts the voice. And the enlightened will understand. And this is [the meaning of the verse] (Ps. 33:6) “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, etcetera.” And there is similarly a root of the world of thought, as mentioned.

When he considers and recognize this, there will fall upon him very great fear and shame before God, Who accompanies him in all his movements, as it is written in Hovot ha-levavot (3:5), “Do not rebel against your master when he sees you”—for how can one [use] His blessed power and vitality to act against His will? And he will constantly be attached to God with a marvelous attachment. And through worship and attachment to the Creator, blessed be His name, one is able to elevate all the worlds, as is known. Since every one of his attributes as well as his speech and his thought will be attached to the roots from where they are drawn down to all creatures, all creatures will certainly be attached to him, while he himself will be attached to the Creator, blessed be His name. And this is [the meaning of the Talmudic dictum] (B. Hag. 12b) “The world rests on one pillar and a righteous person is its name.”

One can perhaps say that this is the meaning of the Mishnah (M. Ber. 9:5) “‘With all your might’ (Deut. 6:5)—with each and every measure he metes out to you, thank Him very much.” The difficulty [addressed by the Mishnah] was that since [the verse] should have been written [with the word] “might” (me’od) what then is [the significance of writing] with all your might (be-khol me’odekha)? This implies that there are various kinds of “might.” [The Mishnah] therefore explained it [as referring to] “each [and every] measure, etcetera.” That is, the attributes of man appear to be very small, as mentioned, but when [people] worship God, blessed be He, and attach themselves to Him and discern in their minds and thoughts how each one [of their attributes] is attached to its root, as mentioned, then each one becomes exceedingly large. This is [the meaning of] “with each [and every] measure he metes out to you, thank Him very much”—that is, when you “thank him” with attachment, as mentioned, then each one [of the attributes] will be “very
much.” [If you] remember this principle and do not forget it, “then shalt thou walk [in thy way] securely, [and thou shalt not dash] thy foot (Prov. 3:23) in this pure and holy work. And the good Lord “will withhold no good thing from them that walk uprightly” (Ps. 84:12). Amen, Selah.
God as Qualia: The Divinity of Sense Experience in Early Hasidism

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'חלולת כל ראייtablet של מילה אחר פניו, מ"ק וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לב่อนוぴカ hakkיו וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴカ hakkיו וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴカ hakkיו וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴカ hakkיו וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לבוןוぴKa hakkio וההוא בוחש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו ברה טנר תnings של יד לעבש בכל רבד בסביבתי משToStr ריו
לשהו ניון Großaton איך אל דל היפר פלום הלולאה ישוアップ
ולא שיק איסט אוז המקבז וידרכ לצל"ש ישגיאתי היא"י וサイズי מתכון "בכי ג'י והשתה" והזורה והזורה
שהวยיבים טעokies מאוז פרנודים בארז רון איז אוז ביכר עליי כב dob ג'י מעב ג'י שופר אוזן און
באות בskór רל הליכר אוון לשבוע בולימור הזרות[0] רל הקדוש הזה

הנהר עניינו כים כף אל יבר שיאר ולשורי מעלה כל"ל הזוז שישה בלשון הקדוש מק"ר וופ"ל
ובעלאי"ל כים המקור או ושלי תמר כיל"ל פורע"ל האחד התפלע העם י']; המקור ושלי
וה"ל מתפעל או תמר שלא שמיי לה ישר וה(Adapter של הלך מעלה כ"ל ר"ל ז'רות
הברון יותי בית בים התיכון והמקור או ושלי התמיי العليי עין לו פורה והיתבר עליי כ"ל של
נה"ל בשאתה כים מקודר לא עיני והשתהה עולם של אימים וו התחילה כ"ל. נמצאו בשאתה
הנה"ל את אימת יי_macros או ז'רות כדי עוזר על עיןrente קי אם של תורהות והזורה היא דובק להמקור

יא\"ל שופ"ל המוסר שוע וחסונא על ר"ל שוור הזוז מקור איסי חול ר"ל כופסייש בול אקיז או פבר
שהווה ציון קדר אסתי liter את בdisconnect אשר במקודר היהי שוע ב"ל ווה"ל ג'כ אי החזון או
יזיר לברק כ際に ר\"ל כשתן התדיעי\" בינתה והברון המקור והרכה של הצלחת וברודיאי אל גיר
ליבק החמה\"י.”

וכן ג'כ ייחוש האחלק והדר מבודדים הקרינמוס להם מתה אבגי ואראimientos או שארים המקור ו(Debug
קולות מתוחהות ויבחרים של ח\"ל קדומים. כים לבלו ז'רות ישמקי התוכן"ל וuffs המושרים בכל מקודר
האחוזת שמפני ממנך לכל התברון; בכל הברק של אבגי ז'דות והראים ושארים ז'דות ז'דות ושלי
עולי ז'ירות שופטיות בכל התברון; בכל הברון ז'דות המוסרים מאוז מנגנים של הזורה הם כל הדברים המבלישים ומגנים"ל כל
הזהות של פ\"י: הזן כל הקהל והלהבוזה שלכתהrapy והזורה הוא כל הדברים המבלישים ומגנים כל
הזהות של פ\"י: הזן כל הקהל והלהבוזה שלכתהrapy והזורה הוא כל הדברים המבלישים ומגנים כל

בכרייתים של ז'דות מיוחד המתו פקולוי יראה עד כל דל הזרה הבורעת של מוריאס פלוס יי矞איות יי矞איות
נטוזותי כמי"ש ב"י, "לא מפורז את אprintStats והזורה אתראות כי א\"י ישעב בברון התיהות יי ג'כ דר糧
והי מצליח ז\"י להבך ז\"י התחבר לשולק טפרים ביכר של בצלת ז\"י." תזרונים 증 ז\"י האוקי
כל הנחותה כמי מאחר של מעלה ר\"י ז\"י ומותракти ז\"י: ז\"י התחבר לשולק טפרים ביכר של בצלת
הבריאות דריאות יי ngọt תמראים ז\"י והזורה אתראות כי א\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י א\"י א\"י א\"י: והזורה אתראות
כל הנחותה כמי מאחר של מעלה ר\"י ז\"י ומותракти ז\"י: ז\"י התחבר לשולק טפרים ביכר של בצלת

לא שoha פ\"י: המושרים בכל מקודר בכל דל הזורה כתום על דל הזורה כתום ממקודר. ז\"י לוקדש כי רק
היי\"ל מקודר פכל מקודר يستון עין כל מקודר פכל הדל כל\"י. רבח ז\"י מתור יבגי התיהות של
יא\"ל פלוי הזורה עד ז\"י: ז\"י מחזיאי בייבバイ נודע התיהות כל\"לREAM"ו הסברתי: ז\"י וולא ז\"י
מותрактиים בתפקודם ז\"י: ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י וולא ז\"י
שמודפים כל ה\"י או פרדו פכל מקודר \"ל ששמת ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י וולא ז\"י
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ה죠 של ה\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י ז\"י
שהוגי שימא א\"י.
Prima facie, this world is that which is visible to the eye while the spiritual world and its delights are not visible at all. However, the truth is that what is primarily visible and perceptible is the spiritual delight (ta’anug). For that which is visible and perceptible is solely the appearance of things, and they all differ in color, whether white, red, green, etcetera. However, they do not differ in their material aspects, for the material is merely a vessel and delimiter that delimits the appearance and color that is in it. But it is nothing apart from the delight that is in it, which is its appearance and color. So, too, in the case of touch there are differences between soft and hard, hot and cold and all of these are spiritual things. Similarly, in the case of taste each things has a different taste—the taste of one things is not the same as that of another—and in the case of smell, as well, there are many different variations. The material aspect of each thing, however, is solely a vessel and delimiter that delimits the appearance and taste and smell while the spirituality is the vitality of the Creator, blessed be He, that is drawn down and delimited within this particular material object. And [this spirituality] is verily nothing other than the letters and words of the Holy One, blessed be He, for the letters are spiritual and sweet and tasty and fragrant as it is written (Ps. 19:11) “More to be desired are they than [gold, yea, than much fine gold] sweeter also than [honey and the honeycomb].” And our sages of blessed memory said (B. Shab. 88b) “With each [and every] commandment [that emerged from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be He,] the entire world was filled with fragrant spices,” [referring to] what was mentioned. And they are also beautiful, for they are [nothing but] the luminosity of the Creator, blessed be He, and it is thus written (Num. 12:6) “I will make Myself known unto him in a vision.”

But if I were to try to explain this matter and to further clarify how and in what manner the letters and words are spiritual and beautiful, and contain all varieties of colors and smells and tastes, as I have understood and received but as a drop in the ocean from the mouth of my master, of blessed memory, the page would be too short to contain it. Even to put [these matters] into words and express them orally is difficult. As it is stated in the Zohar (I, 164a; cf. I, 194b) “To the point that he
was unable to speak.” For [understanding them] requires great diligence in serving wise scholars and the great ones of Israel, to listen to their words spoken in truth. One will then learn from [their words] to understand and comprehend, and to divest each thing from its material [form] and to gaze only upon its spiritual [essence] and to constantly have before one’s eyes the vitality and luminosity of the Creator, blessed be His name, and not see anything else besides this, as it is written (Ps. 16:8) “I have set the Lord always before me,” and as it is written (Deut. 4:35) “There is none else beside Him.”

And someone once complained to me saying “I would very much like to serve the Creator, blessed be He, and to cleave to the saints and listen to their words but I am very preoccupied with worldly affairs and because of this I have no one to advise me and I am far from the Creator of the world, blessed be His name.” And I replied to him that the Creator of the world, blessed be His name, is infinitely great and all worlds are but as a mustard seed next to Him—how then is it possible that this world and its empty and shameful preoccupations, which are but as a mustard seed, as mentioned, could stand and cover and conceal from his gaze such a great and awesome Creator? With saintly people, on the other hand, it is the opposite—and this is the true and proper way—they are constantly preoccupied with and engrossed in and attached to the luminosity of the Creator, blessed be He, and to His vitality that is in all things and in all places, as mentioned. They see nothing but Him and He covers and conceals this world from before their eyes.

Returning to our subject, the utterances of the Holy One, blessed be He, are within all objects, as it is written (Ps. 33:6) “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, etcetera.” And these [utterances] are nothing but the names of the objects, such as [the Hebrew words for] bread and water and the like. These words comprise the vitality and taste and smell and appearance of each [object] and the vitality that is drawn down into each object is in accordance with their letters and permutations. And I already wrote a bit about this above, in [the section on] the periscope Ki tisa [commenting] on the verse (Est. 1:4) “when he showed the riches, etcetera.” Since everything was created and emanated from the vitality of God, blessed be His name, one must therefore elevate each thing to its root [and this is accomplished] when God’s holy people eat, drink and perform actions and deeds while cleaving to the Creator, blessed be He.
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“For man shall not see Me and live” (Ex. 33:20). This refers to the four material elements in accordance with the mystery of man having been created from the earth. And understand. And these four elements lack the merit to behold the essential glory of God, the Holy One, blessed be He—only the spiritual elements concealed in the soul that [like the body] is similarly comprised of two hundred and forty eight limbs and three hundred and sixty five sinews that are spiritual [are able to behold it]. And [the soul] is “a portion of God from above” (Job 31:2) and is of the mystery of the living. This is the meaning of “and live”—only the living portion [of man] has this ability to behold the essential glory of God. And understand. Know, too, that the soul, in its perception (hasagat ha-neshamah) of the supernal spirituality, primarily apprehends (maseget) the aspect of desire (heshek) that inheres in the material object. And every instance of desire [arises] primarily by virtue of taste (ta'am). But taste is not tangible (musag) and anything that is not tangible is verily a portion of the Holy One, blessed be He. And this is the meaning of “He that sacrificeth unto the gods, save unto the Lord only, shall be utterly destroyed” (Ex. 22:19). “The gods” (elohim) is of the mystery of the external vessels [of the godhead], which are of the aspect of judgment. And every judgment is of the mystery of death and all death indicates materiality. And every material object is something tangible (davar ha-musag). And we are forbidden from sacrificing to and believing in materiality, in accordance with to the mystery of “Do not make to yourselves molten gods” (Lev. 19:4). And understand. We must instead believe in spirituality. This is [the meaning of] “save (bilti) unto the Lord”—this thing, which is not tangible (bilti musag), exists by virtue of the spiritual, which is verily “a portion of God from above.” This is [the meaning of] faith. And this is [the meaning of] “the Lord only”—without any [material] garment but solely the spiritual [aspect] itself. And this is the meanings of the verse (Ps. 91:14) “Because he hath set his desire upon (vî=within) Me”— the primary [element] of man’s worship [of God] is [his] desire, which is an aspect of the portion [of God] that is verily within him.
And this is [the meaning of] what is written in the Tikunei zohar (9a) “‘because upon me (ki vi)’ is numerically equivalent to forty-two,” which [refers to the forty-two letter divine name that] elevates all the worlds. And every [reference to] world (olam) is of the mystery of the aspect of [the divine attribute of] kingship (malkhut), which is called world. And it is [associated with] the letters dalet yud nun of the [divine] name Adonai (i.e. din=judgment) and we must elevate the judgments to the aspect of mercy and kindness which is [represented by] the [divine] name YHVH, blessed be He, which is [accomplished] only by means of the [divine] name of forty-two [letters]. And understand. And this is [the meaning of] “because he hath known My name” (Ps. 91:14)—[The Hebrew word for “My name” (shemi) is comprised of the word] “name” (shem) [and the letter] yud [which has a numerical value of ten]. One must elevate [the divine attribute of] kingship, which is called “name” and is the tenth Sefer, so that she attains an elevated state (ma’alah). And every [instance of a] state [involves something] spiritual and everything spiritual is of the mystery of knowledge (de’ah). And this is [the meaning of] “because he hath known”—that is, you should elevate “My name,” which is [the attribute of] judgment, to the aspect of knowledge, which is spiritual. And understand.

We will explain the rest of the verses in passing. “I am with him in trouble” (Ps. 91:15)—in truth, I am [found] within all [material] garments. Even though all garments are of the mystery of trouble (tzarah) and trouble indicated materiality, which is judgment, I nevertheless rest therein in order to give it vitality. This is the meaning of “Out of my straits (metzar) I called upon the Lord” (Ps. 118:5). And understand. But if a person enflames himself with a great desire toward each and every letter—which are material and a garment—then he will merit that I will “remove” from every letter “the garments of her widowhood,” which “covered her face” (Gen. 38:14-5). For concealed within each and every letter there is spiritual vitality, referred to as “her face” (paneha), that is, [spiritual] inwardness (penimiyut). And you will [then] see that “she is righteous” (Gen. 38:26). And understand. This is [the meaning of] “I will rescue him (ahaltzehu)” (Ps. 91:15), as in “him that had his shoe loosed (halutz)” (Deut. 25:10)—that is, He will loose the black garments of every letter. “And I will bring him to honor” (Ps. 91:15)—I will show him spiritual letters, which are the glory of God. And if “long life” (Ps. 91:16) will be achieved from the aspect of the Infinite, [then] “I will satisfy him, and make him to behold My salvation” (Ps. 91:16)—he will merit to behold spirituality in itself. This is [the meaning of] “Show us Thy mercy, O Lord” (Ps. 85:8), which refers to the inwardness. “And grant us (lanu) Thy salvation” (Ps. 85:8)—[the word lanu is] numerically equivalent to [the word for] God (Elohim) [which represents judgments]—that she may be elevated. [And this is the meaning
of] “Our soul” (Ps. 33:20), referring to the external [aspect of the attribute of] kingship, “hath waited for the Lord (la-ha-shem)” (Ps. 33:20), to be elevated to the inwardness, which is [the meaning of] “to the Lord” (la-ha-shem).

The holy spirit (ru’ah ha-kodesh) has revealed to us that if there will come a time when a great desire arises among people to know God and to cleave to Him then this desire will be as acceptable as a burnt offering and as all of the [mystical] intentions. This is [the meaning of] “Because he hath set his desire upon Me”—for then the redemption will come, speedily in our days, amen. This is [the meaning of] “I will be with him in trouble”—even if they do not know any [mystical] intentions but are pained over this, wanting to attain apprehension [of God], and they serve Him with desire, then “I will rescue him” from the bitter exile “and make him to behold My salvation”—they will attain apprehension [of God] and “the earth shall be full of the knowledge [of the Lord]” (Isa. 11:9). And all of this [will come to pass] because of desire. This is [the meaning of] “For ye shall go out with joy” (Isa. 55:12). And understand.
God as Qualia: The Divinity of Sense Experience in Early Hasidism

Elly Moseson, University of Hamburg

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Aor, ha-ør (חקוקין, חקוקיו), פִּשֵּׂי מִי}

כִּכָּא דָּרְגָּא הַדַּאָם וּזַהְרַה. דִּרוּמְלִי יִסְדְּדוֹת הַנֶּפֶשׁ וּבְאָדָם בֶּלֶם בָּאָדָם וּבְאָדָם, וַיִּסְדָּדוֹת
אֲנָחָם כֹּלְּכָּא שִׁיחְיוּ לְאָדוֹת בֶּלֶם בָּאָדָם. וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם שָׁם כָּלָה טוֹבַּה, כִּכָּא דָּרְגָּא הַדַּאָם וּזַהְרַה. וַיִּסְדְּדוֹתָם וַיִּסְדְּדוֹתָם שָׁם כָּלָה טוֹבַּה. וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם שָׁם כָּלָה טוֹבַּה.

In the world of sense experience, the divinity of God is realized through the senses.

וְזֶה הַבֵּן לֶא דָּרְגָּא הַדַּאָם וּזַהְרַה. וַיִּסְדְּדוֹתָם וַיִּסְדְּדוֹתָם שָׁם כָּלָה טוֹבַּה, כִּכָּא דָּרְגָּא הַדַּאָם וּזַהְרַה. וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם שָׁם כָּלָה טוֹבַּה. וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם וַיְסִדָּדוֹתָם שָׁם כָּלָה טוֹבַּה.

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In the world of sense experience, the divinity of God is realized through the senses.
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Likutim yekarim (Lemberg, 1792), 31a [Corrected on the basis of Or ha-emet (Husyatin, 1899), 73a]

There are two types of people—one who has love and fear [of God] on his own and another who does not have love and fear on his own. The solution [for this latter person] to arrive at the attribute of love is for him to do something for which he has great love, for example, consume excellent food and drink, [and he should consider that] the love he has for this food derives from the pleasure (ta’anug) that is clothed within it and pleasure is divine. By this means he will increase his love in the worship of God. I will record in passing a witticism I heard regarding [this]. It is known that the masses are accustomed to drink mead on Friday afternoon after going to the bath for the reason mentioned above, that is, so that they will have extra love during the afternoon and evening prayers since the prayers before the Sabbath require extra enthusiasm and great intention, even more so than all of the weekday prayers, as is known. But there are some people who drink so much that they become drunk (she-shotin kol kah harbeh ad de-lo yada ve-khu[lu]). And this [situation] is hinted at in the verse (Gen. 40:23) “Yet did not the chief cupbearer remember Joseph.” [The name Joseph] has the connotation of [increase, which suggests] the increase of sanctity on the Sabbath—that is, [the Kabbalistic concept of] the arousal of “the feminine waters” [i.e. the self-arousal] mentioned above, which is supposed to be accomplished through this [drinking]—“but he forgot him” (Gen. 40:23).
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ليفוקים יקריו (לעמב ערג, תקנ"ב), לא "ב [הבשובה לואר האמת (המשתת', ח"כ'), בכ"א"8]

יה ב' חתות בכי אדם יש אוד שישי יל אודו' נוצר עֹמֶר וַאֲדֻמָּה, מצָל עֱמָר או אֲדֻמָּה שֶׁאָמַרְתָּ עָלַיוֹ מִצְמָעָה מְצָל עֱמָר שֶׁאָמַרְתָּ עָלַיוֹ מִצְמָעָה

[ל']אמָב' או לירא' החפכן, של שיבוֹא לִפְדָה האָבֶה, שֶׁעָזַי דְּבַר שֶׁיָּשַׁל אָבֶה' גֵדוֹל, זה לימל אָבֶה

ורשה לִבְרָר הַשָּׁבֵע (יוֹרֵשְׁבוּ) כְּמָה שֶׁיָּשַׁל אָבֶה' לִבְרָר הַמָּאָנָל הָוָא הָוָא מַחְסָף הַתָּעְנָגוֹן הַמִּלָּדֶשׁ

בְּאוֹתֵי מָאָנָל הַתָּעְנָגוֹן חַוָא אֲלוֹחָה מַחְסָף הָוָא יְבוּחוֹפָה לָאָב', בְּעִברָדוּוֹ "ו"ה: אֵנָגֶב הָאָבֶה וַגְּדוֹלִים

שְׁמָעְתִּי מַשְּׁמִיִּים [ו"ה] כְּלַיֵּד שְׁרוֹבָה חַוָא שֶׁמַּנְדָּגָה לִשְׁמַת דַּבֵּשׁ בְּעֶשׂ לַחְדָּר הַמִּרְטָח הַתָּעְנָגוֹן הָוָא

כְּנ"ל כָּל שִׁבֵּוָא לָהַמ אָבֶה' יִתְרָא בְּעִבְרָדוּוֹ חַוָא: יְבִינָה רַבָּה בְּעִבְרָדוּוֹ, כְּלַיֵּד שְׁרוֹבָה חַוָא"וּרָכָה הַתָּעְנָגוֹן יִתְרָא

וּפּוֹרָה גָּדֲלָה יִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה כָּדָא אֲרַי וַאֲרַי שְׁרוֹבָה חַוָא"וּרָכָה יִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה יִתְרָא

הֶרְמָּמָה יִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה כָּדָא אֲרַי וַאֲרַי שְׁרוֹבָה חַוָא"וּרָכָה יִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה יִתְרָא

וַאֲרַי שְׁרוֹבָה חַוָא"וּרָכָה יִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה יִתְרָא

לי מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה יִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה יִתְרָא

לְיִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה יִתְרָא

לְיִתְרָא מִלְּחַל הַלְּוֹהְלָכָה יִתְרָא
The Execution of Frantz Ferdinand Engelberger
Yaacov Deutsch, David Yellin College

Eine sehr denckwürdige Historia/ Von einem getauften/ doch wider vom Christentumb ab gefallenen Juden/ welcher wegen Diebstal sampt zweyen andern Juden in Wien ergriffen/ vnd justificirt worden, Wien, 1642

The document presented here is a broadsheet from 1642 that describes the execution of Frantz Ferdinand Engelberger, a Jew killed after an illustrious history of crime and religious polemic. Engelberger converted to Christianity after he was caught stealing from a synagogue around 1636. He subsequently published two anti-Jewish texts (1640), became known to the emperor Ferdinand III and two years later was caught stealing an expensive vessel from the court’s treasury along with two Jews. All three thieves were sentenced to death. The text reports the events that followed their sentence starting with the original day of execution when Engelsberger denounced Christianity, and focusing on what happened to him four days later after he was convicted as a blasphemer, and sentenced to torture and a very cruel death. The text highlights multiple senses involved in this spectacle/theatre of pain; the text and image were meant to stimulate the senses of the readers or viewers. Seeing the different stages of the execution is one aspect, but other senses were also important. Noises played a major part in the execution, the cries of the culprit and the crowd as well as the blazing fire. Smell was also invoked as Engelberger’s body was burnt at the end of the process. Finally, the torture described stimulated tactile reactions. The source raises questions about the connection between the text and the image, and whether the ways they stimulate the senses of the reader/viewer complement or contradict each other.

How were early modern executions structured and how were they used to evoke the senses of the spectators? How did those who attended perceive these spectacles? The case of Engelsberger should be understood in the broader context in which this affair is situated—the history of early modern executions.
Selected Bibliography


The Execution of Frantz Ferdinand Engelberger
Yaacov Deutsch, David Yellin College

HB 212 © Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Foto: Monika Runge
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Eine sehr denckwürdige Historia/ Von einem getauften/ doch wider vom Christenthumb ab gefallenen Juden/ welcher wegen Diebstal sampt zweyen andern Juden in Wien ergriffen/ vnd justificirt worden, Wien, 1642

A most memorable history of a baptized Jew, though fallen from the Christian faith, who was arrested and brought to justice with two other Jews because of theft.

On the (12) 22 of August in the year 1642, three of the most noble Jews (one of whom used to be a very famous Rabbi and Jewish High Priest, who was baptized many years ago in Rackowitz in Poland, and was named Ferdinand Franz Engelberger, who during the time he pretended to be a Christian, had written against the Jews and printed several books, in which he condemned all Jews alive to the hellfire of the devil) were hung in the Imperial Residence City of Vienna by their thieving necks, because of theft committed over many years during the times they were Christians as well as Jews. The baptized rabbi had expertly contributed [to these thefts] with help and advice, especially by giving the other two opportunity and knowledge how to break into the treasure chamber of His (Royal) Serene Highness the Archduke of Austria, and they snuck in with theft keys and similar devices, well known to the Jews, which they did for considerable time and with their thieving fingers stealing [valuables] worth many thousand Thaler.

But God the Almighty did not want to allow that such a notorious thief should end his ungodly life under the title and name of a Christian, and particularly so that the other Jews couldn’t say that as soon as he became a Christian, he also became a thief. Therefore, when the same three Jews were put to trial (for capital crimes) as public thieves on the said Friday, it happened that this baptized Rabbi had reckoned and hoped that his life, as a baptized Jew who had become a Christian, would be spared. He pretended to be as pious and devout, kissed the crucifix in his hands many times and hit himself on his chest in great piety und said frequently: Oh my dear LORD Jesus, be gracious and have mercy with me this time. However, his hope and expectation didn’t come to pass and the verdict against all three of them was was publicly read out, that they – as public thieves – were sentenced to death by hanging.

When the Rabbi heard that he had been sentenced to die on the gallows, he threw the crucifix to the ground (1) with great fierceness and wrath, spat on it, jumped on it with both feet like a frantic and furious dog, swore, raged and cursed, because he was
going to die by a Christian verdict, and he wanted to die as a proper Jew and not a Christian. And even if he had to descend alive straight to the deepest abyss of hell to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, he did not want to grant the Christians the honor to die as a Christian thief. He publicly denounced his Christian faith, which he had pretended to keep until then and then disowned the Christian faith, and spouted outrageous ferocious heresy against God and all baptized Christians.

The Jesuit priest who had been there (to provide spiritual assistant) and the city judge exhorted him to [to think about] what he was doing, because only the day before he had received the holy sacrament but he replied defiantly: No, not at all. He had not received anything, but rather spat out the sacrament out of his mouth into a handkerchief or wiping towel, wrapped it into it, and announced with reverence that he threw it into the toilet in the district offices, where has was kept prisoner. If they searched there, they would find it. Indeed, this was done and the (communion) host was found there in the in the most disgusting filth with the towel.

The Jesuit Father, appalled by the devilish godlessness of this Jew, said in fierceness and fervor: no wonder that people beat (all) Jews and stamp on them! This [comment] incited (the people standing) in front of the city court (called „the Schrannen“) and they violently attacked many Jews and even knocked some of them down, so that they came to lie next to the thieves. and quite a few of their shops were also plundered by the common people.

When His Imperial Majesty was notified about these events, he got upset and angry and commanded that the two thieves be hung according to the verdict (2), but that the third arch thief and villain, the Samaritan Rabbi, should be brought back to the district offices. This did indeed happen but it could be done only in the night because of the rage and threat of violence of common people.

The following Saturday, which was the Holy Sabbath of the Jews, the Rabbi was again brought out and interrogated why he had treated the crucifix so appallingly yesterday, and why he had spouted out such blasphemous speech, although he had been baptized as a Christian and written against Judaism. Upon which he replied with defiant and unrepentant words:

He had done so in eternal glory and praise for the Jews, and in eternal derision and mockery for the Christians, partly intentionally, partly only in pretense, but hereby he wished to publicly admit it and refuse [Christian teachings]. While a Christian he also never consumed the sacrament, but always took it out of his mouth and threw it in a secret chamber [=lavatory]. He despised the sacrament as dangerous and condemned even more than Jews despised pork. All I all, he expressed such dreadful blasphemy, which cannot be uttered or described, because one would worry the Earth would burst open in order to devour the blasphemer alive.

Therefore, the godless and wicked villain was taken away and led him again to the „Schrannen“ [city court building] while the other Jews performed their idolatry. He
was told the new verdict, which was soon executed and completed in the following way.

First he – as an obvious blasphemer and injurer of the highest Divine Majesty – was set on a high carriage, led with great pomp to all four main squares of the Imperial Residence City Vienna – first to the Hoher Markt (High Market), then to the Hof, thirdly to the Graben and fourthly to the Neuer Markt (New Market). At the first location he was right chest was ripped with scorching hot pliers (3) several times. At the second location, a strap (4) from his neck down to his back was cut and ripped out of his body. At the third location, he was pinched again with burning pliers several times on the left side of chest, and at the fourth [square] a strap [of flesh] was cut again in a similar manner and flayed. Hereafter he was taken down from the high carriage, fettered on a board (5) where he horribly screamed bloody murder „O God Adonai, who art never born, have mercy upon me [et cetera]” and was dragged to the scaffold. There his blasphemous tongue (6), which was already coal-black, was cut out, thereupon his right hand (7) being that of a perjurer and baptism fraudster was chopped off with an ax, thereafter he – as an arch thief – was hung by his feet in chains, and finally he – as a bedeviled Jew and apostate and renegade Christian – (8) was roasted alive and burned together with the gallows, and he expired in his confounded stubbornness against all admonitions.

God shall have mercy on the infidels and convert them all to the truth, for the sake of Christ, Amen.
Eine sehr denkwürdige Historia/ Von einem getauften/ doch wider vom Christenthumb ab gefallenen Juden/ welcher wegen Diebstal samt zweyen andern Juden in Wien ergriffen/ vnd justificirt worden, Wien, 1642

Crucifix zu boden geworffen/ (1) dasselbe angespeyet/ darnach mit beyden Füssen wie ein rasender und wütender Hund/ darauf gesprungen/ geflucht getobt und gelästert/ mit vermelden/ weiln er ja sehe/ daß er durch der Christen Urtheil sterben müste/ so wolte er sterben als ein rechter Jud/ und nicht als ein Christ und solte er gleich lebendig in den untersten Abgrund der Höllen zu Korah/ Dathan und Abiran fahren/ wolte den Christen nicht so viel Ehr anthun/ daß er als ein Christendieb sterben solte/ wie er dann alsbald das Christenthumb/ so er biß dahero in dem schein geführet/ und damit zugleich den Christlichen Glauben verläugnet/ demselben öffentlich abgesagt/ und unerhörte grausame Lästerung wider GOtt und alle getauffte Christen außgegossen.

Ob nun wol der zugegebne Pater Societatis Jesu, und Herr StadtRichter ihme beweglich zugesprochen/ was er thäthe/ er hette ja allererst den Tag zuvor das hochwürdige Sacrament empfangen/ so hat er trotziglich darauff geantwortet/ Nein/ keines wegs/ er habe nichts empfangen/ sondern habe das Sacrament wider auß dem Mund in ein Fascinetlein oder Wischtuch gespeyet/ darein gewickelt/ und mit Reverentz zu melden/ in ein heimlich Gemach in dem Ampthauß/ wo er gefangen gesessen/ geworffen/ allda solte mans suchen/ so würde mans finden/ wie dann auch geschehen/ und die Hostia sampt dem Wischtuch daselbst in dem allergarstigsten Unflat gefunden worden: Uber welcher verteuffelten Gottlosigkeit dieses Juden sich männiglich entsetzet/ der Pater Jesuit aber im Grimm und Eyfer gesagt: Es were kein Wunder/ daß man die Juden alle zu boden schlüg/ und mit Füssen trette: Worüber dann so gleich ein grosser Tumult vor dem Rahthauß/ oder der Schrannen entstanden/ und viel Juden mit rauffen schändlich tractiert/ ja theils gar zu boden geschlagen worden/ daß sie neben den Dieben gelegen/ wie dann auch etlichen ihre Gewölber von dem gemeinen Volck geplündert worden.

Als solches Ihrer Käys. Majest. notificirt worden/ haben sich dieselbe sehr darüber alterirt und entsetzt/ dabeneben allernädstig befohlen/ daß man die zween Dieb zwar der Urtheil gemeß/ hencken (2) den dritten Ertzdieb und Bößwicht aber/ als den Samaritischen Rabbi wider in das Ampthauß führen solte/ wie dann auch jenes zwar beschehen/ dieses aber wegen deß erzörnten und ergrimmten gemeinen Volcks eher nicht als bey eingetretner Nacht zu Werck gerichtet werden können.

Deß nachfolgeten Sonnabend/ welcher der der Juden heiliger Sabbath war/ wurde der Rabbi widerumb hervor geführt und examiniert/ warumb er mit dem Crucifix gestern so erschröcklich umebgangen/ und solche Gottslästerliche Reden außgegossen/ da er doch zuvor sich zu einem Christen tauffen lassen und wider das Judenthumb geschrieben hette? Darauff hat er mit trotzigen und halßstarrigen Worten geantwortet/ das habe er den Juden zum ewigen Ruhm und Preiß/ den Christen aber zu ewigem Spott und Schand gethan/ alles theils mit fleiß/ theils nur zum Schein von ihm geschehen/ welches er aber hiermit öffentlich bekannt/ und zugleich widersprochen haben wolte/ hette auch in seinem Christenthumb/ das

Derhalben ist man mit dem gottlosen und verruchten Bößwicht fortgefahren/ denselben wider auff die Schrannen geführt/ eben umb die Zeit/ da die andere Juden ihre Abgötterey verrichtet/ und ihme ein ander Urtheil vorgelesen/ welches auch alsobald an ihm folgender Gestalt exequirt und vollzogen worden.


Gott wolle sich der Unglaubigen in Gnaden erbarmen und sie alle bekehren/ zu der Warheit, umb Christ willen/ Amen.
Introduction

Many legends entwine around the kabbalist R. Isaac Luria Ashkenazi (1534–1572). As is typically the case with the construction of paradigmatic individuals, it was particularly hagiographical accounts that constituted the main literary channel of mythologizing Luria’s life and deeds. One central motif used to substantiate his status as a charismatic leader is manifested in the attribution of extra-sensory powers: He communicates with animals, plants, and minerals; he reads other people’s minds; he sees events that happen in far off places; and he identifies the soul-roots of human beings by looking at their faces. In a great number of stories, and quite similar to a physician who diagnoses an illness, Luria applies his abilities to observe the past actions of an individual—generally his or her wrongdoings—in order to offer remedies for damage caused in the spiritual and physical realm.

The three documents presented here illustrate different stages of a hagiographical account and its transformation from an exemplum attributed to the medieval kabbalist Moshe de León into a story that highlights the superhuman abilities of Luria. The last example offers a detailed description of Luria’s treatment of an individual, who came to challenge the Rav, but who was transformed from sinner to penitent. It represents a very rich source in regard to the significance of the sensorial and extra-sensorial in Luria’s healing. Moreover, the document contains a unique account that illustrates the procedure of a feigned execution of the rabbinical punishment of burning. In addition to the audio-visual features of the narrative, the story’s climax is predicated upon the sense of taste: Instead of casting the boiling lead down the throat of the executed, Luria pours a sweet liquid into his mouth while redeeming him from his past misdeeds.

Following a close reading of the variants in manuscript and print, the execution scene will be analyzed against the background of the rabbinical discourse of capital punishment. I will address its legal-historical context in light of the attempt to reinstate ‘official ordination’ (semikhah) in sixteenth-century Safed. Furthermore, I shall examine the social function of the document by showing how the sensorial and extra-sensorial impact the individual’s emotions, how they intensify the dramaturgy of the narrative and, in so doing, reinforce the moral message conveyed through it.
I. Shlomo Shlomel Meinstral, ‘Letter from the Holy Land’

Source: MS Jerusalem 8°1139, Palestine / Poland, 17th century, Ashkenazi script

And I thought that I should mention […] what R. Moshe Galante the Elder preached during the Ten Days of Repentance in order to evoke the hearts to do penance, and these are his words: R. Shlomo Alwaqin [Alqabeṣ] of blessed memory told me in the name of one of the elders from Castile that there was an evil and corrupt person from our people. There was no kind of idolatry that he failed to worship, and no abomination that he left out. He killed and stole, he robbed and committed adultery, he ate carcasses and forbidden foods, and he betrayed [others], and he was wealthy and patronizing towards the nations. One day, the great rabbi and kabbalist, our teacher Moshe de León left his beit midrash, his students walking behind him, and this evil person derided him, saying: ‘Peace be with you, my wise master’, to which the Rav responded: ‘There is no peace, saith the LORD concerning the wicked’ (Isaiah 48:22), as he avoided looking into his face. In this very moment, a pure spirit entered him, he grasped the corner of the Rav’s garment and said to him: ‘My wise master, if I would do penance, would my wrongdoings be expiated? The Rav responded: ‘Woe unto you, evil person, a penance that may be appropriate for you would require an uncountable number of death sentences. He asked: ‘What if I would accept the verdict of capital punishment, would my sins be expiated?’ And [the Rav] confirmed. He said: ‘My wise master, swear by the name of the Blessed One that no other than your Eminence will come after me and take me to the Garden of Eden’. And the Rav swore it to him, telling him: ‘If you accept the execution of burning, in which I will cast a wick of boiling lead into your mouth, then I will assure you to take you to the Garden of Eden with me, [where you will be] in my company’. And this Jew agreed to do so. Promptly, he went to the Rav’s beit midrash. He never returned back home, he left his wife and his children, and all of his fortune that he assembled illicitly. He was standing there [in the beit midrash]—weeping, fasting, with sackcloth and ashes—and he did not look at anyone for thirty days. After the thirty days, the Rav commanded to bring him a bier that is used to take out the dead, as well as all the burial tools, and to place them before the ba‘al teshuvah. And thus they did. Furthermore, the Rav commanded to bring him the burial garments (takhrikhim). And they brought them. After that, the ba‘al teshuvah
descended to immerse himself in the water of the *miqweh*, and he confessed there while weeping, and he emerged and dried himself and put on [the garments]. They put him down on the bier, the burial tools in front of him. After that, the Rav R. Moshe de León, peace be upon him, entered and told him: ‘Do you still stand by your first consideration? [...]'.

