

JEWISH LIFE AND IDEALS IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES
AS REFLECTED IN THE KAE HA-YASHAR

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This thesis is dedicated to

My Wife

with abiding love

and with heartfelt gratitude for her patient efforts
in transcribing the original manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

In writing this thesis, the Wilna, 1864 edition of the Kab ha-Yashar was used. In this edition, the chapters are divided into smaller paragraphs than those contained in the Frankfort edition of 1709-10. Furthermore, the Yiddish of the Wilna edition is more refined than that of the earlier work. Occasionally, however, the later anonymous translator added comments of his own to the Hebrew and Judaeo-German texts. These appear in parentheses and have not been included in the material contained in this thesis. The later text of the Judaeo-German translation is a great improvement over the earlier, because it contains explanations over and above those given in the earlier text. Its style is much more lucid, and its smaller paragraph divisions make it much easier for constant reference.

While the Judaeo-German or Yiddish text provided the translation upon the basis of which this study has been made, the Hebrew text was also consulted whenever the occasion warranted it.

All references to the Kab ha-Yashar are indicated by chapter and paragraph numbers, according to the Wilna, 1864 edition.

SECTION ONE

THE BOOK AND THE PERIOD -- BACKGROUNDS

CHAPTER ONE

THE KAB HA-YASHAR

I

General Nature of the Book

Generally speaking, the Kab ha-Yashar is a combination of ethics and asceticism (Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, p. 414; Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, I, p. 202). The book reflects the gloomy, rigorous, mystical spirit and the cultural and social lag of seventeenth century Polish Jewry, together with some picture of Lithuanian and German-Jewish communities. Because of the influence of his teacher who instructed him the Cabala of Ari and introduced him to Sabbatianism (Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200), Kaidanover filled it with quotations from the Zohar and stories about demons, transmigrations of souls -- Gilgulim -- and similar material about mystical, superstitious beliefs current in his age (Zinberg, I., A History of Jewish Literature, VI, p. 394; Dubnow, op. cit., I, p. 202). It is replete with legends about the lives of Rabbi Isaac Luria and Rabbi Chayim Vital, and others who lived in the city of Safed. These are all bound together into practical Cabala with its concern about the other world (Erik, M., History of Jewish Literature--Yiddish-- I, pp. 310-313; Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar). Yet the ethics that it teaches is pure, and the virtues it seeks to inculcate are noble, exalted and humanitarian (Waxman, M., A History of Jewish Literature, II, p. 290; Zinberg, op. cit., V., p. 194; Erik, op. cit., pp. 310-313). Kaidanover's chief purpose seems to be to cast dread upon the Jews in order to

make them repent. He commands man to follow God and threatens every transgressor with suffering in Gehinom (Zinberg, op. cit., VI, p. 236, V, p. 190; Dubnow, op. cit., I, p. 203). No group is spared from attack, and noteworthy is his protest against the evil-doings of the leaders of the Kehillah (Encyclopedia Judaica, X, p. 199). Kaidanover himself emphasizes his attitude toward them: "I have endeavored to speak to the 'great' and I am not ashamed" (Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar).

Why did Kaidanover write this book? Here is what he tells us: "I have written this book," writes Kaidanover, "to make many people meritorious..., and that the eyes of the blind.... may be opened.... It is a measure for the upright....and makes upright the heart of man and causes the obstinate to walk in perfection in God's ways,....for it reveals the Light, and reproof is presented through parable....Everyone who fears the Lord should read this book two or three times to fulfill my words....He that fulfilleth this book will surely merit seeing the building of Zion and Jerusalem (Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar).

As we shall see, nearly all of the injunctions which the Kab ha-Yashar contains are Talmudic in origin, and in this respect the book follows the pattern of the Middle Ages in practically every detail.

II

Influence and Importance of This Book

From its first printing in 1705 and its publication with Kaidanover's Judaeo-German translation in 1709 in Frankfort,

the Kab ha-Yashar became a popular book almost at once. It was beloved in Jewish religious circles -- particularly among the lower classes and the women -- and its Judaeo-German translation made its author all the more famous (Tscherikower, Iwo Bleter^{IV}, "The History of a Literary Forgery"--Yiddish-- pp. 159-160; Waxman, op. cit., II, p. 290; Zinberg, op. cit., V, p. 188; Dubnow, op. cit., I, p. 202). So great was the demand for this book by the laymen that it appeared in Judaeo-German without the Hebrew text in Sulzbach in 1724, and an anonymous writer took it upon himself to make a refined Yiddish translation for the later Wilna edition (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 163-167). The proof of its wide appeal may easily be seen from the number of editions through which the book passed. By the end of the nineteenth century, it went through 13 editions in the Hebrew alone, 15 in Hebrew and Judaeo-German translation, 6 in Judaeo-German alone, and even twice in Ladino alone (Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200; for the editions, see Tscherikower, op. cit., p. 166, note 17).

The importance of this work for the modern scholar derives from the fact that it presents a clear picture of Jewish life in the Middle Ages.

III

The Make-Up of the Book

The title of the book, Kab ha-Yashar, presents a good example of its general make-up, for here we have some of the plays on numbers (gematria) and on words (ziruf). The numerical value of Kab is 102; therefore, the author has divided his book

into 102 chapters. When the letters in ha-Yashar are rearranged, they form the author's middle name, Hirsch (Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar). The book has no organized plan of arrangement (Erik, op. cit., pp. 310-313). There is little sequence between the chapters, and in this respect, the book resembles a string of isolated articles, rather than chapters of a well-planned book (Waxman, op. cit., p. 290).

The Hebrew text is written in a more concentrated and dry form; the Yiddish is fuller and more detailed, particularly in regard to the stories and incidents which Kaidanover relates (Erik, op. cit., pp. 310-313). A good part of the book is devoted to these stories quoted from many varied sources on the one hand, and, on the other, from the author's own experience. Most of the stories are legendary and concern themselves with the lives of Rabbi Isaac Luria and Rabbi Chayim Vital and the city of Safed with its Cabalistic orientation. The stories, therefore, contain many incidents about spirits, demons, trans-migrations, and similar mystical beliefs current in the author's age (Erik, op. cit., pp. 310-313; Waxman, op. cit., II, p. 290; Dubnow, op. cit., I, p. 203). There are included also many incidents which occurred in Posen (Zinberg, op. cit., VI, p. 202).

The following is a complete list of references containing stories, examples, and parables of every description which the author used to illustrate his points:

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1: 13-14 | 7: 19-21 |
| 2: 13 | 7: 30 |
| 5: 9 | 8: 6-8 |
| 6: 1-5 | 8: 10 |
| 6: 6-9 | 8: 12-13 |
| 7: 12-13 | 8: 15 |

9:	8-9	45:	7-15
10:	2-11	46:	7
11:	6-10	48:	5-6
11:	16-17	49:	1-3, 6-8
11:	17-19	50:	1-2
12:	1-3	50:	2-3
12:	6-7	50:	6-8
12:	8	51:	4-5
12:	9	52:	1-8
14:	3-5	53:	8-11
14:	6-7	54:	2, 5
17:	6	58:	3-7
17:	7-9	59:	6-9
18:	12-14	60:	8-9
19:	3-5	62:	6-11
19:	6	64:	16-17
20:	4-5	65:	7
20:	8-9	66:	5-9
20:	11-12	67:	3-6
21:	1	69:	1-9
21:	8-10	70:	3-6
22:	3-4	71:	8-11
22:	6-13	72:	1-2
23:	1-5, 11	74:	1-5
24:	2-5	77:	6-7
25:	1-6	78:	3-7
26:	1-3	79:	6-8
26:	4-5	80:	1-7
28:	12-20	83:	1-2
29:	1-7, 10, 11	83:	4-10
30:	6-7	84:	3
31:	7-9	85:	6-10
31:	12-22	86:	2-4
34:	12-21	87:	6-7
35:	4	88:	4-5
35:	6-8	90:	2
35:	10	91:	1
35:	14	93:	4-9
36:	3	96:	2-4
36:	12-21	98:	1-4
40:	6		
41:	10		
41:	11-12		
43:	16-20		
44:	6-7		
44:	9-10		

The following two lists contain (1) those passages in which the principle of gematria is used; and, (2) those in which ziruf is used:

Gematria

Introduction
9:14
11:1-3
24:2
33:2-3
50:5-8
51:2-3
55:3-6
59:2
59:6
68:7
70:3-6
73:14
80:8
85:2-4
86:1
93:3
95:2-3
96:6

Ziruf

1:22
2:4
3:7
38:18
47:1-2
56:6-7
59:2
63:11-12
66:1
86:1
87:6-7
88:1
90:10

Throughout the book there are many references to the names of the Deity, their meanings, and plays upon them.

Some of the passages follow:

1: 22	56: 6-7
2: 9	85: 2-4
48: 3	95: 3
55: 3-6	99: 8-9

As was the custom with all Jewish authors in the Middle Ages, the book ends upon a happy note with a description of the rebuilding of the Temple and its Cabalistic significance (Kab ha-Yashar, 102:1).

IV
Sources Quoted by the Author

Of all the sources which the author quotes, the one most heavily drawn upon is the Zohar (Waxman, op. cit., II, p. 290; Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar; Erik, op. cit., pp. 310-313). He likewise makes great use of biblical material. The follow-

ing is a list of the sources mentioned in Kab ha-Yashar. Alongside of it is merely one reference, out of many, where the source is mentioned by name.

First of all, he acknowledges his debt to his father, Rab Aaron Samuel Kaidanover (Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar. See below, Chapter II, Section 1). The author likewise makes use of his own experiences in Poland and elsewhere, and draws upon them for illustrative material (e.g., 54:5). He alludes also to incidents which occurred in Posen (Zinberg, op. cit., VI, p. 202; Kab ha-Yashar, 69:1-9). There are many standard works which he quotes. The Zohar and the Bible have already been mentioned. He speaks also of the Talmud Yerushalmi (11:6-10), Midrash Tanhuma (10:2-11), Midrash Rabbah (8:12-13), the Babylonian Talmud (36:3), Shulhan Aruk (30:10), and Rashi, probably to Gemara (8:11).

Individuals whom he quotes are Maharil (96:5), Rab. Me-hurar Wolf, rabbi of Posen (67:7), traditions received from Zaddik Mehurar Joel Ba'al Shem (70:7-8).

The following are the books from which Kaidanover has drawn material. Many of them are mystical works. A great many are obscure and little-known works: Zohar Hadash (Erik, op. cit., pp. 310-313; Waxman, op. cit., II, p. 290; Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar), 51:2-3; Midrash Ezekiel, 50:6-8; Sefer Hasidim, 54:1-2; Sefer Gibat ha-Moreh, 7:12-13; Kitbe ha-Ari, 68:7; Masehet Megilla, 99:1; Torat Hayyim, 98:1-4; Tikkun Shabbat, written by Rabbi Abraham Halevi, 93:4,6-9; Piyyutim and Psalms of Krovez, 86:1; Tikkune Zohar, 12:1-2; Sefer Holek Tamim, 8:6-8; Baal ha-Charedim, 7:19-21; Midrash

Pesikta, 41:10; Sefer Kele Hemda, 51:3; Sefer Rab ha-Memuna, the elder, 57:3; Sifre Musar, 57:1; Ture Zahab, 54:3-4; Baal Seder ha-Yom, 1:10; Sefer Reket Eliyahu, 1:12; Sefer Otiyot de Rabbi Akiba, 1:8; Rab Bet Joseph, 2:6; Baale Musar, 2:5; Sifte Cohen, 68:4-5; Shene Lukot ha-Brit, 90:5; Sefer Raziel, 87:1; Maase Merkaba, 11:11, 12, 15; Sefer Taame ha-Mizbot by Rabbi Maharam, 10:13-14; Sefer ha-Hinuk, 8:3; Orhot Hayyim, written by Rabbi Asher ben Yechiel, 7:25; Midrash ha-Neelam, 21:13; Sefer Shibbole ha-Leket, 18:7; Sefer Sod ha-Razim, 16:1; Correspondence between the Habura Kadisha of Palestine and the Habura Kadisha of Babylonia and the Diaspora, 15:7-9; Sefer Haredim, 40:5; Masehet Berakot, 37:1; Sefer Nishmat Hayyim, 35:1-3; Sifre ha-Mekubalim, 24:1.

CHAPTER TWO

THE AUTHOR

I

Problem of Authorship

For a long time, it was assumed that Zebi Hirsch Kaidanover was the sole author of the Kab ha-Yashar. Waxman does not question this fact (op. cit., II, p. 290). True, those sources recognized that he had been greatly influenced by his teacher, a Rabbi Joseph ben Judah. The Jewish Encyclopedia, for example, holds this point of view (VII, p. 414). Kaidanover himself states: "It (Kab ha-Yashar) contains the material which I learned from the Gaon, my father, Rab Aaron Samuel Kaidanover, and the rest of my teachers.... Sometimes I added additions of my parables to their words, and sometimes I abstracted their material. So that I should not take the credit for myself for every chapter, I give praise to those who worked with me" (Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar).

Other authorities admit that Kaidanover had literally taken many parts of his book from the Yesod Joseph, written by his teacher, Rab Joseph ben Judah (Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200; Zinberg, op. cit., V, pp. 188, 189, 190; Baron, S., A Social and Religious History of the Jews, III, p. 126; Erik, op. cit., pp. 309-310; Dubnow, op. cit., I, p. 202). Zinberg shows the tremendous similarity between chapter 9 of Yesod Joseph, 7, with Chapter 9 of Kab ha-Yashar; Chapter 8 of Kab ha-Yashar is the parallel of Chapter 57, daf 27 of Yesod Joseph (p. 194, note 17). It was left to Tscherikower to discover that the Kab ha-Yashar was a wholesale literary

forgery. In quoting from the writings of S. Dubnow, he found that Dubnow's great-great-grandfather, Rab Joseph, the Rabbi of Dubnow, had composed the manuscript of an ethical work. Before he died in 1700, he made the provision that if one of his heirs from his father's side should settle in a city where there was a Jewish press, he should publish it. The manuscript which had been written some time in the 1680's (Zinberg, op. cit., V, p. 188), lay untouched for almost 100 years until a grandson opened a printing shop in Sklow and published it under the title, Yesod Joseph in 1785. The editor, Rab Abraham Jacob ben Moses Yolsch of Sklow, tells the story in his preface, and adds that a great deal of the material contained in the Kab ha-Yashar was taken from it by the author, Zebi Hirsch Kaidanover, who had been a pupil of Rab Joseph of Dubnow. It can be proven, says Tscherikower, that the author of Kab ha-Yashar took practically the whole book -- and especially Part I -- from Yesod Joseph (Tscherikower, op. cit., IV, pp. 160-163). A comparison between the two books shows that Kaidanover only changed his work slightly and then gave it out as his own. There is nothing in Yesod Joseph that is not in Kab ha-Yashar. The opening chapter, for example, is the same with the exception of slight word changes. The other chapters are practically the same, the only difference being a new beginning, or a new ending, or new examples. The order of the chapters, however, is occasionally different (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 162-163, gives the comparative order of the chapters).

There is no doubt that the Rabbi Joseph whom Kaidanover mentions as his teacher was the same Rabbi of Dubnow who later came to Minsk. Kaidanover mentions in his introduction that he used to go to Minsk to study with him, and as his pupil, he obtained a manuscript copy of his teacher's work. Later, in far-off Frankfort, after his teacher's death, he published it under his own name (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 160-167). The Judaeo-German translation, however, is Kaidanover's own work (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 163-167).

It is interesting to note in this connection that Kaidanover himself was so afraid that someone would copy his Kab ha-Yashar that he got the Frankfort Rabbi, Naftali ha-Cohen, and the Darmstädter Rov, Samuel Katz, who was also in Frankfort, to issue a Herem against anyone who might copy it without Kaidanover's permission.

II

Zebi Hirsch Kaidanover -- His Life and Experiences

Since the experiences of Zebi Hirsch Kaidanover color a great deal of the material contained in the Kab ha-Yashar, it is valuable to look into the life of the man. His father, Aaron Samuel ben Israel Kaidanover, a Polish Rabbi (born Wilna, 1614 -- died Cracow, Dec. 1, 1676 ?, 1679 ?), had suffered greatly at the hands of the Cossacks during the Chmielnicki revolution (1648-1649). He had to flee for his life, his possessions including his valuable library and manuscripts were plundered, and his two little daughters, it is claimed, were killed (Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, 414; Erik, op. cit., pp. 309-310). Tscherikower, however, main-

tains that the two daughters were slain later in the massacres of Lublin by the Ukranian Cossacks (1656) (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 159-160). If we accept this later date, we can assume that since Zebi Hirsch Kaidanover mentions that he had seen his two little sisters put to death (Introduction to Birkat Shemuel), he must have been born some time in the early 1650's or before. This is very probable since Erik tells us that Zebi Hirsch studied Halaka with his father in 1679 (Erik, op. cit., pp. 309-310).