II. Naftali Bakhrakh, *Emeq ha-Melekh*

Source: *Emeq ha-Melekh*, editio princeps: Amsterdam 1648, written in Frankfurt am Main

Thus it happened in the days of the Rav R. Moshe de León of blessed memory, who was a great and important man to such a degree that the *Shekhinah* ruled over him, and already the sages of blessed memory said ‘with great fear, this is the revelation of the *Shekhinah*’, and every evil person that came within his reach of four cubits was overcome by fear and terror, so much that one used to be forced to fall at his feet and to beg and ask for repentance for his transgressions. And in his days, there was a rich person that committed all of the gravest sins [prohibited] by the Torah—he killed, he stole, he robbed, and committed adultery. Once, he passed in front of [the Rav] and immediately felt the urge of repenting, so he asked to allot [the appropriate number of] penances to him. [The Rav] promised him that if he would perform all of these penances imposed upon him, then all his sins would be forgiven. However, there was one [more] condition, namely not to set foot outside of his *beit midrash* and depart from hearing [words of] Torah. Thus, the evil person performed the penances allotted to him accordingly. [One day], the Rav of blessed memory approached him and said: Now, the time has come for you to accept the death sentence and confess all the sins that you committed. He brought an iron spoon that he was holding in his hand, filled with lead, and he lit a fire to heat up the lead on the spoon. He then commanded him to prostrate on the ground and to spread out his arms and legs, and to open his mouth in order to receive the lead that was boiling in the meantime, and to perform the sentence of burning. However, the Rav also carried a hidden spoon full of honey with him, which he inserted into the mouth [of the sinner] while saying: ‘Thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin expiated’ (Isaiah 6:7). Immediately, he jumped up in tears, asking: ‘Rabbi, why did you lie to me? And does it not say “thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself” (Leviticus 19:18)? For the hour of this bitter death may already be over if you would have poured the lead into my mouth’, to which the Rav responded: ‘Do not stand in awe and do not fear, because your intent (*maḥshavah*) counts as [if you had performed the actual] deed.

Several years later, the Rav’s time of departure [from this world] has come, and the *ba’al teshuvah* wept bitterly before him, begging him to take him along to the world to come. He said: ‘As long as the greatness of and eminence of your Torah was alive, I felt awe and shame before you; but now I fear that I will lapse back
into my bad habits, God forbid. And the Rav, peace upon him, helped him so that the day after, [the ba’al teshuvah] also died and [the Rav] took him to the world to come.

The Rav Rabbi Avraham ha-Levi, peace be upon him, used to always preach this exemplum in the synagogue of the holy community of Safed to evoke repentance. Thus I heard it from my teacher, here on holy ground, and from this terrifying exemplum, every individual should learn not to give up on repentance, as it is said ‘Thou wilt return to the Lord, thy God’ (Deut. 4:30), and it is written ‘for the Lord thy God is a merciful God, He will not fail thee, neither destroy thee’ (ibid., 4:31), and it is said ‘Turn Thou us unto Thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old’ (Lamentations 5:21), blessed is the Lord forever Amen, Amen.

III. Toledot ha-Ar”i
Source: MS Jerusalem, Meir Benayahu, NT 1, 18th or 19th century, Yemenite script

I also happened that one day, a rich person came to the Rav asking him: ‘Tell me what I did during my life. If you [are able to] tell me everything, I will return in complete teshuvah under your guidance. If not, however, I will say, God forbid, that there is no judgement [and no judge]’. Thus, the Rav commanded that everybody should leave in order not to embarrass [this rich person] in front of the others. He then told him: ‘You, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, from family so-and-so, aged so-and-so, you own this and you have done that on day so-and-so and place so-and-so with woman so-and-so; and this is what you did with male so-and-so, and thus with your female servant so-and-so on day so-and-so and place so-and-so’. And he even told him about the light conversations he had with his wife. [The rich person] admitted everything. However, [the revelations about] his female servant he denied, claiming that he never did such a thing. Thus, the Rav told him: ‘And if I could prove that your female servant is bound to you, would you then have a mouth to lie?’ He replied: ‘In that case, I would certainly admit everything’. Promptly, the Rav put his hand on the man’s back and pulled out from him [a manifestation] of his female servant, resembling her likeness and image. [The moment] he saw her, he almost passed away, he fell down before [the Rav’s] knees and begged him to remove her. But the Rav told him: ‘It is impossible to make her go away, but only by means of complete teshuvah and a great number of tiqqunim. He responded: ‘Shall the master do with me whatever it takes, even if it requires the four modes of capital punishment. And I am not asking for any woman, nor children or money, but only for the restoration of my soul’. The Rav [expressed his concerns], stating that his tiqqun will be hard, and he (lit. ‘you’) won’t be able do it, to which he responded: ‘My lord, did I not tell my master that even a thousand deaths I would take upon myself right away. What could possibly be more difficult than death?’
The Rav responded that his *tikqun* is by means of burning. Promptly, he took out some coins to buy firewood [...], [but] the Rav told him: ‘Our laws are different from the laws of the nations of the world, but the [execution of] burning is [performed by] casting down hot lead in one’s throat, […]. So he told him: ‘Perform it accordingly then, master’. Promptly, he sent someone to bring lead, and they brought it and put it into the fire [that was lit] in front of him. And the Rav told him to recite the confession as is usual for those put to death, and he said the confession while weeping bitterly. As he concluded, the Rav told him: Lay down on the ground on your back, and thus he did. He [then] told him to spread his legs, and he spread them. Spread out your arms, and he spread them out. Open your mouth, and he opened it. Close your eyes for good, and he closed them. At the same moment, the Rav had some sweet water at hand, and [while] he cast it into his throat, his soul almost departed from him. Then, the Rav said to him: ‘The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die’ (2 Samuel 12:13). Immediately, they placed him [back into an] in upright position, [the Rav] gave him *tikqunim* to perform, and [he instructed him] that he should also read each day four folios from *Sefer ha-Zohar* even without devotion. And thus he did. He also reached out to his wife and his children and became a complete *ba‘al teshuvah*. And the Rav said that he is a spark of the soul of Menashe, the king of Judah. And he died in Safed in perfect penance.
An Exemplum of Someone Who Came and Tried to Challenge the Rav

Patrick Benjamin Koch, University of Hamburg

I. אנדרת מארץ ישראל

Source: MS Jerusalem 8°1139, Palestine / Poland, 17th century, Ashkenazi script

ואני אמרתי על זה… [מ. שדרת הרב קוק ומכה, ר. שגיה אאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאа רפיה, מברך

II. עמק המלך

Source: Naftali Bakhrak, Emeq ha-Melekh (Amsterdam 1648)

וכך ארצי בבי היהר ר', מרש חליאו ידילא, שהיה אדום גודל והשוב, עד שעושיכוה שחרה טלי, וכבר ארצי תולי. ימארה גזל הז גניל קכניה; וכל רשת שחרה זותל בברpronounced אאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאآא ומכpronounced אאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאآא והזכרהpronounced אאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאאアא רפיה, מברך

1 Supra-linear addition in the same handwriting.

2 קְשׁיטִיָא חַיּאָה?
העת שתקבל עליך מיתה בוידוי וחטאים שעשית. והביא כף של ברזל בידו, מלא עופרת והצית אש לחמם העופרת שבתוכו הכף, וצוה
לעופרת וצעל דרכו. וה vb שיבב כל אצבעו וղן בו ובכריתו, במזון שני שesh של מתנה לקבים מדכפי עץ.
ולמצטער, אך לא נשכח, א""ת מתנה מלבונת, עד שבר כף אחד מלא דבש, וחותבו לתוך פיו, ואמר לו:
'ו
סר עונך וחטאתך תכופר.' (ישיעהו ו, ז). ועמד תכף ובכה ואמר לרב: למה רמתי, והלא נאמר
'ואהבת לרעך כמוך.'
השעה של המיתה המרה עוברת, כי כבר היה עברה זו, אם היית שיפך העופרת לתוך פי, והשיב לו הרב אל תירא ואל תפחד כי מחשבה כמעשה דמי.
ולאחר אי זה זמן הגיע עת פטירתו של הרב ז, ועמד תכף ובכה_Up
לפני הבעל בозвращה עד מאוד ובקש ממנו שיקחנו עמו לעולם הבא, ואמר: כי כל זמן היה
מעלת כבוד תורתו חי, היה לי מורא ובושה מפניך. עתה אני מפחד שאוחז.Locale חס ושלום. ונתן הרב ע""ה יד על זה, ولמחר נפטר הוא גם כן, והביאו
עמו לעולם הבא.
והמעשה הזה ידעור תמיד הרב רבי אברהם הלוי ע""ה בבית הכנסת דק צפת, להתעורר על
השוב, ואמר להם: יש לי רעיון. אני מאמין שאם יש לך שמחה כל כך, אני מאמין שעמדתך היה
זעירה לכולו בתוכה, כשת.setStyle בין ההודעה, שאמרת: 'רב הכהן מגשת פלדה לרшло. והɅ רכוב והɅ לא
אלכדר לי ר pena לא שחייתך.' (דברים ד, ל). ונאמר: משובים לי שלא ייחסוהו והם יཀלו כל דבר
בחר לי לשלוע פנים.

III.  התולדות הארה.

Source: MS Jerusalem, Meir Benayahu, NT 1, 18th or 19th century, Yemenite script

גוסי וס אל פלבי הרב שירר ראמזר לבב:هذه לי מה עשיתי בזמני. אם תגיד לי הכל אחזור
בתשובה שלימה על ידך, אם לאו אמר ח""ו דלית דין וכו'. אז צוה הרב שיצאו
כל איש מעליו כדי שלא יתבייש בפניהם. ואמר לו: אתה פלו' בן פלוני ממשפחת פלוני ואיך יש לך כך סח תבש
ביום פלו' במקום פלו' עם אשה פב' פ, ואיך עשית עם זכור פלו' ב' פ. ואיש מהדיך שיחה קלה שדיבר
עם אשתו הגיד לו. ועל הכל הודה לו חוץ
משפחתו שאמר שלא היו דברים
מעולם. א""ל הרב: אם עתה אראה לך שפחתך שהיא קשורה עמך, היש לך פה לשקר. א""ל אז ודאי
שאודה לך בכל. מיד נתן הרב ידו על גב האיש והציא לו שפחתו בדמותה כצלמה. ויהי כראות
הכاهرת נשמתו. ונפל לפני רגליו ויתחנן לו שיסירה מעליו. ואמר ה
רב: אי אפשר להסירה אם לא
בתשובה שלימה ובתיקונים רבים. א""ל יעשה מר עמי כל מה שהוא צריך לעשות אפילו ד' מיתות
ב' ד', שאיני מבקש לא אשה ולא בנים ולא ממון זולת תיקון נשמתי. א""ל הרב תיקונו הוא קשה ואני
אתה עושה אותו. א""ל אדוני, הלא אמרתי למר שאפילו אלף מיתו
ת אקבל עלי מיד מה קשה יהיה
יותר המיתה.
א""ל העבר חטאתך לא תמות. מיד הקימו ונתנו לו תיקונים
שיעשה ויהי יקר הם גם יקרא בכל יום ד' דפים מספר הזוהר אפילו בלא אהבה. ושמעתי כן. ושמעתי כן. ושלח אחר אשתו ובניו
והיה בעל תשובה גמורה. ואמר הרב שהוא ניצוץ מנשה מלך יהודה. ונתן בצפת בתשובה שלימה
ויהי.
The Sense of Sight and Visual Trickery in *Toldot Yeshu* and *Ma’ase Akdamut*
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Stuart Clark has posited that a crisis of vision occurred in the early modern period, altering the understandings of sight in numerous spheres of European culture. In *Vanities of the Eye*, he argues that this crisis undermined the certainties of sight that had previously dominated ocular-centric Western life and thought. I propose to present two well-known Yiddish texts, *Toldot Yeshu* and *Ma’ase Akdamut*, as documents of how early modern vernacular Jewish culture engaged with the changing conceptions of sight. How do these two seventeenth-century versions of texts originating from the Middle Ages (in the case of *Toldot Yeshu* in Hebrew-Aramaic), evoke both the traditional and early modern meanings of seeing, while highlighting the shortcomings of sensory perception? I wish to show that visual delusion is a theme driving plot development in both *Toldot Yeshu* and *Ma’ase Akdamut*. Both stories express doubts regarding the reliability of sight, focusing on the sensory illusions created by magic, and display an awareness that the devil could subvert vision and thus manipulate cognition. Both stories seek to bolster accusations that the Church used visual illusions to trick people through magic, and that the failure of Christianity rests on its flawed relationship to sight. A further significant question whether this magical Othering was influenced by post-Reformation era efforts to explain away the false miracles of the Catholic Church. I will seek to bring to the fore questions regarding how the sensorial in these Yiddish tales shaped mutual perceptions of Jews and non-Jews as well as majority-minority interaction from a non-elite perspective.

Select Bibliography:
[3r] In the year 3760 since the creation of the world, Jesus the Nazarene was born in the city of Bethlehem, three miles from Jerusalem, and in the year 3790, he was hung in the beit ha-sekilah [place of stoning], and this is how it happened. His mother was called Miriam. She was a beautiful young woman and extremely pious. She was betrothed to a young man named Yochanan, he was a pious man (hasid) and a wise scholar (talmid hacham). He was descended from the house of King David. And directly opposite lived a man named Yosef Pandera, the son of a carpenter; and he desired Miriam. And he went to Miriam silently and had his way with her. Then Miriam said to him: “Yochanan, what are you doing? Indeed, I am ritually unclean (niddah)!" However, he did not harken to her words. And that very night she became pregnant. And after this Pandera left her, her bridegroom, Yochanan, came from the study house and desired to lie with her. Then she said to him: “What are you doing? I wonder greatly that you would do such a thing, [3v] a man such as you. Because you already came to me once this night, even though I told you that I was ritually unclean, and now you come again!” And when Yochanan heard her words, he was greatly startled and left. He went to his Rabbi – he was called Rabbi Shimon ben Shetah – and wailed and cried, saying: “My dear Rabbi, woe is me, what has befallen me! I came to my fiancée, and she told me what was written above.” Then his Rabbi said to him, “Who do you suspect?” So he replied, “I do not suspect no one except Yosef Pandera, who lives opposite and is a handsome man and a procurer of prostitutes.” Then his rabbi said, “You have no proof of this, and I counsel you as follows: remain quiet until it happens again.” However, [when it happened again] he was unable to obtain any evidence. Not long after that people said, “Miriam is pregnant from her fiancée, Yochanan.” And feeling great shame at the certain knowledge that she had committed an act of prostitution, he left for Babylon [4r] and remained in Babylon forever. And not long afterward, Miriam’s son was born and she called him Jesus, after her mother’s brother. And as was later discovered, he was a bastard and a ben-niddah. 

Thus, as soon as she brought him into the world, she said that it would have been better if he had died. […]

1 A child conceived while the mother is in a state of ritual impurity.
When the Sanhedrin heard Miriam’s words, they ordered that it be announced with shofars in all the streets and in all the cities of the Jews and in Jerusalem, and in all the study houses, that Jesus, son of Miriam, who resides in Bethlehem, is a bastard and a *ben-niddah*.

When Jesus heard that his shame had been made public, that he was a bastard and a *ben-niddah*, then he left Tiberias for Jerusalem. And at this time there was a stone in the Temple called the Foundation Stone (*even ha-shetiya*), on which was written the holy name that is called the Secret Name (*shem ha-meforash*), and any person who learnt that name was able to do anything. The sages of Israel feared lest young people among the nation of Israel possibly learn this name and may, God forbid, destroy the world; therefore, they had two strong marble pillars constructed in the forecourt which stood before the Temple, and they made two copper lions and placed the Name in their jaws; and these two lions were bound with iron chains to the two pillars; and when someone learnt the Secret Name and wanted to leave the Temple, the two lions let forth a cry and began to growl, then the man would be frightened and once again forget the Name. And it so happened that when Jesus came to Jerusalem he went to the Temple, to the Foundation Stone, and learned this Name and wrote it on a piece of parchment. And he bewitched his flesh that it would not hurt him and cut himself in the thick part of the skin in the thigh and hid there the parchment on which he had written the Name. And when he wished to leave the Temple, the lions began to growl and cry, making him forget the Name. And when he arrived home, he removed the parchment from his flesh and learned the Name and healed the flesh. And after Jesus learned the Name, he went and gathered 330 young people from the nation of Israel and said to them: “See, the sages of Israel and the Sanhedrin say that I am a bastard; they do this because they alone want to rule over Israel forever. And they themselves are bastards. And you should know everything that the prophets said about the Messiah. I am the Messiah, about me Isaiah the prophet said, ‘Behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son.’2 About me my ancestor King David, of blessed memory, said ‘Why are the nations in an uproar? And why do the peoples mutter in vain?’3 And about me King David said, ‘The Lord said unto me: Thou art My son, this day have I begotten thee.’4 And no male person laid with my mother. And all that the prophets said about the Messiah, I am that same Messiah.” Then the young people answered, “If you are indeed the Messiah, give us a wondrous sign, then we will believe that you are the Messiah.” So Jesus said to them: “What should this wondrous sign be that I should do for you?” They said to...

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2 Isaiah 7:14. All Biblical quotes are from JPS 1917 edition.
3 Psalm 2:1.
4 Psalm 2:7.
him, “We will bring to you blind and lame people that you should heal them, so that they will all be as vigorous and healthy as we are!” Then Jesus said: “Yes.” So they brought to him lame and blind people. Then he uttered the Name and placed his hands upon them, and they were healed. When the young people saw this, they bowed down before him and fell on their faces before him and said to him: “Now we see [8v] with certainty that you are the Messiah.” Afterwards they brought to him a person suffering from leprosy. Then he uttered the Name and placed his hands upon him, and the person was healed. Then more people joined him, surely three hundred people who were criminals, rogues, evildoers of Israel. And this Jesus greatly deceived the people, so that many stopped attending religious services, and he was joined by twelve apostate sages, and these are the same twelve that the Christians call them the twelve apostles. And at the same time, the sovereignty over Israel was in the hands of a woman who reigned over them, and her name was Queen Helene. And it happened that the sages of Israel saw that many people from the nation of Israel became his followers, then they arrested him and brought him before Queen Helene [9r] – all of Israel was under her control – and said to her: “This man is a sorcerer, he can mislead everyone!” Then Jesus said to her: “Your majesty the Queen! Everyone knows what the prophets said a long time ago: ‘And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse.’[5] I am this one that the prophet intended, and about them [the complainants] King David said: ‘Happy is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the wicked.’[6] Then the queen said to the sages and elders of Israel: “Is it written as the man said?” They answered, “Yes, but it does not refer to him; because about such a man as Jesus it is written: ‘That same prophet shall die.’[7] It is also written: ‘So thou shalt put away the evil from the midst of thee.’ And [9v] God promised us that he [the messiah] will perform different wonders. And thereby it is written: ‘He will make a sign with the speech of his mouth’;[8] ‘With his breath he will slay these evildoers.’[9] It is also written: ‘In his days Judah shall be saved.’[10] In this man we see no such signs!” Then Jesus said: “I am the Messiah and I can bring the dead to life!” So the queen sent with him her trustworthy servant, and she had a dead man brought to him. Then Jesus pronounced the holy Name and brought the dead man to life. When the queen saw this, she was greatly startled and said to the sages and elders of Israel: “Indeed, this is a great sign!” And she shouted at the sages and elders of Israel, and they left her presence in shame, [10r] and this was a great sorrow for

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5 Isaiah 11:1. In the Yiddish translation of the verse, “Jesse” is replaced with “Jesus.”
6 Psalm 1:1.
7 Deuteronomy 18:20.
8 The Hebrew in fact reads: “Behold with his lips he judges the poor.” This does not accord with any Biblical verse. Possibly a misquotation of Isaiah 11:4: לָשׁוֹן בְּצֶדֶק וְשָׁפַט, “But with righteousness shall he judge the poor.”
9 Also a misquotation of Isaiah 11:4: “And with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked.” The Hebrew in fact reads: “And with his breath he will judge the evil.”
Israel. And there were even more gatherings of rogues and evildoers among the nation of Israel, and there arose a great controversy because of him within the nation of Israel. After this, Jesus left with all his people that he had gathered around him and went from Jerusalem to the Upper Galilee, to the large city of Geliliah, which was in the land of the Upper Galilee, and there he deceived all the people, so that they believed in him. Then the sages of Israel again rose up and came again to the queen and said to her: “Our queen, may you live forever, all that Jesus does, he accomplishes via sorcery, and therefore he left Jerusalem for the Upper Galilee, because he knows that he cannot stand up to us”. So the queen dispatched a hundred riders to the Upper Galilee to bring him to Jerusalem once again. [10v] And the riders arrived in the Upper Galilee and found Jesus there, he was making the people impure, and he told them that he was God’s son, because it is also written: “The Lord said unto me: Thou art My son!” Then the riders sought to seize him and take him to Jerusalem, to the queen. However, the men of the Galilee did not want to let him go and began to fight with the riders. Then Jesus said: “You do not need to fight on my behalf; because the dispute of my Father in Heaven and the signs of wonder that He sends through me will save me.” Then the men from the Upper Galilee made him all kinds of birds out of clay, Jesus pronounced the Name, and the birds flew up into the sky. Then everyone fell on their faces and bowed down before him. Then Jesus said to his [11r] young men, “Go and bring me a great mill stone.” Many young people arose and rolled a large mill stone to him. Then Jesus pronounced the Name, after which he lifted the mill stone up like a small stone and threw it into the sea, and the stone floated on the surface of the water; then Jesus sat on it and sailed on the sea sitting upon the stone, as though on a ship, and called to the riders: “Now go back and tell your mistress, the queen, what you have seen.” They came to Queen Helene and told her: “We went to the man to whom you sent us. He is a son of God!” And they related to her the wonders that they had seen. Then the queen was greatly astounded, and she sent for the sages and elders of Israel and said to them: “Truly, you told me that this Jesus is a sorcerer. [11v] Indeed, he is the son of God, because he performs great wonders.” Then the sages and elders of Israel said to her: “Let our mistress not take these matters to heart. Have him come here to us, then we will show our mistress that all these things are [mere] acts of sorcery.” […]

[12r] […] When the sages of Israel heard this, that this Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, then the elders of Israel went and chose among themselves one man, he was called Yehudah Iskirmiah [Iscariot], and commanded him that he should go to the Temple and learn the Secret Name that appears on the Foundation Stone, and that he should do as Jesus had done: he should write the Secret Name on

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11 Psalm 2:7.
12 Literally, “Go back to the land.”
parchment and cut the thick flesh and put the parchment inside it, then, when he would leave and the lions would growl, making him forget the name, he would be able to learn it again. And he did thus, this Yehudah. Now, when Jesus and his company came before Queen Helene, she sent for the elders of Israel, that they should appear before her. Then [12v] the sages came before the queen and Yehuda Maskirmiah [Iscariot] was with them. When Jesus saw that the sages had come, he began to say loudly before the queen: “Your Torah spoke a prophecy about me: ‘For dogs have encompassed me; a company of evildoers.’”¹³ And about me it is said: ‘Be not dismayed at them.’”¹⁴ So the sages conducted a lengthy dispute before the queen, they claimed that he is a sorcerer and Jesus claimed that he is the Messiah, then suddenly Jesus said to the queen: “About me King David said: ‘I will ascend above the heights of the clouds.’”¹⁵ And it is also written, ‘For He shall receive me. Selah.”¹⁶ And he spread [13r] his hands just as the wings of an eagle, said the Secret Name and took off in flight, hovering between the heavens and the earth. Then everyone was astounded. When the sages of Israel saw this, they said to this Yehudah: “Say the Secret Name and fly after him and show that you defile it [the Name], and we will pray all together for you, that you will inherit the world to come even though you make the Name impure.” Then Yehudah said to the people: “Why do you wonder greatly at what Jesus does? I too can do it.” And he spread his hands, said the Secret Name and flew after Jesus. Then the queen and all the people were astounded by these things, and the two floated between heaven and earth, as eagles. Then Yehudah said the Name strongly, so that he overcame him [Jesus] [13v] and seized Jesus by the neck and was stronger than him. And he [Yehudah] wanted to throw him [Jesus] to the ground; but one could not do anything to the other. When Yehudah saw that he could do nothing to him, then he made him unclean with homosexual intercourse, and when he had become unclean with the spilling of sperm, then they both fell to the earth and could no longer use the Secret Name. And the Christians say also about this act of Yehudah, which he did to Jesus; for the Christians this constitutes the first night of Easter. When Jesus fell to earth, they seized him and brought him before Queen Helene, and they covered him with a cover. Then a servant of Queen Helene approached and hit him with a pomegranate. Then the sages of Israel said to Queen Helene: “If he is God’s son, let him say who [14r] hit him and with what.” But Jesus remained silent. When Jesus saw that the Name had left him, that he could do nothing more, then he said to his company, before Queen Helene, “Truly, about me the prophet said: ‘Who will rise up for me against the evil-doers.’”¹⁷ And about them it is said: ‘The

¹³ Psalm 22:17.
¹⁴ Jeremiah 1:17, misquoted.
¹⁵ Isaiah 14:14.
¹⁶ Psalm 49:16.
¹⁷ Psalm 94:16.
proud waters,’18 this means that they are like the wanton roots. Also the prophet said about them: ‘They have made their faces harder than a rock.’”19 When the queen heard this, she yelled at him [Jesus] and said to the sages of Israel: “Take him and do with him as you desire and as you see fit.” […]

[15r] […] Then a great fight broke out, [15v] and there was a great assembly in the city; the rogues and evildoers of Israel came hurrying and threw stones at the sages. Then they saved him from their hands. And Jesus, together with 120 men and his 12 apostates, departed for the land of Antioch and remained there. And when Jesus had been there a long while, then he took it into his mind that he would return to Jerusalem and celebrate there the festival of Passover, and that year [the first day of] Passover fell on the Sabbath. And Jesus went with his apostates and his entire company and left Antioch for Jerusalem, riding on a donkey. And when he came close to the valley of Jerusalem, there he said to his apostates: “The Biblical verse said about me: ‘Rejoice, O daughter of Zion,’20 ‘Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold, thy king cometh unto thee. [16r] He is triumphant, and victorious, lowly, and riding upon an ass.’”21 Then they all began crying and bowed down before him. And his mind was set that he would go to the Temple along with the rogues accompanying him, so that he should not be recognized, then he would go secretly to the Foundation Stone and again learn the Secret Name and would once more do as he had done previously. What did God, blessed be He, do? He put it into the mind of one of Jesus’ students, he was called Yehudah Gaissa, that he would go to the sages and say to them: “Do you want to see this Jesus?” Then they said to him: “Where is he, then?” So he said, “In Jerusalem with the rogues, they have come from Antioch to pray in the Temple, and he has it in mind to secretly learn the Secret Name once again and to do as [16v] he did before.” Then the sages said to him: “Will you show him to us?” So Yehudah Gaissa said to them: “I will tell you, we are 320 young men and have sworn a great oath to him, on the Ten Commandments, that we will not tell anyone where he is. But if you will promise me that you will pray for me and that I will inherit the next world and again be a member of the nation of Israel in the future to come, because I am breaking such a great oath and have associated myself with an unclean person, and you will release me from my oath, then I will tell you how you should proceed. Know that Jesus and his entire company are walking [dressed] all alike, clothed in white, so that no one will recognize him. Therefore, do as I say. Tomorrow, when we will come from Har Kasdim22 to the Temple, greet us, according to your

18 Psalm 124:5. A literal Yiddish translation of the verse is missing.
19 Jeremiah 5:3, misquoted. The Hebrew literally translates as: They have made their faces harder than all their enemies.
20 Zechariah 5:14
21 Zechariah 9:9
tradition to greet each person [17r], all those that come to celebrate the Passover. I will walk with my head held high; pay close attention to whom I bow down, that is Jesus himself.” Early the next morning, all the sages of Israel and the Sanhedrin gathered and greeted the people, those coming from all lands and cities to celebrate the Passover festival. And they greeted Jesus’ company, pretending that they did not know [it was him]. And then the sages entered the Temple. After this, the rogues entered. Then they paid great attention. Among them walked Yehudah Gaissa, with his head raised high, and thereby also Jesus. Then Yehudah bowed before him. Immediately, the sages knew that this is Jesus who seduced the people, and they seized him and took him into custody. And this is the Yehudah Gaissa that the Christians call him Judas. Then the sages said to Jesus, “Verily, [if] you [17v] are indeed the Messiah, as you say, what are your wonders and signs?” Then he was afraid and gave no answer. […]

[18v] […] At the same time, they shoved him into the beit ha-sekilah [place of stoning] and stoned him. This was on Friday, the eve of Passover, in the sixth hour of the day. Then they took him out of the beit ha-sekilah and wanted to hang him, as is the law of the Torah: all who are stoned, afterwards they are hanged. And on whatever wood they tried to hang him on, it shattered. Because Jesus, while he was still alive, when he still knew the Secret Name, he knew that he would meet such an end, so he [19r] bewitched all the woods in the world that they should not hold up and would shatter. And when the rogues saw this, that all the woods shattered, they thought it this was a miracle. So the sages ordered that a large cabbage stalk be brought and had him hanged from it; he had not bewitched this [cabbage stalk]. As the day drew to its close, they took him down and buried him in the cemetery, where they buried all those condemned to death, as it is written in the Torah: “But thou shalt surely bury him the same day.”23 And this same cemetery is not far from the water that was called the waters of the Shiloach. And at the same time this water intensified. There lived nearby [19v] a gardener who was responsible for the Garden of Lebanon, which is close by, in which all good herbs grow. Then the water broke a great hole out of the cemetery into the garden and immediately flooded the garden. So this Yehudah Gina [the gardener] did not know what to do, how to stop up the hole hastily, because it was close to the Sabbath. Then he took Jesus out of the grave and stopped up the hole with him and threw sand on him, so that the water would not do any damage to the garden. Not long afterward, the rogues and evildoers of Israel, who believed in him in his lifetime, came and sat by the grave and wailed and cried. Then the young men said: “Why do the fools sit, let them [20r] see if there is anything in the grave, probably there is nothing inside!” As the fools heard this, so one said to the other: “Let’s see what is inside, whether the young men can be taken seriously or not.” So they searched inside: there was nothing there. Then they searched the entire cemetery too and found

23 Deuteronomy 21:23.
nothing. So the rogues and enemies of Israel and the 320 young men and his apostates went to Pilatus and Queen Helene and said: “See what miracles he performed in his life and now after his death! They buried him, yet he is not in his grave and has gone up to heaven, as he prophesied in his life: ‘For He shall receive me. Selah.’”24 And this was Sunday, the second day of Passover and the third day after his death. That is, as the Christians say: “On the third [20v] day after his death he rose up from his grave and went to heaven and there sat at the right hand of his father.” When the queen heard all these things, then she called a gathering of all the sages and the Sanhedrin, that they should come to her immediately. When they all came, she said: “This Jesus, about whom you said that he is a false prophet, what did you do with him?” They said to her: “We stoned him, according to the sentence pronounced by the Great Court.” Then the queen said, “Where did you bury him?” They told her: “We buried him in the cemetery, where all those sentenced to death are taken.” Then the queen sent her trusted people to search for him throughout the cemetery, but they did not find him. And the sages were very aggrieved, they did not know what they [21r] should do. Then the queen said to the sages of Israel: “If you do not show me where this Jesus is, then I will have you all killed!” So they said: “Give us time, we will look for him.” This was a very great sorrow for Israel. They prayed intensely and fasted, so that God, blessed be He, should save them from this evil decree. And the evildoers of Israel, they incited even further: “Indeed, you are the ones who killed the Messiah of God.” As the time which the queen had stipulated arrived and they could not find him, people observed a great fast in all the land of Israel out of great terror. Then an elder, called Rabbi Tanhuma, left Jerusalem, he walked on the rocks,25 crying and screaming to God, and thereby came to this garden where Yehudah the Gardener lived. Then Rabbi Tanhuma saw this Yehudah the Gardener eating and drinking. Rabbi Tanhuma said to him: “What are you doing? [21v] We are observing a great fast day today [because of] the bastard ben-niddah who seduced the people and that the court sentenced him, as you probably know, and we buried him in the cemetery which is near the waters of the Shiloach, and now he is no longer in his grave. So the sinners of Israel, who in his lifetime were seduced by him, say that he has gone to heaven. Therefore, the queen sent to us [saying that] if we do not show [her] where Jesus has gone, she will have us all killed, big and small alike. Because of this we are observing a great fast today, so that God, blessed be He, should help us!” Then Yehudah the Gardner said, “Rabbi, if you find him, will it bring good fortune for the Jews?” To this Rabbi Tanhuma replied, “Certainly, this will bring great happiness and good fortune to all of Israel!” Then Yehudah said, “Rabbi, indeed, I have him in my garden. [22r] I stole him from his grave, so that the criminals and rogues should not take him from his grave and thereby make a plot against the Israelites.” When Rabbi Tanchuma heard this, he greatly rejoiced, and

24 Psalm 49:16
25 Perhaps in the sense of “in the fields.”
he embraced and kissed Yehudah the Gardener and said to him: “May God’s blessings rest upon you!” And he took this Yehudah and led him to Jerusalem and said to all of Israel: “Rejoice! This Jesus is here! This Yehudah stole him from his grave so that the rogues should not remove him from it.” Then there was great rejoicing and all of Israel went with Yehudah the Gardener. He showed them this place, where he had hidden him. Then they stopped the water and removed the sand that lay on him, and took him by the hair and tried to pull him out of the hole. But the hair remained in their hands and his head was left bald. And that is why the priests make for themselves bald pates on their heads, in memory of this. Afterwards, the sages took him and bound his feet with two ropes, and they pulled him through all the streets of Jerusalem until they brought him before Pilatus and Queen Helene, and they said: “Here is this Jesus that went up to heaven!” And they recognized him and themselves ridiculed him.
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

Volume 16: Senses and Perceptions
Fordham University, New York, August 19-20, 2019

The Sense of Sight and Visual Trickery in Toldot Yeshu and Ma’ase Akdamut
Rebekka Voß, University of Frankfurt

Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Rawl. Or. 37 (Neubauer 2793)
27 fol.; Ashkenazic cursive; probably late 17th century

[3r]

[3v]

[4r]
איך הגנתו והוא והלאה והше filmer אחד מהתביון有条件的 או באליל או איי ת疍 אריך דיו והעלו

[6r]

[6v]

[7r]

[7v]

[8r]
.herokuapp.com
שניהם אוכלים בצבע מתון: אתحار יאני על חלום ועקב ישראלי: אתحرברGRAM נוב אראי בזירה יצירה אגף.

יאו ציウォואן: א لبن ציウォואן יאניarmacy ישראלי: אתחרברGRAM נוב אראי בזירה יצירה אגף.

10v

אני ציウォואן: א لبن ציウォואן יאניarmacy ישראלי: אתחרברGRAM נוב אראי בזירה יצירה אגף.

11v

אני ציウォואן: א لبن ציウォואן יאניarmacy ישראלי: אתחרברGRAM נוב אראי בזירה יצירה אגף.
[12r]

ויהו עד חכמים וישראל אל אש פ抑え תעשיהם, ויהיו עד חכמים וישראל אל אש פ UtfENTv

[12v]

וכי עב אמהי אליהם יביכו, לימים אל חכמים וישראל אל אש פUtfENTv

[13r]

ויהי עד חכמים וישראל אל אש פUtfENTv

[13v]

ויהי עד חכמים וישראל אל אש פUtfENTv

57
גישלבאぬ יתינケアיהם ויתנאג ויתא読みנהןא קדוע יחנוי טיטש דיתעיך שטוהינ: יחר ייש זא קד דער שזג

אזל פרא יא רגניס זע דער ביך מי שניא ימ קד דער רוא לא ציז יינעישיאまして פאר היולס דמלצב פאר

ואיר זאראיר אימ אירגנטש דער באה: מיר יוכס נל סמעיר: יוז יטש רדע טמנה ייר מיטש

ףאן זעג זע בייח פלאק: אוז שאר זא אירגנטש אזאר: דימז הדנורס: ייט טיטש איב ייניך גאצ זא

דימז מיטולוקינאל וארורליציאן: יווז הט זא יירב באירגנטש: הזאפי פכאניל פאדה. זא ייזLocalized: יוו גאצ

學院 גאצפלש ![...]

[15r]

דא דע זור זא איצי גורוה שיש אמצעות או דער שטמע דא קאמוז ייר לופפפ די אפריצים או דער שיש דירש

אוז שאר אימ סכניינוע וינפיין פאר אירגנטש אא נסיציז דא אאימז עitemName לא فإ דער בנער אוז דע

דיק איצי ייש מיט מיתדער אנ זאנציעצ זא איצי מ"ב שפיליםאי דא אנبن גאצ עיזלאב אא דמלצב פאר זאיצי

דא זא איצי ייש איצי ייץ דמע לאוז דא איצי דע מער ווז דיק זאיד דא זואר דמלצב איצי זאיצי גאצ

עגי פואאר איצי אא דער פסא דא דער טאבלינ מיאוז דער פסא דא שמע איצי זאיב דיק אייזי ייש מיט דר

השפילים אא דינגי נציצי איברדה אנ זאיצי פאן פאראנטי. צאוז ייזראלייז אא זואר איצי זאיצי גאצל ריס

אוז לא איצי זאא איצי פון גאברל וירשפל זא דא האיצי דא זעיינש אא מיר האט דער פattacks לא דער

פספר אזיזאנק שאמע בא צניק דא עיצי פמוריאן דא שטמע צייק: יערער דה וירשפל זייצי שיאל דא שטמע

ירושפילי הנהך מקלב ד"ל פר זואר דיין קיזינג קמד ער דייר.