After some time, Aaron Samuel Kaidanover returned to Poland where he died as Rabbi of Cracow while he was attending an assembly of the Vaad Arba Arazot (Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, p. 414, "Kaidanover, Aaron Samuel"; Erik, op. cit., pp. 309-310). His only son, Zebi Hirsch, was a native of Wilna, and not only studied Halaka with his father, but also was trained in Cabala by Rabbi Joseph ben Judah Jeidel, Rabbi of Minsk and later of Dubnow (Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200; Zinberg, op. cit., V, pp. 188-190; Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 163-167). His teacher was well versed in the teaching of Ari and produced his book, Yesod Joseph, which breathes the spirit of mysticism (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 163-167).

Zebi Hirsch was married to the daughter of a Frankfort Jew whose name was Isaac Haas (Horovitz, M., Frankfurter Rabbinen, II, p. 53). He had several children, at least one son and one daughter of whom we know. The Jewish Encyclopedia refers to his son-in-law, Rabbi Manoah Mendel Kirchhahn, and he himself refers to his son who was a prisoner in Slutzk

in his Introduction to Tiferet Shemuel. Zebi was little known when he lived in Wilna, but we have the fact that he published a Rules for Calendation which was not his own (Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200). When he was an elderly man, he and his family spent four years in prison for some unknown reason. Some have derived from his Introduction to the Kab ha-Yashar that his imprisonment was the result of trouble with the heads of the Kehila, and particularly with a Ben Moshe Vizner (Chort) (Erik, op. cit., pp. 309-310; Zinberg, op. cit., V, pp. 188-190; Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, p. 414; Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200). He himself writes in his preface to Tiferet Shemuel: "I was in distress because there arose against me as a wicked staff, one known by the name of Ben Zion ben Rab Moshe Chort. The wicked pursued after me with deadly arrows. They arose to make me sterile (בְּזִיּוֹן בֶּן רַב מֹשֶׁה חוֹרְט), and now only against me but against everything that I had, so that I fell into an evil trap, and iron came into my soul and into that of my wife. My wealth and even my household effects were taken away, so that I had nothing. They put false charges against me. He was a dog, but I found favor in the eyes of the officials which saved my life" (Preface by Zebi Hirsch Kaidanover to Tiferet Shemuel of his father; reproduced in Jechiel Zunz, Ir ha-Zedek, p. 124).

In the Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar, he writes: "I thank God that He brought me from darkness to light, delivered me from death to life -- from the furnace of iron. Many rose

up against me for nothing, without money. A hundred barbers smote me and wounded me. They injured me. They hid from me the delight of my eyes, and my silver and gold. They took away all my property. They were strong men who had no Prince. Therefore I vowed to forsake the land of my birth and my father's portion." In a postscript to the Wilna edition of Kab ha-Yashar, in 1864, one has written that he was persecuted by "foolish men who revolted against the word of the government and the laws of the city, who lived at the time of the author."

As soon as he was released from prison, and in order to save his son who was confined in the Slutzker dungeon, he fled from Poland possessing only the manuscript of the Kab ha-Yashar, to Frankfort, the home of his father-in-law. In Frankfort, he recovered from the trials through which he had passed and found leisure time in which to engage in literary pursuits. This was the result of a vow that he had taken during his misfortunes in Wilna (Introduction to Tiferet Shemuel). Besides publishing his father's works which he in part accompanied with notes and introductions: Birkat Shemuel, Tiferet Shemuel, and Emunat Shemuel, he wrote his A Commentary to the Pentateuch, edited the Penitential Prayer of Chayyim Haschwitz, and published his Kab ha-Yashar (first part) in 1705 (Zinberg, op. cit., V, pp. 188-190; Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200; Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 159-160; Erik, op. cit., pp. 309-310; Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, p. 414), though it probably had been finished in c. 1691 (Güdemann, M., Quellenschriften, p. 179-181).

The Introduction to this book, written at the time of the first part, makes the following appeal: "I have no money for the printing of the second part. God helped me have the first part printed. I pray to Him that He will allow me to complete the second part, and I hope that you will not have pity on your small amount of money required to buy this work. And your eyes will shine like the sun at noon." In 1709, he released the second part of the book in a second edition, this time with his own Judaeo-German translation (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 159-160).

"I have written this book," writes Kaidanover in his Introduction, "not to boast about myself, but to give a resting place for my soul in my days of poverty and grief, to make many people worthy so that their merit should revert upon me, and that the eyes of the blind be opened."

Zebi Hirsch Kaidanover died in Frankfort on March 23, 1712, and he was fortunate enough before his death to have been accorded much acclaim for his Kab ha-Yashar. The date of his death is given according to the tombstone records contained in the Frankfurter Rabbinen (Horovitz, op. cit., p. 99).

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND

I

Major Historical Events of the Period and their Effects
upon the Jews

A. Poland

The seeds of the Cossack uprisings (1648-1655) were sown by the Polish magnates who had put down previous Cossack revolts in 1635 and 1636, and who in the Polish Diet of 1638 abolished the ancient privileges of the Cossacks, including the elective office of hetman. Ever since that time, the Cossacks had been governed by a Commission of Polish noblemen possessing absolute power.

Opposed to this whole scheme of things was the Cossack Bogdan Chmielnicki who, having been elected hetman on April 18, 1648, united with the Tartars and directed an insurrection against the Polish gentry whom he opposed as economic oppressors, political tyrants, and heretics in religion.

The Jew was unfortunately caught between the opposing forces of Cossacks and Poles, since he had a religion alien to both, and was hated by the peasants among whom he served as agent of the pans.

In the battles at Yellow Waters and Hardplank on May 19 and 26, Chmielnicki routed the main Polish army. The serfs of the Ukraine rose against the Polish gentry and their Jewish stewards. Many atrocities against the Jews were perpetrated, and the cities of Nemirov, Tulchin, Polonnœ, etc., were captured by Chmielnicki. From here, he turned westward to capture the important cities of Pinsk and Brest-Litovsk.

The newly-elected king of Poland, John Casimir, (1648-1669), hastened to conclude a peace treaty with Chmielnicki after the bloody battle of Zborov. The treaty, signed on August 21, 1649, recognized Chmielnicki as a semi-independent prince, and a clause was inserted forbidding Jews to reside in that part of the Ukraine held by the Cossacks.

As the Jewish position had become so precarious, and domestic life so terribly disrupted, it became necessary for the Council of the Four Lands at its meeting in Lublin in the winter of 1650 to enact measures for the restoration of something like normal conditions.

After a respite of eighteen months, Chmielnicki who was hailed by the Orthodox Church as the "Maccabee of the Orthodox Faith" was defeated at the battle of Beresteczko (July 1, 1651), with the resultant peace treaty more favorable to Poland. Jewish rights to residence in the Ukraine were once more restored, and conditions seemed about ready to return to normal.

But, three years later, when Chmielnicki transferred his allegiance to the Czar of Russia and all of the Cossack territory was incorporated into the Muscovite Empire (1654), the Jewish situation took a turn for the worse. For the Russian army invaded the Eastern parts of Poland. As the cities of White Russia and Lithuania were captured, the Jewish residents were either exterminated or expelled. The Jews of Moghillef on the Dnieper were butchered in 1655; the Jews of Vitebsk were robbed and either slain or sold into captivity, and the

Jews of Polock, Minsk, and Kovno experienced a similar fate.

On the approach of the Russians in August, 1655, Wilna was evacuated by Prince Radzivil and his garrison. The majority of the Jewish population sought safety in flight; those that remained behind were killed or banished by the Muscovite conqueror. Among the prominent scholars who were compelled to exile themselves were Moses Rivkes, Sabbatai Cohen, and Aaron Samuel Kaidanover, who officiated in a rabbinical capacity at Fürth and then in Frankfort-am-Main.

While Lithuania was being ravaged by the Muscovites, the heart of Poland was invaded from the West by Charles X of Sweden. The best part of the land soon fell into the hands of the Swedes. The religious differences between the invaders and the invaded stirred the national and Catholic spirit of the Polish people. The Catholics had grounds upon which to be suspicious of their Protestant fellow-nationals, and it was an easy step including them with the Jews. As soon as the Poles had reconquered territory occupied by the Swedes, the Polish militia commanded by Czarniecki fell upon the Jews. In approved Cossack fashion the Poles perpetrated frightful massacres among the Jews of great and little Poland. Nearly all of the Jewish communities of the province of Posen -- except the city of Posen -- and those in the provinces of Kalisz, Cracow, and Piotrkov were destroyed.

The toll of Jewish lives taken during the decade from 1648-1658 has been estimated at a minimum of 100,000. Conditions in Poland were unspeakable, and the sufferings of the

Jewish survivors were pitiful. As a result of these ten years of turmoil, Jewish refugees were scattered all over Europe and Asia.

The death of Charles X in 1660 enabled Poland to drive back the Muscovite invader, but rebellion at home soon forced her to conclude peace upon unfavorable terms. She recovered some of her provinces, but lost a portion of White Russia and all of Little Russia on the Eastern bank of the Dnieper along with the city of Kiev (1667). Podolia and Volhynia thus remained with Poland.

The sufferings undergone by the Jews of these regions had left them with little recuperative powers, and in spite of the new order of peace, the center of Jewish life moved northward. A number of Jewish communities were relieved from taxation by John Casimir in order that they might rehabilitate themselves. The kings that followed, Michael Wisniowecki (1669-1673), and John Sobieski (1674-1696), confirmed the ancient privileges of the Jews of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Diets were inimical to the welfare of the Jews, and the administrators of the cities made royal protection nugatory. So ineffective had the official rulers of Poland become that even though the Saxon king, Augustus II (1697-1733), ratified Jewish rights, official approval was vested in the Diet. The power of the Crown had completely waned, and Poland was heading for dissolution, for the ruling power was the Diet, which was an impossible body since any single deputy could by his veto alone abruptly terminate the session before its fixed term had run out.

The Jewish communal organization was constantly perplexed, in order to find the means whereby it might meet its debts. The creditors were either Polish nobles or brother Jews who sued the community in Polish courts. Communal insolvency was a result of a combination of factors: the destructiveness of the war, and the growing drain upon the exchequer because of the many demands made upon it. There were regular taxes to the Crown, imposts by local authorities -- the head tax demanded of the corporate Jewish body kept increasing -- and extraordinary "gifts" to clergy and Jesuit convents. It is a fact that many Jewish communities paid an annual tax to principals of Jesuit schools in order to prevent their students from attacking the Jews -- one such attack had occurred in 1687 in Posen. In addition to all of the responsibilities that the community had to meet, it was answerable as well for the debts of individuals, whether those debts were real or imaginary.

So great was the consequent impoverishment that a policy of financial retrenchment was pursued by the heads of the communities. For the sake of economy, laws were passed restricting the outlay on family festivities, and even on the annual number of weddings in a community. The salaries, too, of religious functionaries were cut.

The community suffered from still another score. There was a recrudescence of ritual murder libels originating in the credulity of the Christian masses and fostered by the clerics for their own purposes. In Sandomir, for example, near Passover time (1698) the agitation of Father Szuchowski caused an

unfortunate Jewish elder to be quartered for the crime in 1710.

The wars, the financial burden, and the anti-Semitism of their Christian neighbors all combined to make the position of the Polish Jew during this period an impossible one. Suffering was heavy, poverty great, and the number of deaths enormous. There is little wonder that the Jews of Poland should fall prey to the ravages of mysticism and of Messianism whose spirit was in the air.

B. Prussia

Since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the German empire had become a loose confederation of some 300 independent principalities and free cities. From some of these, the Jews had been expelled; in others their numbers were small; and in none were they more than tolerated. During the 18th century, their residence was not a matter of right, but of privilege for which an annual amount of protection tax was paid. All Jewish travellers were subject to a body tax at each border or gate of a town. There was only one exception: several wealthy Jews, but they had, nevertheless, to pay this tax everywhere beyond the principality in which they had been granted this privilege. Another annoying tax was the toll demanded of Jews for transient residence. In practically all of the cities, the Jews were confined to the circumscribed area of a ghetto which often consisted of one narrow street in which -- as in the case of a few larger cities -- as many as 500 families crowded together.

In each family, only one of the sons was permitted to

abide in his birthplace. If there were daughters, it was fortunate if they could be married into a family possessing the right of residence. A heavily taxed permit was required for every Jewish marriage, and was granted to only one member of a family, and another special tax was exacted for each child born. Such conditions, naturally, could only lead to a break-up of Jewish families with the less fortunate children forced to emigrate to more favorable lands.

Economically, the Jew was kept from husbandry, from the ownership of land, and from membership in any of the guilds. The only occupations left open for Jews, consequently, were petty trade and money-lending.

Socially, the Jews were thrown upon their own resources, since they had become the butt of their Christian neighbors. They were also isolated from the rest of the community by reason of the corrupt dialect, Judaeo-German, which they spoke.

Conditions were much the same in Frankfort, Hamburg, Vienna, Prague, and Berlin.

The precarious position of the Jew in German lands is forcefully brought out by the constant anti-Semitic activities of Christian agitators. One of these, Johann Andreas Eisenmenger, in Frankfort-am-Main, in 1700, published Judaism Uncovered which teemed with accusations against the Jews. In this case, however, through the influence of the Jews, and especially of the banker, Samuel Oppenheim, in Vienna, the entire issue was confiscated by imperial order. In other cases, however, the Jews were not always so fortunate, and

many times suffered at the hands of aroused Christians. What security they had was of such a tenuous nature that it took but a little spark to undermine their positions.

(Most of this material has been gathered from Margolis and Marx, A History of the Jewish People, Chapters 74, 77, and 78; Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. IV, Chapters 18, 20, Vol. V, Chapter 1; Dubnow, op. cit., I, pp. 189-198). Kab ha-Yashar, 69:8 refers to the many wars occurring in Poland between the years 1648-1658, and the problem of finding one's heirs because of the great loss of life. Introduction to Birkat Shemuel by Kaidanover mentions the troubles that overtook his father when the city of Lublin was attacked, and that he almost lost his life, also that his two sisters were killed, and his family suffered greatly because of the wars. Erik, op. cit., pp. 309-310, shows here the sufferings of the father of Zebi Hirsch in the Cossack pogroms. Encyclopedia Judaica, X, pp. 199-200, reflects the Chmielnicki rebellion. Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 159-160, also points out that life for the Jew in the 17th century was miserable.

II

Thought Movements of the Period

The period in which Kaidanover lived was marked principally by the activities of Sabbatai Zebi and those Sabbatians and Mystics who followed after him. Sabbatai Zebi was born in Smyrna in 1626 and was descended from a Spanish family. His father had acted as a broker to an English mercantile concern. The Age was rife with Messianic speculations. In

Christian millernarian circles, the year 1666 was considered the year in which the Jews would be restored to Palestine. In Jewish Cabalistic circles, the year 1648 was accorded as the date for Messianic redemption. The scene was thus set for the appearance of Sabbatai Zebi.

Sabbatai studied in the rabbinical school of Joseph Escapa and was attracted to the study of the Zohar along the lines of Isaac Luria's exposition. He won to him some disciples and gained public attention by the rigidly ascetic life that he led. In 1648 he pronounced the Ineffable Name, and thereby implied that the Messianic order had set in. He was immediately excommunicated by Escapa, yet the community of Smyrna was divided, and he found support from one of the leaders, Moses Pinheiro. Sabbatai left for Constantinople and from there went to Salonika which was the seat of Cabalistic study, and there he celebrated his union to the Torah. Again he was excommunicated. In Cairo, he met Raphael Joseph Chelebi, the Egyptian Master of the Mint, who supplied him with plentiful funds. In Jerusalem, Sabbatai married for the third time. This time, it was Sarah, who had had a long record of Messianic pretensions. Aided in his campaign by Nathan Benjamin Levi of Gaza, who announced himself as the "prophet" who had come to pave the way for the Messiah, Sabbatai Zebi found the time ripe for a public announcement of his Messiahship while on a triumphal tour in Smyrna in 1665.

Smyrna, as well as many other cities, fell into a frenzy of excitement. The message was spread in practically every Jewish community by Samuel Primo, the secretary of Sabbatai,

and the "prophet" Nathan. Leghorn, Venice, Hamburg, London, and Avignon were made aware of the coming of the Messiah. Even many Christians were stirred up over the news, but the joy of those who believed in him and who made ready to depart for the Holy Land was short-lived. For when Sabbatai arrived in Constantinople, he was betrayed to the governor of the Sultan as having planned the overthrow of the Turkish empire and was thrown into prison. On September 16, 1666, Sabbatai was brought before the Sultan and to the dismay of many of his followers accepted Mohammedanism. Yet, in spite of the resulting disillusionment, there were groups of Jews in Asia, Africa, and Europe who had so much faith in this man and his Messianic pretensions that they refused to be undeceived. These became the nucleus of the Sabbatian movement following the death of Sabbatai Zebi in 1676.

There were four principal personalities who served as leaders in the Sabbatian movement. The first was Daniel Israel Bonafoux, an unschooled precentor at Smyrna. He proclaimed the message that Sabbatai was not dead, but had merely been spirited away, and would return within 45 years to accomplish the promised redemption. Denounced by the heads of the Jewish community, this self-appointed prophet was banished by the local kadi and later sought safety by embracing Islam.

Secondly, there was Abraham Michael Cardosa (d. 1706). He was a physician who had become an enthusiastic propagandist of Sabbatai Zebi's Messiahship, his conversion notwithstanding, and had won many over to the cause. He proclaimed himself to be the continuator of the dead Messiah, and wandered from one

country to another spreading his message, though there were many Rabbis who declared him a heretic.

Thirdly, there was Mordecai of Eisenstadt, an Alsatian Jew whose gift of eloquence, commanding presence, and ascetic piety cast a spell upon the masses of Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Poland. He considered himself the Messiah and received an enthusiastic welcome from Italian Jews as well.

Fourthly, the widow of Sabbatai set up her brother, Jacob Querido, a lad of 15, as the son of her husband, born of a posthumous union with her. Some of the Rabbis acquainted the Turkish authorities with their doings, and to save themselves, they accepted Islam. After the death of Jacob, his son Berachiah was proclaimed by the followers of this group as the reincarnation of Sabbatai, and this sect, known as the Doenmeh, kept up the Sabbatian cult in secret.

There were several other Jews who capitalized upon the intensity of the mystical movement which seemed to have captured the minds and fancies of many 17th and early 18th century Jewish communities. Judah, the Saint of Dubnow, and his clever associate, Hayyim Malak, held revival meetings in which Cabalistic fancies were the adjunct to the preaching of repentance. As a result of strong rabbinical persecution, Judah and a group of 1500 persons left for the Holy Land in 1700. While the majority congregated in Moravia and Hungary, Judah with a smaller body passed through Germany by way of Altona and Frankfort-am-Main to Vienna where he received aid from the Court Jew, Samuel Oppenheim. The shrunken band was stranded. Two of Judah's nephews were converted to Christianity; one of

them later allied himself with the Sabbatian element in Mannheim. Malak who had come into contact with the aged Primo placed himself at the head of a Sabbatian society in Jerusalem, and propagandized Podolia and Eastern Galicia.

Also active during this period were Nehemiah Hiyya Hayun and Moses Hayim Luzzatto. Hayyun was an arch imposter who claimed to have been born in Palestine. He received his early training in Hebron where he was inoculated with the Sabbatian virus, and served for a short time as Rabbi in Uskup. In 1708, he captivated the wealthy Jews of Smyrna with his Cabalistic work bordering on trinitarianism. Although excommunicated in Jerusalem, he received a cordial reception in Vienna and Prague (1711-1712), and later made his way to other important Jewish communities. Luzzatto (1707-1747) who began his career slightly later than the period under consideration was the leader of another Messianic movement which, however, had no connection with Sabbatianism.

Thus, we have seen that Sabbatian missionaries carried their mystical doctrines into practically every European community, and in nooks and corners the cult led an undercover existence. They were opposed most staunchly by the responsible rabbinical leaders who feared their unhealthy influence, and even where the movement had become known only from hearsay, the guardians of the tradition became apprehensive of any unwonted religious exaltation. Yet, unconsciously, mysticism crept into their own minds and served as a potent force in keeping their communities on the "good" path. To this end, we

find Kaidanover making use of Cabalistic and mystical speculation to threaten his readers with dire punishments for even the slightest infractions of the religious commandments. There can be no question, then, that the intellectual atmosphere of this period was composed of two major elements: traditional Judaism of a Talmudic and Shulhan Aruk nature, and a Cabalistic mysticism, both of which seem to blend into a harmonious whole, beginning with Isaiah Hurwitz' Shelot and continued in the Kab ha-Yashar.

As we have seen, historical conditions, both in Poland and in Germany made it practically impossible for much in the way of secular knowledge to spread among the Jewish communities. There were a few, however, among the well-to-do who were able to attend the Christian schools, or who could afford to have private secular tutoring. These were the great exceptions to the general rule; the vast majority of Jews lived entirely within the four walls of the Halaka, and their minds and lives were bound up with traditional Judaism and its mystical encrustations.

(Most of the material for this section was gathered from Margolis and Marx, op. cit., chapters 75 and 76; Graetz, op. cit., V, chapters 1,3,4,6) Dubnow (op. cit. I, pp. 188-211) writes that with the horrors of the "terrible decade" (1648-1658) the intellectual level of the Jewish masses sank lower and lower, and even among the narrow circle of scholars, the intellectual activity became pettier and pettier. Originality was sadly missing. Side by side with the scholastic literature of rabbinism

flourished popular ethical literature which foisted upon the people the notions of practical Cabala." The Kab ha-Yashar is among these books. A writer of the beginning of the 18th century makes the observation that "there is no country where the Jews are so much given to mystical fancies, devil hunting, talismans, and exorcisms of evil spirits as they are in Poland." Even the celebrated Rabbis frequently devoted themselves to Cabalistic exercises. Zinberg, (op. cit., V, p. 194) points out that the Kab ha-Yashar breathes the spirit of the European world of Kaidanover's times; he also speaks (p. 138) of the God-saturated air which the Jews inhaled; Tscherikower (op. cit., pp. 163-167) points out that Rabbi Joseph of Dubnow, teacher of Zebi Hirsch, was well-versed in Cabala of Ari which harmonizes with the time of the Cossack rebellion, and after the height of the Sabbatian movement, he revealed his agreement with the spirit of the times in his Luah ha-Hanhagot by showing great concern for the other world. The Kab ha-Yashar is a typical book of those melancholy days. The Encyclopedia Judaica (X, pp. 199-200) tells us that Sabbatianism and the Cabala of his teacher are reflected in the Kab ha-Yashar., and the environment of his time is portrayed therein, for he gives a good picture of life in the Polish, Lithuanian, and German-Jewish communities.

Zinberg, (op. cit., V, pp. 194-195) maintains that there were only a few Jews whose social position was high enough to enable them to acquire a more secular, European outlook. In the 17th and 18th centuries, French culture and language were widespread in Poland. The Polish king had married a French

woman in 1674. Nevertheless, only the children of Jewish bankers and merchants -- actually the Court Jews -- received any French education.

JEWISH LIFE AND IDEALS IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES AS REFLECTED IN THE KAB HA-YASHAR

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF JEWISH LIFE

I

Communal Organization

A. The Rabbi

The Jewish communal organization was for the most part religious-centered. Nominally at the head of the organization, though not so in actuality, stood the Rabbi, to whom every Jew had to pay special respect (15:7). In fact, one must have had to be just as careful about the honor accorded to his Rabbi as one was about that paid to his mother and father (65:6). It was incumbent upon the individual to rise before his Rabbi, something which Kaidanover saw in Poland (54:5), and by all means to greet the Rabbi following the service; this is just like greeting the Shekina (87:1). One was not permitted to pray behind his Rabbi out of reverence for him (100:3). Much of the honor accorded the Rabbi was the result of his having been an outstanding scholar (65:6). But another reason -- and perhaps a more powerful one -- was the fact that anyone who attacked the honor of his Rabbi could promptly be excommunicated until he had begged the forgiveness of the Rabbi (15:7-9).

The penalty of excommunication must have been a serious one, and particularly so in an environment in which mysticism was so prevalent. "One that is excommunicated for a single day is brought under the ban for 30 days by the heavenly Bet Din" (16:14). One might even have to suffer transmigration into a spirit (77:6-7) and would not be saved from punishment even to the extent of having the house in which he dwelt become a waste (16:1). We also note that the ban might be placed by

the Rabbi for reasons other than an affront to his honor. One might be liable to excommunication for numerous weighty sins (77:6-7) or even for having copied a manuscript which belongs to another. So in the case of Kaidanover, who got two Frankfort Rabbis to issue a herem against anyone who might copy his Kab ha-Yashar without permission (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 163-167).

In his capacity as scholar and spiritual head of the community, the Rabbi also was in charge of the academy -- yeshiba -- and the people were enjoined to attend (53:2). So important an institution was the yeshiba in its effect upon the community at large, that Kaidanover admonishes the individual to keep away from every place where there was no Yeshiba (24:6).

It was incumbent upon the Rabbi to fearlessly rebuke evil-doers and to supervise in general the morality of the community (62:13). Preserving Jewish morale in the face of trouble was another of his duties (94:4).

Naturally the morals which applied to the ordinary Jew applied more stringently to the Rabbi. He must be an humble man, and Kaidanover reports that he witnessed in Poland many Rabbis who, when the congregation rose before them, would raise aloft a book, so that the congregation would be rising before the book and not before them (54:5). On the other hand, there were some who, as a result of flattery or bribery, permitted many things which Jewish law forbade (75:3).

B. Jewish Communal Officers

The administration of communal affairs was carried on by a number of agencies. There was a burial society (46:7), the Jewish lords and leaders of the city (9:2, 4-6, 15; 65:4-5), the charity collectors (91:1), the president of the congregation (7:17), and judges (43:4-5; 44:3). Kaidanover generally considers most of the leaders of the community guilty of various mispractices. The judges he accuses of accepting bribes of speech -- flattery and honor -- and of money (44:3). He criticizes the leaders of the community because they have been appointed on account of their wealth and not their good deeds (65:3), because they are haughty (7:17, 19), particularly toward pious and scholarly people (65:4-5), because they pervert justice through their power (and for this they merit excommunication by the heavenly Bet Din) (34:1-21) because they refuse to bear their share of taxation and thus make it even more difficult for the poor to exist (9:2-5), because they are greedy for honors and constantly imbibe in strong drink (9:3), because they have no scruples concerning the funds of the community. Some even eat, drink, and present dowries from those funds (9:5). Many community leaders cast their fear of themselves over every member of the community (9:15), and even prevent individuals from performing mizwot (9:15; 43:23).

Kaidanover's picture of the leaders of the community is probably prejudiced by his own experiences in Wilna when the Kehila turned against him and succeeded in having him imprisoned (See above, Section One, Chapter 2). Apparently, not only did

they have the right of punishing Jewish offenders but they could also confiscate his property: "They took away from me my silver and gold and all my property" (Introduction to Kab ha-Yashar; see also Introduction to Tiferet Shemuel). Therefore, he lashes out against all community leaders and states: "I have sought to speak to the great, and I am not ashamed."

It seems as if this communal organization applied only to the larger communities. Those living in villages had little or no organization except the minyan for religious observance (97:12).

C. The Taxation of the Jews

Apparently, each individual in the Jewish community was required to pay taxes for the support of the activities of that community (44:7). It was a graduated tax based upon the wealth of the individual (9:3). Oftentimes, however, it worked a hardship upon the poor who had no ready money. Kaidanover describes as a result of heavy taxes, people who have had their tallesim, their shrouds, and even their bed-clothes seized in lieu of payment (9:4). The difficulty, he maintains, is the fact that the leaders of the community refuse to bear their proper share of taxation (9:2-3, 5-6; 44:5-7), and the result is that the burden is so much the heavier for the middle and poorer classes.

D. The Morality of Communal Service

It is necessary for every individual not to separate himself from his share of the responsibilities of community life. One who is able to give taxes to the community must do

so (44:7). Leaders must assume their full share of the tax burden (9:2-3, 5). They must be sympathetic in their treatment of those who cannot afford to pay taxes (9:4, 6, 15), and must be very scrupulous with regard to the money of the community. "The worst type of community leader is one who eats, drinks, and presents dowries for his own sons and daughters from the funds of the community" (9:5; 44:5-7). The leaders of the community should not be haughty as a result of their position (7:17; 9:2-3; 40:6). A leader who is haughty will suffer transmigration into a bee, and severe punishment in Gehinom (65:4-5, 7). Leaders should not flatter the rich (9:15) nor pervert justice (34:1-21), nor accept flattery and bribery themselves (75:3). Particularly is the matter of bribery important in the case of a judge (44:3) who must never disclose how the verdict was arrived at (43:4).

Not only is there a definite morality incumbent upon those who serve the community, but there is the further necessity of their supervising the general morality by rebuking those who commit transgressions (62:13) and by aiding the individual in performing a mizwah (43:23). A wise and good leader of a community who is God-fearing and conscientious will enjoy, Kaidanover promises, a long life and prosperity in this world, and a happy existence in the world-to-come. "His soul will enter into the Holy Temple" (9:1, 15). But a bad leader will be cursed by a heavenly announcer and God will not listen to his prayers (9:6).

II Home Life

A. The Jew and His Life at Home

Each Jew who could afford it seems to have taken great pride in the home that he owned. The rich had well-built houses, but the poor were forced to accept the best that they could afford (9:10). Cleanliness as a religious observance was a necessity. The place around the Mezuzah should be clean, and one should not pour dirty water near it (46:10). One should make provisions in his house for a specific corner dedicated to study and prayer (24:9; 53:4; 72:11).

Cleanliness of the hands, face and mouth, though prescribed by religious law, was a hygienic regulation (13:2-5; 12:9; 20:3). One's garments, too, should be clean at all times, and one must be particularly careful about his Sabbath clothes, that they be spotless (46:9).

The head of the household must, insofar as it is within his power, provide a comfortable home for his wife and children (24:18). One who is miserly is despised by Kaidanover (30:9). But not only must the master of the household care for his family, but it is necessary that he cheerfully billet a traveller or a poor person in his home (9:13).

The Jew's life from the moment he awakened until he went to sleep was concerned with religious functions. Upon arising, he should recite the Kedushah and a short prayer for the return of his soul (1:19). He had to be careful to wash his hands and face, and look upon the Mezuzah (2:1). Then he should recite various passages having Cabalistic significance (55:3-6),

and then, after having offered up a prayer upon leaving his house (1:23), he goes to the synagogue and prays (1:19).

At mealtime, the washing of the hands before and after the meal was obligatory, although some people, Kaidanover complains, took the matter of washing the hands after the meal very lightly (13:6; 85:8, 10). Even the eating of food was a religious matter, for one was commanded when eating tasty food to worry about Palestine and the destruction of the Temple (64:12-13). Following the meal came the saying of grace which one should pronounce with concentration (87:8). At the time of the saying of the grace, the person should remove empty vessels from the table, but should leave the bread there (64:15, 18).

One should not eat or drink very much at night before going to sleep. He should recount his deeds and make a mental note to correct all transgressions which he did during the day (61:4-5). Furthermore, he should recite the Shema (67:2) and then turn his soul over into the hands of God with great concentration (49:5; 61:4-5).

B. The Position of Women in the Home

The wife shares the responsibility with her husband of rearing their children properly, and she should seek to lead them upon the good path (81:3-4). Though she appears to be subservient to her husband, she, nevertheless, is entitled to have authority over her children (81:2-3). She must demean herself properly (58:3), and should not clothe herself "in beautiful clothes and walk about with lofty neck, naked to

the breasts, nor sin with any other forms of wildness" (58:8; 82:1). Her modesty is also essential for the peace of the household, for an immodest wife will curse a husband who has refused to allow her to clothe herself in such garments. Her cries and complaints sometimes force him to borrow, steal, or go into bankruptcy in order that she may have beautiful clothes like other women (82:1). Immodesty on the part of the wife, according to Cabalistic thinking, may cause great damage to small children (58:8). Above all, a woman must not use obscene words or sing obscene songs (77:6-7).

A wife who is menstruating should have no relations with her husband, even to the extent of allowing him to look upon her (2:10; 68:3).

A good wife is highly lauded and, from the mystical point of view, even a wicked man can receive riches for the sake of his wife (1:16; 82:1).

Apparently, after the death of the husband, the wife was the principal heir to his estate and the sole administrator. Second marriages in which the wife has become heir to some estate appear to be quite common (7:9).

C. Relations between Parents and Children

A married couple should have children (36:5). One, however, who has no son should rear an orphan and make him an honest man (89:10). One should not accustom his children to oaths, vow, hand-clasps (56:8-9), but should, by his own righteous example lead his children in the path of goodness

and make the Torah beloved by them (80:11; 58:7). The father should constantly admonish them to fulfill the Torah and its mitzvot (58:7) and the mother should take an active part in the rearing of her children (81:2-4). The father is commanded to reprove his sons and should whip them (80:11; 81:2-4), and the mother should not allow her tender heart to stand in the way of this reproof (81:2-4); for, if the child grows up to do lawlessness, people will curse, not the father, but the mother (81:1-5). If the mother is pious, she will have good children (81:1-5).

The father should protect his children at all times, even from such mystical fancies as "evil eyes" and "dangerous days" on which occasions children should not be permitted to go out on the streets alone for fear of evil spirits (32:1-3). The father is obligated to study Torah with his son (67:1; 82:2). If, however, he is unable to teach him, he should turn him over to a teacher and inquire about his progress every day (67:1; 72:7-9; 82:2). When the child grows up, the father must teach him about worldly matters; business and manners (87:1), but he should not devote all of his time to these alone, but should engage in study and religious pursuits (21:11). A father should rejoice with his children (87:1). The son is obligated to respect his father by carrying out his wishes (80:11).