[15v]

םירונש נער אא דערנסער דער דיר הנטלטיק קאצ עני וירברש על הזחוכו: יער איצי פסיפיקס אנ דיר

איצי איצי נגיואד דא ייבד דא אליי: זא זייקט אואר דא פאחי איצי: יואר ייז טלי אנ איצי בוקן: יואר ייז מת איצי גזיוון

עג זייקט איצי דע איצי נגיואד: יואר ייז מיט יא פימיצרקס אא יואיר איצי דע איצי בוקן: יואר דוא איצי

ורלי גע בפעבניק דיЙ ייבד דמע אנט שטיייל: יואר ליי זיירל ווארכין דוע מיא הנלו רחוא איזו ויזי

איצי דע זער פארשנט געיאן אאוז: יואר טעפ דוח"ש" דע גאצ נייצנאנק אאיצי פון דיי תומפקדר יארה

אני גיאנדיק ייזודז גינאך דער אא גיוון ביין אא הנלו איימו ווארכין דוע מיא הנלו רחוא איזו ויזי

הנלי צא איצי איצי דע איצי גאצער דא דער להימא אנ דער בורל ווארכין דוע מיא הנלו רחוא איזו ויזי

הורש שבלוטה נינוט בירי אא יערעד编织ו דער מיי יוולל קינדז אנוז דא לא ראיב ועג זא.

ורלי מיר פר פארשנט דע דער וולס מימלטינ זייקט זיא זאר דעל דאה מיא לשונ איצי זאיצי גאצל ריס

ימאנק ישארל זקע לולו דה דע וולס ד"ל איצי איצי גאצער שבלוטה בורר דא הכי מיבועט דא

ים טאמ איצי איצי דע שבלוטה מיטי אוזו וולס ד"ל איצי איצי גאצער אוזו זאיצי אוזו זאיצי זאיצי זאיצי שבלוטה: ייט וירשד דע

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EMW 2019
הוא מתרובע רבים יבשות וכנף adidas גלקט הד קולדיה או מות זו ממן במסד רך קטעי
אלא דרומ פלנטה מאיר זי מיני ד: מונק ותת מיר וטרים קומס פור וה שטיחי או שז הבמקדש
אלבל גבעות אשכולות והוא אירוט סדר או דו איר גבעות אשכולות.

שלאו זא וא דיא דא קומס פור פירוטו הז הפוס אוד ציקן בי קבום והקבを作る גבעות והאוכף
והпло זא אוד מיק וואר בקן זא אי קיוש והעבורה: הוא על פז פום בוט ואפרצק פור אוד זאור וזר
תומיקי כל חמר ישראלי הסנדוויצי או בקן ציקן לי ליין שלום לא דא קומס ואריו לא לנקוז או שטיח זו.
פ副总裁 הז הפוס אוד זאיג בקבを作る פור זא גייגלבועם פוטו ישז אוד ADDRESS צי קוק לוי ושק ושק
דר צאוז דא יני המכס אוד ציק במקודש אוד זאור צי קומס זייר זייר יסי פריפז על פפ וואר.
אוחז צי קומס צי ינדואים הניס יס בקבを作る קומביט ליאור דא איב בקט זא צו וה קומס צו.
 الخيית זיא::"דו זבז דא יני המכס או צי שפ פואר או אוד.

בישה מלאה יהו דא זאיגשז אוד יוניב דא יני זאיגבידור אוד ציך או זאר עז דא שרואק או.

ענברת ניכר והראוי: [ ]

[17v]

[19r]

[18v]

[19v]
פועשת ישראלי דיי וק באה דיני לשבץ הבתلو ומדידי דיני דיני לפי פון אים דה דה רдвוהל אירא רגנטו ועלしたい
ロック מאה דיני מצוון דגלו און פון דעשת ונטיב הבת מידי דיני או איני שגונן תענית או שד”י
ולו מפחית דיני מצוון דגלו און פון דעשת ונטיב הבת מידי דיני או איני שגונן תענית או שד”י
ואל גואגו העילוף: אדו גואגו גואגו רביב וوثائق אנו פינו נרעד עש איין גורışı שמחתי וקהל שירוהל דה חמב שירוהל.
פור און איי הב אין איי מני גוארסן או
[22r]
אנו איך ב איא1 גונבן איוו דיי קבר וה ידי פיתשיש און פוריזים איי נטיי און דאלי נ伀ים איי נוו
קבר און פיתשיש וד דא איי עלילל פראטאירן אווי דיי ישראל: רודי ריו תועפתוד אווי הערת און זא
מלג בשמהות און זאור ושם ויוהאד גיבירה קסם און זאום פי איי איאי דיר אויל דריא
בונשונעם פון זאאמ און זאמס שמעה און פיראנ אים נטיא ירשליוס און ירשבן זא ואלי י النواب
פינסיגר דייו ישיא איו דר ויוהאד תני איי גינ็บ חאוי דיי קבר וה ידי פוריצים דאלאן איי נוו
אירוש תנפמיא איווי איזי גראשי שמחה און כל ירשלאן זצ פנוי ויוהאד גיניב איווי זאור דיא דאש.
אירוש ויוהאד איווי פור ששבקטר אוד איווי או עחשוי או ושישרוי און שטבלן און זאמע איו
וקפיפה זא איץ איב און זאמע אים ביא איזי איזי אוד אמעלן איי איוור ציון איי זאמע ליאק הינב
בاليابים או איי איה זא נいただいて
[22v]
יאו ביליבט דיי קאפ קלאון און איו איו גנות מקין דיך איי פלאטש אירא קירק היינוך: רד טא
נאמני אים דיא זפקמידי און בינונא דייני פיס מידי גוידי שפילך און הוראי איי און שאלעופן יורד איי
בנס פאיייוו לי דיי איו איו בר/effects איי פילאטס און פיריליס און פיריליס און הייבן איי איו או איי
deir ידה דה איז איזי גינבאן זומ דימל און דיי דה קנטני איי און ידבוי עלובש איי יישע עיויו
יאו גטייבן: [...]
The Sense of Sight and Visual Trickery in *Toldot Yeshu* and *Ma’ase Akdamut*

Rebekka Voß, University of Frankfurt

*Ma’ase Akdamut*, Fürth 1694

A beautiful, wonderful tale
that truly happened, concerning a wheel of fortune, a non-Jewish monk and a Red Jew and why we say Akdomes [in praise], now in our days. It comes to ask each one [to rejoice], as from heaven there came a miraculous voice, proclaiming thus: “Israel, make ready in preparation, to take upon yourselves in elation, receiving the Torah [as your foundation], on the first day of Shavues, so you shall say Akdomes,” And thus they accepted this upon themselves with delight, and it remains so until this day, and with this honor, God blessed Be He will remember His promise and will send us our beloved Messiah soon. Amen.

Printed here in the Holy Community of Fürth in the year 1694 in the house of the eminent officer and leader of the community and land, Rabbi Zvi Hirsh son of Rabbi Yosef Levi of blessed memory.

[1v] *He said* [in Hebrew]. He said, Rabbi Meir the Hazan of the Germans, in the year that is counted one hundred and sixty one [1401]. There was a great commotion and misfortune, God, blessed be He, sent to the world, in the days of an emperor and king of many lands: Germany, Italy, Poland, Bohemia, Russia, Hungary, that means a part of Turkey. This king was called Martin von der Lanze and in his days the wheel of fortune was made and so too in his days it was destroyed. I will relate to you the beginning of these matters and their outcome.

In his times there was much sorcery on earth, until the demons […] all came in crowds and using their sorcery created a wheel. People called it the wheel of fortune, because whoever was fortunate could there learn whatever magic he desired with the help of the demons, but he had to pay the demon in return. [The payment was] that there must be ten of them sitting on the wheel and he [the demon] takes one of the ten and plays with him however he wants, according to his desire and will, and teaches the others what they desire. Thus apprentices and magic came into the world, until at last a Jew likewise wanted to learn and to sit on the magical wheel with the other nine. Then that same person [the Jew] saw the devil approaching, wanting to choose one from the ten, and he went around the wheel of fortune until the Jew, who began to have doubts and wonder, “What do I
do here? Do I happily want to give myself over into the power of the devil and lose
this world and the world to come?” until in his fear he began to recite the Shema.
The devil could not bear to listen to this and in his anger broke the wheel and killed
the nine non-Jews. Thus there was much magic and sorcery in the world. They [the
sorcerers] made themselves castles and monasteries and lived in them, fearing the
king who disliked magic; otherwise he would have killed them in their sleep.

They ruled the world at that time, and no one knew who they were; they were able
to draw to themselves all the most beautiful women and maidens whom they
desired and some of them made themselves as though they were [monks] with long
cassocks [2r] and they became the greatest sorcerers in the world.

In those days, there arose a non-Jewish monk who sought to take revenge on the
Jews. Upon seeing a Jew, he would not allow him to remain alive. Following a
mere touch to his [the Jew's] forehead or a slap or a glancing blow, he [the Jew]
went home to his house, lay down and died. In this way he killed thirty thousand,
eight hundred and sixty Jews, until the wise men gathered together, saying “We
will all die at the hands of this monk!” and so they consulted and went to complain
to the emperor.

The emperor sent directly for the monk, who appeared before the emperor, saying,
“Honored emperor and king, what is your request?” So he replied, "The Jews
complain against you, that you have killed many of them." He [the monk] asked,
"Where are the Jews?". Then the king continued, "They are standing behind you."
So he turned around and gazed at them, and said, “What am I doing to you? I
merely touch you like this,” and he touched three of the Jews and sapped away
their strength. And as soon as they arrived home, they died. Therefore the Jews
cried out to the king: “If we are guilty and deserving death in your eyes, let us be
killed by your law, not by the hand of this monk”. They feared that the king could
not protect them, considering that the monk had killed them in the king’s presence
and they thought, “He will kill all of us here, before the king.”

Thereafter the king spoke to the monk, "By my crown, if you wish to obey my
command and enjoy my favor, make the three Jews healthy again and do them no
more harm.” To this the monk replied, "I will gladly obey your command, bring
the Jews back to life and do them no more harm. However, they must present to
me in one year's time a Jew that can compete with my magic. If not, I will kill
them and leave not one of them alive. I do not do this for my own sake but because
[2v] I have a harbored a hatred of them for long time due to our wheel of fortune.
If they agree to this, I will obey your command, but if not, I will kill them all, even
if I will be killed.”

Following this, the king informed him that he may leave. Once he had departed
from the king’s Palace, the king called the Jews, saying to them, "Dear people,
what can I answer? If you will acquiesce to this, I will inform him of it. Then he
will wait until the year is over and do nothing to you.” The Jews answered swiftly,
with great fear and trembling, “We will therefore have one year's time” because they thought that the monk would probably die within the year. “Therefore we will fast and repent.” So the king ordered that the monk be sent for and said to him, "In one year's time the Jews will present one who can compete with your magic, therefore you must swear that you will do nothing to them until then." And indeed, he swore an oath accordingly. After they parted, the Jews went home and fasted, repenting, praying and giving charity, and they donned sackcloth, from young to old. And they sent out [messages] to all the places where there are Jews, asking them to pray for the death of the monk who “wants to kill us all.” So they fasted for an entire month, repenting, praying and giving charity, everywhere where the Jews knew.

There was a wise sage in his study chamber who fell asleep over his learning and dreamed, as well as others, that a great darkness came upon the world and the world was in great sorrow because of this. Then a bright star broke through the darkness, and the world was made happy once again. After this a great bear and a small kid [goat] appeared and the two fought, the kid killing the bear. So dreamt the sage in the city, and all the pious men in the entire land, and thus the master of dreams explained to them: "Beloved children, you have pleaded for the death of the monk. He will not die [3r] during this year. However, directly following the year's end, he will die. Therefore seek swiftly good counsel against him: God will not prevent his evil because your sins are great against Him. Yet if you will remain pious, as you have begun to be, and not stray from Him, then God, blessed be He, will not ignore your calls. Then He will help you and send someone who is a magician and can call upon the angels, not with [black] magic. Thus no one can withstand him. So search as best as you can.”

Then the men awoke from their sleep and wondered, “Beloved Lord God, what can this be, what can be the meaning of this dream?” Yet when they fell asleep again over their books on the second night, this dream came [again]. Then they thought, “What can be the meaning of this?” and they did not want to sleep in the middle of the night because they thought, "Probably God wants to inform us how to save ourselves from this monk as He gave signs to our forefathers, so too He will also show us," and they prayed, saying "If I will give testimony of this [dream], then a thousand [people] will believe it is [merely] a dream. Therefore, beloved almighty God, do You want to show me a sign of wonder?", so said each one, "If so, show me while I am awake, then we may inform our beloved brother and we may find help in this way.” And God, blessed be He, was merciful and the same master of dreams appeared during waking hours. Saying: "This is the interpretation of the dream. The darkness is the monk who brings darkness upon the people of Israel. And the star means that it will once again become light, help will be found. The kid is a small Jew who will help you and the bear is the mighty monk, who will be killed."
Therefore they quickly dispatched letters to one another, because the master of dreams told each one “I have also informed your companion who lives in that city”. So they said, each one in his city, and each one brought [3b] proof from another who was more than a thousand miles away, who wrote swiftly and sent good messengers.

Then all the Jews recognized that this must be true, so they all consulted with each other, the pious men and men who gave counsel and no one knew who could withstand the monk and they found no one.

There was one among them who said, "Beloved brothers, because God, blessed Be He, has indeed warned us of the death, we must search for a magician. Although we know of no one, there must indeed be such a person, because He ordered us to search for him. So be pious. We will all, therefore, beg that God, blessed be His name, will reveal to us who this magician is and where he resides.”

They all followed the advice of the wise man, repenting and praying and giving charity, until he appeared again one night. And he came to them as before and said to them: "Beloved brothers and children, you will not find anyone in this land, and likewise not in the Land of Israel, but rather you must cross the River Sambatyon, the raging sea, which does not rest all week long, except on the Sabbath. Whoever wishes to cross it during the week sinks into the river, be he Jew or non-Jew, because it flings up stones from the river bed, breaking the ship and everything else; it does not accept anything. You must fetch someone from the tribes who were driven there. They are Ba'alei Shemot [wonder workers] and will come to your help to end the evil decree. They are called Sons of Saviors (Bnei Moshi’im), as the verse states: ‘And saviours shall come up on mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau’ (Ovadiah 1:21). This means that the Red Jews will come to help us in Zion and to judge Gog and Magog. They cannot cross over the River Sambatyon until God, may His name be blessed, will show them a way to walk on the dry ground.” So they said to the master of dreams, "Since God, blessed be He, wants to help us with a Red Jew, why does He not cause him to come and give us a great sign, [4r] so that we should not need to desecrate the Sabbath?" The master of dreams answered, “It is true, you are right, but you are not worthy of such a sign and that the ways of the world should be changed for your sake, making him fly here. Also, it is your nature to sin.” So they begged him again saying, “Who will travel and lose his life and his part in the world to come? The Red Jews will judge him and he will have brought it upon himself that they will stone him. He who endangers his own life, it is difficult for him to enter the Garden of Eden.”

The master of dreams replied, saying, “The Sons of Saviors will worry about what to do with him. Thus it will be.” And he parted from them. Each one related this advice in his city, so they said it over a thousand miles. And because they all agreed, they sent to advisors, asking them to choose someone to make the journey, and they all agreed upon Rabbi Meir because he was a great sage and a pious man
and constantly served the community for good. They gave him sufficient provisions and three pious Rabbis to accompany him on the journey.

In God's name they set out and reached the River Sambatyon on a Tuesday, eight days before the end of the year that the monk had stipulated, and they waited by the River Sambatyon until the Sabbath. On the Sabbath, [Rabbi Meir] sat in the ship and said to his brothers, “Beloved brothers, you wait here, why should we all desecrate the Sabbath? It is sufficient for me to do so and they will certainly judge me.” So they remained there and he traveled across alone, arriving there on the Sabbath and declaring, “I have a letter from the others, your brothers, [the nation of] Israel.” However, they immediately ordered that he be thrown into prison because he had desecrated the Sabbath and they gave the letter to merchants who were trading there, that they should open it. Yet when the meaning of the letter became known, about the terrible decree threatening their [4v] brothers in the nation of Israel, who had been in exile for so long, they released him from prison and said to him, “Who among us will desecrate the Sabbath?” And they cast lots between themselves, whoever’s name would be pulled out, and the lot fell upon one of the Red Jews called Dan, who was old and lame.

Therefore, they said to him, “Impart what you wish to say to your family because you will not desecrate the Sabbath again. You will stay here with us, leaving your wife to live as a pious widow, because you may not write her a writ of divorce. Similarly, this Dan must leave his wife and child because if we wait another eight days, the [appointed] time will pass. Each one can take another wife and leave the widow thus, meaning the first wives shall remain [living widows], so God, blessed Be His name, desires.”

Then Rabbi Meir, Shaliach Zibur, imparted everything [that had happened to him to relate] to those at home, as I will write for you at the end. And the little Red Jew sat in the ship and crossed the River Sambatyon. There he found the three Jews, who were very frightened and inquired about the whereabouts of Rabbi Meir, in response to which he told them everything. The Jews were very afraid and wondered, “How is it possible that such a small, lame and limping little man will be able to withstand the mighty monk when he is walking with a limp? What has Rabbi Meir done to us? How has he brought about the destruction of all [the nation of] Israel?”

When they saw how the little man walked, limping, they thought that they should guide him and show him the way. However, he led the way and they arrived at the place in two days and in two nights because he was able to do so by invoking divine names. So the appointed day and time arrived and the Jews were in great sorrow, crying, "Rabbi Meir, Rabbi Meir, what have you done to us poor Jews, how have you risked your life for our sake?"

Thus they were crying and wailing as they arrived at the place of the confrontation which the monk had designated, where they had to be that same day. They were
saddened when they saw that Rabbi Meir had sent the limping man and that [5r] he had not come himself. They did not yet know how it could be that such a small man could stand up to the monk who was so mighty and strong, able to invoke the devil and great sorcery.

So they were placed in a large square where trees grow. And the Jews stood around the square, with the other peoples above, on a structure which had been built especially so that immediately following the defeat of the Jews, the monk would kill them all, as he had agreed with the king in the meantime. Now the monk stood opposite them and said, "The Jews are making a mockery of me, allowing me to do magic against a small, limping, shaking little man." So all of Israel were very afraid, but the messengers who had seen how he had led them through a shortened way, they shouted in the square and said, “You magician, you have not yet seen the morrow! He will make the world too small to contain you.”

The speech of the messengers calmed the Jews a little.

The monk began, commanding all the devils to bring him a great steel pole with which he intended to hit the small little Jew, smashing him to pieces. He took the pole, which was so heavy that not even an entire army could lift it and threw it with strength of the demons into the earth, after which the earth covered it. Then he cried out to the little Jew, "Now pull it out, otherwise you will slay all the Jews, because you have angered me so much that I will have no mercy on anyone. It is just as though you had killed them.” Then the limping little man hurriedly answered the monk with cunning, "You should not have thrown it so deep in the earth. How can I possibly take it out again?" Directly, he took a receptacle filled with water, cleaning himself and washing his hands, and said "See, my beloved brothers, Jews and Christians and also pagans, watch carefully. And you, monk, speak up, how you will be able to stand up to me? I tell you that I know what is under the earth, as you know what is here. You threw this pole under the earth and I will pull it out from under the king's chair.”

The king was amazed at the speech of this Jew and watched as he [the Jew] dug a hole with his little finger and pulled out the pole effortlessly, throwing it so high in the air that they could barely see it and left it floating in the sky. He said to the monk, “Now you reach it! I did not hide it. If you cannot reach it everyone will see your head stuck on the pole today and I will drive it into the desert where no one may set foot and you and your teachers will have no power over me.”

The monk tried to reach the pole using his magic but he could not do so. It was thrown so high that no devil could hover there. And he could not reach it and stood ashamed. He said, “We will show another piece of magic,” expecting that he would forget about the pole, and he conjured two millstones, saying "I have created them.” And he proceeded directly to grind them between his hands, just as one grinds pieces of lime and chalk.
Thus the little Jew replied, "You told me that you have created them. It is no wonder to me that I cannot create them, because I am no God. However, I trust in the aid of God, blessed be He, that He will help me to create them too." His prayer was followed by a gust of wind which would blow together all the fragments. As soon as it started to blow, the pieces formed into two parts and he kneaded the fragments, just as someone kneads dough, making from it two millstones, much bigger than those that the monk had conjured. Right away he took the two millstones and without any effort ground them to a powder, [and he remade them and] and [6r] made a wind come which carried them up on high to that same pole. Everyone saw that he could not reach or grasp it and once again the monk was filled with shame.

Then the little Jew said, “How long will I have to trouble myself with you, you cannot stand against me. Now I will do more magic, and you either respond to it, or you conjure something of your own. I will make flames of fire come down from the sky: you put it out. Or you kindle it and I will put it out.”

So immediately, the monk thought, “What a piece of magic this is. I will put it out.” The little Jew quickly made a great fire shoot down from the sky, writhing like a snake that stretches itself out, so that the fire burned the ground and moor, all the trees and herbs however they were not consumed [by it]. So everyone was amazed. Then the little Jew said to the monk, "Put it out, it has burned long enough." The monk brought from below a great stream of water which shot out of the earth, which should easily extinguish it. However, the fire went over it in the sky and burned the water, burning more fiercely than before.

Then the monk said, "I do not know how to put it out." The little Jew replied, “Let it burn for a little while longer, burning the well that you brought forth. So that people will not say that you are God and created this source, but I say to you that you will soon go directly to the sky. If you have something to do in this world, say it now. Do not think that you will protect yourself with your magic because you cannot do so any longer. I burnt with fire all your teachers, because I brought this fire from the firmament. I indeed saw them [the demons] all hovering over you and I burned them all.

So the monk looked up above him and saw [6v] that none of his teachers remained and he completely despaired. He became pale and trembled, begging: “Dear one, I will gladly serve you, let me live.”

So he answered, “I will not take your life. I will not touch you, although you killed so many of my brothers. I should kill you with harsh violent deaths.”

Then the little Jew approached the fire and said, “See what every man uses to make fire—with that I will extinguish it. He (the monk) could not extinguish it in the way that people usually put out a fire." The Jew took air into his cheeks and blew into the great fire. And the fire directed itself up high, and went up higher, and they
saw only steam and smoke, no more fire. Because it had already shot up to its place. [When the people saw it] they all fell on their faces.

The little Jew continued, "Why should I show many tricks, I must drive out the pole and the mill stones which are in the sky above so that people will not say that you are God.” Then he said to the monk, “This tall tree is thick. It has not been cut down since Noah made the Ark. He cut it down and since then this one grew in its stead. I will bend it down to the ground. And you will hold it down after I have bent it down to the ground so that it will not straighten again, or I will do so and you will bend it.”

Then the monk thought that he would again do magic through the help of demons. But he could no longer see them and cried, lamenting his fate. And he said, “How have you abandoned me, you beloved masters?” Yet he did not see them. Thus answered the little Jew, "Why do you cry and wail, did your father or mother die?" However, he [the monk] did not laugh. In his shame, he wished that he had long ago died, because he did not know how to bend this strong and thick tree. However, he started to scream. “Why are you taking your time and making these people here wait. Say what you [7r] can do. Do you want to hold it, so that it will not straighten again? I trust in God's power to bend it.” So replied the monk, "I will hold it down so that it will not straighten again."

Then the little Jew bent the tree like a one bends a little stick, before everyone's eyes. Following this, the Jew said to the monk, "Now hold it firmly. It is bent down to the ground. Hold it for not even half the time that I have bent it down." The monk did not want to approach because it was a disgrace to him.

Then the little man cried, “Noble king and all the lords, see what a daring magician this is!” The monk was ashamed because he had not envisioned that the little Jew would be able to bend it, therefore he had said "I will hold it down so that it should not straighten again,” [believing], “He will not be able to bend it and therefore I will not need to hold it." However, when he saw that he could indeed bend it, it caused him shame, yet he was forced to approach it. He already foresaw his own death. And in great shame he advanced towards the tree.

So said the little Jew, "Do not touch me and hold on fast to the tree.” As he grabbed it, he said, "I am not touching you." Then he cried, "See if he holds it down – then I will let go!” The monk held on fast and the little Jew let it go. So the tree snapped back and hit the monk with such great force that his head burst open and everyone saw that he flew high into the heavens with terrible power and remained impaled on the pole and his body came between the two mill stones that rotated around the pole and flew with him into the desert, as he [the little Red Jew] had foretold.

So Israel was saved. And the king, this Martin von der Lanze, saw all the wonders and all the kings and lords and peoples who saw these things and each one went to
his home peacefully and happily, they need no longer fear the monk. And the Jews found favor with the king and the peoples due to the wonders that the little Jew performed.

Then Rabbi Meir's [7v] wife came to inquire with the little Jew and the messengers concerning the fate of Rabbi Meir: had he died, why he had not returned? So the little Jew told her about what had happened and said that the Sons of Saviors would not allow him to desecrate the Sabbath intentionally. "Likewise, they will not allow me to travel home again. I may take a wife in this land and you must remain a living widow all your days. He wanted to give you a writ of divorce, but he could not write it on the Sabbath. When he crossed the river Sambatyon the time appointed by the monk had arrived, so I too could not give my wife any writ of divorce. And all the rest of the matters and everything that he asked me to impart I will say in the synagogue before all the holy community.” And he went to the synagogue.

When they had prayed, so he said, "Hear all the holy Community, thus imparted Rabbi Meir Shaliach Zibur to you: Because on your behalf he was forced to leave his wife and his family, but he has a grown-up daughter to marry and his wife requires food. Therefore he asked that you all to treat her well, comfort and nourish her and find a good husband for his daughter. And before I left, he became my son-in-law because I gave him my daughter.

Therefore, all the community answered, “What is more fitting in all the world, considering that the saint and pious man risked his body and life for our sake – should we not grant his request?! Even if he had requested a limb from our bodies – it would only be befitting to give it, and not withhold it. However we also deem it befitting that you should be gracious with this pious and righteous man, just as he was with you. He took your daughter – so you, too, should take his daughter, because how can we find a more precious person than you?” The old little wife was pleased with this son-in-law when she heard that he agreed. Straight away she went to her daughter and said, “Your father arranged for you [to marry] a wise scholar.” And she told her how everything came about. So the little Jew became a bride groom and this was on the eve of Shavuot. Thus he said, "As he accompanied me, [8r] he composed a tune in his name while walking. And he also requested that I ask you to sing it in his name. So it is signed, Rabbi Meir son of Rabbi Isaac, great in Torah and good deeds, amen, be strong and brave."

“It is befitting that for his sake, and the sake of his name, you shall say it and that his name shall be remembered for generations and it will make known the story and the deeds which happened to him and his generation. And he spoke thus. Tomorrow take upon yourselves to sing over the Torah scroll that which I will impart to you." And the holy community prepared a wedding after Shavuot and he took the daughter of Rabbi Meir Shaliach Zibur.
And he took the daughter of Rabbi Meir Shaliach Zibur and within the year a son was born and they named him Rabbi Meir and the dynasty they named after Dan because they were descended from the dynasty of Dan, the son of our father Jacob. And the elders fed him and gave him much money. On the morrow he said, “We should sing every Shavuot the song of Akdamut and [what happened] beyond the river Sambatyon, because God blessed Be He created the world so that they should keep the Torah and serve [Him], therefore we exert ourselves in learning.

The Akdamut also describes how God created the world and the wonders in Egypt. We were in the same exile but then we tribes came over the Sambatyon and were never again in the exile; everything that lives in the vicinity must give us taxes. It also contains much praise of God, blessed be He, which you should also say. It is written according to the alphabet twice over and Rabbi Meir wrote it. It portrays the exile, how the non-Jews want to entice us to serve their idols and how we should respond and describes the Messiah and [each one's] portion of the world to come and the Garden of Eden and the meal at which the Leviathan [will be served] as well as the great ox and the great bird, and how we will sit before God, blessed be His name, in the future to come. Likewise, how God desires nothing from us other than that we should uphold His Torah, therefore it is fitting that we should sing this over the Sefer Torah and should remember him [Rabbi Meir], just as they all agreed and the custom remains until the present day. Until this day, one reads a verse from [8v] the Torah that begins “in the third month” and ends with the Sinai desert, because the monk was sent to the desert, as I wrote above, this is the meaning of “desert,” and then recite the Akdamut: one stanza the Hazan and one stanza the community.

With this almighty God's aid, He who all things made, and also with only one word, all things to His power [deferred]. As the first in His creation, He created the sky and the dry foundation. On the same day then defining. Sun and moon, both of them shining. The sun shines by day. Darkness of the night to thoughts and laments gives way. The next day the lower and upper waters did He divide. Preparing them for man's nourishment [to provide]. On the third day the waters into one place He drew. Stretching out grass to cover the earth [all through]. On the fourth He put the celestial spheres with all their light in the sky. That Israel will know when to celebrate their festivals thereby. He created the sun for the day, with its light. And the moon with its own stars by night. On the fifth day birds and the gifts in the water's [wave]. For man to hunt and eat them, His blessing gave. On the sixth day livestock and animals and all creatures that crawl. In creating man, the counsel of angels [He did call]. On the same day when God had accomplished all His desire. And commanded that we keep the Sabbath entire. And since them out of Egypt He brought. So too this was the product of His thought. That He would lead them into the desert [so dry]. To the mountain which is called Sinai. And in the month of Sivan, on the sixth day. With a great voice, I tell you He revealed Himself to Israel at that mountain, He gave the Torah with power and, because of
these two signs, you too shall be ready, everyone, small and great, to recite in your synagogues this Akdomes.

I say that you [9r] who the Synagogue cannot visit, still shall not omit to say it. Indeed, at home you should do so [with respect]. And because of this, from all evils God will protect. And also this Rabbi Meir [you must] recall. Who granted this help to us [all]. The same man this Akdomes composed, according to the alphabet twice over it is transposed.

And where it begins “whence and who is your friend,” there it is signed in his name and the name of his father Isaac is nearby. Make your heart joyful thereby. You will read it through. Then your heart will be happy [anew]. And will be worthy of fulfilling the other commands given by God, blessed be He, and a good reward from Him will see.

A translation of the piyyut Akdamut milin into Yiddish follows.
EARLY MODERN WORKSHOP: Jewish History Resources

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The Sense of Sight and Visual Trickery in Toldot Yeshu and Ma’ase Akdamut
Rebekka Voß, University of Frankfurt

Ma’ase Akdamut, Fürhr 1694
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" estados de la ciudad, un ejército que había sido derrotado en batalla. "
עלול ומשעינת ברוח צוחק,.Environmentally friendly products are becoming more common in today’s world.
ואו יש לי WEIGHT באימוניך שدراجת ווד ווד ואו ווד והוד והוד.
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 düz של עץ רוזים. Environmentally friendly products are becoming more common in today’s world.  

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Upon reading the document, it appears to be a page in Hebrew text, possibly containing various names and titles.

The document seems to be discussing matters related to names, titles, and possibly historical references. It is difficult to provide a coherent translation due to the nature of the content and the density of the Hebrew script.

The text includes names such as "שלמה," " القدس," "שע" and "מצ" which are common in Hebrew script.

Due to the nature of the content, it is challenging to provide a detailed translation or context without further knowledge of the specific context in which these names and titles are used.

Given the complexity and the nature of the text, it is recommended to consult a Hebrew scholar or a professional translator for a more accurate interpretation.
ולפי חליפות תחומי המchasר החשוב נאמר, "דהי אי var שמיר פסקיה, ואת, אוו'ACHI מתאира ואת, אוו'ACHI חליפות אלו. יחד חליפות את, ואת."}

{\text{rehovot_2019}}
A translation of the piyyut Akdamut milin into Yiddish follows.
“They kept tightly closed their muzzles, eyes, ears, nose, whole heart and all senses” – The Soul, Senses, and Salvation During the Reformation Era

Andreas Gehringer, University of Basel

In 1533 the city council of Basel summoned German physician and notorious provocateur Alexander Seitz to a public hearing in which he had to defend his ideas on fornication. Seitz recently sparked outrage when he claimed that unfulfilled and repressed sexual desires can cause hysteria and poison one’s senses. He concluded that it was the duty of any true Christian to fulfill their sexual needs and to acknowledge the medical and theological significance of intercourse between unmarried people. Anyone who refuses to use his or her “natural instrument” (instrumentum naturale) in order to help someone who has fallen ill due to sexual lust is not only complicit in the murder of the patient’s body, but also in the murder and damnation of the victim’s soul. Seitz’s plea for sexual intercourse outside of marriage for the sake of medical and theological benefits did not convince the council; he was put in jail and expelled from the city shortly after.

Seitz’s controversial argument about sexual desire offers a unique glimpse into the correlation between faith, senses, and reason during the Renaissance period: The very idea of senses being poisoned, and illness caused by repressed sexual desires illustrates the vulnerability and unreliability of the senses; just like certain knowledge was considered wrong and dangerous (Mulsow 2012), senses could be wrong and dangerous too. Faith relied on experience, which in turn was based on senses and knowledge, both of which are based on reason. Accordingly, senses had to be taught and trained, so they could function properly and within reason. Yet, many early-modern polemics, ethnographic accounts, and similar texts dealing with Judaism share a characteristic and distinctive depiction of Jewish senses: they were considered deceived and corrupted, especially due to the alleged incorrect doctrines by rabbis. Martin Luther, for example, claimed that Jews were blind and deaf towards the true Messiah and the holy scripture, that they used their mouth only to have it filled with the devil’s dirt, and that their hearts are oblivious of God’s love and greatness. And Johannes Buxtorf suggested that due to their unholy eyes, Jews could not see their homeland even from the top of the highest mountains. A Jewish soul could only be saved if they were taught to properly use their senses – something many reformed thinkers and scholars thought impossible.
In this discussion we will explore Alexander Seitz’s *Solutus cum soluta* (1533), a plea in favor of fornication, and parts of Martin Luther’s infamous *Vom Schem Hamphoras: Vnd vom Geschlecht Christi* (1543). Both texts deal with senses and sensory organs in relation to salvation and the true meaning of faith and the holy scripture. We will use these two samples to further elaborate on an early-modern idea and understanding of senses and to discuss the extent to which these aspects are related and affect the perception of Renaissance Jewry. This will shed some light on how early-modern contemporaries tried to «make sense» of Judaism and culture and how it affected Jewish-Christian relations.
“They kept tightly closed their muzzles, eyes, ears, nose, whole heart and all senses” – The Soul, Senses, and Salvation During the Reformation Era
Andreas Gehringer, University of Basel


A true account of Doctor Alexander Seitz’s articles

First, the gospel is sufficient to the true faith and salvation of the soul if it is observed accordingly.

Second, those who decease without remorse and sorrow over their sins pass away as nonbelievers and therefore put their souls at risk.

Third, when a person falls sick and faints due to their carnal desires they are robbed of their senses; thus, if they subsequently decease without being able to show remorse and sorrow over their sins, they pass away as nonbelievers, thus putting their souls at risk.

Fourth, if it is possible to help such persons in their terrifying, eternal misery without any negative consequences, it is everyone’s duty to do so with respect to Christian devotion and love. For love is the correct measure [winckel meß, guideline] and line which shall guide us Christians according to the evangelical virtue.

Fifth, foul matter inside a person causes toxic fumes which can make the person faint [lose control] against their hearts’ will. It takes away their reason so that often they lie for 72 hours without the unlearned realizing they are still alive, thus frequently they are buried alive like dumb cattle and without feelings of remorse or sorrow over their sins. Such persons should be helped either with natural medicine or instruments so that they attain reason again, in hope that they [the sick] will die in remorse and sorrow over their sins and in salvation of their souls thereafter. Whoever refuses to help is a murderer, not only of the body, but also of the soul.
Sixth, often a person passes out *ex spermate retentor* (a disease), a so-called *suffocation matricum*, [that is] a toxic disease. It takes away all the person’s reason and often they die 72 hours without evidence of life, as we have been told, and so they die like dumb cattle, and frequently they are buried alive and without feelings of remorse or sorrow over their sins. Those who refuse to help this person are murderers, not only of the body, but also of the soul. If help is possible without any negative consequences, then Christian love and devotion requires that such sperm is being driven out. So that the [ill] person will gain reason again and hopefully will die thereafter in full awareness and remorse over their sins and thus in salvation of their bodies, but even more so in salvation of their souls.

Seventh, if there is no other medicine at hand other than one’s *Instrumentum Naturale, adhanc rem*, Christian love demands that [the ill person] shall not be denied the *Instrumentum Naturale* by any means so that the [ill person] may be helped and saved from their terrifying and dangerous threat towards their souls. \[34\] I compel [bschwig, überreden] temporal life to happen anew [to extend life, to keep life going] if there are no negative consequences for anyone.

Example, if a divorced widow falls into such a dangerous state of a terrifying illness and is thus threatened towards her body and soul as a result of *ex spermate retentor*, and there is no other help close by other than a divorced widower with his *Instrumentum naturale*, then, with respect to Christian love, it is the very widower’s duty to help the woman’s body and soul for reasons as we have just learned. Otherwise he would be a murderer of a soul. These two persons are considered in numbers as *Solutus cum soluta* etc. [...] which scholars do not understand as sin. And *solutus cum soluta* may not be appropriate for virgins as they are considered *clause et non solute* [sealed/closed and not widowers].