A worthy man should seek to marry off his daughter to a scholar (35:4; 45:7) and should present dowries for all his children (9:5). This condition created a great deal of difficulty among the poor of Kaidanover's day. The rich man could

marry off his children to whomever he wished; the poor man, however, had to accept anyone, even the boor who would beat his daughter, who was not God-fearing, nor had even a hint of learning (9:12). It was necessary that the children honor the parents even after death: to recite the Kaddish on the Yahrzeit was a great help to the souls of their parents (35:1-3; 80:8-9). The righteous deeds and study of one's children and one's sons-in-law are efficacious for fathers and mothers in the other world (35:3,9). The merit of one's children saves many people from the destroying spirits in Gehinom (80:1-7). If one's son-in-law discovers something new in the Torah, they crown the father and mother-in-law with many crowns (35:4). A good son who studies Torah will deliver a parent who falls into the hands of the "cruel one" after death, even after the death of the son (80:1; 79:1-3). One's son may even cause the death decree of his father to be annulled according to mystical thought (31:12-33). An evil son causes his father and mother to be punished in the other world (80:10).

The welfare of one's children should always be kept in mind. Even upon one's death-bed, one should ask others to see to it that his son keep studying and that he pray at his grave during the whole period of mourning, and other such commandments of action for his children (19:4; 57:4). Kaidanover points out that on many occasions one's children did not carry out their father's injunctions or will and specifications in the case of bequests left for charity (30:6-7).

On the various holidays, one should perform hazkarot neshamot and pray that the souls of his parents may rest in peace (86:4-5). In the event that one's father and mother lie buried in an out-of-town cemetery, one should go to the graves of other Jews to pray (71:1).

D. Family Functions

Every major event in the life cycle of the individual became an occasion for a family function and provided an element in the social life of the times. When a son was born, the father would celebrate by the performance of various mizwot (20:8). Circumcision was an occasion demanding a feast to which the poor were to be invited (87:4), and which was a great mizwah to make (10:1-11; 73:4-16). One should not be concerned with the fact that inviting the poor to one's feast will cost a little more, nor should one be annoyed by the poor man who comes to the feast (10:13-14). On the night before the circumcision, the friends and relatives of the father would observe a "watch night" during which they would study the Torah all night. According to mystical thought, this was to guard the child and the mother against dangerous spirits (73:10-11). In connection with circumcision, it is interesting to note this custom which was practised. At a circumcision, one should have prepared some sort of a vessel in which to cast the foreskin, which activity is considered as if one had offered up a burnt offering (73:15).

It was an obligation upon the parents to prepare a feast on the day that one's son became bar mizwah (10:1-2): "On

this day he receives a holy soul taken from under the throne
(21:8-10)
of glory." A Betrothal and marriage are the major occasions
for feasts (10:1-11).

E. The Morality of the Home

There was a rigid code of morality prescribed for Jewish home life, due to the problem of multiple marriages prevalent in those days. It was the duty of the man not only to provide for his wife and children (24:18), but also to concern himself with matters of the home (30:9). The author states that some men weary themselves in order that they make a few guilden, only to die and provide a Ketuba for his wife to remarry, and let his children go around in rags, while they watch their mother revel with another man (7:5-9). The father had a definite obligation to reprove his son and the son was required to fulfill the word of his father (80:11).

Cleanliness in the home was insisted upon as a religious function. "Immediately upon arising, one should wash himself and not go four cubits unwashed" (85:2). Some of the major acts of cleanliness that individuals had to observe were to wash their hands: after leaving the toilet, after leaving a public bath, after having blood let, after having their nails or their hair cut, and after they had touched parts of their bodies that are clothed, e.g., the public regions (11:13-14). The clothes worn by an individual had to be clean, and must be free from kilayim and shatnez (63:10).

The woman of the home had to demean herself modestly -- even more so than the man -- in order that her children be properly reared (58:3; 82:1). Her clothes should be decent

and she should be considerate of the means of her husband (82:1). Women should recite the Shema before going to bed (68:9), since it helps to prevent one from thinking about men, and they should not have any evil thoughts at the time of going to bed (68:9). The same conditions also applied for the men. It is a great preventive of pollution (68:9).

The matter of having intercourse with one's wife was also very carefully regulated. Having intercourse once a week, on Friday nights, was the approved norm (17:7). There was a limitation, however, that one should keep away from his wife while she was menstruating (68:3). This was taken literally to mean not eating, drinking together, or even looking at her (17:2-3). One should have intercourse at night when everyone else was asleep (17:6). Intercourse was a religious act which required one to sanctify himself first (17:6-9; 67:2). The very act of intercourse with one's wife should be carried out modestly (17:4-6), and, above all, he should not have intercourse with her while a light was burning or in the light of the moon. The result of disregarding this would be that he would have epileptic children (17:5). One must not have a dream about the wife of another man, and then immediately have intercourse with his own wife. The children of this union will also be epileptic (17:5). Nor should one have intercourse with his own wife and think about another woman at the same time (17:4). One should never have intercourse before any living thing, and especially before people (17:6). The author quotes a story of Raba who drove away even flies (17:6); nor should a child lie in the same bed at that time (17:5).

One should never look upon strange women and should not go a-whoring (69:10), but should have intercourse with his wife. A band of destroying spirits cling to those who are guilty of harlotry (24:6). The result of whoring is the break-up of the family (69:9). Incestuous relationships are a serious matter (22:6-7, 12-13), and the most serious transgression of all is committing adultery (2:7). Such an individual, Cabbalistic lore tells us, will suffer transmigration into a dog and excommunication by the heavenly Bet Din (34:11-21).

Moderation in eating and drinking in the home was considered a great virtue (87:5).

III Philanthropy

A. The Need for Philanthropy

Because of the wide-spread prevalence of poverty, one had to accustom himself and his household to give food to the poor (67:1), and to give charity (24:14). Orphans should be adopted and reared properly (72:10; 80:9-10). Because of unsettled conditions, there were a great number of travellers and refugees who had to be housed and fed in private homes (26:6-9; 9:13-14; 52:8; 64:2-3, 16). Kaidanover complains that the sheltering of travellers had become a lightly esteemed mizwah in his day (14:3). Students of the Torah should be harbored (72:10), and one must help a master of the Torah even before his own relatives (24:14-15). One must provide for the sustenance of scholars (54:12-13; 24:14) because they did not engage in work and had no businesses like the rest of the people (54:12-13). Because of the unsanitary conditions of the cities where the Jews lived during this period, plagues

were quite frequent (59:9), and it is probable that this created a serious need for philanthropic endeavor.

B. The Rights of Poverty

The poor were entitled to certain consideration on the part of charity donors and the community at large. They merited sympathetic treatment (9:6, 12), and kindly dealings (24:13). They should be given their charity in such a manner that would not put them to shame (9:13). It should be given to them in private and if given publicly, it should be presented with words that set their hearts at ease. The poor man has the right to expect charity from the rich (18:11). Not only has he the right to appeal for charity, but it is also the duty of those better situated to watch over the welfare of the poor (91:1). The poor man has the right to expect an invitation to a feast celebrating a happy occasion (10:2-11, 13-14; 87:4). Scholars who have no time to busy themselves with earning a living can expect to have sustenance provided for them (54:12-13).

C. Collection and Distribution of Charity

In the communal organizations, there were included a number of charity collectors, who also distributed the funds (7:29; 91:1). The author cites the fact that in Poland one charity collector was appointed for duty during one specific month. This arrangement worked a hardship upon the poor at the time of Nisan and Tishri at which time, because of the holidays, the needs of the poor were very great. Thus, the charity collectors of these two months were swamped with de-

mands, and Kaidanover maintains that they should all help the poor, no matter what month was involved (91:1). Charity was distributed to the poor according to the principle of need. The distribution of charity in terms of money was frowned upon; it was the duty of the charity collector to convert his funds into flour and meat for distribution (91:1). In his purchases, he must buy the best quality of wheat for the poor (91:1). The distribution of charity should be given so as not to embarrass the poor (48:6).

The charity funds were collected according to the means of the individual (67:1-3; 36:11). Evidently there were those who sought to give as little as possible, and consequently one must assume that there was an elaborate check-up to insure the equitable donation of charity funds.

In addition to the communal organization of charity, demands for charitable activity were made upon each individual. One must provide room and board for travellers in one's home (26:6-9; 9:14; 64:1-3, 16; 52:8; 9:13). One who had no children of his own was urged to adopt an orphan and rear him in the good path (72:10; 80:9-10). In addition to regular taxes for the communal charity funds, one should provide food for the poor (9:10; 10:14) and allow poor folks to stay in his home (18:12-14). Again, the charity should be given in secret so that the poor man will not be ashamed (48:6).

At specific times during the year, it was a religious obligation to give charity. During the month of Nisan at Passover time, one must give charity according to the measure of good which God had provided for him during the previous

year. Particularly is this urged for the chiefs and leaders of the community since the needs of the poor on a great holiday like Passover are increased (91:1). One who rejoiced on any holiday should give a portion to the poor (87:2-3). In the month of Tishri when one goes to the cemetery, one should provide charity in order that the souls of the departed may find peace (88:2-3). The celebration of Purim, too, demands the giving of charity (99:7). When one has broken his fast, he should previously have sent some of the food on which he was to break that fast to a poor man. Otherwise, his fast is unacceptable (49:4-5). In fact, whenever the Jew celebrated a Yom Tob, he should see to it that he picked out a fine gift for the poor (87:1). One should always invite at least one poor man and preferably more to every feast commemorating a happy occasion (10:2-11, 13-14; 87:4).

One who has the means should harbor students of the Torah in his house (72:10) and help all scholars in general (54:12-13; 24:14; 30:4-5). Kaidanover claims that the wealthy of his day were guilty of not having fulfilled this obligation (24:14-15). It was exceedingly praiseworthy to sustain scholars in secret (54:12), and to provide them with gifts of honor (54:13). One should also support teachers who might provide education for poor children (30:4-5).

There was an additional obligation upon every individual, not only to give charity in the many forms enumerated here, but to watch over the poor and to anticipate their needs (9:8-10; 91:1).

D. The Universality of Benevolence

There is no question but that charity was a universally accepted practise. Certainly it was encouraged by religious leaders of the times: one of the three things that a person was obligated to do every day was to give charity (67:3). A bar mizwah boy was instructed that his entering man's estate required that he busy himself with charity (21:11). The whole organization of communal life seemed, as we have seen, to lay great stress upon the necessity for philanthropic endeavor, and religion added its impetus to the movement, since it was maintained that charity averts an evil decree (9:8-9).

E. The Morality of Philanthropic Endeavor

The individual is free to do charity (25:7) and he should give daily according to his means (67:1-3), and not complain as stingy people are wont to do who, even though they have the means, weep before their fellow-men as if they have no bread. Their intention is obviously to keep poor people away from their homes (18:11).

There are four types of charity givers. First, the misers whom the author considers sick persons (24:18; 25:8; 30:1-2); secondly, those who do not want to give charity, but give a little in order to salve their consciences (30:2-3); thirdly, rich folks who do not give as much charity as they should because they are a little greedy while they are alive, but when they are on their sick-bed, make a will which will provide the funds for the building of a synagogue or a house of study or for the upkeep of scholars. These are the inter-

mediate group -- for they are neither good nor bad (30:3-4). Kaidanover maintains that it is far more desirable that one should give charity while he is alive rather than leave it in his will to have it distributed after his death. "For who knows whether his will will be respected or not (30:6-7, 10). Fourthly, the man who gives charity during his life commensurate with his wealth is the highest type (30:4-5). One, however, should not be too generous (24:18). One should encourage those who want to give charity and influence everyone to be benevolent (43:22, 25).

Charity is a definite religious obligation and a part of religious morality. One inherits the world to come and other rewards by giving charity (36:22; 37:6; 80:9-10). One who does not give charity is comparable to an idolator (88:6).

But philanthropic endeavor must always be carried out with the highest of motives. Thus, one who rears an orphan must not do so in order that the child should serve him (80:9-10), and one who takes in travellers must grant them food and lodging willingly and happily (9:14; 52:8; 64:2; 26:6-9; 9:13). As a matter of fact, if he cannot provide them with food willingly and happily, it is better that he not invite any wayfarers at all (26:6-9). Similarly, one must not begrudge the food which he gives to the poor (10:14), nor resent their presence in his home (18:12-14), nor become a "troubler" of scholars whom he supports, which vice, Kaidanover attributes principally among the big charity givers (7:19).

It is incumbent upon everyone to have mercy upon poor

people (40:6; 43:8) and to listen to the needy and above all to feed the hungry man (24:14). It is the desideratum that scholars should be sustained in secret (54:12) and that charity be given to the poor in such a manner as not to shame them (9:13; 48:6). Charity to scholars should be presented in an honorable manner and not out of contempt (54:13). One is also obligated to see to it that he gives his charity to worthy people (30:10).

There is an obligation also on the part of the recipient that he should not take charity if he does not need it, nor deprive one who has too little to eat by eating at his house (43:11). One should make every effort to earn his own sustenance, and to accept charity only as a last resort (85:6-9).

IV SOCIAL LIFE

A. The Central Role of the Synagogue

Evidently, the synagogue played an important role in the social life of the Jewish community. Going to the synagogue was an incentive to purchase new clothes, and particularly for the holidays and the Sabbath (46:2-3; 63:11). While attending services, people obviously gossiped, laughed, and frolicked, for Kaidanover complains bitterly of those who gossip and talk about ordinary matters, who laugh, and are frivolous in the synagogue (3:3-4; 2:13; 41:10; 50:8). "I have seen a great stumbling in many countries," Kaidanover writes, "that people come into the synagogue on fast days, and not only do they not recite any lamentations with weeping and a bitter voice,

but they laugh and rejoice as if it is Simhat Torah" (94:4). On the various holidays Jews from the outlying villages would come to the synagogue of the town and one can imagine that this reunion prompted a great deal of social activity (97:3-4). Those who lived in the villages far distant from one another would come together for a minyan on Shabbat, but instead of concerning themselves with the services, Kaidanover tells us that they busied themselves with all sorts of foolishness. Particularly would they gossip about business, about the purchasing of horses and cows for small amounts of money. "It would be better," says Kaidanover, "if they would have sat home and slept than to have come to the minyan and gossiped about secular matters" (75:1-3). Another social pastime seems to have consisted of groups of villagers going from village to village on the Sabbath to attend various minyanim (75:1-3). Study in the synagogue was one of the major social activities, and groups would get together to learn and to discuss (49:8; 53:5).

B. Secular Amusements

There must have been a great many private parties in people's homes in which drinking and gambling took place (24:9). Drinking seems to have been a major social pastime, and beer and strong drink were the popular beverages (9:3; 61:3; 90:2; 75:1-3). Along with drinking, eating assumed great importance in the social life of the community (61:3; 90:2). Card playing was the most common form of gambling, and it had its devotees. Kaidanover complains against those who play cards by the light of the shamash candle on Hanukah (96:9).

The inn seems to have been another center of social life. There, people would gather to eat and drink, and sometimes became quite drunk (75:1-3; 52:4).

Finally, the market place was a center of conversation, of gossip, and people would gather there to discuss everything, including the whys and wherefors of the latest trial (43:5).

C. The Home

As has already been pointed out, the home served a social function through the medium of the various feasts which the family celebrated, and to which relatives and outsiders were invited. Circumcisions, bar mizwahs, betrothals, marriages, -- all prompted the preparation of a great feast (10:1-2; 21:8-10). Observance of religious holidays, too, often transformed the home into a social instrumentality, and notably on Purim and Passover (99:7).

D. Morality in Social Life

Social life was definitely inhibited by the number of religious restrictions placed upon man's life in this world by the mystical thought of that day. The first prohibition was that one should not laugh too heartily (93:1,3), one should rejoice only when he is performing a mizwah, and even this laughter should not be overdone (93:4). Merry-makers are associated with scorners (43:12).

A further deterrent to active social life was the prohibition against man's looking upon any other woman but his wife (2:2-3; 43:12). The reason for this is that one who looks upon strange women may suffer a pollution at night (2:4; 17:4).

Far worse than this, however, is the individual who consorts with prostitutes (14:8; 24:10; 69:10). One who goes a-whoring will suffer a transmigration into an unclean animal (40:6), and destroying spirits will cling to him (24:6; 69:9).

Limitations were even placed upon speaking. One should not speak a lot (3:5, 11; 12:8), and certainly not speak idly or churlishly (3:7). The only associations that the individual should have should be with God-fearing people, and he should keep away from all gatherings of persons of doubtful reputation (6:10). As a matter of fact, the highest ideal is to keep away from the "folly of this world" (37:16).

Eating should be done in moderation (61:3-4; 75:1-3; 90:2), and drinking should be definitely limited (13:7; 61:3); one certainly should not get drunk (75:1-3; 90:2).

V

Morality in the Social Milieu

A. Relations with One's Fellow-Man

The individual in relation to his fellow man should be humble (7:15; 20:12). Even if he is a great scholar, or has a high position in the community, this rule nevertheless applies (65:7). Nor should one be miserly (30:9). It is important, too, that one return through public announcement the article which his fellow-man has lost (40:5; 44:4). He must also be helpful to his fellow to the extent that if he can aid him in saving money, he must do so (44:4).

Settling quarrels is another positive aspect of the relations between men. If someone wrongs you, you should magnani-

mously and immediately forgive him (55:2). Your enemy should be more important to you than many friends (7:25). The general rule is that the younger man should seek the forgiveness of the elder and be immediately forgiven (15:7-9).

One should certainly not put his fellow-man to shame (42:6; 53:11; 66:5-9). Should he even think that he will put someone to shame by asking him a question, he should not ask it (53:8-11). One should not seek to gain honor or prestige at the expense of his fellow-man (44:9-10) and one should be especially considerate of his fellow-man's honor (15:7). The individual should be pleasant in his speech (35:22), nor should he say ugly things against him for no good reason (78:2). Above all, one should consider each man innocent until otherwise shown (35:15; 43:7). When speaking with his fellow-man, he should not say nice things with his mouth and mean something else in his heart (5:16, 19). One should be sure to greet his fellow-man and to return his greeting (2:13; 34:3). But one should show no favor to a wicked man (62:1); one should keep away from scorners (2:11; 3:1), from people who stir up quarrels (6:10), and not sit near a wicked man (6:9), but should seek to be with righteous people (11:20). One should never curse anyone nor trouble his fellow for nothing (7:23, 25, 30).

One should take it upon himself to reprove his fellow-man whenever he has seen him commit a transgression (20:6; 101:1-4; 62:1-3). In order, however, that he not shame him, he should rebuke him the first time in private, but if unsuccessful, he may then do it in public (62:1-3). If he sees

that his fellow will not accept his reproof at all, he should than be quiet (62:4).

In general, one should "love his fellow like himself," which is the greatest general rule contained in the Torah for social relationship (5:1).

In regard to friendship, one should take as his friend an individual who does not covet his money, who has nothing to do with theft or robbery, and who carries on his business honestly (52:8).

B. Respect for Old Age, Scholars, and the Rabbi

As we have already seen, in settling any disputes, it is the duty of the younger man to seek the forgiveness of the elder (15:7-9). A younger man should not speak words of the Torah before an older man (45:14).

One must always honor scholars (54:12-16; 34:1-21; 65:6; 43:13), and a scholar must never be put to shame (55:2; 65:4-5; 54:6, 13; 66:16-17; 7:17). Kaidanover tells us that such wicked people who shame scholars will suffer greatly in the world to come. A person should love students of the Torah (83:11). Kaidanover complains against rich men who act haughty toward scholars and who are accustomed to shame them. If one sins against a scholar, he should immediately arrange to set things aright (55:2; 65:4-5). As a mark of respect for scholars, worthy people sought to marry off their daughters to students of the Torah (35:4; 45:7). One should likewise seek to sustain scholars (54:12), and one should join himself with scholars (20:12), and listen to their words of wisdom or the wisdom coming even from a child (20:9-11; 53:8; 6:2; 54:6; 58:3-7; 72:4-6).

One should respect and love his Rabbi more than his own father (15:7, 10-11; 54:6; 65:6). He should not sit before him until the Rabbi bids him to be seated, nor should he sit in the Rabbi's seat. He should walk on the left hand side of the Rabbi in order to do his bidding, and should always carry good tidings about the Rabbi (54:6). He should be very careful about his honor and must pray for the Rabbi's long life (65:6). One must not pray behind the Rabbi as this would be disrespectful (100:3). As a mark of respect, many congregations in Poland would rise before their Rabbi.

On the other hand, a person who is highly thought of such as the scholar and the Rabbi must give due respect to every person (64:16-17).

C. Relationships Between Rich and Poor

The leaders of the community -- usually the rich -- (65:3) must be merciful toward the poor (9:6; 24:13). One is classed as a hot-tempered person if he does not have pity upon the poor (43:8). When one gives charity to the poor, one should be sure that he does not put him to shame (9:13; 48:6). Kaidanover points out that the big charity donors have become accustomed to vex and annoy the poor Talmide hahamim (7:19). When the rich man holds his feast, he should be gracious to the poor and not regard the latter as a burden (10:12-13).

One of the greatest manifestations of the disparity of the positions of the rich and the poor is the fact that the upper classes were accustomed to be haughty (40:6). Kaidanover states: "This is a sin because of which I have seen many people stumble: a middle class person greets a rich person,

and the latter turns his face away. Especially does this occur in the case of a poor man; the rich man does not even look upon him, and he tries to make it appear as if his eyes had not seen him, nor his ears heard him. Thereby the poor man is shamed" (84:1-3). One, therefore, should be sure to greet the poor first, and certainly respond to his greeting (84:4). The rich man should not be proud because of his riches, and thereby despise the honor of people (7:3-4, 17:9). Kaidanover adds that after the rich man's death, his children may be left to watch hungrily his wife eating with another man (17:9). If the rich man does not return the greeting of the poor man, God will hear the poor man's cry (84:3). "Kaidanover accuses the wealthy of not supporting the poor (24:14-15). The result will be that the poor man will cry out to God that the rich man does not want to give him any charity. God listens to his prayer and makes the rich man poor (18:11). Therefore, the leaders of the community must assume their share of the burden of the taxes, so that conditions do not become difficult for the middle and poorer classes (9:5).

D. Social Immorality

A person should not trouble any creature of God in vain (60:8-9). This also includes animals, insects, etc. (83:1-2). One should not think or speak bad words against his fellow (55:1). Quarreling should be avoided at all times, for it is a great sin (15:1-2, 7; 3:7). Social immorality consists of not having considered people innocent, seeking revenge, having hate in one's heart (43:9), troublemaking, slander, telling

lies (7:14), being cruel, becoming angry easily (77:4-5; 49:4-5; 66:10-11; 93:3), being insolent, shameless (43:10), behaving churlishly (61:5-6), being false. One's heart and mouth should speak the same thing (61:6). One of the most serious violations of social morality is cursing (3:7; 43:10; 66:12). Kaidanover points out that this vice was common (7:25-27, 30). When one accustoms his mouth to curses, so that even in a small argument his tongue utters many profanities, he falls into the sin of hating (15:2,6), and a small argument develops into a large one (15:6). Included in the category of one who curses is the Jew who speaks badly about another Jew (43:14-15).

Another serious quality of social immorality is one that is proud (20:4-5; 7:1-23; 35:22). One should not be haughty because of wisdom (7:10-11) or because of his knowledge and learning (7:12; 43:16-20). Yet, these have some justification for their pride, but Kaidanover is incensed against those who are poor and know no Torah, have neither wisdom nor lineage, and are, nevertheless, proud. "Why should they be proud?" (84:3) Kaidanover claims that impudence has grown apace. (In his Preface to Tiferet Shemuel) One who is proud is considered an idol-worshipper (65:8), and vanity leads to the destruction of the body (1:3), and harsh judgment (83:1). One should be, therefore, a meek and humble person (20:11-12; 34:21; 66:2-4). But this humility should be true humility and not false (65:9).

Greed is a serious offense (24:3, 15) and leads to many evils: to false oaths and false testimony (8:18). One must

be careful to avoid these (56:8-9), and false handclasps which are like an oath (56:6-7).

One should announce publicly that which he has found (44:4), and should never seek to give false counsel to his fellow-men (43:11). He should instead try to help him, and, particularly in money matters (44:4). Finally, it is considered socially immoral for the individual not to prevent one from doing an iniquitous act (43:11) and in not reproving the wicked man (20:9).

CHAPTER TWO

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF JEWISH LIFE

I

Spheres of Economic Activity

Kaidanover mentions very few occupations in which Jews are engaged. He does, however, refer to merchants, travelling salesmen (28:1-4; 52:4; 64:5-15), inn-keepers (28:1-4), money-lenders (44:1-2), and tailors (46:3,5-7). The reference in 28:1-4 to the inn-keepers does not appear in Kaidanover's Judaeo-German translation, but is found only in the later anonymous Yiddish translation. We may assume from the fact that he complains that Jews in the smaller villages are forced to send their meat to be baked in non-Jewish bakeries, in preparation for the Sabbath (75:4-6), that the Jews in the larger communities must have had Jewish bakers. The fact that he refers to the market place where Jews were accustomed to congregate (43:5) is a hint that many Jews were proprietors of various stalls, and handled produce and general merchandise. Some Jews, it appears, worked for and traded with the lord of their community (64:15).

II

Economic Factors in Jewish Life

Since we have seen that conditions in Poland had become unsettled by reason of the Chmielnicki rebellion, we know that the wars and the pogroms must have had serious effect upon the Jew's capacity to earn a living (18:11), and made his economic lot a hard one (Tscherikower, op. cit., IV, pp. 159-160). In a story which Kaidanover tells, he relates of the death of a man's son in one of the many wars which took place in Poland

between 1645-1658. Therefore, the man had no heirs to claim his property (69:8). Soldiers, too, during the war periods, would make constant requisitions upon the Jewish storekeepers. Kaidanover writes: "A stingy man causes his own death over a small matter such as not giving something to soldiers," e.g., tobacco. This is something which happened from the author's own experiences during the time that there was a war (26:4-5). The lot of travellers and travelling salesmen must have indeed been a precarious one. One seems to have needed much spiritual encouragement to take a journey. "One who goes on a journey must be very careful to recite the prayer for a journey in one's home before leaving" (24:2,4-5). A common superstition existed that should he have met someone carrying empty vessels, he should not set out on that day (64:15). Robbers who waylaid travellers and killed or beat them or held them for ransom seemed to be quite common (7:3-4; 11:19; 18:5-9; 26:4-5).

All in all, the difficulty with which the Jew earned his living seems to have been very grave (21:7). Kaidanover writes: "Because of the pressure of earning a living, we enter upon many prohibited ventures which border upon swindling and theftIt is difficult to sustain oneself today" (11:4). He also complains that Jews are afraid to go to the synagogue for fear they will lose business (27:21-22), and that when the business did fall off, they resorted to witchcraft in order to bring it back to normal (11:4). "One should give thanks to God for peace, quiet, and security" (18:11).

III The Wide Extent of Poverty

Because of the many references to poor people, we can assume that poverty was rampant. He tries to comfort the poor man by telling him that heaven loves him (7:16). "The great majority of the world puts its trust in money and upon rich people, because the poor have nothing " (82:3-4). His descriptions of the poor man make it evident that in spite of the philanthropic activities of the day suffering is quite common. "The poor man prays as if in agony, and the needs of his wife and children are dependent upon him, but he has nothing to give them. He is in trouble and distress, and his eyes flow with tears" (27:10). Ordinary people go about unclothed and barefoot, and because they are unable to pay their taxes, they have to forfeit their tallesim, shrouds, and bed-clothes which leaves them with only the straw for their beds and causes them to cry with the coming of cold or rain (9:4). The poor man has a room whose roof is full of holes; he has no money to purchase wood for fuel, and the rain pours down upon him (9:11). The poor man is unable to purchase clothes because he has no bread (9:12). He has no means whereby to provide a decent marriage for his children (9:12). It seems as if he has little recourse in the court, and must take his chances when he makes a loan that his pledge will not be used in public (44:1-2). He is treated to scorn by all of those who are afraid to speak thusly before a rich man (44:1-2). Kaidanover himself certainly seems to have been well acquainted with the position of the poor man, for

in his Introduction, he states at the time of the printing of the first half ~~of the book~~ of the Kab ha-Yashar, "I have no money for the printing of the second part....I hope you will spare the small amount of money with which you can purchase this work," so that I can print the second part.

IV

Current Practises in Jewish Economic Life

It was the practise for a father to train his son in business matters (67:1), and we have mention of the fact that bar mizwah boys were already engaged in business (21:11). Cursing was quite frequent in business transactions (7:25). Making clothes out of stolen goods is decried by the author (63:11-12). There seemed to have been many people who shared the loot of robbers by purchasing stolen goods (42:6-43; 43:12). Theft and robbery seemed to have become accepted business practise (37:6; 38:19; 52:8). Kaidanover insists that the individual should do business in good faith and resist money made through unjust gain (52:8). When money was loaned, it was the custom to take a pledge in return for which some of the money-lenders were accustomed to use for their own needs (42:6-43; 44:1-2). Kaidanover gives us a commercial parable which is indicative of the practise of those times: "If a person owes money, but has the goods and the wherewithal to pay his debt, and his creditors are prepared to fall upon him, and take what they can, because they are afraid that he will pay other creditors and not them, the debtor resorts to the practise of getting someone else to put up security for him until he sells his goods, so that he may

preserve his credit" (21:1). Borrowing by business men appears common, and bankruptcy was already a recognized part of commercial life (82:1).

V The Morality of Economic Life

Business should never interfere with one's religious duties. Kaidanover complains that "there are those who do not go to the synagogue for fear that they will lose business. This is not true because God will open up the profit that he gets from business from another source, if he trusts in Him and goes to the synagogue" (27:21-22). Likewise, one should not be continuously occupied with business. The result will be that when such an individual prays, he cannot concentrate upon this religious act (83:12; 7:5-9). Religion demands that one rebuke the wicked, even though one will lose business thereby (62:12). One should make every effort to earn his living, and not take money from charity except as a last resort (85:6-9). One should neither publicize his riches (18:12), nor put too much emphasis on the value of money, since that leads to stealing and swindling (8:17; 35:22; 74:5). One should earn his money honestly (100:2); one who observes this rule is considered a zaddik (100:3); and he should be believed in his business dealings (100:3). It is important that one carry on his business faithfully and be very scrupulous in not earning money through means that are prohibited (38:19; 52:8; 63:7; 67:2), such as robbery (38:19; 89:4), and swindling (14:2). Such practises can only be atoned for by the return of that which has been swin-

dled (14:2). One who purchases stolen goods is considered a robber (43:12).

One should be careful to pay his bills and to pay the price that he has been asked -- not to seek special discounts or force the man from whom he buys to wait for his money (46:4). The seller should see to it that he gives full measure to the purchaser. Tailors, for example, should see to it that they give the remnants from the clothes which they had made to the purchaser (46:5-7). An article which is sold should not contain any violation of religious law. Tailors should warn their workers not to put any shatnez into clothes (46:3).

One who has lent money on pledge should not use those pledges for his own needs (42:6-43; 44:1-2). An employer should not withhold the wages of his employee (14:3), but should pay the worker whether he be a Jew or a non-Jew on the same pay in which he worked (14:3-5). Even if the laborer wants to leave his wages in trust with the employer, the latter should not permit it (14:4). "There is no greater profanation of God's name than to turn away a laborer when he asks for a day's wages" (14:5).

One should not take vain oaths or handclaps (56:3,9), because great punishment will befall those who lift up their hands with vain oaths (63:6).

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTELLECTUAL ATMOSPHERE

I

The Central Place of Mysticism

As we shall see in Chapter Four, both the religious and the secular life of every Jew was intimately bound up with mysticism both practical and theoretical. Naturally, such an atmosphere was conducive for injecting fear and compulsion into the minds of the people. Superstition was rife and belief in evil spirits of every description pervaded Jewish thinking. In such an atmosphere, therefore, one could hardly expect to find any consideration of the rational. Living was believing, and believing included many ideas which are foreign and laughable to the twentieth century Jew.

II

The Prevalence of Superstition

Much of the superstition of this period concerned itself with children. A woman must not give suck to her child until one hour after intercourse (17:5). Immodesty on the part of the wife causes serious damage to small children (58:8). Every pregnant woman must recite a certain group of eleven passages which begin with the letter "nun" and end with the same letter in order to protect her child against the evil eye (32:6). A Jew who has no mezuzah on his door makes it possible for the evil spirits to harm his children and to cause them to die of small-ox (46:11). As soon as a child is born, one should put into his mouth the foreskin of another child who has not suffered a pollution, and he will thereby be saved from epilepsy (51:4). If a man's wife becomes pregnant on the day

that he committed a sin, the child that results will be insolent (22:10). He that has intercourse with his wife while a light is burning will produce epileptic children (17:5). If a man should have a dream in which he saw the likeness of any woman, and then immediately have intercourse with his wife, the child that results will be epileptic since the likeness that appeared to him was that of an evil spirit (17:5). Should a man have intercourse with his wife and be thinking of another woman at the same time, his children will be wicked (17:4). At the time of intercourse, one's child should not lie in the same bed because this is dangerous to the fetus that will be created (17:5). Evil decrees of heaven are often announced through children who give prophecies without knowing what they are saying (71:12). On certain "dangerous days" when a person takes a child out on the street, he should cover him with his cloak to protect him from people with evil eyes (32:3). The neglect of the mizwot of the mezuzah and zizit causes little children to die (46:11).

There are certain "dangerous days": the 17th of Heshwan, the 5th of Shebat, the 20th of Adar, the 25th of Nisan, the 29th of Iyyar, the 16th of Siwan, the 27th of Siwan, the 24th of Tammuz, the 20th, 26th, 27th of Ab, and the 12th of Elul. One should not let blood on these days, nor should the children be let out alone on the streets, for people who have evil eyes can inflict damage on these particular days (32:1-2).

One must not put on two garments as one lest the Evil One have power over him (46:8). One must be sure to give a portion to this Evil One at the table by means of the water used

for the washing of the hands (87:6). Houses which have been left vacant for seven years are in the power of the Evil One and one should not enter them (24:11). At the four solstices and equinoxes of the year, people should be very careful (47:1-2). One should not believe that he will escape judgment for his sins. Kaidanover tells the story about a woman who says that when she will be questioned about her sins on Judgment Day, she will pretend dumbness. This woman was struck dumb a few days after she made this remark (1:13-14).