Ninth, all divine commands and the gospel support the salvation and not the corruption of the soul.

Tenth, often the divine command wanes during [or: in view of] the last distresses of the body, and even more so of the soul. Otherwise David would have been a thief and a sinner for he took the holy showbread off the altar. Even Christ and his followers would be thieves for they ate someone else’s heads of grain due to sheer hunger. That is why Christ scolded those who punished him [for stealing the grain] Pharisees. Oh Lord, how many Pharisees are we burdened with in these times.

Eleventh and last, the gospel does not prohibit *Solutus cum soluta* anywhere.
“They kept tightly closed their muzzles, eyes, ears, nose, whole heart and all senses” – The Soul, Senses, and Salvation During the Reformation Era
Andreas Gehringer, University of Basel


Zum erstenn Das Evangelium ist gnügsam zum waren glaubenn und hail der seele so das gehalten wirt

Zum andernn welcher mensch Sin end beschlußt on rw und laid uber sin sünd der sterb nit ab Im glaubenn deßhalb in perickel Siner Seele

Zum dritten wo ain mensch falt uß flaischlicher begirlichkait in onmacht Darin beroubt aller Siner sinnlichkait und also In Siner flaischlicher begirde abstirbt on rw und laid der sterbe ab on glaubenn In perickel Siner seele

Zum viertten wo dan disen menschen mag geholfen werden In disem erschrockenlichen erwigen fale on nachteil Des nechsten Das ist man im schuldig zethon uß cristenlicher trw und liebe So doch die lieb das recht winckel meß und schnür ist die unß Cristen fieren solle Nach der evangelischen tugent

Zum funfften wo in dem menschenn ain faule matery liegt Darvon uff erstett ain vergifter damff darvon ain menschenn fallen muß In ain solche onmacht offt wider Sins herzen willens Darvon er beroubt wirt aller Siner vernunfft offt also ligt lxxij stand on allen merck zevor by den ongelernten Sins lebens Ja offt also lebendig vergraben wie ain onvernunftig vihe on alle rw und laid uber Sine sünd Und dem menschen mocht geholfen werden es sy mit naturlicher arzny oder instrumentenn wider zu vernunfft der hoffnung harnach zesterbenn mit rw und laid uber Sine sund zu hail Siner seele / Wer diese hilff abschlecht der ist ain morder nit aber allain des lybs sonder auch der seele.

Zum vj so fält offt der mensch in onmacht ex spermate retento (ain kranckheit) suffocatio matricum genant ain solche vergifftige krankhait Darin der mensch
beraupt wirt aller Siner vernunft und offt ligt lxxij stund on alle merck Sins lebens
wie gehört und also hinstirbt wie ain onvernunftig vihe Ja offt und vil lebendig
vergraben werden on alle rw und laid uber Sine sünd / wer Disem menschen hillf
ab schlächt Der ist ain morder nit allein des lybs / sonder auch der seele / Zevor
doch so solich hillf gescheheh mag on nachtail des nechsten / Sonder aber die
cistenlich lieb und trw erfordert solich sperma uß zetrybenn Domit dem menschen
wider geholfen werde der hoffnung harnach ze sterben by vernunft mit rw und
laid uber Sine sünde zu hail Sins lybs noch vil mer Siner seele

Zum vij So nun kain andere erzny vorhanden mochte sin dan allain das
Instrumentum Naturale / adhanc rem / do erfordert die christenliche liebe das kains
wegs disem menschen sol versagt werden solich Instrumentum naturale uff das Im
domit geholfen und errett noch werden uß disem erschocklichen und gferlichen
perickel Siner seele [34] Ich bschwig doch des zytlichen lebens so doch abermals
gescheheh mag on nachtail des ains jeden anderenn menschenn

Exempel so ain gschaidene witue fiele in solichen gferlichen erschocklichen
krankhaut zu verderbung an lyb und seele wie gehört ex spermate retento / und
kain andere hillf mocht gehabt werden [...] als in paroxismo dan duch ain
gschaiden wituer mit einem Instrumentum naturale / so ist der selbig wituer
schuldig uß crisentlicher lieb diser frowenn zehelfen an lyb und seele uß vrsachen
wie gehört ist / Oder Er ist ain seel morder / Diese zwu personen werdent auch
begriffen In der zal Solutus cum soluta etc. das by den gelerten nit [...] sund
gehaltten wirt / Und mag solututs cum soluta nit uff [...] die jungfrowenn bedutet
werden quia [...] sund clause et non solute

Zum ix so sind alle gottliche gepott und das Evangelium zu hail (der seelen) und
nit zu verderbnuß der seele

Zum x wycht gar offt das gotlich gepot in den letsten nötten des lybs / noch vil mer
der seele / Oder David were gewesen ain Dieb und hett gesundiget do Er das hailig
schowbrot vom altar name Ja Cristus were selbs mit Sinen junger ain diebdieb
gewesenn do Sie einem anderenn Sine ahernn ab assen zeruk uß hungers nötten
Darum Cristus alle die für phariseer schalt die Ine darum strafften / Ach got mit
wievil solch phariseer sind wir zu diser zyt auch uberladen

Zum xj und zum letsten wirt nienantz gefunden Im Evangelio das vespott Solutus
cum soluta
“They kept tightly closed their muzzles, eyes, ears, nose, whole heart and all senses” – The Soul, Senses, and Salvation During the Reformation Era
Andreas Gehringer, University of Basel


Furthermore, it is prohibited for us Christians to believe or view as right the interpretation and commentaries of the Rabbis concerning the scriptures on pain of losing the grace of God and eternal life. We may read it in order to see what kind of devil’s work they promote among themselves and protect ourselves from it. For thus says Moses, 5 Mos, 28, 28: “God will strike you with madness, blindness and a delirious heart.” This Moses did not say of the damned Goyim, but about his circumcised saints, the noble blood, nobility of heaven and earth, who call themselves Israel. Hereby however, God damns their understanding, explanations and interpretations through their own action as utter madness, blindness, delirium, all that which they belabored in scripture these fifteen hundred years God not only calls and judges false and lies but also deliberate blindness, delirious, mad thing. And how such a sentence reads, so it is also found in the work and in the deed, as you saw above in the saying of Jacob, 1 Mos. 49, 10, Hagg. 2, 7 about the Alma; Jer. 31, 22 about the Nekafa. In sum, they do the same in all pronouncements, as they talk of the Messiah and the right belief. A delirious person must rave.

Such decision is confirmed, Jes. 29, 13–14: “Because this people is too close to me with its mouth, and honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me, and fear me according to the law of men, which they teach, so I will deal with this people in a wondrous way, most miraculously and most peculiarly that the wisdom of their wise shall be swallowed up and the understanding of their cunning shall hide itself.” That was not said of us Goyim, but of the people of Israel, which did have excellent, wise, cunning people and prophets and have their books still; but because they became a false, hypocritical nation of liars, who praise God with the mouth but go to Hell with their hearts, they shall also lose and not have the wisdom and understanding of the prophets, but, as they pay back God with their mouth, (that is, with the husks) and serve the Devil with their hearts (that is, with the kernel) so that they shall have the letters (the empty shells) of the scripture, but the kernel, the true meaning, they shall not even suspect.
Just before that, in the same Chapter, V. 11, he says: “All prophets shall be promises for you like the words of a sealed book or letter, which one gives to read (someone) who is literate or not; (he) must say I cannot read what is from him, for it is sealed” etc. Such, the Work (scripture) also gives to the blind, mad Jews; for although they have the book, there is no understanding, either for the Messiah or the Law of Moses for the heathens and the poets, in well done verses, teach better things than the Jews, for they are still worth the most. There are many more statements in the prophets, particularly Psalm 69, 23f., which is introduced by St. Paul, Rom. 11, 9: “Their table could become a rope and a trap before them in vengeance. Their face must become dark so that they cannot see,” etc.

But 2 Cor. 3, 14, 15, 16, St. Paul paints them correctly as he speaks of the Jews since the time of Christ (for it cannot be understood by anybody else): “To this very day, when Moses is read, the cover remains on their hearts; for their senses are calloused. If however, they converted to the Lord, the cover would fall away.” Thus, the Lord himself proclaimed to them, Matth. 8, 12: “The children of the land will be thrown into darkness”; and Joh. 8, 21: “I leave forever and you will seek me and die in your sins, for where I go you cannot come.” And what drives St. Paul in all his letters, but that he curses the Jew dogs, and circumcision as totally blinded and calloused, of whom one must be on guard?

If a Christian seeks understanding in the scriptures from Jews despite such damnation and judgment, what else does he do but that he seeks the face of a blind man, cleverness from a madman, death from life, and grace and truth from the Devil? It is right that he is damned by God, although he is crazy, blind and mad just as are his masters. It is well done that one learns the German language from us, the Welch from Welchman, and learn the language of the country wherever they are; but our belief and understanding of the scripture they do not learn. Therefore we too should learn the language from them; but avoid their beliefs and understanding, damned by God.
“They kept tightly closed their muzzles, eyes, ears, nose, whole heart and all senses” – The Soul, Senses, and Salvation During the Reformation Era
Andreas Gehringer, University of Basel


Hart dafür / im selben Capitel / spricht er / Es sollen euch aller Propheten weissagung sein / wie die wort eines versiegeten Buchs oder brieues / Welchen man gebe zu lesen / der da lesen könne oder nicht / mus sagen / Ich kan sein nicht lesen / den er ist versiegelt etc. Solches gibt auch das werck / jnn den blinden rasenden Jueden / Denn sie das Buch wol haben / Aber da ist kein verstand / weder vom Messia / noch Gesetz Mosi / jnn einigem Vers / das die Heiden vnd Poeten / viel besser ding leren / weder die Jueden / da sie auch am besten sind. Der Sprueche sind viel jnn den Propheten / Sonderlich der / Psal. 69. den S. Paulus einfueret / Rom. II. Ihr tisch muesse fur jhnen zum stricke werden / zur vergeltung vnd zur falle / Ihr angesicht muesse finster werden / das sie nicht sehen etc.

Aber 2. Cor. 3. malet sie S. Paulus ja recht / da er von diesen Jueden / sind der zeit Christi her / redet (denn es kann von niemand anders verstanden werden) Bis auff diesen heutigen tag / wenn |Qiir| Mose gelesen wird / bleibt die decke vber jhrem hertzen / Denn jre sinne sind verstockt. Wenn sie sich aber zu dem HErrn bekerten / wuerde die decke abgethan. Also hat jn der Herr selbs auch verkuendigt / Matth. 9. Die kinder des Reichs / werden jns finsternis hinaus geworffen werden. Vnd Johan. 8. Ich gehe dahin / vnd jr werdet mich suchen / vnd jnn ewren sunden sterben / Denn da ich hingehe / koennet jhr nicht hin kommen. Vnd was treibt S. Paulus jnn allen Episteln / denn das er die Jueden / hunde / zerschneittung / vnd ganzt verblend vnd verstockt / schilt / fur denen man sich hueten solle?

Introduction

Characteristic of the Jewish spiritual and pietistic revival centered in sixteenth-century Safed was a call for the ritualization of every-day life thus to expand the religious experience into every aspect of the quotidian. Even the most pedestrian of sensations and bodily activities was to be elevated through an intricate web of axioms, definitions, and associations. The call now was for the public performance and demonstration of piety with the body.

Made possible by the increasing availability of inexpensive print books, a literature soon developed to promote the new approach. We can see the process in the opening paragraph of the composite work we generally refer to collectively as the Shulhan Arukh. The paragraph that begins with Caro’s summary of Jacob ben Asher’s original statement is then expanded by Moses Isserles’ quotations from Maimonides, building to an interpretation of Ps 16:8: “I shall imagine the Lord before me always.” For the medieval Maimonides the verse had been a call for individual control of public behavior. But already in the Beit Yosef, his ample commentary on Ben-Asher’s Tur, Joseph Caro had turned the discussion by introducing the idea that public shame might deter open piety. Now Moses Isserles, in his “Additions,” expanded the opening turning it into a firm demand for unhesitant public religious display: "Do not be ashamed before people who mock your worship of God."¹ Thus we see the gradual reinterpretation of old texts into new pietistic demands, an example of the general process highlighted by Jacob

Katz through which the *Shulhan Arukh* became a major vehicle for the insertion of kabbalistic considerations into halakhic practice.

Gradually specialized guides and manuals appeared that sought to teach individuals the new religious requirements. What is referred to as “hanhagot literature” seems to have emerged first out of the active religious ferment in Safed. But as Ze'ev Gries has pointed out in seminal articles, we are talking about more than a local phenomenon. Rather, it is part of the penetration of kabbalistic—and especially Lurianic kabbalistic—categories, concepts, and practices into popular Jewish piety through various types of manuals composed intentionally to be accessible to a wide audience. In a slow process that had come to fruition by the eighteenth century, these manuals called for innovations in the regular liturgy and entirely new ceremonies aimed at mystical achievement (*tikkunim*). Adopting the prescriptive language of halakha, the volumes claimed authority and demanded obedience for the new norms.

Of particular relevance to this workshop is the way in which the new manuals began a process of mapping the commandments according to the parts of the human body. This is already to be found in R. Elazar Azikri's *Sefer Haredim* (Venice 1601), and was repeated in the very influential work *Shnei Luhot ha-Brit* (SHeLaH; 1648–49) by R. Isaiah Horowitz. Though the idea was of course not

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2 Lawrence Fine's *Safed spirituality: rules of mystical piety, the beginning of wisdom* (1984), and his later study, *Physician of the soul, healer of the cosmos: Isaac Luria and his kabbalistic fellowship* (2003).


5 For physical religiosity in *יִרְבֶּה アת והָאֹדָם בְּצַלְמָוֶה, מצַלְמָוֶה אָדָם, Ush-Shem-Aḥad*, see the appendix to the first chapter of the book called *יהוה אתי ומיט וראות משלי*, from 72a on -- especially p. 74a. under the letter כ taking off from the notion of *כוהני* and linked to the Genesis verse: *ויברא את האדם בצלמו, בצלם אלהים את האדם*.

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without precedent, the medieval tendency to opt for moderation in all things physical and give precedent to the intellectual (Bahya ibn Paquda’s 11th-century *Hovot ha-Levavot, The Duties of the Heart* offers a prime example) is now exchanged for emphatic emphasis on the ritualization of the physical and sensual experience. Every body part—from the eyes and ears to the male sexual organ—are included.

In our workshop I would like to explore a little known example of this approach, Joseph Ergas’ *Pri Megadim*, a brief work composed about 1703 by the 18-year-old scion of one of the wealthiest Jewish families in Medici Livorno. What is interesting for us is not so much the content of the volume—it is almost entirely a collection of quotations from other authors with almost no original content. Though in later years Ergas would be extoled by Livornese Jewish writers as a great spiritual figure, it seems that the book had very little influence; it remained in manuscript in the family archive until edited and published by a distant relative in 1832.⁶

What is interesting for us to consider in Ergas’ little manual is first of all what it tells us about the manner in which kabbalistic practices were studied and spread at least in this corner of the Sephardic diaspora. The book’s careful identification and annotation of its sources, down to exact page references for almost every quote, gives testimony to this young man’s library and his reading habits. (Note that even though he cites the rule that kabbalah should not be studied before age 20, already at 18 he himself had clearly been pursuing the topic avidly for some time.)

Moreover, Ergas composed his manual to serve as a guide to a circle of young friends that he was gradually forming in Livorno. Just a few years later, this group of youths was sufficiently coherent to gather as a quorum of ten under Ergas’ leadership in the city synagogue in order to issue a strict decree of excommunication against the heretical writings of Nehemia Hiya Hayyun. They would also be in a position to persuade the lay leadership of two nearby communities, Florence and Pisa, to issue similar bans. This group of young enthusiasts is strikingly reminiscent of the group of teen-agers who devoted themselves to pious study around another enthusiastic young teacher, Moses Haim Luzzatto (1706–1750), in Padua. When it came to presentation style, there are other interesting links between Ergas and Luzzatto, links that I will try to at least mention in my oral presentation. For now, suffice it to suggest that however derivative this little book, Ergas’ focus on ritualizing the physical senses and dedicating the body to religious activity seems to have reflected not just his own

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⁶ The catalog of the Israeli National Library lists several nineteenth-century manuscript copies, and the book has been reprinted twice recently, including in a careful edition by Yaakov Moshe Hillel (Jerusalem: Yad Shmuel Franco, 2005–6).
idiosyncracies but also a wave of pietistic enthusiasm that was shaping the religious identities of young Italian Jews in the early 18th century.\(^7\)

Finally, we will note that the text includes more than one statement about public behavior with other Jews, with women, and with non-Jews. To what extent can we read into these injunctions a realistic sense of public behavior in the period?

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Controlling the Senses: Social Propriety and Religious Achievement: Joseph Ergas’ *Pri Megadim*
Bernard Cooperman, University of Maryland

Joseph Ergas, *Pri Megadim* (1703; published 1832)

**Introduction [to Pri Megadim]**

Thus says the youth, Joseph son of my father and master, his honor, my teacher and rabbi, Immanuel Ergas, may the memory of a righteous man be a blessing:

[Zohar Hadash 22b]: R. Yosi and R. Hiya both said: it is written [Song of Songs 6:11] "I have gone down to the garden of the nut tree to see the surging of the river." See how much man must think and be punctilious in his heart every day to check his deeds and be very exacting. He must constantly think that the Holy one created him and gave a supernal soul and superiority over all His creatures only so that he think about His worship and communicating with Him. Man must not pursue vanity [i.e., nothingness].

R. Simeon bar Yohai also wrote in Tikunei Zohar VI: Woe to us people that the Holy One Blessed be He is trapped in exile with us, and the Shehina is imprisoned with us. It is said, a prisoner cannot free himself from jail. His salvation is that repentance which is in your hands. He turns here and there trying to find someone who will repent and break the prison...

And when I read these words, I started to tremble and I was very frightened. I said: Woe to us whose generation is not worthy, and the fingernail of the first ones is superior to the entirety [literally: the belly] of the later ones.¹ For because of this long bitter exile which is caused by the spread and strengthening of the impurity of the Snake, we have to create more fences and hedges so that no stranger (i.e., the force of the shell) shall mix with the sacred.

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**Negative Commandments Dependent Upon the “Eyes” [Vision]**

It is forbidden to look at women. We read in Tractate Avoda Zara fol. 20a: It happened that Rabbi Simeon ben Gamliel was standing on a step on the Temple Mount and saw a non-Jewish woman who was especially beautiful. He said: 'How

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¹ This phrase from BT Yoma 10b refers specifically to a discussion of the length of the current exile.
great are Your deeds, o Lord."² [The Talmud then] asks: And is it [indeed] permitted to look? The braita quotes the verse 'And you shall keep yourself from every evil thing'³ This means that a person should not gaze upon a beautiful woman even if she is unmarried, nor upon a married woman even she is ugly, nor upon a woman's colored garments, nor upon domesticated or wild animal[s] or bird[s] when they are copulating, etc." And [Rabbi Simeon ben Gamliel] replied: "It happened at a corner [i.e., he came around a corner and came upon her suddenly and didn't have a chance to close his eyes—RaSHI].⁴ ... Owing to our current sinful state [literally: because of our many sins], this prohibition of looking at women has become, for people of our generation, absolutely permitted, and when a woman walks down the city streets, people watch her, look her up and down from her soles to her head. As if that were not enough, they go to theatres (טטריאות תרטריאות) that the gentiles sponsor called “comedies.” They sit there for 3 or 4 hours to listen to women singing. Because of our multiplying sins, there are some among the learned [maskilim] and those who are called wise [hakham] who fail in this sin, and their eyes are too bleary to see and understand how many prohibitions are involved in this matter. I will add further that it says in Tractate Kiddushin fol. 70a: Rabbi Nahman said to Rabbi Judah, 'Would the master send regards to my wife, Yalta?' He replied, "Thus said Samuel: a woman's voice is like nakedness.⁵ ,, [Ergas quotes RaSHI's explanation:] "The voice of a woman is like nakedness. As it is said (Song of Songs 2:14): 'Let me hear your voice.' And if I ask about her state, she will answer." Thus we see that it is forbidden to listen even to the voice of a modest woman answering someone who asked how she was; how much ore is it true that it is forbidden to listen to the voice of a gentile woman who is singing about vulgar, sexual matters that penetrate the body of the hearer like a viper's poison.... And enough of this, since it has already been treated at length in the Zohar and the ethical tracts about the seriousness of this sin. One must therefore be very careful.

Negative Commandments Dependent Upon the Nose [Smell]

§67 Lo tin 'af: Thou shalt not commit adultery [Exodus 20:12 and Deut. 5:16] can be read lo tehene la-af—i.e., “do not give pleasure to the nose” לא יתןלא אה. The commentators have explained that this means that it is forbidden to smell the perfume of a married woman or other forbidden women.

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² Ps 104:24.
³ Deuteronomy 23:10
⁴ Interestingly, the Talmud goes on in some detail to discuss how impractical and unenforceable these rules are; Ergas omits that discussion.
⁵ I.e., he didn't want to send regards to Rabbi Nahman's wife since she might respond and the bearer of the message would then be exposed to the woman's voice.
Negative Commandments Dependent Upon the Mouth and Throat
§114 A father or mother should not frighten their children with something impure, as when you might say a cat or a dog or a gentile [כתי] will get you, for a covenant is made with the lips, and God forbid, immediately the shell (קליפה) where those impure names [i.e. forces] are located will come. There is a danger of harm to the child in this world as well as injury to his soul. He who worries about his soul will distance himself from such practices. This is understood to “scholars of the truth” [i.e. kabbalists].

Isaiah Horowitz, Shnei Luhot ha-Brit [SHeLaH], p. 64.

Negative Commandments Dependent Upon the Esophagus.
§162 Thou shalt be Holy. Holiness about which we have been commanded is [equivalent to] asceticism. One should restrain oneself and forego [satisfying] desires, even with regard to that which is [halakhically] permitted. As [the Sages] said: "Sanctify yourself with what is permitted you." With regard to food and drink, this means one should eat and drink less than is appropriate [or: usual] of that which is permitted; he should not go beyond what is necessary for maintaining the body. Similarly with regard to sexual relations for the purpose of maintaining the species or in order to fulfil what one owes his wife or to save oneself from having [evil] thoughts. Anything more beyond such purposes is forbidden biblically. Similar with regard to speech that is necessary formaking a livelihood and so forth. He should restrain himself in his words, uttering them in a balanced way and less than is appropriatel [or: usual] in order to attain the level of great asceticism. He should never engage in frivolous conversation. (And see Nahmanides' on the pericope Kdoshim [Leviticus 19:1–20:27].)

Behaye ben Asher, Kad ha-Kemah, s.v. "Kedusha."

§163 Whatever a man eats on a weekday over and above what is appropriate for survival of his soul is considered "dung from your festival [sacrifices]" and [consumign it] adds strength to the "external" [forces].

Writings of Isaac Luria

§165 One must be careful of taking pleasure during eating, drinking, and intercourse. Rather, one must act as if forced by a devil that was compelling him to eat or have intercourse, and [to feel that] he would be very content were it possible

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6 Yevamot 20a.
7 Malachi 2:3
to exist without that food and drink or to be fruitful and multiply without that intercourse.


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Positive Commandments Dependent Upon the Nose.

§65. One should try to have 3 [stalks of] myrtle on the Sabbath, tied into a single posie to sniff. Certainly, the best is to have three thick ones, but even if you can't find thick ones be sure to have at eat three twigs tied into a single bunch, for this hints at the three Forefathers.

אמר הצעיר יוסף בלא"א כמוהר"ר עמנואל אירגאס זצ"ל:

איתא בזהר חדש דף כ"ב ע"ב וז"ל, רבי יוסי ורבי חייא אמרי תרוייהו כתיב (שיר השירים ו' י"א)

הקדמה

ולפיишש במעשי ולדקים בנפשו, והחרים בבבל שליש ברע הפך, היא נוטה במעני ונוסעת עלינו

ומעלה על שאר הבריותمالא להזרום ולהעביר ולהזרום ולה中心城区 ולה американск בהצלחתו ולחן הרומcentaje

(and) לא נלבש פтрен...

בתקנות neuen, אוסרי את מה י dette, יושב מתני מתני הנכד והשלים את המחבר...

והנה בעה"ו איסור זה של הסתכלות בנשים נעשה להם לאנשי דורנו היתר גמור, ומידי עבור אשה ברחובות קרייה

ולעונותינו שרבו יש קצות משכילים וגם מהנקראים בשם חכם שנכשלים בזה העון, ועיניהן טחו מלראות ולהבין כמה איסורים יש בדבר הזה, וכמו שהארכתי مكان אחר.

פירוש"י קרן זוית הואי, כשפענים ליכנס ממבוי למבוי ופוגעים הד"ה קרן זוית דאינו רואה אותה מרחוק בא_ORDERACH VE-MILA דוה"ו.Qu'est-ce que cette différence entre le texte original hébreu et le texte hébreu transcrit dans la photo ?

La question peut être formulée en français de cette manière :

Différences entre le texte original hébreu et le texte hébreu transcrit dans la photo.
ולבא הוא אמר كبير אותיות כותבים קדושライ דף' על ["ש"א ל"ו רב התמן לבר יוהודו חедер מר שלמא
לולא, או"כ gobierno שומוול קול באשה עוה. פירש"ו לולא, שמו אשת. קול באשה עוה,
שאמר (ישאר"ש, ב"י) השמועה אתח לקול ואסאש בלעדלות乙烯, עוה. כי ודא
לשמועו דאיליל אתח תענה המשנבה ולשנול בלעדולות乙烯,乙烯, ידאמר להשועו קול אשה
לגין משנילולא תוחסם לחוקלך התושבולו, או! לא אסאיי, דבינה יצמאו מידי הרהור
לא אצמא, Midi סנכב את קרא, 'עוב פסא ירשו התפרשים כי"ל לא תמאף נוטריקון לא
הלחץ, דאף ירשו התפרשים כי"ל לא תמאף פה מסר. חכם בתימר' דף'.
המשועה זוכו בורא עוריו. ספור התדרים דף' ב'.
ישתדלفيديوirling על בושב ג' חדסםogan בשור בקושר אתדך לכלוויה הבור, והזדיאג אוג זמנה ג' עבות טוב
ಮואד, ואמ לא ימצאו עבות לאות מוג' בודם הבושר אוד שמה שמלה'_ אоборот. היצואות ליזם, ד'"ז.
Ocular Script in Ashkenazi kabbalistic compilations
Agata Paluch, Freie Universität Berlin

Introduction

The curious graphic form of Tetragrammaton, rendered in the so-called ketivat eynin (‘ocular script’ or Augenschrift), is well known in a variety of Jewish textual traditions. The letters of the four-letter divine name executed in this type of special script consist of a series of circles and lines. Each letter comprises of a fixed number of circles (three for the letters yud and vav, and nine for the letter he), while each of the circles is embellished with three short lines (tagin).

The ‘ocular script’ strongly resembles—and most likely has its roots in—the Greco-Egyptian charakeres, magical signs formed of lines finished with ringlets (Brillenbuchstaben), in wide use from Late Antiquity onwards by various magically-inclined textual traditions. The Hebrew type of charakeres appear in written texts to signpost a variety of divine names, while the ‘ocular script’ per se is nearly exclusively put in use to represent Tetragrammaton. Thus, the renditions of Tetragrammaton in ketivat eynin echo the occurrences of Paleo-Hebrew script intended to denote the Four-Letter Name in biblical texts in both scrolls and codices of diverse provenance.

Both magical charakeres and ketivat eynin have a long history of appearing in a variety of mystical and kabbalistic texts, including those to be found in medieval codices of early kabbalistic compilations. It is, however, the early modern manuscript culture in which the ‘ocular script’ materialises most copiously within kabbalistic contexts. The following presentation traces the appearance of ketivat eynin in four seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ashkenazi manuscript compilations. Two of these codices feature textual units associated with the cluster of Lurianic commentaries on divine emanative process and its practical implications (NLI 4 19 & NLI 8 330), while all of them include practical kabbalistic recipes or comments (NLI 8 1070, Bodleian Opp. 432, NLI 4 19, NLI 8 330).

In the first two fragments presented below, the eye-shaped Tetragrammaton appears within textual units culled from Limude Atsilot and Perush Sifra de-Tseniyuta. This textual stratum is associated with the kabbalistic tradition of Israel Sarug—a purported student of Isaac Luria—whose written output reached
Ashkenaz in the beginning of seventeenth century. The two texts comment on the ocular script by juxtaposing it with the zoharic parable on ‘the beautiful maiden without eyes’ (Zohar 2:95a). The eyes signified by the ocular Tetragrammaton are transposed to designate the eyes located within the divine structure, parallel to the eyes of a kabbalist during the performance of the Shema prayer. The performance sets out with sending downwards the light drawn from the upper divine level via intentional practice of the kabbalist. The performative intention centres on the act of looking at tsitsit, whose knots embody the eyes of the ocular Tetragrammaton. The process of seeing thus unfolds in keeping with the common mixture of optical theories still valid in the seventeenth-century popular knowledge, according to which visual rays sent out of and back into the eye facilitate vision. In the kabbalistic rendition of these theories, the crowns of the ocular Tetragrammaton thus graphically represent visual rays prompted by and propelling the practice of seeing.

The graphic sign (of special Tetragrammaton) and the accompanying commentary provide a guide not only for understanding of the processes of seeing, but also for exercising power and efficacy of gaze. The third text presented below belongs to a subset of practical kabbalistic matters provided at the end of the Lurianic compilation (NLI 4 19, f. 274r). The scribe-compiler introduces ketivat eynin within a formula to gain knowledge of the thoughts of others. The efficacy of this formula is predicated on ritual purity and complete intentional focus on Tetragrammaton in its ‘ocular’ form, a process that involves a sort of mental visualisation. The process of grasping thoughts reflects common views on the active eye as capable of grasping objects via emitted visual rays, a potency transposed on the ocular Tetragrammaton. Similar processes of active gazing are deemed effective in the performance that result in protection from evil and misfortune, as described in the fourth text presented below (Ms. Opp. 432, f. 104r).

The fifth of presented texts is a fragment of a short practical kabbalistic Seder Mishnah (NLI 8 330, f. 212v), which expounds on the vocalisation of divine names according to the vowel pattern of the word mishneh and a series of numerical coefficients derived from it. The text concludes with a list of vocalised names, whose use allows a rapid memorisation and thorough understanding of any study matter. At the centre of the procedure of acquiring knowledge of Torah stands mental depiction of the ocular Tetragrammaton, in its graphic format representing variant spellings of the four-letter name. The efficacy of the performance accrues thus from the visualisation of the name in the shape of eyes, which emit divine light and thus prompt intellectual illumination.

Renditions of the ocular Tetragrammaton feature, perhaps unsurprisingly, also in the early modern Ashkenazi compilations of thoroughly practical character, but it frequently does so while bearing connotations assumed from the kabbalistic, often
The final text presented below belongs to a compilation of practical advice and medicinal recipes (NLI 8 1070, f. 31r). This compilation offers a number of recipes against so-called *koltunes*, commonly identified as a typically Polish disease of acute hair-matting, *plica polonica*. One of them instructs to strike the *koltun* with ‘the name of eyes’ and focus intention on the ocular shape of Tetragrammaton. The eyes—here transposed to the eyes of Tetragrammaton—assume active agency in that they emanate influences on the external objects, drawn down via mental effort moulded on the kabbalistic practice of intentions. Interestingly, the ocular Name appears to treat the ailment of hair, which brings this text in direct dialogue with the Lurianic traditions evoked in first two of the presented texts.

The notion of the active eye underlies the use of the ocular divine name in a variety of performative contexts, especially those concerned with the transfer of power by an active subject to a passive object. All of the presented texts take root in the ideas of physiological nature of the reception of images in the eye. In medieval cognitive theories based on Aristotle, perception prompts higher processes of thought. In kabbalistic rendition of these theories, perception of an image (i.e. the ocular divine name represented in the texts) prompts an inner image which further propels processes of thought directly influencing cosmic and supernatural forces. Inner senses—mental vision and intentional effort focused on a perceived form—respond to outer sensory, somatic input. Thus, the sensory impression, such as an image or a graphic sign, may physically carry perceptive input into the mind and, according to the kabbalistic theories, trigger higher processes beyond an individual mind. Tetragrammaton rendered in *ketivat eynin*—being a word and an image—allows for the study of embodied practices, those propelling internal visions but propelled by visual, tactile and auditory experiences that transpire from early modern kabbalistic sources. Eyes, as much as other primary sense organs, graphically represent distinct features of human perception. At the same time, they are means to both represent and prompt interaction. The ocular Tetragrammaton embodies an active process of seeing, grasping and understanding as much as it looks back at the reader/practitioner engaged with the manuscript/printed page.

Selected bibliography:


Chapter 31:

Let us come back to our subject, [i.e.] that behind Zeir,\(^1\) in the place of their conjugation, that is, of Rachel\(^2\) and Zeir, there is an aperture within Zeir. And opposite to [this aperture], there is one also in the crown of the head of his Female. This is the reason [she] is called a Female, that is the meaning of [the verse Lev. 24:16: “who blasphemes the name of the Lord”, here read with a variant vocalisation as:] “the Female of the Lord”, who was Rachel, in her being loyal. The reason for an aperture on the top of her head (which is [located] in his chest) is that from Zeir her body draws influx [downwards] towards her.

This hole, which is in Zeir, is open both ways and goes through [from the back] towards his front. This is why it is required to put the fringes in front of it, parallel the hole, to draw the influx through this hole, the seed of Zeir towards the hair of Rachel, which [stands for] the fringes mentioned before. Because the hair of Rachel is by its nature red, therefore it clings to the influx of Zeir in order to become white, in the esoteric meaning of “mercy,” as did Arikh [Anpin]\(^3\) with the hair of Zeir, which is naturally black, as it is written [Song 5:11], “his hair is wavy and black as a raven,” and [it] became white from the hair of Arikh, which is white. As it is written [Dn. 7:9]: “the Ancient of Days took his seat; His clothing was as white as snow; the hair of his head was white like wool.” This is why it is required that a man puts his eyes against the fringes during the Shema—the reason [lies in the verse of Ex. 33:16]: “So Moses said to Aaron”, which consists of seventy-two [letters], parallel to the name of the seventy-two eyes, as it is written:

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1 Zeir [Anpin], lit. the Short-Faced One, is the fourth of five configurations into which the divine light was
2 Rachel stands here for one of the aspects of Nuqba [de-Zeir], that is, the Female [of Zeir], the lowest of the configurations of divine light.
3 Arikh [Anpin] – lit. the Long-Face One, the first (male) configuration of the divine light.
during the intentional prayer of Shema Yisrael at night, in order to draw the influx and enlighten the eyes of Rachel, since she is the “beautiful maiden without eyes”, mentioned in the Book of the Zohar. This is an allusion to [the verse of Gen. 29:17] “Leah had delicate eyes, but Rachel had [a lovely figure and was beautiful.]” But [Rachel’s] eyes were not mentioned [in this verse], that is why it is required for the eye to draw towards her the illumination of eyes, that is, to shine the light [of the sefirot] Netsah and Hod of [the aspect of] Tevunah of Zeir, [both situated] against her [sefirot of] Hokhmah and Binah.

2. National Library of Israel, Ms. 8 330, folio 85r (cf. Emek ha-Melekh, Sha’ar sha’ashu’e ha-melekh 43, folio 8v, Amsterdam 1648):

The name Eloha [written] with [the letter] vav amounts to [the numerical value of] forty-two, which alludes to the name a-b-g-y-t-ts [i.e. the forty-two-letter divine name], from which a man is built. These forty-two letters [of the divine name] are carved in the head of the man and to them allude the forty-two letters that constitute the Shema [prayer]. from the beginning of and thou shalt love to [the words] and on thy gates, because this pericope is [situated] against the head of man. From [the verse] and it shall be to [the word] and you shall lay there is seventy-two letters which are [situated] against the arms of man. From [the words] these words to [the words] as the days of heaven upon the earth there are fifty letters [situated] against the abdominal of man. From [the words] And the LORD spoke to the end of the pericope there is seventy-two letters, [situated] against the thighs and the phallus [of man]. Thus it appears that in a man there is forty-two, seventy-two, fifty, seventy-two [letters], altogether two hundred thirty-six [letters], and twelve letters of the Shema [prayer] with [the verse] blessed be the Name, [altogether amounting to the total of] two hundred and forty-eight [letters].

Why is there the name of seventy-two [letters] in the arms and the thighs [of man]?

Be aware that the [name] of the thighs is the name of seventy-two of eyes, as follows:
There are three crowns per each circle, and there are twenty-four circles and seventy-two crowns [altogether]. There are three of these names. It appears that in [the sefirot] Netsah, Hod, Yesod of [the configuration of] Imma⁴ there are seventy-two circles and two hundred and sixteen crowns, as in the name [of seventy-two letters] that derives from [the verse] and the angel of God which went before the camp [Ex. 14:19-21], and they are the seventy-two names and two hundred and sixteen letters.

Know that when [the sefirot] Netsah, Hod and Yesod⁵ of [the configuration of] Imma enter the head of Zeir, these Netsah and Hod emit light from behind the eyes of Zeir. That is what is written in Tikunim [i.e. Tikune Zohar 18], Netsah and Hod of [the configuration of] Imma are the two eyes of Zeir. It seems that Rachel is [the sefirah] Malkhut⁶ without eyes, as is hinted to in Saba de-mishpatin [Zohar 2:95a]: “the beautiful maiden without eyes”, that is the esoteric meaning of Rachel. For this reason it is required that a man, when reciting Shema—and in the phrase of And the LORD spoke, which hints to the eyes of Zeir that emit light from Netsah, Hod, Yesod of [the configuration of] Imma, with the three divine names mentioned before—that [he] gazes at the fringes, which constitute the hair of Rachel, so that [the hair] whitens and so that the light of the eyes of man enters through it, since they [i.e. the eyes of man] are like the eyes of Zeir. It is required to place the fringe in one’s hand against one’s chest, because there is a hole between Zeir and the head of the Female, [so that He can] enter the head of his Female and lighten her from behind her head, since her head clings to the hole from behind and from there [she] suckles all the influx. It means that when a man looks at his fringes, the light enters her through the chest, as we said. It appears that the man draws the light from [the sefirot] Netsah, Hod and Yesod of [the configuration of] Imma, from within the eyes of Zeir, and [it] enters through the said hole into the head of Rachel, and they light up her eyes, that is [sefirot] Hokhmah and Binah⁷ of Rachel. It appears that she is “the beautiful maiden without eyes,” (and her eyes are created) through the intentionality of this gaze.

3. National Library of Israel Ms. 4 19, folio 274r:

With the power of this name reveal to me the thoughts of this-and-that, at this precise time, [and] elucidate well the matter so that I would understand and not

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⁴ Imma – lit. the Mother, the upper female configuration of the divine light, according to Lurianic traditions.
⁵ The seventh, eighth and ninth sefirot, i.e. divine aspects or emanations of divine light or energy, configured into a decadic structure. Netsah and Hod are associated with kidneys or testicles of the anthropomorphised divine structure, and Yesod with its phallus.
⁶ The last (female) of the configuration of ten sefirot.
⁷ Lit. wisdom and intelligence, the second and third (male and female) in the sequence of the ten sefirot.
forget. And power, sanctity, and complete intention [directed] towards the name of
eyes, is required.

I found [it] written that it [i.e. the name of eyes] is also beneficial to save [one] from enemies, and from the hands of [one’s] enemies, and to come out of prison, and it is beneficial if you read [from the verse of Ps 19:7]: “The law of the LORD is perfect, [converting the soul: the testimony of the LORD is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the LORD are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the LORD is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the LORD is clean, enduring for ever: the judgments of the LORD are true and righteous altogether] to [the verse]: “More to be desired are they than gold” [Ps 19:10], with intention. Direct your intention while you utter the ineffable Name and strike with your finger the person in whom you want to instil fear or [create] illusion. Afterwards utter the ineffable Name, in sanctity and purity, and intend toward the Name [with the vocalisation] which derives from the vowel sings of [the word] יְהָבְךָ “he shall sustain thee”, of Ps 55:23: “Cast thy burden upon the LORD, and he shall sustain thee: he shall never suffer the righteous to be moved.”]

4. Oxford-Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 432, folio 104r:

Here it is for you, the ineffable Name, which would come out of the mouth of the High Priest on the Day of Atonement, in sanctity and purity, and here it is written as it is required: [YHVH – Eyn Sof – Keter]

as it was transmitted by Tannaim with its vowel signs and with the crowns [tagin], these are the seals above the name, and the vocalisation [pattern] of the name Shaday is written below the name. Its vocalisation is the [same as the] vocalisation of the name Shaday. No one of Israel is permitted to gaze upon it, only in great sanctity and purity. For this reason, be vigilant to give greatness, sanctity and purity to the Creator.

This is [the meaning of the piyut] “A crown is given to You, oh Lord, our God, by the angels on high, and by Your people who assemble below: all of them together, thrice repeat “holy” unto You, as is said by Your prophet [Is 6:3]: <And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts; the whole
earth is full of His glory." It is suitable to direct [your] intention toward this name on the Day of Atonement, at the time of the four gedushot [of the Day of Atonement], and especially at the time of the Amidah. And it is guaranteed that the prayer will be heard, and it may annul all the bad and harsh decrees which happen to come upon the world from the outside. Tested.

5. National Library of Israel, Ms. 8 330, folio 212v:

For my eyes and my heart to open to the fear of your name, to obey your will wholeheartedly, from this moment until forever, amen. To understand a mishnah or a difficult halakhah, recite: may it be Your will, sh-sh-a-ts-y-m a-a-a-ts-y-m, the prince of wisdom, the prince of reason, the prince of intelligence, to send me the angel Patahiel, who would explain to me this mishnah or this halakhah, or a subject that I am studying. Amen. Sela. [Repeat] three times.

t-l-m-y-h r-v-h: recite [this name] so that all eyes and all thoughts rise on high, and this shall suffice to the understanding.

**Torah:** the vowel [marks of this name are] shva, holem, kamats, whose [numerical value] amount to the value of [the word] Torah.

**Mishnah:** draw in your mind [the name of] Shadday that amounts to [the numerical value of the name] Metatron [314], and with the name of seventy-two, and with ten letters of the name of seventy-two, it [all] amounts to [the numerical value of the word] Mishnah, as follows: y-u-d h-y vyv h-y, and thus there are seventy-two eyes which emit light towards it and receive illumination from it. (See Kanefé Yonah 2:79 [78], 118v)

**Zohar:** draw yourself the Tetragrammaton as follows: y-v-d h-a v-a-v h-a that amounts to the numerical value of forty-five and alludes to [the sefirah] Tiferet which is Jacob, who is called “the brightness of the firmament” (Dn. 12:3).

**Halakhah:** by way of numerology [equals the numerical value of the word] Adonay [when counted] with four letters [that constitute the word halakhah] plus one, to illuminate it [and] to receive illumination from it.

And if a halakhah is difficult, direct your intention toward [the word] m-sh-p-l-t which is [the sefirah] Malkhut within the Torah.

6. National Library of Israel, Ms. 8 1070, folio 31r:
For the afflicted with matted hair:

Recite: I adjure you, *p-v-ts-h p-v-ts-h*, in the name of the [power] in charge of you, *l-b-q-v-s*, I adjure you, the [power] in charge of you, in the name of the guardian, who is *l-b-q-v-s*, I adjure you, the guardian, in the name of the [power that] governs you, who is *p-r-g-y-s*, I adjure you, the [power that] governs you, in the name of your prince, who is *k-r-y-s*, I adjure you, the name, in the name of *a-f-r-‘-y-s*, who is *g-v-z-n-q*, I adjure you *a-f-y-kh-s*, and your mainstay, who is *g-d-b-r-y-n*, I adjure you, and your *dux*, in [the name of] your king, who is *q-l-y-a-n-h*, who is the king without a chamber, in charge of matted hair, *b-r-v-v-sh* – in charge of epilepsy, *q-v-l-m-a-n* – in charge of the struck [in the language of Ashkenaz: *shlak*]. I adjure you, the king, in the name of the angel [who is] in charge of him, who is Sandalfon; and the angel Sandalfon – I adjure you, in the name of God of hosts, *g-m-d-y-q d-m-a-y h-r-s b-s-a-r-h sh-a-q-l-v r-a-vv-t b-r-n-d t-z-b-y-l b-h-l-v-t-y-b g-m-kh-t d-g-l-a a-n-b-g-d r-b-ts-kh-h q-b-h-h-h h-h-ah-b* to order the angel who does not have a chamber, *a-q-l-y-a-h*, who has no chamber, to order [the angel] to make this [piece of] matted hair fall from his body or to order [the angel] to heal him. Strike it with the name of eyes and direct [your] intention so that [the numerical value of the name to which you intend] amounts to one thousand six hundred, which is the number of the armies of the demon *q-l-y-a-n-h*, the name [of six hundred souls], and direct your intention toward the name of eyes, which is

![Image](image-url)

[To make the *koltun* fall, smear the bottom of the *koltun* with bat brain or hare brain and it will fall. Tried.]
Ocular Script in Ashkenazi kabbalistic compilations
Agata Paluch, Freie Universität Berlin

1. National Library of Israel Ms. 4 19, folio 50v:

פרק לא:

והוזה על nostroינו כי מצאוות דער שרוך הדבוק שלמה דריהון של רחל וצרה יש דריהון נבוק בציר.
ולשתוינו ייבבך חדשון הלפק זה נקרא תבוק פִיךְ נבוק: נừינו ו: שלחנו רחל שהוזה נאוון.
הנבק ושכדקהו (שכדקהו ולא) פִיךְ שטבוק, נציף מהפיכו: צדו הזה שטבוקו והוא מפיך ושברך.
עד لهذا וזיך לייסי דיון כל הזה צדו כדי למשות דריך אוטו הזו העור והביש עיפור.
ולשתוינו רחל שמה הצוירו: הנבוק צד שרחום של עיפורו הקדוק והוא מצוירו: לֵּךַר פִיךְ והשבר.
והזו שער זיילב yaşama תמסת: دائم באברה מעבר עד שערו שהור שחרי רכיב.

קצינו ותחלתיי שחרורו תכירו הבובו מפריר אחר של בֵּל תבות בשתיי ומינו.
לבושה חתלו תויב ועריא במעור פִיך רחל האדום על עיני תיבי. בשעת קריאה.

פִי אחרון שכנא עיביים ושגום חנדו של עיפור תיביך וכתבו:

2. National Library of Israel, Ms. 8 330, folio 85r:

ושם אלו״ה עם וי״ו עולה מ״ב שרומז לשם איבג׳ית שנבנה ממנו האדם ואותיות מ״ב הנזכרו.
הם נחקק׳ בראש האדם ולהם רומזי׳ המ״ב תיבות שהם בק״ש מתחילת ואהבת עד ובשעריך.
בשררה הפרשה נגד ר CharSet האדם: ומוהי׳ אם שמונ׳ יש עד ושמתם יש ע׳ תיבות שהם_CENTER gegen זרועות
האדם: ומאת דברי אלה׳ עד כימי השמים על הארץ יש נ׳ תיבות כנגד בט״ן: ומויאמר עד סוף
הפרשה יד ע׳ תיבות הם כנגד היריכים עם היסוד发现了 יש באדם מ״ב ע׳ נ׳ ע׳ ע׳ הם רח״ו
וי״ב תיבות של שמע עם ברוך שים הרי רמ״ח: ואח״כ איך שם בזרועות ובירقيام שם ע׳ דע
שהאות של היריכים הוא שם ע׳ של עיינין כזה:
ויש לכל עיגול ג׳ תגין והעיגולים הם כ״ד והתגין הם ע׳ יש מאלו השמות ג׳ היו בנה׳י של אימא שה Emacs ורי׳ו תגין כמו שם של ויסע ויבא ויט
שהם ע׳ שמות ורי׳ו אותיות: ודע כשנה׳י של אמא בראש של זעיר אלו נצח והוד
מאירים מאחור עיני זעיר והיינו שאמרו בתיקונים י״ח נצח והוד של אימא הם תרי עיינין
של זuir מצאוה להוליה הוא רמרא שנפל בשאתא שפירתא דלית להם עיינין שהיינו סוד רחמי׳
לעימיני׳ זה בסבא פי׳ משפטים עולמתא שפירתא דלית לה עיינין כשהיינו שאמרו בתיקונים י״ח נצח והוד.

איליא הראות עינינו ידיהי שניי ראש יצוגו והדבורה דעיכג נכתמה הבינה של שד:
ויאמר שאריה רומ ליעיגינו של עיר שמח מאיריס גונינו, של איסה בגו הורגונה שיראה ביציאת שמח שערת רחל כרי יחלובונ רכשב זבח חרוא מיצהי운 של אחין שמע דונה גוני
ועיר (כרי יחלובון) היצركز ליציאת בגד הנבוח כסי הדוח שיש ושמע לראש דוכב
והזכ הנימירו מכש כו לארח יברuí הל זכר אורות אריאש שארוש נברק בחר
וחיה זכר אורות זכר לכשת הל זברואד רואות בצידכמככ בחר זכר
הזהו כמי שמאמרינו נמצאו שמעי הלואד זכר שנוזי של איאמה בחר עני ערי זבר כמי
זער הזכ לארח כל מן הלאיריס בזברכי הכנה, עזנה על רוח פנמה שואחנה
ולעימת הספרת דללה לו עייגינו (בעישת לו עייגינו) בברכה הראיה הזואת:

3. National Library of Israel Ms. 4 19, folio 274r:

בכית הזו המ楽しい משמחת פלוני בנה עווה עווה הנאות באור ובעני ברני יסעורモノ לא אסכה זמי
יאיא על חכם סרס: יזפ: גורדר ש الهند גורדש הכנה שמלת בשמוע עייגינו ושביט:

4. Oxford-Bodleian Library, Ms. Opp. 432, folio 104r:

הא לך שם המפורש שהיה יוצץ מפי כהן גדול ביום הכיפורים ברוך וברוך וברוך: א"א סלה ס"ס: ג"פ:
א"א סלה ס"ס: ג"פ: זכר היה גדולה וקדושה וקדושה שלמה במיא עייגינו שאבין:
ועתה הכח שכיב חוסר סבל לבלנץ מאור יד
שנתה יצלאת מבית האסופי, זשר חת.exports, יבז זוכת
הழה ומימה על התמה מידי אמי כני: התוכן ההכינה
השם והמכה האבותנים לאר שחרצה לוזרי פלאי
ואזז והער עזינו רואב התש束缚 שבדש הבודהה
והתוכן בסם הזרוס מקודוחו (תקב):

5. National Library of Israel, Ms. 8 330, folio 212v:

שיפתחו עיני ותן בלבי לירא את שמך והנה שמיית את כל הנח של שמיית אמן: עוד
הילוף מנסה ואהלת המשוק ייניר יי רזון פלגכי שמיית אאמני DRIVER שיר של הכנה שיר השכל
Sher ha-binah shatshelul le maldek mafehia le shibbor le meshuah va ha-hellek va nenek de sheanan be ol: Ase:

המלחיה רוח אomereschel teinim voshebashatuk selked le-tehebod va di lidevi

הלכה שפל של שביעי חלימי זכני חזרה

משמעה ציור של שעיית טעורים מצטברים ע璨 לש שול ייע יועSugar יאחוטיה לש שול ייע טעורים

משמעה (כוה דירי דירי דורי היון וק hộpים והים חוץ) שמעים של ומקבל הראה תמונת: [עי הבוכי ונה

חקל ב: ס"י ד"כ קהת יציב]

ודבר צרי להשל הפך לש修订 חוץ (דירי דירי דורי ישעיה פינה ורומת בת"ת שווה עקב

שקארה והרי התקין:

הלבשה בני אדני סם יאחוטיה לש helek להחליא לש helek התיה תמונת:

וכשויית helek bein יון

למשל"ת שוהה פלוכות הבוחר:

6. National Library of Israel, Ms. 8 330, folio 31r:

הלכה קتراث השערה:

יאמר מאין פשות פוטח המשמעת שלוקчен לבקש ועניא המונח שעקל בשפח השועו

ל.Infofוי ושלמר לשמש המושלה שלח שווה פר蕤ים ומקهى המשיל לשם שער הזה קורס

ומאיך והשם בשם זערכו של שזה גנניקו אפרים ומקهى בוטות שלח שווה גנניקו ומאיי אלמך שלח

ברכל השועו.

קוליאכה שלח ↘ מבלר בורכי הכבול מהו א"י מלוכלך שאינ ילה חזר א"י קלאינט ב: בורוכי ג

קוליאכה מונח על קתרוטה השערה. ברוח המונח על נפש. קוליאך מונח על בלע ראות בורני

שהלאה המדליתaniem בוש המשה המונח שלושה ספדפים והمالك ס뜨פיםekenعصוח המשיל שער הזה קורס

בacakot וורדים לקאיêt בוש המשה המונח שלושה ספדפים והمالك ס뜨פיםekenعصוח המשיל שער הזה קורס

באנﺛום תחתון של המחלין שאר לו חזר או קלאיאח שאר לו חזר שירצה עד שירה יוניה אתלו

קוליאמה השערה מגובא ומילוי על עליית שיררה אומת: רוחו אתשהו בשמש ערנייינו ברוך שלמה הכבול.

ככין אליל חן מוכני היריחונים עד קלאיאמה לש וผ้า פועד劢 מוזז א"י מוזז של ארבית ופוסל בורוכי: [שיוף הקאליאים ימשה בהחיתות הקאליאונים על פוזז של פועלדו מוזז א"י מוזז של ארבית ופוסל בורוכי:}
Senses and Perceptions of the Disabled in Early Modern Yiddish Literature
Ruth von Bernuth, UNC-Chapel Hill

Modern taxonomies of illnesses and disabilities do not reflect early modern ideas about physical and mental difference. In modern thought, disability or illness is always understood in terms of a norm, deviations from that norm, and medical treatment. In the early modern period, the disabled are their own order of creation, almost another species. Far from being pathologized, disabled people were widely considered miraculous and potentially oracular. The pre-modern view sees a radical discontinuity between disabled and able-bodied people. Illnesses, on the other hand, were already seen as treatable—be it by diet, say, or exorcism. These different ideas about disability are reflected in Old Yiddish literature, which includes stories about monstrous births, demonic possession, miraculous healings, prophetic proclamations, and insights of great wisdom.

Revelations on the part of disabled characters are featured in two Old Yiddish stories from the late 16th-early 17th century presented here. Both stories question senses and perceptions of able-bodied people and illustrate the common European proverb “children and fools speak the truth.”

The first example is taken from a collection of stories about the jester Aylespigel (Dyl Ulenspiegel or Till Eulenspiegel famous in German and ultimately world literature), from a multi-work Yiddish manuscript held in the Bavarian State Library and compiled by the scribe Benjamin b. Joseph Merks of Tannhausen around 1600. It presents a Yiddish translation that follows its German source text very closely. First recorded in the Pfaffe Amis (mid-13th century), a collection of satirical tales whose author is known as Der Stricker, this is the story of a painter who produces what he claims is an artwork that people born out of wedlock cannot see, was widely spread in European literature of the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

The second story is from the Old Yiddish Mayse-bukh, a collection of 255 stories first printed in Basel in 1602, with various identifiable Jewish and non-Jewish sources. For this story, however, there is no known source.
Bibliography


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Ruth von Bernuth, UNC-Chapel Hill

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. hebr. 100, fol. 147r-148v.

Translated by Ruth von Bernuth from the Yiddish manuscript with reference to Paul Oppenheimer’s translation of the German Ein kurzweilig lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel. Straßburg 1515.

The twenty-seventh story

How Ayleshpigiel painted the Landgrave of Hesse and persuaded him that whoever was illegitimate could not see it

Ayleshpigiel performed amazing things in the country of Hesse. When he had roamed the country of Saxony through and through, he was so well-known, that was no longer quite able to get away with his mischief-making. Then he moved into the country of Hesse and arrived in Marburg at the Landgrave’s [court].

He was asked what he could do. He replied and said, “I am an artist.” This pleased the Landgrave. He thought he could do alchemy, because the Landgrave concerned himself quite deeply with alchemy. He asked whether he was an alchemist. Ayleshpigiel said, “No, gracious Lord, I am a painter—one whose equal will not be found in many countries. For my work far exceeds the work of others.”

The Landgrave said, “Let’s see something.” Ayleshpigiel said, “Yes, gracious Lord.” He had with him various artful paintings, which he had bought in Flanders. He pulled these out of his sack and showed them to the Landgrave. The Lord certainly liked them, and said to him, “Dear master, how much would you charge for painting our hall—showing the origins of the Landgrave of Hesse and how he initiated the friendship with the King of Hungary, and other Princes and Lords, and how long all this has lasted? And we would like to have this done as sumptuously as possible.” Ayleshpigiel replied, “Gracious Lord, if Your Grace were to let me do it, it would probably cost four hundred guilders.” The Landgrave said, “Master, just do it well. We plan to pay you well for it.”
Ayleshpigel took the job on, but the Landgrave had to give him hundred guilders right away, so he could buy paints and hire assistants. But when Ayleshpigel, with three assistants, was ready to start his work, he demanded to allow no one other than his assistants into the hall while he was working that he was not disturbed. The Landgrave promised him this.

Ayleshpigel next came to an agreement with his assistants. He ordered them to say nothing and let him take care of everything. They were not to work and they would receive their pay. Their greatest labor would consist of playing board games. They were pleased that they were to earn money for sitting idle.

All this went on for one or four weeks—till the Landgrave desired to see what the master and his cronies might be painting, and whether it would really be as good as the sample. And he spoke to Ayleshpigel, “Ah, dear master, we very much desire to see your work. We demand to go into the hall with you to view your painting.”

Ayleshpigel said to him, “Yes, gracious Lord. But I’ve got to tell Your Grace one thing. Whoever enters with Your Grace and views the painting—if he is not of legitimate birth, he won’t be able to see my painting.” The Landgrave said, “Master, this would be a big deal.”

As they spoke, they were walking into the hall. Ayleshpigel had spread a long linen cloth across the wall where he was supposed to have been painting. And he drew this back a little. He pointed at the wall with a small white stick, and began to speak. “Look here, this man—he was the first Landgrave of Hesse and a pillar of Rome. He had as his princess and Lady mild Justinian’s daughter, a Duchess of Bavaria. He afterwards became Kaiser. Look here, gracious Lord. Adolfus was born of him. Adolfus sired Vilhelem the Black. Vilhelem sired Ludvig the Pious—and so on, to Your Princely Grace. Indeed, I know this much: no one can censure my work, so artistic it is and of such beautiful colors.” The Landgrave saw nothing other than the white wall and thought to himself, “I can see mothing except a white wall, even if that makes me the son of a whore for sure.” Nonetheless he said, wishing to be moderate, “Dear master, we are well satisfied—but we aren’t sophisticated enough to judge.” With that, he left the hall.

When the Landgrave came to his Princess, she asked him, “Ah, gracious Lord, what is your free master? You’ve seen it. How do you like his work? I have but little faith in it. He looks like a rogue.” The Prince said, “Dear Lady, I certainly like his work. You do him an injustice.” “Gracious Lord,” she said, “should we not also view it?” “Yes, with the master’s permission,” said the Lord.
She had brought Ayleshpigel to her, and requested that she might see the painting too. Ayleshpigel told her what he had told the Prince: whoever was illegitimate would not be able to see his painting. Then she, along with eight maids and a female court fool, went into the hall. Ayleshpigel now drew back the cloth, as before, and told the Countess too about the origin of the Landgraves, one section after the other. But the Princess and her maids remained silent. No one praised or condemned the painting. And several regretted that they were born out of wedlock, either on their father’s or mother’s side. But finally the female court fool spoke and said, “Dear master, I don’t see any painting, even if that makes me the daughter of a whore for the rest of my life.”

Ayleshpigel thought, “This isn’t good at all. [If fools] are telling the truth, then I, in truth, must leave.” And he turned it into a laughing matter.

Then the Princess returned to her Lord, and he asked her whether she liked the painting. She answered and said, “Gracious Lord, I like it as much as Your Grace. But our fool didn’t like it. She also says she doesn’t see any painting at all. Our maids say the same.” She was worried there was knavery in this business.

The Prince took it to heart. Even though he had been tricked, he had Ayleshpigel informed that he should make ready his work that everyone at court might see his work. The Prince said he wished to find out who among his noblemen might be born in wedlock and which were not, for he would retrieve all the fiefs.

And dismissed him.¹ Then he charged the steward another hundred guilders, and got them. Then he left at once.

The next day the Prince inquired after his painter—he was gone. Whereupon the Prince, with all the people of his court, went the next day into the hall to discover whether anyone could see the painting. But no one could say he saw anything and as they all remained silent, the Landgrave said, “We see well that we have been tricked. I never wanted to be troubled with Ayleshpigel. He came to us anyhow. We can forget easily enough about the two hundred guilders, though. You can’t stop him from being the rogue that he is. For that reason he has to stay out of our realm.”

But Ayleshpigel was gone from Marburg and had no wish to engage in any more painting.

¹ The beginning of the sentence is missing here. The German text has: “Eulenspiegel went to his assistants and dismissed them.”
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Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. hebr. 100, fol. 147r - 148v.

דיא זיבן אונד צוואנקישט הישטאריוא
ויא איילישפיגיל דען לאנד גראפין צו העסין מאליט אונד אין איבר דיֵדיט ווער אוֹן אייליך ווערייא דער
קונט עש ניכֿט זעהין אוביטייערליכֿי דינג טריב איילישפיגיל צו לאנד צו העסין. דא ער דאז לאנד צו זאקסן ואשט אום אונד אום גיווא
נדרט האטיא. אונד ואשט וואל ביקאנט וואז. דאז ער זיך מיט زيינר ביברייא ניט וואל מער ביהעלפֿן מוכֿט. דא טעט ער זיך דאר נוך אין דאז לאנד צו העסין אונד קאם גען מארפורק. אן דעש לאנדז גראבֿין. וראגט אין וואז ער קינט. ער אנט ווארט אונד שפראך. איך בין איין קינשטליר. דעש
ורייאט זיך דער לאנד גראף. דער מיינט ער קינדא מיט דער אלקומייא. דען דער לאנד גראף העט גראשי ערבייט מיט דער אלקמייא. אלזו וראגט ער אין. איבר דיֵדיט שפראך. גינעדיגר הער. ניין איך בין איין מאליר דעש גלייכֿן אין ויל לאנדן ניכֿט גֿיפֿונדן ווירט. דען
מיין ארבייט איבר טריפֿט אנדר ארבייט ווייט. דער לאנד גראף שפראך. לאז אונז עטווש זעהן. איילישפיגיל זאגט. גינעדיגר הער, יוא. אונד העט עטליכֿן קונסט רייכֿין טיכֿר דיא ער אין ולאנדיר גיקוּפֿט האט. דיא צוגי ער אויז זיינו זאק. אונד צייגט זיא דעם לאנד גראבֿין. דיא גיפֿילן דעם הערן זא וואל. אונד שפראכֿין צו אים. ליבר מיינשטר. וואז וואלט איר נעמן. אונד וואלט אונזרן זאייל פֿון דעם הער קומינן דער לאנד גראף פֿון העסין. אונד וויא זיך דער ביפֿריינד האב מיט דעם קיוּגֿ פון אונגירן. אונד אנדי
רן וירשטן אונד הערן. אונד וויא לאנג דאז גישטאנדן זייא. אונד וויֵלייט אונז דאז אויף אליר קישטלי מאכֿין. איילישפיגיל אנט ווארט. גינעדיגר הער. אלז מיר אייער גינאד און צייגט. דאז ווירט וואל ויר הונדרט גולדין קאשטן דער לאנד גראף שפראך. מיינשטר. מאכֿיט דאז נאר גוּט. מיר וועלן אויך וואל ביצאלין. איילישפיגיל נאם דאז אלז אן. דאך מוזט אים דער לאנד גראף הונדרט גולדין דארויף געבן. דא מיט ער וארבן קויפֿטיא. אונד גיזעלן איבר קעמיא. אלז אביר איילישפיגיל מיט דרייאן גיזעלן וויל די ארבייט אן ואהין. זא בידינגט ער צו ואר. דאז ני
먼טל זאלט אין דען זאייל גיֵן. דיא ווייל ער ארבייט. דען אליין זיין גיזעלן. דא מיט ער ניט וער הינדרט וואורדא. דאז וואר היש אים דער לאנד גראף. אלזו ווארד איילישפיגיל מיט زيינן גיזעלן איינז. אונד ליֵגיט מיט אינן און. דאז ניכטז זאגטן אונד לישן אין זארגן. זיא ד
ארפֿטן ניכֿט ארבייטן. אונד זאלטן אירן לאן האבן. אונד אירי גריֵシュטן ארבייט זאלט זיין אין ברעט שפילן. דא וואורדן זיא וואל צו ורידן. דאז זיא מיט מיסיגן גיֵן. גלייך זא וול זאלטן געלט וער דינן. דאז זיא וועריט אלז איין וואוכֿן אודר ויר. דאז דען לאנד גראבֿין וער לאנגט. וואש דאך דער מיינשר מיט زيינן קומפאּן מיכֿט מאלין. אוב עש דאך זא גוט וואלט ווערדן אלז דיא ברוּב. אונד שפראך איילינשיפֿט. אך ליבר מיינשטר. און זא לאט גאר זער צו זעהין אייער ארבייט. מיר ביגערן מיט אייך צו גיֵן אין דען זאייל. אונד אייער גימעלד צו ביזעהן. איילישפיגיל שפראך צו אים. יוא גינעדיגר הער. אביר אייניש וויל איך אייער גינאדין גזאָגין. ווער מיט אייער גינאָדין גיֵט. אונד דאז גימעלד בישויעט ווער דאן ניכֿט רעכֿט גיבאָרי איינש. דער
מאג מיין גימעל ניט וואל זעהין. דער לאנד גראף זאגיט. מיינשטר. דאול ווער איין גראש דינג. אין דעם גינגן זיא אין דען זאייל. דא העט איילישפיגיל איין לַעְנִיא טוך אן דיא וואנד גישפאנט. דא ער מאלין זאלט. אונד צוֹגיא דאז טוך איין ווֵיניג הינטר זיך. צייגט מיט איינם וויישן שטעבליין אן דיא וואנט אונד שפראך אלזו. זעהיט הער דיזן מאן.

דאז אישט דער ערשט לאנד גראף פון העסין. איין קולומעניסיר פֿון רום גיוועזן. אונד האט צו איינר וירשטן אודר ורויאין גיהאט דאז מילטין יושטיאנוס טאכֿטר איין הערציגין פֿון פאייארין. דער נון דאר נוך קייזר וואר. זעהיט נון גינעדיגר הער. פֿון דעם גיבארין ווארד אדולפ ווס. אדילפוס דער דא געבאר ווילהָלמס דען שווארצן. ווילהָלמס גיבאר לודוויגן דען ורומין. אונד אלזו וארט הין. ביז אויף אייער וירשטליך גינאד. זא ווייש איך דאז ואר וואר. דאז נימנט מיין ארבייט שטראפֿן קאן. זא קונשטליך. אונד אויך פֿון שֵינן וארבן. דער לאנד גראף זאה אנדרשט ניכֿטז. דאן דיא ווייזי וואנד אי דאך שפראך ער אום גילימפֿז ווילין. ליבר מיינשטר. אונז ביניגט וואל. דאך האבן מיר ניכֿט גינוג וער שטאנדז דאז צו ערקנין. אונד גינג דא מיט אויז דעם זאייל. דא נון דער לאנד גראף צו דער וירשטן קאם. וראגט זיא אין, אך גינעדיגר הער וואז מאלט דאך אייער ורייערמאאַיר. איר האביט עש דאך ביזעהן. וויא גיואולד אייך زيֵלט דע דא גרעבֿן אויך דאז הער קומין דער לאנד גראף. אי איין שטוק נוך דעם אנדירן. איבר דיא וירשטייןウンד אירי יונקורויאן שוויגן שטיל. נימנט לוביט אויץ שאלט דאז גימעל. אור עטליכֿן וואז לייד דאז זיא אוֹן אֵיליך זיין זאלטן פֿון ואטיר אונד מוטיר. אונד צום לעצטן דא הוב די א טורין אונד שפראך. ליבר מיינשטר. נון זיהיא איך ניכֿטז פֿון גימעלד אונד זאלט איך שאן מיין לעבן טאג איין הורין קינד زيין. דא גידאכֿט איילישפיגיל. דאז וויל ניכות פֿון וואנדירן. אונד צוהיא עש אין איין גילעכֿטר. דא גינג דיא וירשטיין וידר הין וועק. צו אירם הערין. דער וואז הין וועק. דא גינג דער וירשט דעש אנדירן טאגז אין דען זאייל מיט אלינ זיינן הוף גיזינט. אוֹב אימנט עטוואש זיינש גימעהלז זעהין קינטיא. איבר נימנט קונט זאגן דאז ער עטוואז זעהיא. אונד דא אלי שויגן. דא שפראך דער לאנד גראף. נון זעהן מיר וואל. דאך מיר ביטרוגן זינט. מיט איילין שפיגיל האב איך מיך ניא ביקומרט. דאנוך אישט ער צו אונז קומין. דאך דיא צווייא הונדרט גולדין מיֵגין מיר וואל ער דולדין. זא ער נוך דענוך איין שאלק מוז בלייבן. אונד מוז דארום אונזר וירשטיין טום מיידין. אלזו וואז איילישפיגיל גל פֿון מארפורק וועק קומין. אונד וואלט וארט הין זיך קיינש מאליז אן נעמן.
This is the story of a man who repeatedly repudiated the Holy One Blessed Be He, until finally he regretted it. Then he asked himself, “How can I atone for my sins? Shall I do penance by fasting? I cannot do that, for I have never been accustomed to much fasting. He thought, “I will go and sanctify God’s name. This is the best penitence I can do.”

Then he went to a place where a prince-bishop had his seat, which bishop was especially zealous for the faith. When he arrived, he went to the palace and said to the mighty prince, “What does one deserve for making counterfeit money?” The prince replied: “He deserves to burn at the stake.” The Jew said, “Then I deserve that punishment, for I have made counterfeit coins.” He was immediately arrested, and the prince asked him what he meant by bringing such charges against himself. He replied that it was true: he had made counterfeit money, for once he had believed in the Almighty God [of the Jews], but now he had turned away from Him. When the bishop heard this, he was mortified that the man had reviled his idol [the Christian God], and he ordered him to be tortured severely, so that he should recant. But he stayed adamant. The bishop was now afraid that the Jew might [continue to] blaspheme and wanted him killed quickly. He ordered a pillar of iron, with an iron chain attached to it, to be placed in an open field, and he had a proclamation made throughout the entire country that whoever wished to see a Jew roast alive should come on a particular day to this place and he would see it.

When the day announced by the bishop came, all the people of the country assembled. A fire was made around the pillar. The Jew was tied by the chain to the pillar and was promenaded around. Slowly, he was driven round and the iron pillar
until he was almost roasted. This was done to make his death a harsh one, in the hope that he might recant. When the executioner saw what a horrific death it was, he walked away and refused to execute the sentence, for he was afraid of [deserving thereby] such a horrible death himself.

The bishop, seeing that his executioner did not want to execute the sentence, rose from his seat and said, “I will carry out the sentence myself for the sake of my faith.” He drove him around the pillar in the fire with the iron chain until the fat ran down his body. But he persisted to sanctify God’s name. The bishop drew this out for three days, because he wanted to inflict [a maximum of] pain before he died. Periodically he stopped and asked if he would renounce his faith and be set free. But the Jew cried out every time, “No.” So he continued until he was almost dead. Then the man said to the bishop, “Listen, bishop, before eight days have passed I will judge you as you are judging me, and everyone will see it.” Then he shouted, “Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one,” and, during the “one,” his soul left him and he was completely burned to powder.

Then the bishop ordered a banquet for the people of the country and gave them plenty of wine to drink for the strengthening of their faith. As they were sitting at the table, the bishop began to laugh. His counselors asked him, “Your Grace, why are you laughing?” The bishop said, “Why should I not laugh? The foolish Jew whom I have judged said to me that before eight days pass he would also judge me. That is why I am laughing.” At the bishop’s table sat a counselor who was a dwarf, and he said, “Gracious Prince and Lord, if I had been here at the time, I would have not advised you thus. I cannot say more.” They went on eating and drinking. Suddenly the bishop began to cry, “Woe is me! I feel so hot.” He was carried into a cool cellar, but it did not help. Then the little dwarf said to him, “The Jew told you the honest truth, for I will show you that the Jew is judging you as you judged him.” And the little dwarf made everybody see that the Jew was judging the bishop just as he had judged him and that he was making him writhe [as if] around a pillar. And everybody could see the revenge clearly. Thereupon, the dwarf disappeared, no one knows where!
Senses and Perceptions of the Disabled in Early Modern Yiddish Literature

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[Hebrew text follows in the document]
A Beautiful Song about Two Kedoshim (Martyrs) from Prostits
Oren Roman, Ben Gurion University of the Negev and University of Haifa

Bodleian Library (Opp. 885 (36))

Introduction

The genre of historical songs in Old Yiddish literature is of a functional informative nature. Namely, such songs were used to report news and spread knowledge about extraordinary, or otherwise noteworthy, occurrences. They were composed close to the time of the event they describe and made their way across the Yiddish speaking world. The extant corpus of Yiddish historical songs includes some fifty songs from the 17th and 18th centuries, all printed, although it is believed that many more such songs have not reached us. Their authors were often eye-witnesses to the event, and they mostly report calamities such as fires, plagues and expulsions, making references to the Hebrew genre of kinot (dirges).

Printed historical songs replaced previous means of imparting news: for example, word of mouth or handwritten reports. As such, this genre represents a change, or at least the appearance of a new mode, in the dissemination of information following the invention of print. The main difference between the printed medium and other media is the stability of the printed story, with a uniform version transmitted in tens or even hundreds of copies, thus rendering it more reliable. In this respect, historical songs paved the way for modern newspapers, which appeared on a regular basis and thus offered a yet more reliable source of news.

Many, if not all, of the Yiddish historical songs contain poetical traits and other indications that they were meant for musical or prosodic performance, such as a melody, a metric or even stanzatic structure, set rhymes, refrains, etc. These markers of orality, along with the simple aleph-to-tav acrostic which appears in some songs, may have helped singers memorize the text, as well and facilitated its aural transmission. It is possible that these elements drew on pre-print practices of news transmission, about which little is known. However, some of the historical songs are very lengthy and include complicated acrostics, comprising for example the author’s name, which would indicate that the genre was of a significant literary, written nature.
Ashkenazic Jews did not use musical notation during the early modern period. Therefore, instructions regarding which melody should be used for a particular song were indicated with a *contrafactum* reference to a more well-known song, for example *El male rahamim*, or the German *die Schlacht von Pavia*.

The melody chosen for a song is a powerful tool. It not only determines the metrical form used or the length of the song’s lines. Rather, it immediately evokes an association with the original song making use of this melody, and its cultural significance, or at times a parody thereof. This applies, for example, to melodies taken from the Yom Kippur liturgy. Moreover, the melody may evoke in its own right emotional reactions among its listeners, such as joy or sadness.