There are certain holy names which are a protection against pollution: Shaddai, Anh'sam, Pastam, Paspasim, Dayunsim, Yuhach, Adonai (70:7-9). Combinations of the Divine Name are likewise very efficacious (88:1; 48:4).

In the mystical system, there are a great many secrets contained in sections of the Bible, and it is dangerous to reveal them except to pious people (102:1). There is a constant belief in the existence of the Bat Kol (19:7), and in angels. One, however, should be careful when making an oath not to mention their names -- the only exception is in the case of those with human names -- because the angel must do what the man has sworn, and if he had taken the oath in vain, the angel has permission to do him harm (56:5). When one sets out on a journey, should he encounter someone carrying empty vessels, he should change his plans, and not depart on that day (64:15). One should not eat the food of an individual who is wicked or who begrudges him what he is eating. He has an evil eye and the food will react like poison, and the one who eats it will die (26:1-3).

There was a great belief in the power of herbs to cure diseases and even leprosy (83:4-10). One could even create a snake through the use of herbs (83:4-10). There were many superstitions current about snakes. In the event that a snake bit a man, if the snake should come to water first, the man would die; but if the man would come to water first, the snake would die (8:11). There was a viper which could kill a human being merely by looking at him (18:3). If a scorpion bit an individual, the pain and danger would immediately cease if the foreskin of a child that had not had a pollution were applied to the wound (51:4). One could talk with birds, and send messages through them (31:7-9).

There was a great interest in zodiac signs, and in planets under which one was born. The mizwah of circumcision, for example, was considered to be under the dominion of Scorpion (51:4). The type of life that an individual will lead depends upon the planet under which he was born (36:5). People studied the stars because world events could be predicted from their action (22:6).

There were many common superstitions concerning a menstruating woman. Only one free from menstruation could prepare the hesebed for Passover (90:6). A menstruating woman could cause spots to appear in a mirror simply by looking into it (2:11; 31:31-32). Many demons attached themselves to the nails of a menstruating woman, and they could bring harm to whoever comes into contact with them. The author counts 1405 kinds of demons under the nail of a menstruating woman (17:1). Sorcerers performed magic with the nails of a men-

struating woman, and every witch claims more success for her magic when she is menstruating (17:2). Even one's husband should keep away from a woman while she is menstruating (17:2-4), and not even look at her (2:10).

Witchcraft seems to have been quite prevalent and the belief in it all the more so (29:1-7, 10-11). It was employed by merchants in order to restore their business (28:1-4). It was also used for healing (28:18, 20). Eleven passages are cited which are efficacious against witchcraft and the Evil Eye (32:4-5). "One who fears God will keep far away from witchcraft" (28:20). One is cautioned not to be ensnared by witchcraft because he sees others achieving prosperity thereby (28:11-20). One should not even listen to talk about witchcraft (29:13-14). One can make a witch disappear through the recitation of the 50 Shir Ha-Maalot (29:12), and prayer is very helpful in avoiding witchcraft and the Evil Eye (85:2-4). People should curse those who follow after witchcraft and witches who harm Jewish children must be forceably ejected from the congregation of Israel (29:9). Every witch will come to a bad end -- they will not see the world to come -- and from their bodies will be formed snakes and scorpions, and from their souls, shades and night-creepers (28:8, 20). The sources of their magic come from two deposed angels, who protested against the creation of man and, therefore, God enchained them in the depths of the mountains of darkness (28:5-10).

It was a common belief that one could tell the transgressions of an individual merely by looking at him (80:1). The face and the forehead indicated one's transgressions and good deeds

(35:10; 22:10; 22:6-7). As a matter of fact, man is regarded as a microcosm because anything decreed for the universe can be seen upon the lines of his forehead (22:6).

There are many curious ideas about anatomy. The light of the eyes is supposed to have been made up of four colors corresponding to the letters of the Tetragrammaton (2:9). The real soul, Neshama, dwelt in the brain opposite the spot where the tephillin of the head are worn. Another soul, the Ruah, is opposite the spot where the tephillin of the hand are worn. A third soul, the Nefesh, exists in the liver to correspond to the mizwah of zizit (68:1-2). In the liver, also, is the principal blood and the seat of anger (68:2). There are 18 vertebrae in a man's backbone -- comparable to the Shemona Esre -- and the semen comes from the brain through these 18 vertebrae of the backbone (68:3). The fever which causes a man's pulse to beat violently when he lies upon his sick-bed is nothing other than the evil inclination (39:15).

III Education

A. The Widespread Scope of Jewish Learning and the Emphasis upon it

Education, like every other aspect of the Jew's life, was centered about his religion and principally concentrated upon the study of the Torah. There is little question about the fact that some knowledge of Torah was widespread among the people. For there was a deep-seated religious sanction for its study (80:7). "The creation of man," Kaidanover tells us, "was designed only to perpetuate the Torah, the

statutes and the commandments of God" (1:17). One of the two pillars upon which the world was reputed to stand was the study of Torah (11:1-3). God is delighted with one who studies Torah (3:7; 4:7; 5:20; 16:9; 60:10; 21:14; 16:10; 37:16; 83:12). One of the attributes of an upright man is the study of Torah and the discovery of "secrets" from the Torah (4:1; 27:3-4). When one studies Torah, heavenly holiness rests upon him (100:3). One who has the ability to study and the free time and does not do so, will suffer a dreadful punishment (57:6).

The study of Torah is a great help and protection to a man (45:15). It prevents his having a violent death (57:5-7) and is efficacious in securing a good position in the world to come (39:6-8; 21:15; 19:2; 58:3; 31: 28; 72:4-6). The mouth of a man is dependent upon the study of Torah (60:1).

An individual should be certain to study Torah every day (19:2; 53:2; 67:3; 21:11). One should also be careful to study more on Mondays and Thursdays than on other days (53:6). One should never allow his business to interfere with his daily study (53:6; 66:20). In addition to setting definite times for each day's study (58:2; 57:8; 73:17), one should study at least a little before eating (49:4-5) and at night, usually at midnight (73:4-17), and every morning (11:1-3). One should even study Torah while ~~on~~ a journey (6:2), or in the fields (5:4).

Recognizing the limitations of human ability, Kaidanover states that one should engage in Torah according to his capabilities (67:1; 21:7). "Because of the pressure of life,

one is not able to study everything. Therefore it is the same whether one studies a lot of Torah or a little because of the lack of time to study more."

It is important that a father make the study of Torah beloved by his children and his household and he must constantly admonish them to fulfill this obligation (58:7).

The study of halaka is also advocated. One should study at least one halaka every day (53:2). One is also advised to take up Mishna, Gemara, Cabala, Maaseh Merkaba (21:3-6).

When one builds a house, he should build a special room for study and a special place for books (24:12-13, 9). Everyone should be sure to set aside a separate room in their house for the purpose of study (53:4; 72:11).

One should seek to join himself with those who are masters of the Torah (49:8; 20:12), and one must show a great deal of respect for knowledge and its possessors (6:2). Even a child who knows the Torah should be listened to and respected (53:3-7, 8). Yet, one must be careful not to listen to cynical scholars (43:13).

One must not relate matters of Torah of which he is not certain or which his teachers have not told him (27:5), lest he be guilty of giving false interpretations of the Torah (41:11-13; 27:3-4). Above all, one must not be guilty of pride because of his learning (27:3-4; 7:12-13; 84:3).

One should cherish books and honor them by closing them whenever a child comes into the room, by not having intercourse in the same room in which books are located, by not sitting higher than them, by not allowing them to lie upside down

(54:2), by not using them as book-rests (54:3,4), and by having them beautifully bound (54:1).

B. The Educational Set-up

There were many scholars in the Jewish community who were supported by charity (54:12-13; 65:6; 24:14) or harbored in the homes of individual Jews (72:10). They merited not only respect but love (54:6), and people were urged to go and listen to groups of scholars discuss the Torah (6:6-8), and even to set fixed times when they would go (58:2; 66:20). These scholars were cautioned, however, not to get angry with their fellow-scholars during their heated discussions (53:3).

A father is obligated to teach his son (45:15) and to study Torah with him (67:1). Thus, one of the primary factors in the Jewish educational set-up was the learned parent. We have already seen how Kaidanover himself was taught by his father. If the child's father was unable to teach his son, however, he must hire a teacher for him or bring him to the school. Nevertheless, his responsibility does not cease with this, but the father must speak to the teacher every day about his son's progress (67:1).

A colorful description of the induction of the child into the study of Hebrew is given by Kaidanover: "When the time comes for a father to put his child in Hebrew School, he should get up early and awaken the child and take him himself to the school. Even if the father is old, a leader in the community, or even the Rabbi, he must bring the child to school personally. The father and mother are obligated to

cover the child under their clothes at the time that they bring him to school in order that the child should not look at some unclean object on the way....Then the father should turn the child over to the teacher who should bring forth a tablet upon which the alphabet is written. He should pronounce the alphabet both forwards and backwards and have the child pronounce each letter after him. Following the same procedure the teacher should recite: 'The Torah which God gave through Moses, etc.', and then the first section from the Book of Leviticus. Then he should put some honey on the tablet and let the child lick it from the alphabet. Then the father should take the child home, keeping him covered as he did when he brought him. On this day, it is quite proper for the father and mother to fast and pray that the child should prosper in Torah and in the fear of God and live for a long time. On the night after the fast, the father should make a feast and give some money to charity" (72:7-9). Kaidanover complains that there are many fathers who do not study Hebrew with their children, but who teach them to speak only French, and rarely do they have them study Hebrew. "his is just the opposite of what they should do (82:2). In connection with this complaint, Zinberg maintains that Kaidanover is here guilty of a generalization on the basis of a few bankers and merchants whose social position was high enough to warrant such a secular-European outlook (Zinberg, op. cit., V, pp. 194-5). A younger contemporary of Kaidanover, Rabbi Jacob Emdner also complains that the Jewish reat only teach their children French and music which is conducive to foolish speech (Zinberg,

op. cit., V, p. 196, note 18).

Great importance was attached to the study of children with their teachers; the Shekina rests among them (72:1-2). Yet, in the instruction of children, the teacher had to observe certain rules. When the pupil comes to the teacher, the latter should bless him (45:14). He should not be angry with his pupils who do not understand (53:3). He should make an earnest attempt to teach (72:1,3), and in absolute sincerity (72:3). He should also see to it that the room in which the children study is clean and free from all ugliness (72:3).

For his labors, the teacher was paid by the community (85:6-9), although one could hire a teacher to study with him (53:6). We see that Kaidanover used to travel quite some distance in order to study with his teacher, R. Joseph of Dubnow (Tscherikower, op. cit., pp. 163-167), and this, apparently was quite common for those who wanted a better education than that provided by the village or community teachers.

In the small villages, the teacher who had not yet become an authorized Rabbi (4:4) seemed to assume all of the decision-making functions of a full-fledged Rabbi for the people of the village (75:3; 4:4). Kaidanover complains against them for succumbing to flattery and bribery in order to make greater allowances than those contained in the Torah (75:3).

The other institutions in the educational set-up were the synagogue which is highly recommended by Kaidanover (53:5) and the Yeshiba (24:6) which appears to be under the direct

supervision of the Rabbi (53:2). People are advised to be sure to attend the academy of the Rabbi (53:2).

Though Kaidanover makes no mention of this fact, Gldemann maintains that it was not unusual for Jewish children of these times to attend the public schools in Frankfort, and cites many examples of this practise (Gldemann, op. cit., pp. 179-181).

C. Aims and Course of Study

That the study of Torah was important is unquestioned. It was a common custom of a man when he was about to die to make three requests, one of which was that his son should keep studying (19:4). Though study is important, one must not violate any commandment thereby, e.g., studying by a Sabbath lamp on Friday night (44:8). Nor should one seek to substitute study for prayer (8:6-8) or neglect the routines of normal life -- eating, sleeping, prayer -- in order to study (8:7-8). One should not be disheartened at the thought of not being able to study everything (21:7).

There were several items which it was considered important to study: the Tanak (60:3), "pardes" -- secrets and involved interpretations -- (53:6), and the Taryag Mizwot (53:6). But one should keep away from the study of philosophy which has a tendency to undermine faith (53:7).

The ideal aim of all study of Torah should be "study for its own sake" (44:11; 35:9-10; 74:9). For this one receives great rewards in the world to come (74:9; 44:11); and if he does not study Torah for its own sake, he will suffer great punishment therefor (35:9).

There were certain "musts" that one should observe in connection with the study of Torah. One should confess his sins before beginning to study (53:4). One should have a jug of water by his side when he studies lest he scratch his body while studying and contaminate his book (11:15). One must show great respect to his humash by rising before it, just as one rose before a Sefer Torah (54:5). One must study the Torah with joy (53:1) and only in a clean place (53:8), where there are many windows so that the student may look at the heavens which is a help to his study (53:7). One should never break off in his studies to greet someone (35:20), but should concentrate deeply upon that which he is studying (53:1; 41:10). He should study with all of his strength until he perspires freely and his tongue becomes parched (53:3,5).

There are great secrets to be found in the Torah (99:1; 6:2-4; 39:11-17), and some of these are quite dangerous to reveal to other than pious folk (102:1). Fear is often expressed for the child that is too precocious and knows too many secrets of the Torah (20:11; 41:12). Nevertheless, one of the aims of the study of Torah was to reveal secrets and find new interpretations (12:7; 35:3-4; 6-8; 53:6; 4:1; 79:1-3; 80:1), and one would receive great other-worldly rewards for his discoveries for himself (79:1-3; 4:1; 35:6-8; 12:7; 36:22; 58:2) and for his parents and parents-in-law (35:3-4; 80:1). One should be sure to write down every new thing that he discovers in the Torah (53:6). Every righteous man who studies Torah receives 200 valuable worlds in the other

world (63:9) and will be adequately prepared to busy himself with the only occupation of heaven -- studying Torah (58:2). Other rewards for studying Torah were: a new soul (17:9), a help to his soul, which Kaidanover also gives as a reward to one who is fluent in Hebrew (3:6) and a knowledge of God's ways (22:8).

The study of Torah was motivated through other means. It served as an act of penance for the sin of pollution (58:9) and as an aid to repentance in general (47:4; 58:2; 7:30). It also serves as a protection for the child against the evil eye and from every form of sickness and from death by diphtheria (72:6). It is an aid to those souls who have been driven away from their heavenly compartment (6:5). The study of Torah was also connected with the fulfillment of mizvot and holiday observances. One should study on the night of Shebuot (92:3,6-7), and on the second day of Passover (97:5), on the night before a circumcision as a protection against damaging spirits (73:10-11). One who studies the laws of burnt-offerings fulfills the obligation of offering up the burnt-offering itself (49:2). The study of Torah also protects one against the epithet of "scorner" (3:1).

One must, however, protect himself against giving false interpretations of the Torah (4:7). This is a major danger of study and causes many evil spirits to be sent abroad (4:3-4), blemishes to one's soul (1:4), and forfeiture of the world to come (4:5), and serious punishment in the hereafter (4:5). Therefore one should not be ashamed to admit that he has not heard a thing and does not know it, rather than

stumble thereby (53:2). Nor should one depend upon one's own reason (11:10) or correct from his own memory any error which he finds in a book (53:5). One should not interpret the Torah in the name of a Rabbi unless he actually said it thus (53:8).

Pride is the greatest cause of one's giving false interpretations of the Torah (4:2; 43:16-20). Therefore, it is incumbent upon one who studies the Torah to develop the quality of humility (4:2; 65:7; 7:12), and thereby he will receive great rewards in the world to come (4:2).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF JEWISH LIFE

I

The Dominant Place of Religion

As we have seen, the Jewish way of life was a religious way of life. Community organization, the home, philanthropy, social life, and the intellectual atmosphere were saturated with religion. Even relations with one's fellow-man and economics were motivated by religious principles. It seems as if every phase of the life of every Jew was intimately bound up with his faith.

In spite of this, however, Kaidanover complains of a weakening in faith. "In these days only one man out of a thousand puts his trust in God. The great majority of the world relies upon money and upon rich people " (82:3-4). If this is true, then one can say that religion played a dominant role in every aspect of Jewish life except the strictly religious.

II

The Position of the Synagogue

A. The Attitude of Jews toward the Synagogue

The synagogue was regarded as an essential of life, and people were urged to attend regularly. People should not stay away because of business reasons (27:21-22). One should not separate himself from the congregation but should pray with the congregation (27:17; 44:7; 42:6-43). God inquires of the person who does not come to the synagogue to pray (27:19-20). Not only were people urged to attend services in the synagogue, but it was important that they attend early in the morning, as soon as they had arisen (57:2; 37:12).

The synagogue was regarded as holy because it was the dwelling places of the Shekina (50:6-8). Out of the love for God, it was correct to kiss the walls of the synagogue (50:6-8). One should always show honor to the synagogue, and not engage in any frivolity toward it (50:8) nor talk idly (3:3-4) nor scornfully nor profanely while in the synagogue (2:13; 3:4). Above all, one should not gossip (41:10). When one is interpreting in the synagogue, one should be extremely careful (78:2-7). One should also make it a practise to keep away from evil-doers in the synagogue and to sit next to righteous people (11:20; 6:10).