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*Eyn shen lid oyf shney kdoyshim das naylekh bekehilas koydesh Prostits zayn nidn gevorn al kidesh hashem*, relates the story of two Jews from Prostits (German: Proßnitz, Czech: Prostějov) who were convicted of theft and sentenced to death. They withstood the temptation and/or coercion to convert to Christianity, despite the fact that this would have earned them a pardon.

This song gives two, not one, possible melodies to which it could be sung: ‘*Akedah* or *Brauneslied* (‘Brown Song’). Unfortunately, I have been unable to find any information on the latter, though its name suggests that it may have been a German song, perhaps about the city of Braunschweig. The ‘*Akedah* melody, on the other hand, is a well-preserved tune in the Ashkenazic musical repertoire. Strongly affiliated with the liturgy of the High Holidays, it served as a symbol which elicited strong emotional and religious feelings among listeners, reminding them of the biblical story, as well as the venerated acts of *Kiddush Hashem* (martyrdom) during the first Crusade, among them parents who killed their own children to save them from forced conversion to Christianity. An article about the musicological traits of this melody, written by Prof. Eliyahu Schleifer and myself, has been accepted for publication in *Yuval Online Journal for Jewish Music Studies*.

This historical song is made up of 78 four lined stanzas with a rhyming pattern: aabb, cddd, etc. without any acrostic. It was written by one Hayyim ben Shalom of Poland who had visited Prostits. No date is mentioned in the song, and Steinscneider dated it to 1684, apparently according to historical markers within the text and/or his knowledge of Jewish printers in Prague. The song focuses on the piety of the older Leyb Wessel and the young unmarried Peretz ben Avram, who throughout the trial and while awaiting execution withstood the temptation and/or coercion to convert to Christianity. The song describes the judicial process, violent interrogation, and public humiliation of the defendants. It also portrays anti-Jewish tendencies within Christian society. The author stresses in his description that the prisoners remained loyal adherents of the Jewish faith,
portraying their death as *Kiddush Hashem*. He contradicts the rumor that one of them converted, and reports that they uttered the words *Shema Israel* before they were hanged.

This song contains direct references to the ‘*Akedah*, for example at its close the author asks God to remember the merit of Abraham’s ‘*Akedah* along with the two *Kedoshim* [=martyrs]. Moreover, it mentions the tragic fate faced by the executed men’s families: while Leyb Wessel worries about his soon to be orphaned young son, Zanvel; Peretz ben Avram is concerned about the fate of his parents, seeking to ensure his father knows that he did not abandon his religion. These descriptions echo the behavior of Isaac and Abraham in midrashic retellings of *Akedat Yizḥak*.

**Bibliography:**
A Beautiful Song about Two *Kedoshim* (Martyrs) from Prostits
Oren Roman, Ben Gurion University of the Negev and University of Haifa

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**A Beautiful Song**

About Two *Kedoshim* who Were Recently Executed over *Kiddush Hashem* in the Holy Community of Prostits.¹

To be Sung to the ‘Akedah Tune or the *Brown Song* Tune

**Introduction** Everyone should surely reflect upon this, for you will discover within it [this song] much to rouse your spirit.

[5] That one should care little for this world and only prepare for the world to come.

Take some time, and you will hear about the act of *Kiddush Hashem* that two people performed.

They gave their life for the sake of *Kiddush Hashem*, one of them an old man, the other did not yet have a wife.

The young *Kadosh* may have been able to save his life, but for the sake of *Kiddush Hashem* let himself be hanged near the other.

He did not want to deny the God of Israel, [to deny] that God is everywhere.

[10] You will also hear and see interesting things that happened to the executioner.

He rejoiced greatly in this [execution], but one day before it he lost his mind and went insane.

He hoped for their death for a long time, but one day beforehand he ran away, a crazy man.

You will also hear how it all happened, from the time they were arrested until they were hanged.

The writer also included [in this song a description of] the theft, not meaning to shame the *Kedoshim*, God forbid, but rather expecting that they might merit from it in heaven, when the whole world learns a lesson from them.

[15] That no one should do such things anymore, but rather leave people’s possessions be.

And whatever God did not give a man, he should not take himself, and if one is indeed poor, he should not be ashamed of his poverty.

¹ Today in the Czech Republic. Czech name: Prostějov, German name: Proßnitz.
It is better that he [work] hard with his own hands to feed himself, at any type of work, the main thing is to keep his dignity. Poverty is no shame at all, many people are members of this company [i.e., poor], most of them honest and honorable.

One more moral will come from this [song], that everyone should punish his child when he is still little.

[20] And whoever has children in the cradle should bend the tree when it is still young.²

Not let them get the upper hand, so that the parents will not endure shame. Not let any child have his own way, especially not let him win a game. Moreover, the rod should not be spared,³ for playing around brings no good. Had the parents of the young Kadosh not have owned nor given him games, he may have perhaps still been alive.

[25] They did not forbid it because that is how he sustained them. Except that, one could not detect any evil in him, really. Only that he, unfortunately, let himself be lured into stealing. Therefore, dear people, no one should let this booklet escape him, [even] spare [food] from your mouth. Do not care about the little money [it costs], perhaps you may also Enjoy their merit.

1. *El male rahamim*, merciful Father, 
   Redeem us quickly, that we should be rid of our Exile, 
   Withdraw your anger from your people Israel, 
   Look favorably upon the merit of the two Kedoshim who were executed in the holy community of Prostits.

2. An old man, Leib Wessel was his name, 
   He was known in most Jewish communities of Moravia, 
   They said many things about him, 
   May his pious soul not be ashamed.

3. The other one was called Pereẓ ben Avram, a mere mortal child, 
   A person the like of whom you rarely find, 
   He was the only son⁴ to his father and mother, 
   At the age of twenty-two he became a Kadosh.

³ Cf. “He who spares his rod hates his son, but he who loves him disciplines him promptly” (Proverbs 13:24).
⁴ In Yiddish קדיש Kaddish, i.e., ‘Kaddish sayer’, male heir.
4. A few weeks before he was arrested,
   He became engaged to an orphaned maid,
   Later the engagement was canceled,
   The orphan was not destined to be his wife.

5. Now every person should pray to God, day and night,
   That He should save him from evil thoughts,
   From the Evil Will and bad company,
   That seek to tempt human beings.

6. As the Kedoshim let themselves unfortunately be tempted,
   They discerned an opportunity to steal from a townsman,
   One Wednesday, at midnight,
   They impoverished him.

7. They made a hole in the wall,
   There, unfortunately, they crawled inside,
   It did not take more than an hour,
   For the boxes to be emptied.

8. In the morning of the day before the New Moon of Nissan, a great cry
   rose up,
   That townsman sent [his people] to all the streets,
   He also had the guards that were guarding at night arrested,
   No one suspected any Jews.

9. In that same room they left behind a pointed piece of iron,
   The townsman carried it around and showed it to everyone,
   In short: a blacksmith recognized the iron:
   “A glazier made this [---]"

10. At the same time two peasants came and said,
    [---] saw a Jew carrying a big parcel,
    [---] bent to the ground,
    [---] wanted a horse for three Guldens.”

11. Very quickly the chase began,
    Long enough until [---] ask,
    [---] two miles away to a tenant farmer,
    There Leib Wessel was caught and the stolen goods found.

12. You can well imagine,
    How Leib Wessel was brought back to Prostits,
Tied to a horse and forced to run [behind it],
For the most part he was dragged.

13. No hat on his head, no shoes on his feet,
To the [horse he was] bound with a rope while another man whipped,
There was much crying over the disgrace and [---],
No Jew should experience such a thing again.

14. Close to the Sabbath, when they arrived with him,
Very soon afterwards Pereẓ was also caught,
Had he hid, he could have been saved,
But the decree had already been made by God.

15. How things developed would take too long to tell,
How the stolen goods were carried back, piece by piece,
The blacksmith with the iron, he accused the glazier to his face,
So the glazier was also arrested on that same day.

16. Another woman was put in jail,
They suspected that her husband took part in it [the robbery],
She said: “What do women know about what their husbands do?”
She was tortured with a thumbscrew, but she withstood it well.

17. Most unfortunately, a new executioner was appointed,
Two days after their arrival,
Leib and Pereẓ admitted right away,
The glazier did not confess until he was burnt.

18. Now the trial came to conclusion,
Leib and Pereẓ should be hanged,
The Jewess was acquitted and released from jail,
The glazier would be whipped.

19. The news was announced to them in the town hall,
Leibl Wessel had to be carried to the town hall,
He was not strong enough to walk,
In jail he was always sick and feeble.

20. [---] they were read that,
That in fourteen days they would meet their end,
They immediately placed God within their hearts,
[---] to die over Kiddush Hashem.
21. On the Saturday evening before their death, Leibl Wessel [---] great despair, He was so weak that his soul barely [---], The Judge informed the Jewish community leaders.

22. [---] the Shamashim came, He pretended [---] to sleep, As soon as he noticed [they are] Jews, He was delighted once again.

23. [---] he let them wash his hands, He let them say for him the Vidduy [Confession] prayer immediately, He then asked the community leaders diligently, Whether they could grant him some grace.

24. “[---] that it will not be otherwise, See that my bones are brought to Jewish burial, Inform my son, Zanwel, in Ungarish Brod,5 If he was not killed in that calamity.”6

25. He was crying like this over the bitter decrees, He said: “I cannot blame anyone but my great transgressions, I am a sinful and guilty man, How I regret the transgressions that I committed during my life.

26. “Dear esteemed community leaders, for God’s sake, Let the scribe inspect my Tefillin, Let him see if they are proper, With that said, forgive me and good night.”

27. From there the community leaders went with the judge to Pereẓ, He received them in such a friendly manner, He quickly asked them for forgiveness, “Praised be God that I see Jews once again.

28. “Dear people, I entreat you, Tell my father that I did not abandon the Jewish faith, Do not let them worry about this at all, To my death I would rather go today than tomorrow.

5 Today in the Czech Republic. Czech name: Uherský Brod, German name: Ungarisch Brod.
6 This refers to the pogrom that took place in that town on 14 July 1683.
29. “They should not go to great trouble for my sake,  
   It was so decreed for me on Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah,  
   I go to my death with great delight,  
   It is better than spending my youth in prison.

30. “I would like to have my nails and hair cut,  
   Before I leave this sinful world,  
   I would also like that a close friend should walk near me,  
   That he may be able to relate that I remained loyal to the Jewish faith.

31. “If Jews may otherwise not be tolerated there,  
   I ask very much that some will dress up [as non-Jews],  
   That they [---] not be hit,  
   And be able to [---] my death.”

32. The judge said that it is hard to allow this,  
   To shave his beautiful hair,  
   Perhaps he would still convert,  
   He said: “I will surely not live to an old age.

33. “No, I do not think about that at all,  
   Even if my life would be spared in the last moment,  
   Because dying is no source of sorrow for me,  
   I would even like that musicians accompany me to my death.”

34. The judge said: “We will leave it for now,  
   As there still are four or five days left,  
   You will speak differently in those circumstances,  
   Now, Pereẓ, request what you would like to eat.”

35. Pereẓ laughed at the [mention of] food,  
   He said: “What for, should I prepare a meal for the birds and ravens?!  
   I have already put aside eating and drinking  
   The past is now forever gone.

36. “Now, dear esteemed community leaders, please tell my father and mother  
   That they should not cry and lament much over me,  
   They should be sorry anymore about what I did,  
   And imagine that I died in the Brod calamity.7

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7 See fn. 6.
37. “I wish to ask you something more,
   All my life I have fought for their sake, sadly,
   I helped sustain them any way I could,
   I shared with them whatever God gave me.

38.“How lonely I leave them in their old age,
   Who will give them what they need or care for them?
   Therefore, my solemn request from you is this,
   Remember them, for God’s sake, and do not forsake them.

39. “They should look after my sister Ḥayele’s orphaned boy,
   And find comfort in him, I swear,
   Never yield to evil thoughts,
   And learn from my lesson.

40. “Now I want from this world nothing more,
   Only that you should make me trousers and a shirt of tow,
   Definitely do not make me Italian trousers,
   That I should not be mocked at the gallows.

41. “I also ask you to make efforts that I will not hang long,
   That I may be given, sadly, a Jewish burial,
   I do not wish to trouble you anymore than this,
   In these few [remaining] days, do come and visit me.”

42. The community leaders were very much comforted by his words,
    They said: “Blessed be you and your soul,
    We ask you, for God’s sake, say nothing bad about their faith,
    So that you will not put the Jewish public, God forbid, in any danger.”

43. And when it was three days before [the execution],
    How firmly they held the prison doors closed,
    No Jew was allowed in to determine their wellbeing,
    Day and night the priests pestered them.

44. Their prayer books and Tefillin were confiscated,
    They thought they could persuade them,
    They said: “Do not waste [the words of] your mouths,
    Jews we were born, Jews we shall die.”

45. “–Pereẓ, convert!
    You can still become an honorable man,
    You may have both this world and the kingdom of heaven,
Too bad for such a lad to have the ravens eat his body.”

46. Pereẓ said: “I have already accepted my fate, I have no worries about the kingdom of heaven nor eternal life, And if I were to convert, Then truly, I would become nothing other than a proper Jew.

47. “And if I were to agree to be baptized, I would run away at the last moment, Therefore, I ask you, give me peace of mind, And just let me die as a Jew.”

48. The judge was asked to allow Jews to visit them, He said: “They are no longer in my power, However, should the priests wish to allow Jews to visit them, Then I would also be very pleased.”

49. On Thursday, early in the morning, when they were to be hanged, Their wedding clothes were brought before the judge, He said: “They should be dressed in these clothes.” But they were given no Arba kanfot.

50. Therefore, people in the Jewish community could not help but think, And assume that they had been swayed away from the Jewish faith. But they suspected innocent people, As you will read below.

51. The behavior of the new executioner and his great joy, Were surely unpleasing to God, That man lost his mind one day before [the execution], He now runs barefoot in the forests like a wild animal.

52. These remarkable things were noticed, It appeared that the Kedoshim possessed great merits, The executions had to be carried out by other hangmen, That same hangman was neither seen nor heard of again.

53. On⁸ Thursday morning, between seven and eight o’clock, People were eager to see the great event, People from a radius of ten miles gathered en masse, It was as on the day of the big weekly market prior to their holidays.

⁸ The original text adds here ‘on Hanukka,’ which seems erroneous considering the mention of Nissan above.
54. The Jewish community did not know what to do,  
    Whether to stay in their houses or go to the market square,  
    The conclusion was reached, not to hide,  
    That they should not arouse any more hatred of the Jews.

55. The hangmen dragged Leib Wessel, bound up, out of prison,  
    They threw him on a garbage wagon,  
    Perez was led on foot close by,  
    The glazier was given brooms [to hold] in his hands.

56. In the market square a big announcement was made for them,  
    The glazier was bound naked to the pillory,  
    How horribly they treated him,  
    They gave him thirty-one lashes.

57. Every lash that was given,  
    Blood splattered cubits away,  
    He was bound tightly to the column,  
    Each scream could be heard from a quarter of a mile away.

58. The priests said: “Did you see what happened to the glazier?  
    Well, soon the glazier will watch you too.  
    Therefore, you should still convert,  
    Truly you may be pardoned.”

59. “No,” they said, “leave the matter alone,”  
    Perez walked quite energetically, dancing and laughing,  
    They kept on saying: “Leave us alone.”  
    They were taken to the Olomouc Gate.⁹

60. Leib Wessel cried out with a clear voice,  
    Shema Yisrael and Adonai hu ha’elohim,  
    Perez asked the public for forgiveness from afar,  
    The priests did not allow any Jew to come near them.

61. And as they were already standing in front of the gate,  
    Half of the Jewish community was behind and in front of them,  
    On one side Jews were chased away,  
    On the other side they nevertheless ran there.

⁹ Olomouc is some 20 km north east of Prostějov.
62. It is impossible to describe the massive crowd that gathered,
   No one in a radius of ten miles stayed at home,
   They came on foot and on horse for the hanging,
   You could not drop an apple to the ground.\footnote{An idiom meaning ‘very crowded’. Cf. Wander, Apfel, 172: “Es konnte kein Apfel zur Erde. So gedrängt voll war es in dem Lokal.”}

63. When they were not far from the gallows,
   The priests said: “Now you have time,
   Do you wish to become blessed? Tell us now,
   Because soon it will be your last hour.”

64. “No,” they told them, “we will not sin against the God of the Jews,
   Just do quickly what you want to do.”
   How quickly the executioners carried Leib Wessel up the ladder,
   With a loud voice he cried \textit{Adonai hu ha’elohim} followed by \textit{Shema Yisrael}.

65. Before you could look,
   They had already concluded his matter,
   With Perez they lingered more,
   The priests still persisted greatly with him.

66. And when they saw that he will not be moved from faith in the One,
   Very angrily they let him go on,
   —“If you do not wish to follow us,
   Then go up there, to the high gallows.”

67. How happy Perez was that he was done with that,
   With joy he called on his heavenly father,
   He sang with a clear voice \textit{Adonai hu ha’elohim} and \textit{Shema Yisra’el},
   So that the whole square resonated.

68. Rabbi Elchanan the Shamash\footnote{Elchanan b. Isachar Kohen authored the Mussar book \textit{보호טיץ קָטֶץ}: \textit{אַלֶנָּה שֶמה ב’ר יְשָׁרָה כ’ מָקָם מִפְּרוֹשִׁים} (Dyhernfurth 1693).} and a few people,
   Stood nevertheless a gunshot away,
   They heard so clearly how he sang \textit{Shema Yisra’el},
   That they answered \textit{Baruch shem kevod}.

69. As soon as Rabbi Elchanan the Shamash saw that they had been hanged,
   He immediately ran to the Rabbi, the \textit{Av Beit Din},\footnote{Rabbi Elchanan b. Isachar Kohen authored the Mussar book \textit{보호טיץ קָטֶץ}: \textit{אַלֶנָּה שֶמה ב’ר יְשָׁרָה כ’ מָקָם מִפְּרוֹשִׁים} (Dyhernfurth 1693).} to bring him the
news,
—“Dear Rabbi, they have been saved already,
They indeed performed a firm act of Kiddush Hashem in public.”

70. Very quickly the rabbi said a blessing,
“Blessed is his fate,”13 he said,
He cried like a little child,
See, dear people, how quickly one can win the world to come.

71. Men and women went to Pereẓ’s father and mother,
—“Do not cry, get up from the ground,
Do not let his death cause you sorrow,
He will bring you great happiness in the world to come.

72. “You could not have known how he would meet his end,
Today at least you can enjoy his merit,
He would not have lived forever and would die,
Where could you have found such a meaningful sacrifice?”

73. This song remained waiting until now,
In the hope that it would be possible also to write about their burial,
Well, they were saved, thank God,
And they were buried on Wednesday night, Parashat Korah.

74. The following day was Thursday, third of Tammuz,14
Among those who took care of the Mitzvah of their burial was also the
aforementioned Rabbi Elḥanan Shamash,
At their burial everyone was happy,
No one cried over them.

75. In a fine meadow they lie at peace,
Far away from the gallows, near the small village of Drshovits,15
If travelers wish to ask the whereabouts of their graves,
They may say 'Atah gibor there.

76. Almighty God, when You remember the merit of the ‘Akedah,
Please remember these two Kedoshim as well,
And save your people Israel from all evil,  
And send us the Messiah to redeem us.

77. Well, dear people, young and old, big and small,  
Let this serve you as an example and a lesson,  
From now on, do not let anyone mislead you to evil,  
Thus we will be so lucky that *Uvah leziyyon go‘el vekhen yehi razon.*

*****

78. This song is not offered to anyone at a certain price,  
For it was printed as a godly book,  
Therefore, the more one pays for it,  
The longer may he live.

This song was composed by Hayyim son of R Shalom from the States of Poland who just recently visited the holy community of Prostits.
A Beautiful Song about Two Kedoshim (Martyrs) from Prostits

Oren Roman, Ben Gurion University of the Negev and University of Haifa

Bodleian Library (Opp. 885 (36))
זאלטין דעם יונגן קדוש זיין עלטרן דאז שפילן ניט האבן נאך געבן. טעט ער אפֿשר נאך לעבן.

25 דעשט וועגן האבן زي עש ניט גיווערט. ווייל ער זיא דער מיט האט דר נערט.

זונשט האט מן באמת נישט ביז אן אים טאן שפירן. נייארט דשعر די עז האט ביוונוטה הרivative מיט דאי נוגבה לאן פֿר פֿרַדְרוּן.

דרווע ליבו לייט לאון דא באב קיני פֿאָרן. טוט אייקוּש שאممار עיניל אב שפאריר לאמאיאץ דא וואז מיטטל ויט דיסט פֿר פֿרַדְרוּן. פֿלייליפס וועלר איר זיוה גוכת אָך גנייס.

1. ולא מטא הרמימ ער ברים פֿאָרָן.

2. דער ליז אונש בא דער וועלר דוּ קלאה פֿאָר וווער.

3. פֿון דיניע פֿאָלָק ייטאער טוא בּי דין צאָר.

4. נעמ צו שטיאיאר הוצק מש קדושים דיא אָך גייניק פורשטיין (ניידָה) גיואַר.

5. איין איתלייר מיט ליב זועש האט המש אָך טאם טאם דן.


7. פֿיל זיך הוצק המש אָך טאם זיאן צאָן.

8. גייניק פּרומָה רז געטע צו קיינר שמאך.

9. דער אנדר האט גייוויArk פי בּיָרָן אָך וועלר קינד.

10. איין פּאָר לוּי גייוויArk דא ייטאער אָך וועלר נוּרָן.

11. נייארט דשער די עז האט ביוונוטה הרivative מיט דאי נוגבה לאן פֿר פֿרַדְרוּן.

12. זיא אָך ניט נגוזער ניט פֿר זיוה בתוּ סגּוּר.

13. זא נוא זאל איטלכּר צו גאט טאָג און.ncbiיט באָך דא עז האט פּר מחשב אוּר רעָּההוּ.

14. פּאָר צָרָה אוּרי בּיָי גזָעְלֶנ יֵו פּר פּרַדְרוּן.

15. נוא זא איטלכּר צו גאט טאָג אָך ניט גיבראָן דא אריין אָך ליידר גקראָן.

16. קיינ שוע 사회 עַיָן גאט do יאָך גאָפְרֵיו.

17. איין דאָי מועיאר האט מען איַיָן לֶא צאָי גייניבאָגְרִי.

18. איין איירני איַי מען ליידר יאָך גייניבאָגְרִי.

כּיָן שוע社会化 עַיָן גאט do יאָך גאָפְרֵיו.
אני דין קסטן שון גיוועזן אויז גלערט:
8.
בפיירט[! ונסע פֿרי אָיָי וּורָאִיָּיֶה וּשְּרִיָּיֶה וּשְּרִיָּיֶה אָיָי דָּר מֶאָסִיָּי.
דער בורגר האט וּנֵקְט אֵיָיֶה אָיָי שְׁטֵרָסִיָּי.
אֲחַה הָאָט רָאֲיָיָיֶה תְּפָסִיָּי דָּיָי וּוּפָסִיָּי דָּיְיָי אָיָי בִּיָּיֶה נֵטֲוָסִי.
אֲחַיְיָי בִּיָּיְיָי יָסִרְאִילָי יָטֲוָסִיָּי גָּטָרָסִי.

9.
אֵיָי גּוּלְבֵּנְג הָאָט הָאָט זָיֵי לֵאָנֵי לֵינָי שְׁפָטִיָּי אָיָי.
דָּר בּוּרְגָּר הָאָט עָשָּׁרָיָיֶה נְגְרָאָיֶה אֵיָיָי וּוּנְיָי.
כּאֲחָרָי דָּרָי אָיָיֶה הָאָט דָּרָי קְעָטִיָּי אָיָי שְׁמִיד.
דָּאָז הָאָט[---] מְסִלְמָי אָיָי גוּואָר אֶיל[---].

10.
אֵיָי דוּיָי קומְמִי פּוּרְאָרָיֶה אוּג טוּארָי.
[---] גּוּפָאָי אָיָי זָיֵי וּרָאִיָּיֶה פְּנֶקְיָלָי טָר.[אָנָא[).
[---] בּוּגֲוָי בִּיָּי דָּר רָעָד.
עָוּד דְּרָיָי נוּלְדִיָּי גוּואָל[---] פּוּרְעָד.

11.
וּוּג בּוּלְדָי אוּרְאָי מְנָע צֶאָי.
אָוָא גֵּלָי מ____[---] דְּרָ פּוּרְאָאָני.
אָוָא זָרְוָיָי מִיֵּיָי רָאֲיָי רָדוּ[---].
דָּאָרָי הָאָט מְלָיָי הוּסִלְיָי בּוּכָאָיָי אָוָא דָּיָי גְווָאָה פַּל[ן[.]

12.
נְוָא קְאָאָי מְזָיָי מְצִיָּי.[
וּוּג מְלָיָי הוּסִלְיָי הָאָט וּיֵי[---] אָוָא פּוּרְטָסִיָּי אָרָי.
אָנָא פּוּרְטָי נְבוּדָיָי אוּג מְנוּוָי[---] לְאָלָפָי.
דָּעָג מִיֵּנְסִיָּי סִיָּל הָאָט מְנָע צֶאָי תֵאָא שְׁלָאָפָאָי.

13.
כּוּג הָוָט אָוָאָי דָּעָג קָאָפָאָי כּוּג שׁוֹק אוּג פּיָּסִי.
אָנָא פּוּעָל[---] שְׁטרָיָיָי נְבְּדָיָי אוּג אָיָי הָאָט נְזָאָי גּוּמְסִי.
וּוּג אז[עָרְגאָי[ אָבִירָי בּוּיָרָי יָוָטִיָּי אוּג וּשְׁזָאָיָי אוּג הָאָט מְעָבָרָי.
כּוּג יָדְשֵׁי קָאָי לָאָל גּוּלְבָּשָׁי מְעָרָי דּוּרָלָי.

14.
סְמוּכְי לָשַׁנְבַּבְיָי הוּא מַעְסִי מַעְסִי אָיָי אָיָי אוּכָאָי.
וּוּג בּוּלְדָי דּוּרָיָאָי הָאָט מְפָרָי אָיָי נוּנְגָאָי.
וּהִעָטָר צֶוָאָי זָיֵי וּרָאֲיָיָי גָּמָלָיָי הָעָטָר דְּעָטָר צֶוָאָי גוּוָאָי.
דָּיָא מְגִירָה אָבִירָי חָפְבָּי פּוּֽסִי גוּוָאָי.

15.
WHO'S A GOOD MAN AND HE KNOWS How TO AT A LONG TIME.

WHO'S A GOOD GENTLEMAN AND TELL THE TRUTH AND WEAR A STRONG.

WHO'S A GOOD MAN TELL ME THAT THE MAN USES A GROWN MAN.

WHO'S A GOOD GENTLEMAN AND WEAR A LONG TIME.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A GROWN MAN.

16.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A LONG TIME.

17.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A LONG Time.

18.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A LONG Time.

19.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A LONG Time.

20.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A LONG Time.

21.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A LONG Time.

22.

THAT'S A GOOD man AND WEAR A LONG Time.
ליש ער וושין זיין הענט.

וידייו לאטש ער זך פיר [---] זאַגינ בחבָּד.

ולא דעט러 רע ראטש פּלישט בוֽט.

אובר ציא יאַס נמאָ קעטטן אָכטּן גּאנד.

---

אבר ניט אנדרטשט גוִינ.

ויצטער זאַפער ישראַל אָרב חעגנאָג ניוּני גוּבּין.

מרינ זאַפער צו ווישן קעָן אָנгарען [ברד].

אָבּער אָנדרטשט אָן דער זָּליר ניט זאָי אוּראָרי פּשלאַג טוּט.

---

[וזא] אוּאר ער שרייראט אָיבר די אָנער גונָּהוּ.

ער שפּראָפּאָך אלַח אָהָבּ קיוּן די אָס שוּלַד צו ענעךָּ ובוּדְּרְגְּרִי מְיֶּיִין גורשִי עֶבֶּרֶדּוֹת

אָלָך גיַנדְּר אָנּ שוּדְּלְנִיָּג מַאָּך.

וֹוָי חַרְּטָה הֶאָבּ אָךְ אוּריָּ אָבּוּרְוָהוּ דֵא אָךְ אוּבָּבְּ מְיֶּיִין טָאָגְּנָּאָן.

---

לַאֲבַגְּנִי הָעַרְץְנָא רַאַשְּס אָזְּר תַּשְׁאָס יוֹלְלָל.

לַאֲבַגְּנָא מִזְרְחָה שְׁפַר בִּיבְטְצֵנָה מְיֶּיִין פּוּפְלִיקְל.

לַאֲבַגְּנָא לְצִיוּנָי אָבּ יאָגְנָא רָפַּאָל.

דוע מיט בצלאָל מְוּדְלָא חוֹזֶנ גוּטְקָל:

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פּוּפּ דאָרְטְס הַיְּנָא רַאַשְּס מְיֶּיִין דֶעַט שְׁפַר צו פּרְזָגְנָא.

וֹוָי אוּאר פּרֵיינְטְלְקָא ווֹאָר דֵּא אָנֵטפָּן.

מַחְלִילָה ווֹאָר דֵּאָ גוּטְפָּןָך.

גַּלוּבּ פּוּפּ גָאוּגְנָא לֵאָ דֵּאָ אָדְיִידָא ווּדוּדְק:

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לַאֲבַגְּנָא לִיוּאֲלָא קַטָא עַטְקָא דוּר בּעָטְקָי.

זאַגְנָא מְיֵּיִין פּאָסְטְרָא אָבּ פּוּפּ יְדָּר גִּלוּבָך ניט אָבּ שְׁפַרְטָן.

לַאֲבַגְּנָא הָיוּ דְאַרְפּוּרֲקָא וֹאָר ניט גאָרְשָנ.

לָא דְעָעַטְוַו הָיָאָךְ קַלְרַ לִיְדָּי יְוִדְסָא ווּדוּדְקָא:

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לָאָבּאוּי צוֹא ויִוִי מְיֵּיִין בְּדִיְדֵה גוּנְדָּנָה.

עָשָּאָי מֵיִי צוֹא ויִוִי גוּנְדָּנָה וֹוּ חַרְּטָהָּשְּגָּא.

בּעַעַלְגַּלְגַּל נוּרִיָּג יאָּבּ דוּר מַעִיַּת.

לַעֲבַרְשָא זאָּי פּוּפּ מְיֵּיִין ויִוִי גוּרְלָא יאָּבּוּי פּּר בּרִיַּגְנָךְ זאָּי דוּר חַפְּטָהָּשָּא:

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מְיֵּיִין הָרְאָא גוּנְלָעָלָא ווֹלִיל יאָּבּ מְיֵּיִין לָאָבּוּי אָבּ שְׁנָניָד.

אָיָּאָפָא פּוּפּ דוע גוּדְלָעָלָא ווֹאָר אָבּ שְׁנָניָד.

אָכְּכָהָּלְכָא יאָּבּוּי גוּרְלָא יאָּבּוּי פּּרִיַּגְנָא וֹאָלָעָלָא נַעְבּ מִיָּי.

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דש עיצ וויא נעocado וויא אית איב ידע יידן גלולה ור ביסני.

31.
איב וויא אנטרש גהוהים וריב ייב נט מסכת קעללו גלול.
וזו ביט איב וויא לゝן זכ אלעלי פר קהלן.
בː[---]איב וויא וריט שוטס.
איב קעקך בינא מים ציאאא פשח [---]:

32.
עד שטפ פטר פאעוע ולער טוורעלן צו גלאון געלרים.
[---]נ>אמ ניני הלשה האור וערט לבן 누ן איב שעורים.
פֿוילעס טורפ על זך צאף קעוועי.
ער פטרפק איב עלאה ועא צו גלעני נט צעיך.

33.
נייא דאודיק טוא איב נט גענוק.
עטניל איב מע נאמ שן מיני לגעך וואלב שענוק.
דער נא שט עבראץ איי מיג נט ליי.
איב גהע לוהס מיכ צו לאר פר גווע קעללו פֿעל ליי:

34.
עד שטפ פטר פאעוע מימ וואלקע עש לבן גודו מיט ווא.
עש איי וויא פֿאף פאר פֿאף טיאא דער צא.
דא ועיטש שווין אנדיטש שב פֿאר אונטע דוועי.
ונא פֿאף פֿאף שואח טוא דא וואלט שעינ:

35.
פֿאף וואר אנרי ידע עשיר תלפל.
ער פֿטאר פר ווארי וואל דאן פאלג אווג ראבלן אינמי מילט מקין.
עשינ איב טעניקקנע געך אינמי שווין גווע.
עש איי געמע אימ דער פֿארג צעי:

36.
ן לבר הלערניאק רעאפש טווי עפש מייני פֿאף פאר אוג מוט זאגו.
izophי ראח באים מיי גור ווינק אווג קעלגאנים.
לאור צו וויא טרשוב מיט ידע וואיא איבֿי מיר האבר פֿאר גוגמיי.
פיילני לבר אולג זאץ הער איי ברייד הלעער איב איי ברייד!
ונא הארן קוקו:

37.
נא֞א לער וואלי איב זכר ביסני.
וייל איב איי ראבובל הער איב פֿאף ייא נטכי פֿש enthusi.
וייל איב איי ראב אוועט הער איב איי נמעק דער צער.
געיללי מיט לייא ווארי מיר הער גאט בשווער:

38.
וייא עעליט לייא איי אייא קיר אלעהי צאמן.
וער וויט לייא איב נעבי אדר צאא איי פֿראפינ.

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דרות איי אָלֵנַכ תּוּכָא מִיִּיֶּנֶּנֶּשֶׁי בּוּכֶנֶּן.

בְּדֶעָנְכֶנֶּט יאָו נַעְבֶך נַזְּרָל פּוֹר שְׁאָל ויִאֶז נַעְבֶך:

39. אֵוִיֵכ הַיִּיל הַיַּיֵּה שְׁחוֹטֶשֶׁר חָוֶפֶם לַאֲחָזֵי יִזָּאָבֹטֶנֶּנֶּנֶּנֶּן.
אנָג צִי מֵיֵט אָיס טְרִיצוּּטֶא זָאָא צַזֶל לְעַבֶּנֶּן.
כִּיְי מִיֶּנֶּן וּזְלַחֲכֵן גּוּפָּל.
אנָג צִי פּוֹר מִיֵּכֶנֶּן יִיֵּאָי בּוּכָא שְׁפִּילַכֶנֶּן:

40. נְרֹנ בְּעַעֲרֵי איָכ נְיֵשׁ מִיֵּט פּוֹדֶר גִוְּצָא וּעֲלַגֶּל.
נַאר הָרְפָּפֶה הָזְיוֹן גּוּנַעְמַיְד דַש מַאָא מִיַּפָּנֶּן.
כִּיְי [וּזְלַחֲכֵן תְוָיָן טְוָיָן מִיֵּר דָאָרֵךְ יַויָיְי נַטְפָּּי מִלָּי.
דַּי מַעְּכֶנֶּן יאָנַג נְלַגְּיֵן נַטְפוּלַאָי לְאַפָּלֶנֶּן:

41. אַכ בָּיֵט איָכ לַחוֹטֶשֶּד דַּי אַקְי נַטְפוּל לְאַג גַלּוֹוָנֵן.
דַּש מַמַך מֵיֵט נַעְבָּנֶנֶּן זְנַב שְׁרָאָלֵן קְעַנָּט בְּרַבָּנָנֲּי.
וּזַי נַבְּרֵי הָוָלְאָי נֶנָּכֶנֶּן פּוֹל מֵטִיָּרֵךְ יַנְק.
דַּי עַטְלָלַכֶן נַאָגנ גּוּט נַעְלַעֲגְזֵן נַזְּרָג קוּמָט אַנְיְי רוּי.

42. רָאָשֵׁס הַבּוֹנִיּוֹנָט וּזַיָּנֶנֶּן רְגִּיְי יוּדֵנֶנֶּן דַּי אִינָיְי גַרְוַשׁ נְתִמָּה.
וַיָא שְׁפַרְאַלְךְ זְוָלֵל פּוֹדֶר צָאָאָי גָדֵי נַדֶמָּה.
מֵיֵי בְטָנְלָה הָשָּׁבָנְס יַדָקָי בִּזְיָי אָחָרְי יִזָּוְרַי אָמָנָה.
דַּש דַּאָג דַעְפָּל גַלּוֹוָנֲּי נַטְפָעֲשׁוּשׁ סָחַט וּשְׁוָלָמֵן אַנְי קִיְי סָכָנָה.

43. גָוַא דוֹ עַשׁ כָּאָמְדָא דְרַיְזֶא שָאָגָל דְּיָר פַּלָר.
וּזָאָג פְּשָעַט לַהֵלְטָס מַנְּ פּוֹדָה פּוֹשָׁס טַר.
כִּיְי מַזָּוְרֵי לִיָּשׁ מַעַזְּרָדְאָי אָזְיָי רוֹז גָאָי שְׁפַעְקָנֶי.
שָאָגָא דַּאָג יַבְרָר כְּמַרָדָא בִּיָא צְאָג שְׁפַעְקָנָי.

44. איָרָי סְדְרָלָךְ זְוָלְאָט פּוֹדָלֵן גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט גָוַאָלָט.
פֶר מִיֵּט זָאָי כַּבָּד > וַוְאָיְי רְדַיָנָה.
זֵאָג שְׁפַרְאַלְךְ טְוָיָיְי מְיֵיָיְי נַטְפָּל פּוֹדָלֵן.
יוֹדְיָדֵי יַוָיָי מְיֵר גֶבְרָאָלּוֹד הָיָוָיָד הָוָיָד מַיְיָי שְׁתַרְבָּרָנָה.

45. פַּרְזֶא דַוא דַּיְי קְעַרָק
עַשׁ כָּאָמְדָא נְיִיְי נְזַעְמָא אוֹיָי דְּיָר וּזְעָק.
דַּיְי יַעֲלָלָךְ אוֹיָי דַזְּוָלָמָא רִדָכָי קָאָנָשׁוּט אָזְעָק.
שָאָגָא פּוֹדָלֵן זְאָי נְיִיְי קְעַרְיָד יִיְי לְיִיָּבָא עָסְעָא דְּיָא רַאָבָא:

46. פַּרְזֶא שְׁפָרָאָק מִיֵּי לְיִיָּבָא אָכָא שָאָמְדָא שָוָא דְּרַיְי גָוַעָנָא.
קיין קומר האב איצפ לועס היימל ריצח און אייבן לועב.
ואן אוצ איצך שיול ואטלס פר קעךן.
פר הוור נייט אנדישט אנטילך ואני די מטל וידר אוני מיר ובען:

47.
ואן וויצ איצך שיול לאמץ טויפל.
נטילך מטל איצך אנדילוף.
דרום בית איצך גבל פרייד.
ואן לאשש מיצ הלט עטברך און וואן מתנן וויצ:

48.
צ זאנצ להן היוהים התן פנעם פנעם ייבא יועס Şזואנ עוביה גרייט.
ער שפיראן איצך האב איז נמיי מיטל.
איך דאך ואלך איצשConnor צו יואנ מיר.
ואן אייצך פלט עט ודין צו פֿרידן:

49.
דיארשטיק פֿר טאן וויז איצש ראש אוקלף עוגנן.
זירר חפח קילדער טאן מ פֿר שופע ברעננך.
ער שפיראן דא קילדער ווועט מ פֿר איוואול און טאן.
קֿיין אייצך יאוו פֿר איז פֿרודי:

50.
דיארף האט מון אייצך קולהしな אנדישט טאון עוגנוקן.
ואן גטורט איצכ תענין ליז התן פון ער אפמא לונטיקן.
מון האט אבר חוסד בגורשים גוועי.
ואו וואן אייר וויטר לעון:

51.
דיא מאסקנה פֿר דעם במעלטינן נויאן תליון און גוועי גורש פרייד.
איצק בוודאי מערן שישי לייד.
משועני אייז ראנ גאי אלך פֿר דר פֿר.
ברפוסינ לופס עאן אנדערן און אייזיוול תיר:

52.
דיא התו נונען דיאו גורשי חדושה.
זז עאיי גורש גולה זא או תני דאיצ קדושי.
ורוכ נודיר תליינס האט עאייכמקן פון פֿר ילט וויעני.
דעם צעלבולני תליון האט מון דר בייא ניט טאן גוועי נאך הערי:

53.
במחוכ דארשטייק פֿרוא צוויישן ציבן און איבט או.
ואלאט מ פֿר וידיש תנייק זא או גורש זאוא.
וון עענין מניי צמלך צי דו פֿלאפל נג שטיק.
ועו וואר גלייך פֿר גיור החאינן דר גורשי וואפל מרכ.
ליב והעיסול התאבק דא תליניס שבונדר הייטז וואני דער תפישה וטראנד.

זא וואינסן און אינק מיישט וואינק.

[פּרץ] 1 דא נואס מיי פירן זא פּלז דער נעל.

דעם לגראר טוות מוי בטיין און הגניזן נמע.

אינס הינדינק נאך דא לואט זא.

דעם גלאזר טוט זא בעזין אין הענטין געבן דא מארך זא.

זא שפדיצל זיא פּוּרס און פּרּוגוּר און די זייל.

אינס עריין זאלוּס מני הערין אויף פּארה מאייל.

כום שפדיצל זיא לא=mysqli פון זא אחיזון גשויאט וואז דעם גלאזר איז גשעהן נוע בלד ווארט דער גלאזר ענק אך צו זעהן.

דעם טוט עני עני צא פּר קאָרי.

פור ואואר בנאָד קאָאן עטף ווער.

ניין שפדיצל זיא לאandExpect אב פּין זא דיא זאלן.

פור זאแยก בירגן אין צעיק און חאלן.

זא שפדיצל אָסֶל צעיק עזאן פּרּוד זא.

בּאר פּין זא דעם (ארמליגר) צאָר צא.

ליב והעיסול שריוא אַלֶס פּין וואינק מיט העריר שטיוב.

שמע ישראָל אזאָנ ה' זיא הערלֶנש.

פור זאแยก פּין וואינק דעם ע無い פּיַּיִל מחליל בּהָיִל.

קָּניי לֶדוּד לֵיזָי דיאָןָרֶה צאָר זא נערעָס.

ואָנ דא זא אוֹאָרין שוי פּר דעם טאָר.

1 בּנימין: שמעיינן
דיא הלבי קהלית והארקן של יהודים וארון שון נאך אונ פאר אויף איין זיטט טאט מן יהודים פארט שפין.

אף ואן אנדר זיט עואר ווארין זיא דעם צו לויפן:

כרי המלא מתכנת וₑו פאר זא דעד צו דעם עם רב דש דא וואר איז ניט צו דער שרייבן אויף צבען מייל וואר נימנט דער היים בלייבן.

פון בהנגני וועגן אויך צו פוש אונ צו פערד.

כיין אפיל קאנט מן וורפין צו דאר.

פון הוורט בדל זיינ עגידרLeaflet שטונד:

ניין שפראך זיא אן יודין גאט וואלין מיר ניט בראכין.

דיא כומרים ווארין זיך מיט אים נאך שטרק במיהן:

ניין שפראך זיא אן יודין גאט וואלין מיר ניט בראכין.

דיא כומרים ווארין זיך מיט אים נאך שטרק במיהן:

נונע עעם בעל וואר פאר און פערד עיך שטונד.

אף ואן אנדר זיט עואר ווארין זיא דעם צו לויפן:

כרי המלא מתכנת וₑו פאר זא דעד צו דעם עם רב דש דא וואר איז ניט צו דער שרייבן אויף צבען מייל וואר נימנט דער היים בלייבן.

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פון בהנגני וועגן اوיך צו פוש און צו פערד.

כיין אפיל קאנט מן וורפין צו דאר.

פון הוורט בדל זיינ עגידרLeaflet שטונד:

ניין שפראך זיא אן יודין גאט וואלין מיר ניט בראכין.

דיא כומרים ווארין זיך מיט אים נאך שטרק במיהן:

ניין שפראך זיא אן יודין גאט וואלין מיר ניט בראכין.

דיא כומרים ווארין זיך מיט אים נאך שטרק במיהן:

נונע עעם בעל וואר פאר און פערד עיך שטונד.

אף ואן אנדר זיט עואר ווארין זיא דעם צו לויפן:

כרי המלא מתכנת וₑו פאר זא דעד צו דעם עם רב דש דא וואר איז ניט צו דער שרייבן אויף צבען מייל וואר נימנט דער היים bliim.
ויזא נונ ריב אבכיד שמיא זיא דז ריב שוגנים.
ויזא בלד וליפס ריב איביד זיא דז ריב בצור בᴛעדונין.
ריב הלטינז ייב ייו שוק ג騎ניא.
ויזא האבך שוקֿר מקדש חשם ברכֿים גוועני:

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אוניק שיק און משה צו דער ליזן

77.

נַו הַלְבָּב לִיּוֹט וּיוֹנָה אַלְכָּט גוֹרָשׁ אָאָ קָלִיָה.
להשיט אַיִיךְ דָּאָוָא קָלִיָה (אִינוּ לְכָאֲשַׁעָמַעְיָל אָאָגְ בּּיָאָ שְפִּיל זַיָּיִן).
לְאָאוּז אָיִיכָא ווּיזָאָר קָיָהְרָא זַוְּ בּוּיָיָּה פר הָעֲצֵיָה.
וּאָאָר מִי הֶזָּלַיְה וֵּדוֹ אָוָאָל וְלַעְתָּיְה וֵּדוֹ הָיְיָה רַעְיָה:

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78.

da az לָיְד ווּהְרֶט קִיָּמִי נִטַּ זֵי אוּבָאָזַ טוֹיְיָא.
דּוּנְעִי אֶשְׁ שָאָאָנְ הָאֲרָאָהֲרָ בּוֹיָאָן יָאָיְיוּ מֵעֲטָלְקָפָא סְפָרְ יָאָן סְטַטיָיאָ זָא.
דּוֹרָזְ אֶזְאוּ מְבֶרֶד אֲאוּיָן פּוֹרְ מְבֶרָס.
וּוּיָא לְעַעֲנָרְ אֶזְאֶל לְעַבְּנָא:

דָּאָז לָיְד הָאֲט גְּוֹמְכָא חָיְיָא בּוֹ הָאוּרְ בּוּרְ שָלְוָא מָמוּדְיָה פּוּלָיְנָ דָּאָוְ וּוֹאָר גְּלָיְכָא בֵכָאָב פּוֹרָטְשָי.
“March!” The Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1741
Michael K. Silber, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

In the spring of 1741, the Jews of Prague mounted a festive procession to celebrate the birth of the Habsburg crown prince, the future Emperor Joseph II. This was the third event of its kind in Prague: similar processions had taken place celebrating the birth of a crown prince in 1678 and 1716. Each event documented in detail the order of the march and a description of its participants, but not in equal measure.

A rhyming Yiddish description of the 1678 procession has survived only in German transcription in a hostile mocking pamphlet published in Leipzig. A Yiddish account of the 1716 event published in Vienna fared better. Although the original has been lost, it was faithfully rendered in both Yiddish and German translation by the Frankfurt antiquarian Johann Jacob Schudt who also added a useful running commentary peppered with some snide asides. It was published as an independent pamphlet in Frankfurt 1716 and once again the following year in the concluding section of the fourth volume of his Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten. In both publications, a description in both Yiddish and German translation of a more modest procession in Frankfurt preceded the Prague account. In addition to a manuscript account, three more books were published in Prague in 1716, one in Hebrew type and two in German, all devoted exclusively to the local festivities. These have been subjected to extensive analysis by Rachel Greenblatt in three recent articles.1 We do not know just how extensive these celebrations were, whether other communities also mounted such processions. Here I add a previously unpublished account of the 1716 celebrations in the Bohemian community of Bidschow. (Text 4)

By contrast to the rich yield of publications of 1716, no festival book of the 1741 Prague procession seems to have survived. To be sure, we do possess three different publications that provided similar descriptions of the participants though in varying detail. The earliest is a dispatch from Prague four days after the events that appeared in the Berlin newspaper *Vossische Zeitung.* Two years later, a history of Maria Theresa’s reign by Christoph Gottlieb Richter devoted chapters to the Prague processions of non-Jews and Jews. This most detailed account was edited and translated into Yiddish in 1930 by Rudolf Glanz who also added a Yiddish translation of the *Vossische Zeitung.* A third version of the procession was copied into one of his manuscripts by the eighteenth century Bohemian scholar, Jan Karl Aloise Rohn (1711-1779), which then became the basis of two short articles by the Czech historian Antonín Dolenský, one of which was then translated into German and English by Wilma Iggers.

We can perhaps view as one more version the key at the bottom of the copper engraving of the serpentine procession that identifies the numbered participants. Indeed, rather than the written text, it is this impressive visual testimony that has made the 1741 pageantry justifiably famous.

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2 The Prague dispatch was dated 26 April 1741 and appeared in the 25 May 1741 issue of the *Vossischen Zeitung.* Reproduced by Ludwig Geiger, “Mittheilungen aus Berliner Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Brochüren (1741-1830),” ZGJD 4 (1890), 289-291.


procession was also depicted by two illustrations: in the frontispiece of Schudt’s pamphlet and in a folded leaf of one of the festival books. (1b and 1c) But these were rather schematic and dwarfed by the much larger and more realistic portrayal by the 1741 engraving. It has been reproduced often, most interestingly on a souvenir sheet issued by the Israeli postal service in 1960 where the embedded stamp shows the postal rider who leads the march.7 Significantly, the long title of the engraving notes that the Prague Primator, Simon Frankel, had it printed “pro Memoria” at his own expense. In this, he may have very well been following the example of his predecessor, the Primator of 1716, Samuel Sachsel Tausik, who had taken a similar initiative and commissioned one of the festival books (and perhaps his predecessor, Haim Lichtenstadt, the Primator in 1678, had done so as well). We may be certain that the earlier publications commemorating past processions served as a useful blueprint in 1741.

But the 1741 inscription, “Freüdens bezeügung von der Pragerischen Judenschafft den 24. April A°. 1741 gehalten worden/ Welches der Primator Simon Frankel, pro Memoria auf seine eigene Spesen in druckh verfassen Lassen”, could possibly refer not only to the engraving, but also to a printed text. None of the aforementioned descriptions of the procession made the claim that it had been sponsored by the Primator, and no such booklet has yet been found. However, recently I came across a previously unnoticed text, much more detailed than previous accounts, that did indeed bear the official authorization of the Primator Frankel who “was most zealous that these solemn events be recorded and ready within seven days.” (Text 2) It had appeared in a short-lived German language Jewish weekly, Deborah (Die Biene). Ein Volksblatt zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung für Israeliten published in Vienna and edited by Isaak Bloch in the 1860s. As far as I can tell, it has never since been cited and were it not for the ambitious digitization project at the Austrian National Library and Google, it may have remained condemned to obscurity.8 The anonymous author of the article, presumably the editor Bloch, provides the provenance of the text: “Dr. Jellinek was kind enough to give us the following curiosity from his richly furnished library,

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7 It is accessible online: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stamps_of_Israel_-_Souvenir_Sheet_-_Taviv.jpg
and we are glad to present the same linguistic and orthographic text to our
estimated readers." The article does not spell out in what form the text was
published—a large broadside, perhaps the size of the engraving, or more likely, a
booklet. Were they published simultaneously, perhaps even bound together (while
the copy at the Israel Museum seems once to have been folded, the one in the
Prague Jewish Museum has no such traces)? And if not, which appeared first and
perhaps even contributed to the preparation of the other? The illustration faithfully
reproduces the order of the thirty-two sections of the procession as listed in the text
and, one can of course say, vice versa. The only difference being that at times the
number of participants depicted in the illustration are per force fewer than that
mentioned in the text, being constrained by the dimensions of the engraving.

The various sections of the serpentine procession replicate almost exactly the
earlier processions—community notables, scholars, students, professionals,
guildsmen, entertainers, many in costume, mostly on foot, though quite a number
mounted on horseback. Some of the props such as Bacchus on a barrel are clearly
recycled, while certain roles are handed down within the family such as the
acrobatic dancers (Isserles), medical doctors (Gumpertz) and apothecaries
(Jeitteles). There are even instances where some also participated in the previous
procession, such as the cantor Sinai Klauber. Thus tradition and memory play a
key role in the celebrations.

One striking difference, though, is the different order of the sections in the 1741
procession. Whereas earlier processions set a carnival mood from the very
beginning, warming up the crowd of spectators by having in the lead clowns,
dwarfs, men on stilts, Moors, dancing cross dressers, musicians and the like, and
the heads of the community appearing only toward the middle, in 1741 a somewhat
more dignified ambience is created by having the Primator and his deputy at the
very front, while relegating the ribald sections to the tail end of the snaking parade.
(Perhaps this more subdued mood was the result of the ongoing War of Austrian
Succession, with the spring of 1741 marking but a hiatus before fighting was to
resume in the fall. By contrast, the earlier procession had taken place just after the

Although Otto Muneles, Bibliographical Survey of Jewish Prague (Prague, 1952) does not
list "Ein Curiousm," nor for that matter the other sources of the procession mentioned
above with the exception of Dolenský’s first article, nevertheless, quite surprisingly, he
does provide the exact title of the publication reproduced in Deborah on p. 75 of his survey,
under item 249. Had he seen the original publication or a reference to it? But what is still
puzzling is that in his list of the illustrations (p. 560), he erroneously links the title of item
249 to the engraving, which has a quite different name.
decade and a half of the War of Spanish Succession had more or less come to an end. But all this is just speculation.)

The print, with its grand size and graphic artistry, is unique in offering a visual representation of an entire Jewish community. One is hard pressed to find a similar depiction of a Jewish collective even in the following century. We may note, however, that not everyone appears in the illustration. Absent are the spectators, not only Jews but also non-Jewish dignitaries as we learn from the text. It is also quite understandable that during celebrations of new birth, the most prestigious society in the community, the hevra kadisha, with its association with sickness and death, makes no appearance in the procession and consequently in the print. Perhaps the famous cycle of paintings of its activities composed in the next generation come as compensation. Most surprising, in light of the two dozen or so participants that are specifically named, is that the most famous Jewish scholar of Prague, the foremost head of yeshiva of his generation, the charismatic Rabbi Jonathan Eibeschütz is missing both from the text and the illustration. He will be invited to assume the post of the Metz rabbinate in the months to come, but will linger on in Prague until the following year. And last, of course, the absence of women. One could argue that it was only to be expected, were it not for the presence of a number of young women in a previous procession. Forty-third in the 1678 parade was “Isaac Mahler’s daughter playing an instrument, two girls with citrons, two youths dressed as girls with fiddles.” Immediately following was the step-daughter of the Primator Haim Lichtenstadt dressed as a young man, as a page.

The text adds information that the engraving does not or could not contain. The deliberations leading to the procession; the celebrations that took place a month earlier immediately after the news of the birth became known; the route taken by the parade. (See the maps in 2) The illumination and decoration of the houses and other preparations along with the songs and benedictions showered on the newborn prince.

Most important however, is that the text transforms the black and white engraving into technicolor and adds to its sensual pleasure. It goes into unusual detail of the dress of the each of the participants, noting in particular the different fabrics, the decorations on the clothing and their colors. Some of the attire is personal such as the kittels, Sabbath synagogue capes and hats, others are clearly rented for the occasion like the hussar uniforms. These costumes could be borrowed from the local garrison, along with a variety of arms; others such as the fancy dress of the yeshiva bahurim may have been ready made by the tailors guild for the students of
the nearby university. Horses were rented from the nearby riding school or perhaps once again from the army garrison.

The rich clothing with its variety of colors went against the grain of widely accepted perceptions of Jewish costume in the eighteenth century. The sumptuary regulation issued in Frankfurt in 1715 allowed only one color for clothing, exceptionally, two. 10 “Nowadays the Jews in Germany wear black cloaks, black hats and clothes commonly of dark colors,” wrote a Swiss cleric. “I do not remember ever to have seen a Jew in scarlet, green or sky blue or similar colors but I saw many dressed in black damask.” 11 Another observer in Fürth declared that “nowadays, it is the black color that is most favored by Jewish people.” 12 As for Prague, the Bohemian governor reported in 1746 that the Jews “manage with little and are frugal in eating and drinking and are used to wearing very shabby clothing.” 13

The finery on display, like every other aspect of the procession was orchestrated by the Primator Simon Wolf Frankel. A scion of the most prominent families of Prague, Frankel was by all accounts a wealthy, proud and vain man. During the celebrations, he engaged in acts of conspicuous philanthropy, distributing alms in the synagogue in return for saying psalms; sending food and drink to prisoners; outfitting the orphans and poor children of his charitable school to take part in the procession; entertaining high born non-Jewish guests in his house at the conclusion of the day. It was Frankel who shouldered the cost of the procession as well as its commemoration in text and engraving.

Such elite philanthropy could easily engender resentment. Later it was said that when Prague Jewry was beset with plunder and ordered expelled a few years later, the blame for the misfortunes was placed on the Primator and his reckless, conspicuous display of wealth in public during the festive procession. The anger
and hatred he encountered proved too much; he died a few weeks after the expulsion decree was issued, on January 8 1745, the Hebrew year be-gerush.\textsuperscript{14}

No doubt some concluded that not only the character of the Primator was to be blamed for the misfortunes that befell Prague Jewry, but also the arrogant indulgence in colors and finery by willing participants in the celebrations was to be faulted. Perhaps it was this cautionary tale that prompted the puritanical sumptuary regulation instituted in Prague the following generation which warned that “the wearing of silk scarves, ribbons, waistcoats, dresses, and powdered wigs is not allowed.”\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} He was buried in Prague. Marcus Brann, “Die Grabschriften der Familie Fränkel-Spira in Prag,” \textit{MGWJ} 46 (1902), 450-473, 556-560, here 469-470. David J. Podiebrad, “Grab des Primators Simon Wolf Frankl Spiro” in his \textit{Alterthümer der Prager Josefstadt, israelitischer Friedhof, Alt-Neu-Schule und andere Synagogen}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} edition (Prag, 1870), pp. 80-91 is the main source for the characterization of the man and the resentment he generated. It was immediately picked up by Marcus Lehmann in a chapter of his serialized novel, \textit{Zur rechten Zeit}, in \textit{Der Israelit}, 30.08.1871, p. 661.

“March!” The Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1741
Michael K. Silber, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

1a. Copper Engraving of the Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1741


Unknown artist. Copper engraving, 450 x 640 mm. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem B49.04.0175. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by Elie Posner.
1b. Engraving of the Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1716


The leaf of the plate (31 cm fol.) is bound in the book between pages 9 and 10, and folded. It is signed “J. Hiler Sculp. Pragæ.” and “J.G. Harttman dell.”

The J. Paul Getty Trust Research Library. Special Collections 2871-047.
https://archive.org/details/einerallerunter00helm/page/n2
1c. Engraving of the Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1716

Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdisches Franckfurter und Prager Freuden-Fest: Wegen der höchst-glücklichen Geburth Des Durchläuchtigsten Käyserlichen Erb-Prinzens, Vorstellend Mit was Solennitäten die Franckfurter Juden selbiges celebrit, auch ein besonders Lied, mit Sinn-bilder und Devisen, darauff verfertigt; So dann Den Curieusen kostbahren, doch recht posisirlichen Auffzug, so die Prager Juden gehalten ...* Frankfurt a. M. 1716.

Unknown artist. Double leaf frontispiece. The banner bears the inscription in Hebrew, *degel.*

[Link to the image's source](http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/judaicaffm/content/titleinfo/1935394)
“March!” The Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1741
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2. Maps of the Judenstadt and the Route of the Procession
   a. The Judenstadt within Prague

http://chartae-antiquae.cz/en/maps/19856 or
b. Bird’s Eye Perspective Map of the Judenstadt, 1769


The yellow line demarking the Judenstadt appears in the original.
“It was the Jewish postal courier in a red attire, his post horn hanging by a cord, who rode ahead blowing the signal to ‘March!’, and led the well-behaved parade out of the Jewish Courtyard, then the so-called Goltzisch Courtyard, the Tummel Square, through the Pinkas-Schul Gate, down into the streets, through Golden Lane, over to Drei Brunnen Square, toward the Jewish Town Hall and other places.”
“March!” The Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1741
Michael K. Silber, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Description of a most humble joyous demonstration, a fine lavish procession and two-time illumination, held in honor of the exalted birth of his Serene Highness, the Archduke and Prince of Austria, Joseph, Benedict, Joann, August, Anton, Michael, Adam, by the Jews of Prague on April 24 of the year 1741

Therefore, when Her Most Serene Highness and Majesty, the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Arch-Duchess of Austria, and Grand-Duchess of Tuscany, gave birth to a long-desired prince, as soon as this most pleasant news about such an exalted birth became known in Prague, Simon Wolf Frankel—formerly vice-, but now most graciously appointed as the actual Primator already on the 21st of March—and the elders, as well as other aldermen of the Jewish community, organized an Illumination in honor of Her Most High Majesty the Queen and the newborn Prince. The Jewish elders forbade opening stalls and commerce that day in the Tandel Market, but in the afternoon at about three o’clock, ordered the two banners or flags to be carried joyfully through the Jewish Town accompanied by all kinds of music. The Primator Frankel tossed a considerable amount of coins to the poor and at the same time permitted money, bread, fish, meat, and other food supplies be carried to those incarcerated in all the prisons, whether in the Town Hall, Schlachter Street or the Jewish lockup. Afterward, at five o’clock, nearly all Jews repaired to worship in their synagogues celebrating the birth of the newborn Prince and Archduke Joseph conceived by Her Highness, Queen Maria Theresia, with prayers from the Psalms accompanied with music, illuminated by many lights. Then about half past six, rich as well as poor in the entire Jewish Town illuminated the windows facing both out and inward of their dwellings, as well as the tower on the Jewish Town Hall. Moreover, an honorary scaffolding was set up upon which French horns blared with joyful sound, and the elders and aldermen together held a meeting at the said Town Hall until after midnight with great illumination and merriment.

Furthermore, most humbly honoring the exalted birth, the aforementioned Primator Simon Frankel, with the addition of assistant officers namely, David Löbel Khue, Prague Jewish elder assessor, and the elders Samuel David Koreff and Jacobs
Kallmuss the attorney, both two certified German scribes, as well as Isaac Baruch Austerlitz representing the taxpaying members of the community, conceived and devised in a short time a program that will now be surveyed more thoroughly in what follows.

In the first place, the Jewish Primator arranged that the stalls in the Jewish Town upon whose rooftops spectators gathered in order to see better, should be removed a few cubits away from the houses and barriers be set up.

II. So too, the high nobility living in Prague, spiritual and secular, as well as the judges of the upper and lower courts, then ladies, were invited to the solemn procession held on April 24. (Various high ministers, prelates, also princely persons, dames, honorable magistrates of the royal cities of Prague, together with several other spectators, were each issued a voucher to be quartered in select houses.)

III. By the gates of three streets, namely the Altschul, Pinkas Synagogue and Juden-Platz gates, galleries draped with rugs were made, upon which trumpeters greeted the arrivals.

IV. His Excellency, the General and Commandant, in response to a request to ensure security put troops in place to prevent any possible disturbance of the peace.

V. On the said day of the procession, once again as stated above, Jews were not permitted to engage in trade in the Tandel Market. Moreover,

VI. it was arranged that throughout the day, Psalms were prayed in all the synagogues in return for distributed alms, fasting as well as was held, and in the evening illuminated by many lamps, the synagogue ark curtains were hung.

VII. The aforementioned assistant officers drilled all participants, whether on foot or on horseback, the order of the march in the so-called Jewish Baths or Communal Courtyard and the former Goltzisch Courtyard, where at the stroke of four o’clock in the afternoon, the procession began in the following order.

I. It was the Jewish postal courier in a red attire, his post horn hanging by a cord, who rode ahead blowing the signal to “March!”, leading the well-behaved parade out of the Jewish Courtyard, then the so-called Goltzisch Courtyard, the Tummel Square, through the Pinkas-Schul Gate, down into the streets, through Golden
Lane, over to Drei Brunnen Square, toward the Jewish Town Hall and other places.¹

II. Then blowing, rode two trumpeters in gala livery

III. Six uniformly dressed couriers with bows, ribbons, as well as red with gold decorated aprons followed

IV. The Jewish Primator of Prague, Simon Wolf Frankel, in a black-velvet synagogue-robe, a rich waistcoat, and a gold embroidered, black-velvet Grandezza² on his head, on a smart looking riding-school³ capital-horse well-appointed with a rich equipage, and alongside two Hajduk attendants dressed in handsome livery. Following him,

V. David Löbl Khue elder councilman, riding as Major, in a black damask synagogue robe, rich waistcoat, golden sash draped across his body, embroidered synagogue hat; alongside him, six of the most beautiful and costly dressed Hungarian Hussars, then, six grooms of the Primator on smart equestrian-horses, rich equipage under which a precious, light red colored velvet saddlecloth⁴ embroidered with silver, which the Primator had made for himself so smartly for the occasion.

VI. Then went Abraham Bunzl, elder councilman, certified scribe and Schulklopfer in black holiday camelhair attire, with a quill stuck behind his ear.

VII. Summoning to early morning prayer at four o'clock, two Schulklopfer followed, one of whom was eighty-eight years old carrying in his hand a fine pewter synagogue gavel, the other, a gilded wooden one. After them came walking

VIII. behind them on foot, a great number of old Jewish scholars and other community members in damask synagogue robes, and wearing synagogue capes trimmed with fur, and decorated synagogue hats. Furthermore,

IX. with musicians and French horn trumpeters preceding them, follow young Jewish students in two columns with couriers in front; the first being led by Wolf Moyses Frankel, and Simon Abraham Prespurg, the alderman’s son, with partizan polearms; the rest in beautiful black velvet, Jewish damask robes and rich waistcoats, marten and sable trimmed caps richly decorated with gold, holding books with silver clasps in their hand; bringing up the rear, Isaac David Frankel⁵, and Samuel Austerlitz Sachsel, the son of the commissioner Isaac Austerlitz mentioned at the beginning. The other column led by Israel Koppl Frankel and
Simon David Khue with a gold sash, just like the above with partizan polearm in hand, and followed by local young students, in smart black-velvet and damask robes, rich waistcoats, sable trimmed caps decorated with gold, marching with books in hand. They were followed by

X. a number of foreign Jewish preceptors with the shield of David in gold braid and the letter P stitched on their berets to distinguish the locals from the foreigners, preceded by music.

XI. Simon Aaron Neustadl in a black velvet attire, decorated beret, and rich waistcoat; after him Mändl Samuel Wedeles in a velvet synagogue robe and cloak trimmed with marten fur; after these two, a person in black-velvet noble costume, followed by several Jewish community members in velvet damask attire, rich waistcoats, and richly decorated berets, riding on horses with costly equipage.

XII. Moyses Salomon Gumperz, medical doctor and Jewish physician, in a black velvet German doctor’s habit, damask coat, ruffles and wig, preceded by a courier and two men dressed in Turkish habit with long gray beards, then Gumperz’s nine-year-old son named Joseph Löw, dressed fine and handsome, who carried on a tall staff bearing the diploma his father had received from the Medical Faculty. Alongside went Löbel Jaiteles, the son of the Jewish apothecary, the community elder Löbel Mischl Jaiteles, in a red-frilled scarlet coat, rich waistcoat, a gold baldric slanted across his chest, holding in his hands a pharmacist’s herbal canister; followed obediently by all the Jewish barbers in black attire with their instruments in their hands, the married ones in coats, the journeymen in all manner of smart clothes and braided silk ribbons on their hats as well as on their arms, with shaving bowls in their hands; finally, once again a Doctor Meschulem called Bondi or Eger, dressed in black velvet coat and damask cloak, wearing a wig.

XIII. Then with a positive or portable organ carried alongside, Sina Klaber, the community synagogue cantor read at the top of his voice, in two spots, namely at the Primator's House at the so-called Drey Brunnen and the Jewish Town Hall, a well-wish concerning the most Gracious Queen and newborn Prince in the Hebrew language, and in German translation it reads as following:

GOD

The Almighty, who created heaven and earth, all the creatures, and our forefathers Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, King David, his son Solomon, and also
blessed all the kings of Israel, shall bless also our Most Gracious Queen MARIA THERESIA, her beloved husband His Royal Highness, and the happily newborn Royal Prince, and Archduke Joseph, Benedict, Joann, August, Anton, Michael, Adam, as well as the entire Serene Arch-House of Austria. GOD should raise, multiply, and increase the seat of Her kingdoms and lands. He should protect and shield Her from every evil and persecution. The Almighty should humble all Her enemies; they should fall at Her feet. Also protect Her in all places and conflicts. GOD should grant Her, and all Her heirs and the heirs of their heirs, every desired welfare, body and soul for all eternity, as well as faithful counselors, war heroes to strengthen on water and land, by which this kingdom will be exalted and enlarged, Amen.

XIV. And then, a great number of poor children and orphans from the Poor-Orphan-and-Jewish-Study-House in their everyday robes, blue and white flecked bonnets bound with red ribbons, carrying prayer books and writing tablets, with their school teachers alongside dressed in holiday clothes, all singing at the top of their voices the wish expressed in the seventy-second Psalm of King David for the Most Serene Queen and Prince. These orphans are maintained without a permanent fund, only by charity over which the Primator Frankel has served as inspector now thirty years.

XV. After that, following a trumpeter on horseback, came Jewish entertainers carrying a large pewter guild tankard, and previous guild-elders, dressed in new clothes with wings of blue and red color and similar miter caps on which Vivat was embroidered, accompanied by merry music. An entertainer of about eighty, dressed in women's clothes with a bridal crown of pearl beads and waistband just as Jewish brides are wont to wear, blew a bassoon.

XVI. Then followed the guild of the Jewish shohets, where a master went ahead with a pewter key two and a half ell tall, and after him the oldest masters dressed in German style brown linen robes, black jackets and coats. Then proceeded the journeymen wearing clothes of the same colors as the Queen's coat of arms, raw linen jackets with flower colored linen ruffles and facings, white-knit camel-hair buttonholes, festooned with silver baldrics, sewn aprons and green caps with bows and ribbons, holding meat cleavers with the emblem of the Bohemian lion. The rest of the masters wore white kittels, white caps and ruffs, carrying their beautiful red damask banner or flag with gilt inscriptions adorned with King David's shield, fifteen ell tall, that had been granted as a privilege by the late Emperor and King Karl IV.
After which

XVII. two Jewish unusual acrobats were seen with their merry arts, one of them placing the tips of two bare swords, one on an eye and the other on the heart, striking different bizarre postures, both dressed as couriers with ribbons and bows. Afterwards

XVIII. came a striking number of furriers behind two Jewish trumpeters in Sunday clothes, then two couriers. Their leader, Antschl Simon Loebl Wiener in a black velvet Hungarian fur and velvet sable cap, rich waistcoat slashed with gold thread\textsuperscript{11}, golden chain and scarf, rode on a riding school horse, and alongside him Nahum Trebitsch. These were followed by two Moors dressed in pelts; then the rest of the furriers came in three divisions: those in the first had their clothes sewn with precious furs; in the second, a standard was carried that was so artfully composed of various pelts, that it quite clearly presented the name of Her Majesty the Queen, MARIA THERESA, and the prince in the cradle; a large number followed the flag carrying poles with various stuffed animals, all dressed in precious pelts and other such textiles in Persian style; behind, a quite naturalistic young bear was led with pipe music, and six men carried a platform on which the decorated bushes and trees resembled a shrub and a small forest in which all imaginable stuffed animals revealed themselves. One of the marchers fired off various gunshots, and at times a lion roaring was heard. Finally, the third division came, carrying another banner composed of various textiles on which King David's shield was artfully presented, followed by a notable number dressed like the previous divisions in precious pelts in the Persian manner, carrying various stuffed animals on poles.

Furthermore,

XIX. once again the master butchers in white kittels carried another fifteen ell high, privileged banner or flag, on whose summit sat a twelve year old Jewish boy called Juda Jescaye Iserles\textsuperscript{12} in stylish delicate dancing clothes, who skillfully complimented all high lords, spiritual and secular, and ladies at the windows. Moreover,

XX: preceded by pleasant music, went the large numbered tailor guild; the Starschen\textsuperscript{13}, or guild elders, in black clothes and capes, had fastened some silk aiguillettes on their arms. And after them a delicately stitched together ensign of such aiguillettes was carried and the Tailor's Shield, followed by smartly dressed apprentices with bows and braids on their hats. And then
XXI. came the so-called lace, cording and button-makers guild. These preceded the Starschen or guild elders in black German clothes and coats, after whom a small gilded work-stool was carried, and an artfully manufactured passementer shield. After this, came the apprentices smartly dressed in black with golden cording, scarfs, epaulettes and ribbons on their arms and hats, as well as nice shrubs. They were followed by the shoemaker guild. In the front went the Starschen or guild elders in black German clothes, hats and coats, with an immensely large pewter guild tankard cast in the form of a boot on whose cover there was a shoemaker’s workshop with working journeymen; after these, the journeymen displayed themselves in various beautiful clothes. Furthermore, XXIII. preceded by a groom on horseback, two trumpeters, and two couriers, rode marching a handsome hussar company of married Jews—among whom were Abraham Zebrak and Michel Jurist—on riding school horses, all with Hungarian furs decorated with gold, silver and gilded smartly decorated fabrics, also hats adorned with egret plumes and ribbons, spruced beards\textsuperscript{14}, and lances in hand, dressed in costly Hungarian fashion. These were followed by XXIV. two well-formed youths on horseback, one of whom masqueraded as a Jewish bride preciously attired with a gold-trimmed ruffles, with a garland and band of precious pearls on his head; the other, a bridegroom, also expensively costumed, caressing his bride most affectionately. In addition, XXV. a hussar company of bachelor Jews marched, led by two trumpeters; their smart Hungarian clothing consisted of velvet, damask, precious gold-trimmed furs, silver and gold brocade, \textit{draps d’or}, all kinds of embroidered shirts, also hats decorated with gold, with egret plumes, ribbons; have also mustachios,\textsuperscript{15} lances in hands, riding on exceptionally beautiful horses with expensive saddlecloths decked out with braided ribbons. Hereafter XXVI. rides a wedding jester, with all sorts of wooden cooking dishes, spoons and plates hanging on him, and wearing a wooden pot instead of a hat. Next to him XXVII. a prankster dressed as a green harlequin on horseback could be seen. XXVIII. Other fools follow: one dressed in women’s clothes pulled with reins a 40-year-old man pretending to be a child in a baby walker; this boy had a beer pacifier, and when he cried, the woman smeared his mouth with porridge; another was disguised as a woman carrying a man in a basket, making polite postures; another rode on a wooden horse, followed by one with a deer-head and on it
antlers, all of which amused the audience providing much entertainment. In addition,

XXIX. a pair of wild men, almost naked and seemingly covered with hair, held large wooden clubs, and brawled with each other, until one of them slammed the club to the ground, splitting it asunder. Behind these

XXX. go two pairs of exceptionally fat gluttons stuffed with wool that function well to make their persons funny looking. No less funny

XXXI. is a carriage dragged by six persons in harness dressed in green, where Bacchus sits on a barrel and in a drunkard manner, repeatedly takes a swig from a mug. Bringing up the rear

XXXII. is a merry farmer's wedding, in which the guests dressed in peasant costumes made merry, dancing and jumping to all manner of peasant music played on fiddle, lyre, and bagpipe.