Before one enters the synagogue, one should be sure to wash his hands (13:9), and cleanse his body, particularly before religious holidays (90:4; 88:6; 46:12). While cleansing is in order, one should also cleanse his thoughts in the synagogue (23:13). A man should have a special pair of shoes in which to walk into the synagogue. He should not go to the toilet while wearing these shoes (46:1-2). One should wear beautiful clothes in the synagogue (46:2-3, 9), and should see to it that these and his tallit and zizit should be clean and without shatnez (46:2-3). One should never wear his tallit while in a toilet (63:11).

B. The Organization of Synagogue Life

In addition to the Rabbi who took an active part in the service, there were special preachers who addressed the people and explained various passages of the Bible (78:2-7). There was also the hazan who would chant the service (99:6; 41:8-9). It is interesting to note that many hazanim used to concentrate

upon the tunes which they sang and make capital with their voices. Kaidanover cautions hazanim to concentrate upon the prayers and not upon the tunes, nor upon seeking to exploit their voices in order to win acclaim. They must be very careful to sing each word clearly (41:8-9). There was, finally, the Sheliah Zibbur who would pray before the amud (99:4-5; 100:3). He too was cautioned; he should pray with simple words which every^{one} can understand, and should not pray lengthily (100:3). This evidently shows that improvised prayers were in vogue. Kaidanover himself, cites several which he created. When one stands before the congregation, he should not do so in pride, but in humility (99:4-5).

As we have already seen, decorum on the part of the congregation was an essential, and the service should never be the occasion for gossip (3:3-4; 50:8).

C. The Synagogue as a Place of Study

Naturally, the synagogue was one of the centers of study. It seems to have been a place of study par excellence, for Kaidanover states that one who studies in the synagogue will not forget quickly what he has learned (53:5).

III Jewish Emphasis upon Mysticism

A. Mystical Personalities: God, Angels, Demons

We have already seen that Kaidanover is an ardent disciple of Luria (Zinberg, op. cit., VI, p. 237), and dwells at great length with mystical ideas (Waxman, op. cit., II, p. 290; Zinberg, op. cit., VI, p. 294). It is his intention to cast dread upon people through the medium of mystical ideas in order to make them righteous (Zinberg, op. cit., V, p. 190; VI, p. 236). We have already had occasion to refer to plays on numbers and words, and one might make mention at this point that Kaidanover gives mystical interpretations for the occurrence of various holidays. He explains, for example, the occurrence of Shabuot on the 49th day after the second day of Passover as the result of the necessity of raising up Israel from the 49th gate of uncleanness to which it had sunk while it was in Egypt (92:1-3,5).

Israel and God are partners in the struggle against the reign of evil (1:10; 5:16-17). Man should make all of the members of his body subservient to God and His ways; and if he purifies his way, **he** becomes a member of God's camp (68:2; 59:1; 51:1-2).

Man's soul originates from under the throne of God's glory; and its aim is to return after death among the souls of the righteous (1:2). "Before the soul comes into the body, it is led through 1008 worlds in order that it might see the glory of scholars who studied Torah in this world for God's sake, whose ways were for God's sake, and who accus-

tomed themselves to humility. They have a position of honor and their light shines like the light of heaven. Above their heads are canopies of precious stones. They say to the soul: 'If you conduct yourself like the righteous, you too will be worthy of having all this honor and splendor.' Then the soul is brought before God, and clothed in expensive clothes which take the form of the body. The soul receives joy from the glory of the Shekina and she is crowned with many crowns. Then they say to her: 'We are giving you the same honor in advance so that you should be righteous.' They give her many warnings, she bows before God, and sinks down into the body" (77:1-2).

The soul, however, receives many blemishes through looking upon evil things (2:13), through speaking evil words or speaking too much (3:1; 78:1), through devoting one's entire time to bodily needs, and not to spiritual (21:11).

On the Sabbath, the Jew receives an additional soul directly from the Garden of Eden (22:5; 5:9).

One will be ensnared in the trap for doing evil things or violating religious commandments (96:6; 9:3). Yet, God is always ready to receive repentance (1:10). His voice goes forth throughout the heavens and the earth causing trees to tremble, when He announces each day that people should repent (7:30). Repentance will drive away the transgression (14:1). The Holy Spirit appears to one who repents (12:6-7).

There are other aids to the soul: Holiness and cleanliness, confession of one's sins (53:4), and study of Torah (53:1; 78:1). He that trusts in God will receive great rewards (8:16).

A great emphasis is placed upon God's watchfulness over man (18:2; 7:22; 8:16). God knows all of our deeds (1:7), and even one's intentions for if one's intentions are good, God will deliver him (79:9). One should be very scrupulous about that which he speaks (74:7; 1:15; 68:6; 3:7). The speech is immediately written down in a heavenly book and kept there until that person receives harsh judgment therefor (83:11). Those who do not do His will, who are troublers, and wicked, will receive retributive justice (74:7; 7:22; 1:15; 14:1; 9:6). As we shall see, God has many emissaries who carry out His wishes (74:7).

Yet, God does many kindnesses for people (60: 6, 10; 7:10; 8:16), and His mercy is stirred up not through man's wisdom (7:10), but through humility (31:34) and repentance (1:10), and through self-abandonment (63:9). God also does miracles for the righteous (60:6,9).

There are many remarkable things about the heavens in which God lives. There are many palaces for the "mothers" and righteous women of Israel (54:7-11). Kaidanover quotes the story of Rabbi Yishmael who was taken to the highest heavens; there he saw cherubs, Metraton, the chief of the angels, fiery steeds, Ophanim, the wheels of the chariot, fiery angels, and thousands of different gates with different qualities; for example, kindness and love. There Rabbi Yishmael was blessed by God with 500,360 blessings and was given 72 wings and 500,360 eyes, each one shining like a great light. God then put him in charge of everything that man needs: Torah, fear, wisdom, and sustenance (23:1-5). During the first

hour after the sun has sunk, there is one appointee of God who makes an announcement which goes through twelve gates. All of the angels who guard the world are then gathered together in the highest heaven, the gates of mercy are closed, the shofar is blown, the Bet Din is awakened, and the souls of the living are judged. At midnight, a strong wind arises, and is stamped upon by one of the heavenly appointees until it is quiet. At that time the angels have been crying over the destruction of the Temple, as does God, who, when he cries, causes 12,000 worlds and 300 heavens to tremble, and drops two tears into the big sea. All this takes place during the first watch, and during this time, angels recite psalms, and the souls of people come up to heaven, and the souls of saints go to the heavenly Temple (37:7,9-10; 73:2,4; 37:2-5).

Promptly at midnight, God goes into the Garden of Eden to rejoice with the souls of the righteous until morning. During this time, God recites Torah to them, while the trees, the souls, angels, stars and planets sing. Bands of angels and the spices of the Garden of Eden recite psalms before Him (21:13; 16:9; 73:2,4; 37:11-12; 21:13). Therefore, a most favorable time to study Torah is after midnight (21:13).

The best time for people to pray is in the morning, because God is then found on earth and personally listens to it, whereas at other times, the heavenly host must pass on it to see whether it is worthy of coming before God (31:1-5; 21:14).

There is a heavenly Bet Din which makes inquiries about one's actions and they prescribe the punishment which people receive (7:24; 21:3-6; 73:2-4). They even excommunicate

people for various transgressions (34:1-21).

Among those who play a prominent part in heavenly activity are Elijah (20:2; 35:6-8), "the fathers and mothers of Israel" (20:2; 47:1-2), and various angels. The Bat Kol, dreams (17:5), and little children are used to transmit evil decrees and messages from heaven (5:5; 19:7; 71:12).

The world is judged as if it is composed of one half transgressions, and the other half mizwot. Therefore, each individual should endeavor to make the balance of the world tip toward the meritorious side (101:1-2). The world is judged at Passover time. Therefore, one should give a great deal of charity at that time (91:1). Likewise, at the four solstices of the year, judgment is done, and people should do repentance at those seasons (47:1-2). The following dangerous days are singled out for chastisement: 17 Heshvan, 5 Shebat, 20 Adar, 25 Nisan, 29 Iyyar, 16 Siwan, 27 Siwan, 24 Tammuz, 20, 26, 27 Ab, 12 Elul (32:1-2).

Harsh judgments and evil decrees are carried out by the many appointees whom God has under him (6:10; 9:6; 66:13). In the first place, over every gate, window, door of heaven there is an appointee who has a thousand angels under him. Their function is to gather in prayer from all sides, and they bring them to the seventh heaven and the holy palace of God. There is also a "terrible place" with 12 doors over which there are many appointees and hayyalot. The chief of all these is Anel (33:4-16). The angel, Metraton, who was changed from flesh into fire because of his righteousness, receives prayers, and brings them before God (23:6; 23:14; 56:5).

etraton is the chief of the ministering angels who accompanies into heaven one who studies Torah for its own sake (74:9). He is aided by Tehariel (8:3). Michael is the priest of God who offers up to Him the souls of the righteous who have passed through the third gate of righteousness (16:13). He also is appointed over the East Wind which contains 3075 winds each of which heals a sickness (16:4-8; 56:5). Raphael causes evil spirits that create illness to flee (31:1-5; 56:5), and he is in charge of the West Wind which makes grass, trees, and fruit to blossom forth (16:4-8). Uriel is the angel appointed over the South Wind which is very hard on the sick (16:4-8). Gabriel is also mentioned as one of the angels (56:5). Sandolphun is in charge of all the keys and doors of heaven (56:5; 38:7-16). Azriel is in charge of 600,000 camps of angels. Gardiel is the master of war. Anpiel is in charge of 70 chief angels. Shamshiel and Abuel also have appointed tasks (38:7-16). Jaazriel is in charge of 70 keys (56:2-3), and Samriel has the keys of Gehinom (45:6). Vahariel, one of the Ophanim, is in charge of a special room in heaven, and he leads the Hashmallim in war against the Evil One (99:2). There is, of course, the angel of death (7:11; 63:9). In fact, God has myriads of angels for every purpose (40:3).

One who lifts up his hands when he washes them or at any time when he is not praying, is cursed by ten angels appointed over the hands; if he is praying, however, he is blessed by them (63:4-6). Two angels also protect those who leave their house in the morning wearing tallit and tephillin (35:5). If

one does a bad deed, or speaks ill, 40 angels prevent his soul from going up before God at night (61:5-6). The angels carry out many other functions (101:4; 74:1-4; 43:16-20; 16:11-14; 1:8; 4:2; 35:12-13; 22; 8:16). Angels are created through every mizwah which an individual does, and they protect that individual (14:6-7; 96:5). When making an oath, one should never mention the names of angels, for, if it is a vain oath, the **angel** has permission to do him harm (56:5).

In contrast to the angels and the heavenly hosts who are the agents and the aids of God, there are the hosts of the Evil One. They live in a false heaven (4:4). Lillit, the mother and queen of the demons, stirs up evil decrees against us in heaven because of our sins (56:1,9; 2:4). One falls into her hands through whoring (4:3; 69:9), through pollution which is caused by her appearance in the form of a woman in the dreams of men (2:4; 12:9; 22:1; 70:7-8; 93:2-3), through a feast where there are no poor people (10:1-2), through immodesty on the part of women (58:8), through homez in mazoh (89:1-2), through false interpretations of the Torah (4:4), and through spilling bread crumbs on the ground (70:3-6). Lillit has thousands and myriads of evil spirits who move together through the entire world in one second and kill the wicked (4:5). She has a band of evil spirits called Keri who cause pollutions (22:1). In fact, she and her 480 camps are appointed over the sin of pollution (70:7-8). She is also called a "lying band" (2:4), and the wicked serpent of old (64:7). She is especially powerful against small children and often kills them (56:1,9; 58:8). Lillit is strengthened by man through

false interpretations of the Torah (4:3), through not supporting the poor (24:14-15), through laughter (93:3), and she derives a great pleasure from the fact that "our souls have gone down into the dust as a result of the destruction of the Temple and our exile from Palestine" (93:5). Punishment comes from her and, therefore, one must be careful to keep away from her and her wicked deeds lest he become a member of her camp (59:1; 64:7). There are many things which are efficacious against her: eating mazoh (89:1-2), the merit of the "mothers" during the four solstices (47:3), getting rid of hamez (89:3), performing the mizwah of the Sukka (95:2-3), receiving lashes, weeping in performance of a necessary mizwah (68:7), or reciting the substitute prayer, Psalm 78:38 (33:4-5). In order to prevent pollutions, one should picture his father before him before going to sleep, or have a finger of silver engraved with holy names,, which, after he dips into a kosher mikwe, he should wear upon his own finger (70:7-8). On the Day of Atonement, neither Satan nor Lillit have any dominion over Israel (95:2).

Mahalat appears to man as a very beautiful woman and plays the harlot with him and gives birth to children, but in the end she puts him and all of his family to death. Kaidanover cites an instance of this in regard to a house in Posen in 1641-2 which contained a destroying spirit which harmed people (69:1-9). One can overcome her and her 478 camps by the performance of a mizwah and rejoicing over it. (68:7)

Samael is the masculine counterpart of Lillit (47:3). He appears to be synonymous with Satan and the Evil One, and

is also alluded to as the serpent (59:1; 66:10-11; 10:1-2). He contests with God for the dominion of man's soul (61:2), and stirs up quarrels between men (15:1). Our world is full of the inhabitants of Satan's domain (1:20), and he has a number of fast messengers who hasten to bring accusations in heaven against Israel (99:2-3). He has dominion over the body at night when the soul is out (61:2). There are a number of acts which cause one to fall into the hands of Satan or Samael, who also lives in the false heaven (4:3). One who makes a feast and does not invite the poor (10:1-2), one who laughs too heartily (93:3), one who gets angry since anger comes from the liver which is the strength of Samael (66:10-11; 93:3), one who interprets the Torah falsely (4:3-4), one who speaks ill against scholars and pious people (66:10-11), one who is haughty (7:12-13; 59:6), one who rejoices on a holiday and gives nothing to the poor (87:2-3), one who pours the water used in washing the hands after the meal upon the ground (13:8), one who looks upon strange women and speaks a great deal with them (40:6), one who does not recite the Shema correctly (51:2-3), one who eats before praying in the morning (61:2), one who builds a house or a separate room for the purpose of drinking or doing wicked things therein, instead of dedicating it for study or prayer (24:9), one who looks upon forbidden things (40:6), one who is a miser (25:8), one who puts on two garments as one (46:8), one who is not careful about one's Sabbath clothes (46:9), one who constantly curses (15:4), one who goes into a house which has not been occupied for seven years (24:11), in fact, anyone

who goes on an evil path is in the power of the evil one (59:1; 51:1-2). Wherever a transgression is committed, the Evil One takes possession of that place, and it becomes dangerous for ordinary people (11:17-19). One whose reputation is bad is definitely in the power of the Evil One, and his curse is very dangerous (7:27-29).

One can overcome the strength of this evil spirit by: being humble (59:6), thinking of words from the Torah (24:1), accepting chastisements upon the body (31:31-32), concentrating upon the mezuzah and the evening prayer (24:2; 70:2), by eating mazot (89:1-2), and by giving the proper responses during the Kaddish (45:5).

There are a number of other destroying spirits: Tola (59:6), Raah (24:18), who attacks misers who won't support their families; Kesilim, also called Poale Aben (3:2-3), and they are a "wavering light" which lead astray men who go alone at night; Pitot, who beguiles people into looking upon adultery (2:7), Ashtira, who takes the drop of the pollution and thereby makes the individual subservient to the Evil One (22:2), Yemin who dwell in houses which have been empty for seven years and who cling to those who are guilty of harlotry (24:6-11), Sahadiel, who has control over prayers that are made without concentration and mixed with foreign thoughts (8:4-5), Hanya, who attacks a man who has been guilty of a great sin (74:3), Naama, who appears to men in the likeness of a woman (17:5), and Aza and Azael who are two deposed angels that protested against the creation of man and are the sources of magic (28:5-10).

In addition, there are many shades (69:1-9; 29:1-7) and unclean spirits. The latter collect human sins and make a barrier between man and heaven (27:18). Damaging spirits bring evil upon the world (71:12-13). Many evil spirits are created by man through sin (1:20; 33:3; 57:7). Unclean spirits act as accusers producing a harsh decree upon him (57:7), or through his transgressions he creates a destroying spirit which is clothed in a tree or a stone which later does damage to the transgressor (11:16-17).

Because of pride (7:2; 53:2), speaking profane words in the synagogue (2:13), not having a mezuzah-one's children die of smallpox (46:11), taking lightly the matter of washing the hands (11:13; 13:7), being cruel and annoying people and animals (7:19-21; 43:23-24; 77:4-5), cursing (7:25-27; 15:3; 66:12), swearing false oaths (56:8-9), practising witchcraft (28:11), scorning a scholar (41:10; 83:11), breaking off in one's prayer (41:10), telling lies and speaking blasphemously (3:5), getting angry (66:12), speaking well with one's mouth but meaning otherwise with one's heart (5:19), getting drunk (13:7), whoring (14:8), singing obscene songs (77:6-7), speaking a great deal (3:5) -- all of these strengthen the power of the evil spirits and deliver one into their hands. They lie in ambush hoping that someone will commit a transgression so that he will fall into their hands (21:2; 77:5-6). They cause further sin (1:22) and they dwell with a menstruating woman (17:1). Their quality is to grow stronger in sunlight (2:11-12).