This procession lasted until the evening. Then, soon after, the illumination began. As soon as the first houses were lit from the bottom rooms to the very top, partly by wind-lamps and partly by well-shaded lamps, sporting various symbols, the entire Jewish City came to resemble a flame. The Jewish Town Hall appeared elegantly where by the tower a life size grenadier guard moved in unison repeatedly presenting arms. The top of the tower was adorned with many illuminated spheres and underneath in a gallery hung three beautifully lit panels that proclaimed a plea to Our Most Gracious Queen and Prince written in Hebrew, Latin and German. Illuminated were the Alt-Neu Synagogue from top to bottom, as also were the inscriptions in the windows of the Klaus-Synagogue and some spheres at the top. Likewise, the ten windows of the dwelling of the parnas of the month, Wolf Lichtenstadt were illuminated by graceful paintings, and its noteworthy Latin and German verses made an attractive appearance.

Thus


And gave birth to a son, called him Joseph, saying, "GOD will give me another son."

N. II. Deus erat cum Joseph, & ille regnabat. Gene. 42 v.6
GOD was with Joseph and he was regent in the country.

N. III. Pro puero iste orabam, nune autem Dominus dedit petitions meam. Sam. I cap. 1. v. 27.

This is the boy I prayed for, and now the Lord has granted me my prayer.

N. IV. Exultavit cor meum in Domino, & apertum est os meum super inimicos meos. Sam. II cap. 1.

My heart is joyous in the Lord, and my mouth has opened over my enemies.

N.V. Josephus filius accescens. Gene. 49. v. 22.

Joseph a new-grown son,

In high scepter together with the crown.18

N. VI. In te domine speravi, non confundar. Psalm. 30 [sic! 71]. v. 1.

In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust:

Let me never be put to confusion.


Joseph was regent in the country,

Put it all in good condition.


The house was full of prayer,

For pious Joseph's sake.

N. IX. Laetabor & psallam nomini tuo.

In you O Lord I want to rejoice,

Frolicking, sing psalms, shouting to you.
N. X. Erátque Dominus cum eo, & portabat omnibus magnum gaudium

The Lord, was always with Joseph,

And brought great joy to all.

Furthermore, some illuminated pyramids appeared on the Jewish town gates with the following inscriptions.

On the first gate.

VIVat

Queen Maria, may She live a long life, may She be amused

Also our newborn Prince Joseph next to Her.

On the second gate.

Apprehendit ambas portae fores cum postibus suis & sera. Jud. Cap. 16. v. 5th

He took both gates,

Lock and bolt;

Enter the guest in here,

No gate must be closed today.¹⁹

On the third gate.

Veniam ad te tempore isto, & habebit filium Sara uxor tua.

I want to come to you again, so Sara your wife should have a son.
Thus, in order to affirm our most humble devotion to our Most Gracious Monarch, no effort was spared in this procession and illumination to implement everything imaginable for the joyous celebration of this festival. In order to prevent disarray, the Primator Frankel (who was most zealous that these solemn events be recorded and ready within seven days) made tickets available for high and low spectators, providing them with the best possible places from which to observe. Moreover, to accommodate persons of high estate as much as possible, he, along with the assistance of the aforementioned commissioners, made all the requisite arrangements: in his apartment, two specially decorated clean rooms, in one an exquisite banquet prepared smartly by Christian cooks, in the other, an admirable confection representing an arch of honor within which Her Majesty the Queen held the newborn Most Illustrious Prince in her arm. There was then no shortage of different varieties of the most refined foreign wines, served most generously. Thus, there was no lack of the most humble zeal, testifying to the veneration of the Highest Superior.

The details of the splendid procession were collected by the aforementioned German scribe of Prague Jewry and recorded for eternal memory.

I am indebted to Dr. Louise Hecht and Dr. Cornelia Aust for their helpful suggestions and
1 Richter, p. 159 provides the route of the march only toward the end of his description: “Der Zug gieng aus dem Jüdischen Gemein-Hause den Tummel-Platz vorbey zum Pinckel Schul-Thor hinein, die daran stossende Gasse herunter, durch die goldene Gasse über den Platz bey drey Brunnen, des Primators Hauß vorbey, auf das Jüdische Rath-Hauß zu.”
2 Following both Richter and the Vossische Zeitung, I prefer to translate “Paradell” with the bit more familiar Grandeza. Mania di grandezza is a 1971 French film featuring Louis De Funes and Yves Montand wearing throughout the large brimmed “grandee” headgear.
3 There was a riding school nearby the Juden Stadt that seems to have provided horses for the mounted participants.
4 “Schabrack” (Chabraque) or “Waltrappen”.
5 A grandson of the Primator according to Richter.
6 He had also taken part in the 1716 procession along with his father.
7 Father of Dr. Jonah Jeitteles, the patriarch of the leading maskilic family in Prague.
8 He, too, had also taken part in the 1716 procession.
9 That is how I translate “Juden-Metzger” in Beschreibung, following “Juden-Schlächter” in the Vossische Zeitung.
10 Sterb-Küttel
11 Draps d’or
12 His father, the son of the “Jewish dancing master Isterle,” had performed in similar fashion in 1716.
13 From the Czech “starši”, elder.
14 “Gemachten Spreiz-Bärte” could be either spruced up mustaches or split beards.
In the 1716 procession, the bachelors sported mustaches, which Schudt explained are what Jews refer to as “Grenen”: “sie haben dann gemachte grosse Stutz- und Schnautz-Bärthe/ wie Türcken und Hussaren/ gehabt.” And indeed the 1741 engraving depicts the bachelors with the long mustaches sported by contemporary hussars. See David Hollins, *Hungarian Hussar 1756-1815* (Oxford, 2003), p. 20.

Richter, p. 159 notes here the outstanding contribution of one who does not figure in the Beschreibung: “Besonders suchte sich der dasige Lieferant, Jud Herzel Pieseß zu distinguiren. Dieser hatte währenden Aufzugs das sämtliche Ober-Kriegs-Commissariat-Amt, samt der Kriegs-Canzley Herren Officianten, und ein Menge andere hohe Cavaliers und Dames, in seiner Wohnmung eingeladen, welche er auf das properste bedienete.” Hertzki Piseck (1672-1762) was one of the aldermen at the time. See Gerson Wolf, “Vertreibung aus Böhmen im Jahre 1744,” *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums* 3 (1869), 205.

**Verse-Halter.**

Verses V through X are rhymed in their German translations.

Likewise rhymed in the German translation.
“March!” The Celebratory Procession of Prague Jewry in 1741
Michael K. Silber, Hebrew University, Jerusalem


III. Seynd bey nachgesetzten drey Gassen-Thören, als nemlichen Alt- und Pinkes-Schul- dann Juden-Platz-Thor, Gallerien mit behangenen Teppichten, worauf Trompeter die Ankommende zu bewillkommen gestanden, gemacht worden.

IV. Ist von Ihro Excellenz Herrn General- und Commandanten (Tit.) auf vorläufig-geziemendes Ansuchen zur Sicherheit wider alle besorgende Unordnung eine Soldatesca gestellet worden; So ist auch

V. Am besagten Aufzugs-Tag wiederum denen Juden, gleich wie oben gemeldet, kein Handel im Tandel-Markt zu führen und zu treiben mit gegeben; Nicht minder

VI. Veranstaltet worden, in allen Synagogen durch den ganzen Tag zu bethen die Psalm Davids gegen ausgetheilten Allmosen, wie auch zu fasten, und Abends mit Erleuchtung vieler Lichter die Schul-Ornaten anhängen zu lassen.

VII. Haben obbenannte Deputirte Commissarien alle aufziehende zu Fuß, und zu Pferd in dem so genannten Jüdischen Baad oder Gemein-Hof und den ehemaligen Goltzischen Hof der Ordnung nach exerciret, wo so dann um 4. Uhr Nachmittags der Aufzug seinen Anfang genommen. Und zwar

II. Seynd zwey Trompeter in Galla-Liberey den Marsch blasend geritten; Denen

III. Sechs gleichförmig gekleidete Laufer mit Maschen, Bänder-Buschen, wie auch roth- mit Gold wohl verbramten Schürzeln gefolget,

IV. Ist der Simon Wolf Frankel Prager Jüdischer Primator in einem schwarz-sammeten Schul-Rock, einer reichen Veste, und einem schwarz-sammet-mit Gold gestickten Paradell auf dem Haupt, auf einem propreren Reitschußler Capital-Roß, nebst darauf befindlicher reichen Equipage, und darneben zur Bedienung gegangenen zwey in gar schöner Liberey angekleideten Heiducken, geritten, Hinter seiner


VI. Gienge der Abraham Bunzl Aeltister-Beysitzer und die Gemeingeschworne-Schreiber- und Schul-Klópfer in schwarzen Feyertags-Camelharenen Kleidern, mit hinter den Ohren stecken gehabten Schreib-Federn.

VII. Folgeten zwey andere Schul-Klópfer, welche zum Frühe-Gebet um vier Uhr ermahnen, deren eine acht- und achtzig Jahr alt, in seiner Hand einen feinen von Zinn, der andere aber einen von Holz vergoldeten Schul-Hammer getragen; Hinter ihnen ist

VIII. Eine grosse Anzahl von denen alten Jüdischen Gelehrten, und anderen Contribuenten in damastenen Schul-Röcken, und von Rauchwerk angehabten Schauben oder Schul-Mänteln und verbramten Schul-Hüten zu Fuß gegangen; Wie dann auch
IX. Die Jüdische studirende Jugend nach vorher gegangener Music und Waldhornisten in zwey Colonnen mit vor sich hergehenden Laufer folgete; bey der ersten der Wolf Moyses Frankel, und der Simon Abraham Prespurp des Gemein-Aeltisten Sohn voraus mit Partisanen; die übrigen in schönen schwarz-sammeten, damastenen Jüdischen Röcken und reichen Vesten, mit Gold reich verbramten Cappin, herum von Maadern und Zobeln Rauchwerk benäheten Bramen, in Händen gehabten Büchern mit silbernen Beschlag; zum Schluß aber der Isaac David Frankel, und Samuel Austerlitz Sachsel, eingangs gedachten Commissarii Isaacs Austerlitz Sohn; bey der anderten hingegen voraus der Israel Koppl Frankel, nebst dem Simon David Khue mit einer goldene Schärpe, eben wie obige mit in Händen gehabten Partisanen, und mit der nachgefolgten hiesigen studirenden Jugend, in solche propren schwarz-sammeten und damastenen Röcken, reichen Vesten, mit Gold verbramt- und mit dergleichen Maadern und Zobeln umgenäheten Cappin, dann in Händen gehabten Büchern marschierten; Denen folgete ferners


hinwieder ein Doctor Meschulem Bondi oder Eger genannt, im schwarz-sammeten Rock und damastenen Mantel, dann Perruque gekleidet.

XIII. Der Sina Klaber Gemein Schul-Cantor mit neben hergetragenem Positiv oder Orgel-Fliegel, welcher auf zweyen Plätzen, nemlichen bey des Primators Haus, so genannten drey Bruunen, als auch bey dem Jüdischen Rath-Haus in höchster Stimme eine Wunsch wegen der allergnädigsten Königin und gebornen Prinzens in Hebräischer Sprach abgelesen, und bestehet solcher auf deutsch-transferirter in folgenden:

GOTT


Und dann


XV. die Jüdische Spiel-Leute, so nach vorgerittenem Trompeter, vorgetragener grossen Zinnenen Zunfts-Kanne, und vorgegangen Zunfts-Vorsteheren, in neuer Kleidung mit Flügeln von blau- und rother Farbe, auch dergleichen Hüeteln, auf


XVII. Ließen sich zwey Jüdische curiöse Luft-Springer mit ihren lustigen Künsten sehen, wovon einer die Spitzen zwey bloser Schwerter, eine an das Aug und die andere an das Herz setzend, unterschiedliche curiöse Posituren machte, welche als Laufer mit Maschen und Riegern gekleidet waren. Nachmals

XVIII. Kame eine merkliche Anzahl der Kürschnern, denen vorgiengen zwey Jüdische Trompeter in Sonntags-Kleidern, so dann zwey Laufer, derselben Führer der Antschl Simon Löbl Wiener in einem schwarz-sammeten Hungarianischen Pelz und sammetener Zobel-Mützen, reich-draps d'orner Veste, auch einer umhangenden goldenen Ketten, und Schörpe auf einem schulröttigen Pferd ritte, und nebst demselber der Nahum Trebitsch; diesen folgten zwey in Futter-Kleidern angekleidete Mohren; als dann kamen die übrigen Kürschnern in drey Abtheilungen: die in der erstern hatten die Kleidung mit kostbarem Rauch-Werk benähet; in der anderten wurde getragen eine vom verschiedenen Futter-Werk so künstlich zusammen gestückte Fahne, daß sie Ihr Majestät der Königin Namen MARIA THERESIA, und den Prinzen in der Wiegen ganz deutlich vorstellerte; die dieser Fahne in grosser Anzahl nachgiengen, hatten auf Stängeln verschiedentliche ausgestopfte Thiere, auch alle in kostbarem Rauch-Werk und anderen dergleichen Futtern auf Persianische Art gekleidet waren; hinter denen mit seiner Pfeifen-Music ein ganz natürlich vorgestellter junger Beer geführet, und von 6. Männern eine Biene getragen wurde, auf welcher das angemachte Sträußerig und Bäumer einem Gestrüppe und kleinem Wald gleicheten, worinnen alle erdenkliche und wie natürlich ausgestopfte Thiere sich zeigeten, nach denen einer gehend verschiedene Schuß thate, zuweilen auch ein Löw mit seiner brillenden Stimme sich hören
liesse. Endlichen, kame die dritten Abtheilung, in welcher getragen wurde die
anderte vom verschiedenen Futter-Werk zusammen gestückte Fahne, auf welcher
des König Davids Schild kunstrech vorgestellet zu sehen ware, wo mehrmal
folgte eine merkliche Anzahl, so gleichförmig denen förderen mit kostbarem
Rauch-Werk auf Persianische Art bekleidet, auf Stangln verschiedene ausgestopfte
Thiere hatten. Ferners

XIX. Trageten abermal die Fleisch-Hacker-Meister in weißen Sterb-Kütteln
ihren anderten fünfzehn Ehlen hohen, und privilegirten Panier oder Fahn, auf
dessen Gipfl ein Jüdischer 12. Jähriger Knab mit Namen Juda Jeschaye Iserles in
geschickt- und zierlichen Tanz-Kleidern sitzend, alle in denen Fenstern anwesende
Geist- und Weltliche, hohe Ministers und Dames künstlich complementirte. Mehres

XX: Gienge eine zahlreiche Schneider-Zunft mit vorgetretener annehmlicher
Music, die Starschen, oder Zunft-Aeltisten auf deutsch, in schwarzen Kleidung und
Mänteln hatten auf ihren Armen angehäftet einige seidene Resteln, nach ihnen
wurde getragen ein von dergleichen Resteln zierlich zusammen genähetes
Fähnlein, und das Schneider-Schild, welchen nachkamen prope gekleidte Gesellen
mit auf den Hüten gehabten Maschen und Bändern. Als dann

XXI. Kame die so genannte Schnür- Posementir- und Knöpf-Macher-Zunft,
dieser giengen vor die Starschen oder Zunft-Aeltisten in schwarz-deutschen
Kleidern und Mänteln, denen nachgetragen wurde ein vergoldter kleiner Hand-
Werks-Stuhl, und künstlich verfertigtes Posementir-Schild; nach diesem kamen
eben schwarz gekleidte Gesellen mit Posementir-goldenen Schörpen, Achsel-
Bänder und Maschen auf den Armen und Hüten, auch schönen Puschen. Ihnen

XXII. Folgete die Schuster-Zunft, da giengen vor die Starschen oder Zunft-
Aeltisten in deutschen schwarzen Kleidern, Hüten und Mänteln, denen
nachgetragen wurde eine ungemeiner Größe vom Zinn in Form eines Stiefls
gegossene Zunft-Kanne, auf dessen Deckel eine Schuster-Werkstatt samt
arbeitenden Gesellen formiret ware; nach diesen zeigten sich die Gesellen in
verschiedener schöner Kleidung. Weiters

XXIII. Marschirte mit vorgerittenem Reit-Knecht, zweyen Trompetern, und
vorgegangenen zweyen Laufern eine ansehnliche Husaren-Compagnie Verheurater
Judcn, worunter auch der Abraham Zebrak, und Michel Jurist waren; welche alle
in Hungarischen mit Gold verbramten Pelzen, silber- und goldenen Leib-Stücken,
prope verbramten, auch mit Maschen und Reigern gezierten Hüten, gemachten
Spreiz-Bärte, und in Händen gehabten Lanzen, kostbar Hungarisch gekleidet, auf
Schulrittigen Pferden ritten. Diesen folgten zu Pferd

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XXIV. Zwey wohlgestalte Jünglinge, wovon der eine vorstellte eine auf jüdisch pretiös gekleidte Braut mit gehabtem vom Gold gewürkten Kragl, und auf dem Haupt kostbar mit Perlen behäften Cranz und Bund; der andere aber einen Bräutigam, so auch kostbar gekleidet ware, und seine Braut auf das beste liebkosete. Mehr marschirte


XXVI. Ritte ein Hochzeits-Narr, welcher mit allerhand hölzernem Kuchel-Geschirr, als Löfeln und Tellern umgehenget ware, und anstatt des Hutes einen hölzzenen Dopf aufhatte. Neben ihm aber

XXVII. Ein reitender grün-harlequinisch angekleidter Schalks-Narr zu sahen ware. Welchen

XXVIII. Nachkamen noch andere Narren, wovon der eine in Weibs-Kleidern verkleidet einen für ein Knäblein verstellten 40. Jährigen Mann im Lauf-Wägel, und bey Fuhr-Bändln führte; dieser Knab hatte ein Bier-Zeizl, und wann er geschrien, schmierte ihm das Weib einen Gasche in den Mund; ein anderer war als ein den Mann im Korb tragendes Weib versellet, so artige Posituren machte; noch ein anderer ritte auf einem hölzzenen Pferd, deme einer mit aufgehabtem Hirsch-Kopf samt Gewey folgte, welche ins gesamt mit viel- und mancherley Kurzweiligkeiten die Zuschauer erlustigten. Mehres ware

XXIX. Zu sehen ein Paar wilder gleich als natürlich mit Haaren bewachsener Männer, welche grosse Holz-Knitteln, worauf Bäumeln waren, in Händen hatten, und mit einander rauften, bis der eine mit starkem Zuschlagen an der Erden den Knittel entzweyte. Hinter denen

XXX. Giengen 2. Paar ungemein dick mit Woll ausgestopfte Viel-Fraß, welche zum lustigen Anschauen ihre Personen wohl agirten. Nicht minder ware

XXXI. Zu belachen ein von 6. vorgespannt- und grün bekleideten Personen geführter Wagen, wo auf einem Faß der Bachus sitting aus der in Händen gehabten Kanne der Sauf-Art nach den Drunk gar oft wiederholte. Den Schluß machte so dann


Als


Und gebar einen Sohn, hieß ihn Joseph, und sprach: GOTT wolle mir noch einen Sohn geben.


GOTT war mit Joseph, und er war Regent im Land.

N. III. Pro puero iste orabam, nune autem Dominus dedit petitionem meam. Sam. 1. cap. 1. v. 27.

Um diesen Knaben bathe ich, nun hat mir der Herr meine Bitt gegeben.

N. IV. Exultavit cor meum in Domino, & apertum est os meum super inimicos meos. Sam. 2. cap. 1.

Mein Herz ist frölich in dem Herrn, und mein Mund hat sich aufgethan über meine Feinde.
N. V. Josephus filius accescens. Gen. 49. v. 22.
Joseph ein neu-erwachsner Sohn,
In hohem Scepter samt der Cron.

N. VI. In te Domine speravi, non confundar. Psalm. 30. v. 1.
In dich O Herr hoffe ich auf Erden,
Wird' ewig nicht zu Schanden werden.

Joseph war Regent im Land,
Setzet all's in guten Stand.

Das Haus war voller Seegen,
Um frommen Josephs wegen.

N. IX. Laetabor & psallam nomini tuo.
In dich O Herr will mich erfreuen,
Frolockend, psalmend zu dir schreien.

N. X. Erátque Dominus cum eo, & portabat omnibus magnum gaudium
Der Herr, mit Joseph war allzeit,
Und brachte allen grosse Freud.

Ferner zeigten sich auf denen Jüdischen Stadt-Thören einige illuminierte Pyramiden mit folgenden Inschriften.

Auf dem Ersten Thor.

VIVat
Vergnüget soL Maria Königin Leben,
aVCh Vnser NeVgeborner PrInz
Ioseph Darneben.

Auf dem Anderten Thor.
Er nahm die beyde Thor,
Wo Schloß und Rigl vor;
Herein liebwerthe Gäst herein,
Heut muß kein Thor beschlossen seyn.

Auf dem Dritten Thor.
Veniam ad te tempore isto, & habebit filium Sara uxor tua.
Ich will wieder zu dir kommen, so soll Sara dein Weib einen Sohn haben.

Es ware also, um gegen der Allergnädigsten Monarchin die allerunderthänigst Devotion zu bezeugen, bey diesem Aufzug und Illumination kein Fleiß gesparet, alles zur vergnügten Celebrirung dieses Festins erdenkliches zu vollziehen; und weilen der Primator Frankel (dessen gefließener Mühe diese binnen sieben Tagen bereite Solennitäts-Anstalten alle zu zuschreiben seynd) auch das Vermeiden der vorfälligen Unordnung sich angelegen seyn ließe; dahero mit ausgegebenen Billets alle Hohe und niedere Zuschauer versehen wurden, welche denenselben die gelegeneste Oerter zum Zuschauen verschafften. Nicht minder die Hohen Stands Personen möglichst zu bedienen machte derselbe mit Zuziehung deren Anfangs bemeldten Commissarien alle erforderliche Anstalten; wessentwillen in seiner Wohnung in zweyen besonders aufgebutzten sauberen Zimmern, als in einem ein von Christen-Köchen propre zubereites Super; in dem andern aber ein vortrefflicher Confituren-Aufsatz, welcher eine Ehren-Pforte, und in derselben Ihro Majestät die Königin, den Neugebornen Durchleuchtigsten Prinzen auf dero
Armen haltend, praesentirte, angerichtet waren; wie dann auch kein Mangel an verschiedenen Sorten delicatester ausländischen Weine diese bereitwilligste Bedienung mindern dürfte; daß also an der unterhänigsten Gefließenheit nichts mangelte, die gegen das Allerhöchste Haupt hegende Veneration zubezeugen.

Vorstehender prächtiger Aufzug ist vom Anfangs gemeldten Aeltisten Deutsch-Schreiber der Prager Judenschaft zusammen getragen und zum ewigen Andenken beschrieben worden.
The Celebratory Procession of Bidschow [Nový Bydžov] Jewry in 1716
Michael K. Silber, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Description of the procession that was held by Bidschow Jews on occasion of the birth of His Most Serene Imperial Prince Leopold of Asturias.

15th of June 1716

Procession

June Bidschow Jews. So on the 15th of June 716, a joyous procession was held in honor of the Serene Prince of the House of Habsburg, thus

First, an eighty-year old summoner [Schulklopfer] went ahead, who showed the way:

2nd Rides courier on a horse dressed as half man and half woman, and blows a postal horn;

3rd Rides a trumpeter

4th Rides the Land Deputy, splendidly attired, followed by the head of the community and two elders, all four carrying the coat of arms of Bohemia in their hands. Running alongside are two well decorated couriers

5 Follows the old preceptor on foot carrying the imperial privilege

6 Follows a man carrying a benediction, beautiful and exceptionally expensive […]

7 Goes the rabbi with his students in a most attractive orderliness

8 Follows a canopy carried by four men that is splendidly decorated under which the ten commandments, exceptionally expensive, were carried

9 Follow twelve old men attired in white kittels that drop all the way to the ground, all having white night caps on their heads,
10 Follow six Hebrew musicians

11 Go eighteen young boys, all beautifully dressed and carrying in their hands purple [cloth] and scepters

12 Follow six pipers

13 Goes a drummer

14 Follow a captain with a foot guard along with of a beautiful flag, and all under arms

15 Rides a district commissioner

16 follows a groom with the reserve horse

17 follows a trumpeter

18 Rides General Schük on a very lavishly decorated expensive horse; four runners alongside him

19 Marches a squadron, all beautifully dressed in lavish Hussar style, and carrying an expensive standard

20 Rides a trumpeter followed by a cavalry captain with a company of hussars going with a smart standard

21 Goes a bagpiper

22 Go six butchers with their meat cleavers

23 Go several peasants along with a rustic who leads a steed by the hand

24 Go several men stuffed with straw

25 Concluding this procession is a Moorish king on a small horse and two young Moors following on foot, as well as a small wagon in which sit four Moorish children

This procession lasted three hours, and departed from the Jewish Town along the Ring to the Town Hall, where they positioned themselves in the square in the most attractive orderliness, then through the Räben a loud salutation was raised in a toast
in honor of His Serene Highness, whereupon all cried out at the top of their voices, “Vivat! Long live our Emperor along with the newborn Prince!” and with a “Salvia! Hail!”, returned to the Jewish Town. There once more a toast was made and a Salvia, and then in fine order they returned to the Ring and then back to the Jewish Town with which the procession, with incessant gunfire, concluded.
The Celebratory Procession of Bidschow [Nový Bydžov] Jewry in 1716
Michael K. Silber, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Aufzugs Beschreibung, welche die Bidschower Juden wegen der geburth des allerdurchlauchtigsten kaiserlichen Prinzens Leopold von Asturien gehalten. ddo. 15. Junü 1716


Aufzug


Erstlichen Gieng vorauß, ein 80 Jähriger Both der den weeg Weÿset:

2ten Rüdhe ein fuarier auf einem Weÿsen pferd halb Man und halb weub Kleÿdter angethan war, und blaßet auf d. Posthorn;

3ten Rüth ein Trompäter

4ten Rüth der Herr Lands Deputierte auf daß herlichst bekleudtet alß dann der Primas und 2 aldiste, und fuhrten alle Vuer daß Böhmen Wapen in der Hand. Neben her Lauften 2 Wohlaufgebutzte Laufer

5 folget der alt preceptor zu fuß welcher d. Kaÿsl. Privillegi Traget,

6 folget einer zu fuß daneben wunsch Traget, der schön und rähr zu sehen, und zu hörn wahr in einem [… ]adler

7 Gienge der Räbie sambt seinen Stundenten in schönster ordnung

8 folget ein Baldachin, von Ihrer 4 gedrag, welcher herrlich aufgebuzt wahr darunter d. 10en gebott, auß daß rährigste gedragen wurde
9 folgen 12 alte Männer in Weiß älen angethan Biß auf die Erden, und haben alle weiße Schlaf Hauben auf dem Haubt

10 folgen 6 hebräische Musicanden

11 Giengen 18 Junge Knaben, alle schön aufgebutzter und Tragen in Ihren Händten Purper und Zepter

12 folgten 6 schallameyer

13 Gienge ein Dromelschlager

14 folgt ein Haubtman, mit einer fuß quardy sambt einer schönen Fahnen, und alle im Untergewöhr

15 Reuthet ein Kreys Comissarius

16 folget ein Reud Knecht mit deß General Handtpferd

17 folget ein Trompädter

18 Reudet der General Schük gantz rähr aufgebutzt auf einem rählen Pferd: neben ihm 4 Laufer

19 Marschierte im Esquadron, alle schön auf Hußarn form rähr gekleudtet wahren, und führten eine kostbahre Standärt

20 Ride abermahl ein Trompädter

Nachgehendt ein rittmaister mit einer Compägn. Hußarn gehen mit einer Saubere Standtärd

21 Gieng ein Sacklpfeífer

22 Giengen 6 Fleuschkacker mit Ihren fleuß Peullen

23 Giengen Edliche Bauern sambt einem rüster, welcher daß rohs an der Hand führte;

24 Giengen Edliche von Stroh ausgestopfte Männer
25 schließt diesen aufzug ein Morn König auf einem kleinen Pferd und 2 Junge Morn zu fuß hernach volgt ein kleines wäg allein worinen 4 Morn Kinder sassen;

“The Torch of the Inquisition”: Representations of burning and drowning in sixteenth-century Cretan rabbinic texts

Rebecca Wartell, University of Colorado, Boulder


The Italian Inquisitions of the mid-sixteenth century sparked increased persecution of Jews throughout Italy, reaching as far as the Venetian colony of Crete. Anti-Jewish measures on *terraferma* included the creation of new Jewish ghettos, restricted economic activity and public burnings of Hebrew scripture. Additionally, the expulsion of Jews from the Papal State caused the exiles to seek protection from the Inquisition, hence waves of migrants began to arrive in Candia, the heart of Crete’s established Romaniote Jewish community. Many of the refugees were of Sephardim of *converso* background, described in the texts as having “drowned in the waters of the Inquisition,” seeking the chance to return to Judaism.

*Takanot Kandiya*, the collection of statutes from the Jewish community of Candia compiled by Rabbi Elijah Capsali, contains several letters by rabbinic leadership that address the crisis of the *converso* refugees in Candia around the year 1568. Using a lexicon that repeatedly refers to the sense of burning, the letters allude to the burnings of Talmud and also the public executions of *conversos* accused of Judaizing, who were burnt at the stake. Rabbi Elijah Galimidi describes the inquisitors as “the authorities of the nation that burns them.” What is most striking, though, are the consequences threatened by the rabbis to the local community for not helping the refugees: they will be “hurt by the embers and burnt from the fire of exile,” according to preeminent Safed rabbis David ben Abi Zimra, Yosef Karo, Yisrael Bar Meir, and Moshe bar Yosef Mitrani. A critical reading of these letters allows us to explore the sensations of burning and drowning: the painful fire of condemnation is threatened by authorities of the Church as well as the rabbis, showing the seriousness of the *converso* issue. At the same time, the deadly waters of forced conversion through Catholic baptism can be reversed via the living waters of the mikvah. The Jews of Candia are given a key role in the enabling the *conversos* to return to Judaism, thereby restoring the spiritual purity of the Jewish people.
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No. 113 Restrictions on the reckless and the prohibition on calling brethren an apostate. (pp. 147-8)

Esteemed Gentlemen, Dear Children of Zion, Intelligent and Knowledgeable People, Leaders of our Holy Community that came to Candia [Crete] to preserve, strengthen and sustain it, and in your complete wisdom, the entire community has great respect for our rabbis’ graciousness in essence, spirit, and soul. May peace reign forever.

[skip to line 17]

We also want to instruct you because we hear about the anusim who drowned in the waters of the Inquisition [succumbed to forced conversion] and have come to your community to find shelter under the wings of the Divine Presence [return to Judaism]. When we quarrel with them and abuse them and call them apostates, (meshumadim) this is wicked and illegal, and it slams the door in the faces of those seeking repentence (baalei teshuva). The person who does this causes great suffering and torture. Many sinners have done this, and Mordechai (?) has already written an intervening chapter that Rabbi Gershom implements a sentence of banishment for this. From today and here forward, let it be a warning to every person that if you fail in this, you will get hurt by the embers and from the fire of exile imposed by Rabbi Gershom. Even if you just verbally abuse him [a convert] or his father, even if you yell at him about other matters, and not about this matter. And, God forbid, it should come to pass that anyone big or small does this, you will quickly be sent into exile for one day until you confess. And to he who fails again on this issue, the punishment is to be rejected and placed into exile, as it is written in the Torah, to separate yourselves from him judgement is given. Big or small, do not tolerate this behavior and also investigate if there are any other slight sins as well. Set aside and safeguard the Torah. As reward, take pity on them (the conversos) and grant them to see a house and land. And God will bless you and
grant you fortune in whatever you do. Your souls will be greatly cleansed and most beloved wishes guaranteed to come true.

Written and Signed on the 15th of Tammuz 5328 (21 July 1568)
In order and atonement on the Children of Israel, here in Safed, build and prepare speedily [for the world to come].

David ben Abi Zimra
Yosef Karo
Yisrael Bar Meir (of blessed memory)
Moshe bar Yosef (of blessed memory) Mitrani

No. 114 Excommunication for anyone who calls a repentant an apostate (p. 148)
Do not speak and fight childishy as you are fighting presently about our current exile. The hand of other nations attacks us, and falsely accuses us about our faith. The people among us that were forcibly converted are returning to their faith and among those anusim some are returning to their faith and after a period of time saving [themselves] by returning to their faith and returning in complete repentance. Our rabbis of blessed memory said that in this situation with repentants, when bad people sin against God and subdue our people and quarrel amongst ourselves, and remind [the anusim] of all that has happened to them and even threaten to turn them into the hand of the authorities of the nation that burns them – this is [ḥillul hashem] a public desecration of God by everyone. Furthermore this causes a problem for all of Israel, the nation of God. You will all be excommunicated – the entire blessed community – an eternal excommunication – unbearable and terrible. You will be declared excommunicated and banished, every man and every woman, small and big, that moves his lips or does something to provoke/cause a reaction [lets come out his mouth to talk or to remind them] to reprimand a convert. [Line 10 - כִּי־שֶׁלַאֲלִים לאמר אָזַי אָזַי קרוּתֵא לאֲמָרָה will be banished and exiled from the heavens and from creation, in this world and in the world to come, cursed by day and cursed by night, God will not be willing to forgive him, and God will separate evil from all the tribes of Israel and blot out his name from heaven. And if possibly a person is found in the midst of the Jewish community [Israel] who is cruel and wicked, who lets come arrogant words come out of his mouth, even during a quarrel or argument, and argues an idea or a secret and so forth, it is still possible to give him all of the curses written in the Torah and to blot his name from heaven. This will ensure that his soul will rest secure and serene and then everything will be refreshed and tranquil.

The bereaved and lonesome Elijah Galimidi
“The Torch of the Inquisition”: Representations of burning and drowning in sixteenth-century Cretan rabbinic texts

Rebecca Wartell, University of Colorado, Boulder


זער בתע הפסקאות ומשל לעלה לזרער לזרער שמשות
הנהריאו השיגים ובו יצק הקירוס והנשי בזונת פאסר שננהו קפיה שבראש התיכו
השלח המולדת ורצתי זיוש ורוי לו, נשלום אן קי.

עד ואנ חר יבך, על יכ שמסוג שאנישו שטיבנו בימי השמש לזרער הזח בתוכינו
הכמעטות Krishna עם החורי 중יפה יחדו פאסר הם שמשית זעון פלילים. שגועלין דלת פלני
בשל החתוון, והשתון והזעוןとに מסכוה, והנהריאו חלווי בו, כברה חל שלמרד פוק.addButton
שריבור נשרים גזר נזריו לעך. ילב מטרים והלאה יהור כאלד מלקחלש דבור, והמלכודות
باحثים על ייג מואר הזחל. אופייל חתרפה להלדה ואבונורה, החנה זה שהוא בני כרור האזרה.
אלא אבד בר, זאמ חילוים וカーו שלך אמש עלא עזה, גזרל אן קומיו, יוחו עלצמטים ריש / בנדוריים וים
את חורה, ייקלו עלינו שלח האבשל עד בבר(hr), ושבר עזר ול, זאמ מצלביון🤩, רביע מצרים משקר, כאר
הסרל פסלי פאסר נוגרש עם חזר, ומבר שלחتمر ומצור על נאispens
עבירה国际机场 בית קנס, הפיסים חזרות סין לזרער, бюסרץ ויאזר שהייו ליעלם, וחזר להאזר
במעיון الحق, יישלחו והנרער את נושה של מעשה מראם האמבליים, כי את נוצר הזרע ומשפכים כי
את חס אפרניוס אאךמשם, חסםיה והחזרותים בטלי מהות והשכון, פסי רפרט על ביא ישראל, פס
צפת חוכם.

יקח קאר

נישאר בר, מאיר וילדה

משה בר, יוסי וילדה מדרני

[ורם יל שיאמרו משהד לבעל תשובות ]

עד דברת הוהי לה חסם נקוריי רכמ רבי בכר דנלאן זה, וד החומרא חקוף עתיק, ומשללי לוחמנו
על דחות, אספורים אנסימו מאמן לזרער ולתם, יזמורי אנסימושים ולהר חזרור דרזרו הרצל
החותם לזרער שביב החובשות שזלמה, ורזיל אחרי יכ בקפסים כשלחתי והבר, יזמי מהאנשים
ורךים והلزم שביבי חזרות שلزم, ומבר נזר עלא שביב עלא, יזמי וה}->

שאמיאים פלישה / חלחולים והמסרים ביא החומרא שלחרים, והזחל יחו בברך על הז صلى
וישראל שז, והחרים לכל—he חזרותם חזרות רם זמר אים נוגריו חזר דיני שמאראות לכל
אלא ואש אתו קוס נזרו, או הכין שרתי או ויירא מפי בר נזרה חזרות עונה כים ליאים לזרר אויז

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ואכל קורソン לאומות ייזה מנחה ומנחה לשמיים ולבריות. בעולמ חת ובשעלת היב אדואר חוא ביווה אדואר חוא ביווה
ארוור חוא ביווה, לא יאבה ה סולה ל, וברדיהו ה ירצה משל שבי ישראב, והוהו ה או שמיים.
השמרם. ואמ בואל מצעה חונק ישראל אינ אדואר בולשחל חוהו קפי מפי מלך והנה מפי אדואר
מחו קטע וחירב, אלא ריבר ריב אט רפע וטי, יחלisions עליך כל האלות המובבות והבורד, והוהו
יוי אית שמי מתה שמיים, ושומר בפש ישכן בטש ושאנ, והוהו עליהו רענן, לכל אשא לשלום.
שכול גולטונ אלייה גליוהי.