These damaging spirits, however, can also be controlled.

They may be brought to trial (25:1-6). The mezuzah is a protection against them (1:21). They have no power over that which is bound, measured, or counted (25:4). Amulets such as the silver finger mentioned above will protect one from spirits (70:7-8; 77:6). Charity is an aid (30:6-7), as is study (53:3; 73:10-11), mizwot (90:3), and prayer (85:5). Confession of sins makes accusing spirits depart (27:13-17). Evil spirits have no portion on the sixth and seventh days of the week (24:6), they flee from the righteous (5:17) and from those who go to the synagogue (1:20-21). A shade can reveal himself and do harm to only one person at a time (79:7). Evil spirits are unable to see in the moonlight (2:12). The night time, however, is under the power of Hizonim and judging spirits (77:6). Synagogues are often destroyed by evil spirits (3:4).

A great emphasis was placed upon holy names as an aid in warding off evil spirits (70:8). The names of the Deity are particularly helpful. One can protect himself from evil spirits by concentrating on the name Shaddai (55:3-6; 46:10; 1:22; 70:8). Passages containing YHWH or its numerical equivalent are helpful (55:3-6; 58:4). Combinations of YHWH according to months is dwelt upon at great length (88:1; 99:8-9). Some of the holy names for protection against pollution are: Shaddai, Zamrehed, Anhesam, Pastam, Paspasim, Dayunsim, Yuhah, Adonai (70:7-8). Yahsh was one of the 42 names with which Moses slew the Egyptians (90:10). The Sukka is important because it adds up to the two names YHWH and Adonai (95:3). One must be careful about handclasps less he

create a blemish in the name Adonai, and ayin bet kof lamed (56:6-7). Whenever one mentions one of God's names, his whole body should tremble (40:5). Unfortunately, we do not know the correct concentrations, the names, and all of the unities of God (8:11), but one should teach his son all of the unities that he knows (45:15), and one should never engage in the holy unities unless he is pure of pollution and takes a bath first (45:1).

B. Other Worldliness and Death

Only the wicked deny the doctrine of reward and punishment and resurrection after death, Kadaver tells us (61:7-8). The soul has an appointment to return among the souls of the righteous (1:2), and its chief existence is to do good (49:1-2). Man has three souls: the neshama, the ruah, and the nefesh which is lower than the ruah (68:1-2). At night the soul goes out of a man to testify before the heavenly Bet Din concerning the deeds which it did during the day (73:1-2). Therefore, it is a great obligation for each individual to relinquish his soul into the hand of God (49:5), and not to eat or drink very much before going to sleep so that he may be able to concentrate upon this act (61:4-5). The sleep of humans is one-sixtieth of death, and when a person sleeps, only the body remains whose existence requires but one quarter of the blood which is in the heart (61:1). One who has withheld the wages of his employee will not be permitted the privilege of having his soul come up to heaven (14:3). The Evil One has dominion over the body at night when the soul is out (61:2). After sleep, the man's soul is returned to him (1:19;

61:2) and he should be eager to arise and thank God that He returned his soul to him (67:2).

While very much concerned about the other world, Kaidanover also considers death in certain respects the result of wickedness (7:11; 78:7). One should not hasten the time of his own death (36:6), but if God rejects his prayer because of his bad deeds, actually death is better for him than life. (38:2)

There are many things in store for a man when he dies. Evil spirits are waiting for the sinner so that they may punish him (21:2; 33:9), and God has many appointees to afflict him (66:13). One should, therefore, constantly think about his end (66:13). He should make this world secondary, and the other world primary through Torah and good deeds and repentance so that he may come into the life of the world to come in happiness (71:15; 39:11, 18; 5:2; 33:9; 58:1-2; 42:4; 39:15-16; 12:3; 66:21). One should pray with concentration and should prepare his stock of good deeds in advance of death (83:12; 23:14). Kaidanover points out that righteous men constantly fear that they will be put to shame because of their deeds in this world (20:5). Man wearies himself with business, earning money, and pleasures of this world, so that when death comes, he has nothing prepared for it, and he derives no benefit from all of his labors (7:5-9; 30:9; 83:12). One should pick out a special day on which to consider himself as an excommunicated person and should busy himself with Torah and prayer for this is a great help for his future (33:10-16).

Everyone should pray for an easy death without pain and in control of his senses in order that he may recite a con-

If the body is holy, then it is immediately consumed through earthly processes and no worms eat it (71:5-7).

One may think that he will be able to lie when he must give a reckoning for his deeds, but this is impossible (74:6; 1:13-14), for the angels who are always with him give accurate testimony and his deeds come before God so that He can testify to every one of his acts (74:6; 30:1; 39:6-8; 1:7; 14:2). Every individual has his deeds measured (87:8), and when the balance is full of sin, the decree of God is issued against him (39:8, 14-15).

No one can foretell the day of his death (1:6). Quickly the messengers of the heavenly Bet Din come to fetch him for judgment. One must have much merit to be declared innocent by the heavenly Bet Din; because they are so insistent upon details (21:2). They consider all of his mizwot and transgressions, and they get the angels to testify to his merit (39:16-17; 18:9). In addition, everything that a person has done is recorded (18:17). When the wicked come for judgment, all of their sins are stamped upon their faces (22:9). It is much better, therefore, for God alone to judge a soul since He has the power to forgive sins (78:4). Incidentally, the heavenly Bet Din also passes judgment upon the deeds of the living to determine whether he is to die or live (39:16-17).

There are many factors which result in a bad decision by the heavenly Bet Din: excommunication (16:1, 14), sins (7:9), not mending one's ways (35:14), not doing repentance (47:5), giving false interpretations of the Torah (4:5; 27:3-4), practising witchcraft (28:20), one who prevents people from doing

repentance or mizwot (43:22), doing violence (7:24), making trouble for the poor (9:6), shaming a scholar (65:4-5; 83:11), misusing wisdom (1:4), putting one's fellow to shame (53:11), not studying Torah for its own sake (35:9), despising the words of the Sages (66:19), and speaking bad tidings constantly (15:5).

There are many things which are helpful in securing a favorable judgment: studying Torah for its own sake (44:11; 19:2; 58:3; 53:2; 27:1-2; 74:9; 31:28; 36:22; 72:4-6; 79:2), doing good deeds (19:2; 22:10-11; 36:22; 83:12; 62:5; 65:3), pursuing righteousness and kindness (22:10-11), believing in and fearing God (22:10-11; 9:1; 12:8; 8:18; 51:5; 27:1-2), doing repentance promptly (22:10-11), all charitable endeavors (80:9-10; 52:3; 36:22; 30:6-7,10), not being haughty (7:10; 34:21; 7:15), saying one's prayers properly and with concentration (87:5; 38:2-6; 27:1-2), leading one's son in the good path (80:11; 91:1), rebuking people to make them worthy (101:1-4), and being righteous in general (79:5; 61:9; 91:1). For those who are judged worthy, there are many rewards (8:18; 79:5; 91:1; 31:23-25; 101:1-4; 38:2-3,6; 74:9). The greatest reward seems to be allowing the soul to enter into the Garden of Eden (71:5-7; 78:3-7; 19:7; 58:3; 91:1). Angels and righteous souls honor such an individual by accompanying his soul to the Garden of Eden (74:9; 16:10; 79:1-3; 19:8,10). In the Garden of Eden, the souls study Torah (4:6-7; 58:2-3; 91:1; 6:7-8). God participates in the discussions and rejoices with these righteous souls (4:6-7; 37:11-12). Every righteous man on earth should therefore concentrate upon the study of Torah

so that he will be prepared (58:3). Kaidanover tells us that "one hour of rest in the Garden of Eden is better than all the joys of this world" (79:4).

These righteous souls also help the living. In the month of Nisan and Tishri and whenever human beings are troubled, they pray for us (88:2-5; 91:1). They also aid those who come to the graves of their ancestors and recite their troubles (71:1). They are not permitted, however, to reveal the numbers of days before which a living person shall die (19:8).

Some souls are unable to enter the Garden of Eden, and they become wanderers (5:4-7,9; 71:1), but they may ascend through the merit of the prayers of a saint (5:7).

The souls of the wicked sink down to the ground (61:9). They are the ones who have been guilty of stealing and swindling (14:2), adultery (2:7), deceitful deeds (64:9), and other wicked acts (20:7; 66:16-18; 8:18). They suffer horrible tortures in Gehinom (36:8-9; 87:1; 12:13; 18:16; 80:1; 8:18; 16:7; 64:9). The wicked are judged for six months with fire and six months with snow (20:7). The descriptions of the chastisements of Gehinom are really terrifying. One who was punished for having illicit intercourse five times suffered the following punishment: He had to bear prickly thorns on his shoulders and two appointees of Gehinom set fire to them and burnt him, etc. (80:2-4). The wicked in Gehinom, however, may be delivered by all Jews who recite the proper responses to the Kaddish (4:6). While the judgment of Gehinom lasts 12 months, there are also less severe punishments (18:16).

Even the soul of a saint must be dipped in the fires of Gehinom because there is not a single individual who has not committed ~~some~~ transgression (31:25). On the way up to the Garden of Eden, such a man's soul may take hold of some of the souls of the lost, and bring them up with it (66:15-18; 5:8).

The most serious punishment, however, that is meted out is that of transmigration (36:3). For, "it is better for a soul to reach its resting-place than to suffer transmigration into a saint" (40:6). One who curses (3:7), one who has not fulfilled all of the mizwot in this world (19:1 40:1 60:3), one who has misused wisdom (1:5), one who looks upon women (2:8), one who does not return to its rightful owner that which he has found (40:5), one who does not study "pardes" (53:6), one who has committed adultery (34:12-21) -- must suffer transmigration. One can be transmigrated into a spirit (77:6-7), into a dog, for committing adultery (34:12-21), into a bird, for looking upon women (2:8), and for blasphemy (40:6), into a child, for not returning an object which does not belong to him (40:5), into a beast, for blasphemy (40:6), a leaf of a tree, for eating suspected non-kosher food (40:6), a bee, for the sin of being a haughty leader--and he must suffer in Gehinom as well (40:6), a harlot, for one who goes a-whoring (40:6), into unclean animals and birds (40:6), grass, fruits of the ground and trees (6:5).

There are two kinds of transmigrations. In the first case, one need not die, but his soul can be transmigrated while he is yet alive. Another soul comes into his body and

bands together with his old soul in order to correct it. This transmigration, called superfetation, is not so serious. The second, however, is. This befalls a person who has committed many great sins. He must die and his soul must enter a small child and wait until that child grows up in order to make amends for his old life. Sometimes, unfortunately, he commits even more transgressions so that the process must be repeated many times (40:1-5).

Living individuals can be of help to these unfortunate souls. The study of Torah and the proper recitations of the blessings causes souls to cease their transmigration (6:6). Souls which have been pushed away from their proper compartments may be aided by prayer, and particularly by the prayer of a poor man and saints (5:8, 10-11), and by the study of Torah in this world (6:5). One certainly can create favorable results for the souls of his parents, parents-in-law, and Rabbi (35:3-4, 9; 80:1-7; 86:4-5).

C. Messianic Hope

Kaidanover holds out for the righteous the prospect of seeing the Messiah and the messianic age. One should pray that the redemption should come speedily (86:1), study the unities and concentrations, for thereby one brings about the redemption (45:1), kindle the Hanukah lamp carefully and he will merit looking upon the lamp which will burn in our Temple (96:7), recite "Az Yashir" with concentration and he will be worthy of seeing the Messiah crowned (87:8-9), as he will if he recites the "Song of the Sea" with concentration (50:5). One who prays with concentration and a broken heart

causes the Shekina to crown himself with the crowns with which God will crown the Messiah (50:4-5). Everyone should arise at midnight and weep over the destruction of the Temple for then he will merit seeing Zion rebuilt (93:9). This is probably a carry-over of the old "Mourners of Zion" practise.

God lives with the Messiah in a tower. The latter rides on an ass and is called poor (6:3). By means of Cabalistic interpretation, Kaidanover deduces that the redemption will come speedily (86:1).

In the messianic age, God will cleanse the uncleanness of the Evil One, and purify the entire earth (89:6; 102:1). God will make Zion and Jerusalem rejoice, and "then will our mouths be filled with laughter" (86:1; 93:1). When the Messiah comes, all of the synagogues and houses of study will be transported to Palestine (72:11). Then, too, will the resurrection of the dead occur, and the saints will even rise with their clothes on, for their clothes were neither stolen nor robbed (63:11-12). The only holiday which the Jews will then celebrate will be Purim (97:6).

In his closing chapter, Kaidanover gives a description of the re-built Temple in the time of the Messiah: "The Temple will be 18 miles long and 18 miles wide, will be built of precious stones, and three walls -- one of silver, gold, and precious stones -- will encircle it. Each wall will be six miles wide and around them will be a fiery wall with 1488 towers of precious stones. 2,003 pools of running water will emanate from under the four mountains of Sinai, Carmel, Tabor, and Hermon, upon which the Temple will be built. The city of

Jerusalem will be 400 miles by 400 miles. The heavenly Temple will sink down upon the earth to Jerusalem and God will gather all Israel together and we will all sing a song and rejoice in God" (102:1).

IV
The Faith of the Individual

A. The Problem of Good and Evil

The problem of good and evil in the Kab ha-Yashar seems to be greatly confused. In the first place the wicked will receive retribution (1:15), such as leprosy, wounds upon the face (62:6), poverty (56:1; 84:1-3; 14:5), chastisement (31:28-29), short life (7:17; 39:3). But on the other hand, the wicked may receive a long and rich life in this world (39:9-10; 24:13; 65:2). Kaidanover explains this apparent contradiction through the following reasons: the fate of the world may be hanging in the balance when an individual does a deed. At that time the world is half innocent and half guilty. Therefore, even though a wicked man does a *mizwah*, he is rewarded for having saved the world (65:2). Sometimes the merit of the fathers protects them (39:16; 81:1-3). It is also true that an individual will receive good in this world for his wickedness in order that he may be driven away from the world to come (22:9). Still, Kaidanover maintains that God will grant the wishes of a righteous man, his work will prosper, and he will merit long life (9:15).

Trust in God is repaid with a great reward (8:16). On the other hand, one who trusts in God, such as a saint, may be chastised in this world in order that he may inherit the

world to come (22:9), or as a result of chastisements of love (62:7; 59:3-4). One must be very careful to accept chastisements of love and to give thanks to God for whatever he does to you, since everything that God does is for the best (36:10; 18:2-3; 8:14; 31:33-34; 79:9-10; 51:4-5; 31:3; 59:3-4; 28:12-20). Chastisements of love, however, appear only in places where they cannot be seen by other people (62:7), and one to whom anything has happened should arouse God's mercy and kindness through repentance, prayer, and charity (28:12-20).

One is unable to appreciate all of the miracles which God performs for us even though we may regard it as something harmful (8:12-13). How greatly, then, should one who has received goodness and abundance from God praise Him and not complain, and do good deeds (18:11; 36:11).

Intimately connected with this problem is the one concerning riches and poverty. A man who is poor should trust in God and accept his lot in love as atonement for his sin (36:8-9); he should also be confident that good times will come (8:18; 9:11-12). Yet poverty has many advantages. The prayer of a poor person is received first by God and makes other people's prayer acceptable (27:9-12; 50:1,3; 18:11). Since heaven loves a poor man (7:16), when one is praying, one should simulate a poor man (27:12). The poor, incidentally, are the cause of our having a portion in God and in his Torah (50:3). The poor man is considered a dead man in this world (9:12), because he will have a doubled reward in the world to come (36:7).

Riches has its danger (7:3-4), and its responsibilities. One should not be proud (7:3-4; 79:9-10), greedy (24:3,15), too overjoyed (74:5). He should put his wealth to good usage such as charity and benevolence (25:7), and should watch over the poor since they are close to God (91:1).

B. The Necessity for Prayer

There are many aids to the proper performance of prayer. When one prays he should do it with pleading and concentration (57:2-3; 53:1; 7:16; 61:4; 63:13; 8:4; 20:1,3; 27:8; 59:2-3; 8:9; 38:17; 18:16; 5:13; 50:8; 100:3; 30:18; 3:7; 70:2; 8:10, 4-5; 87:8; 80:9; 5:20; 50:4-5; 23:14; 49:5; 41:6-7). A broken heart, crying, and tears are also very efficacious (50:4-5; 8:9; 63:4; 7:16; 37:16; 48:3; 31:12-22; 61:4; 27:12; 12:1-3; 74:10; 68:6; 47:4; 33:14; 23:13; 66:21). One should pray with a whole heart and self-abandonment (23:13; 63:3-4; 23:7; 63:8-9), and one should while praying keep out of his mind every other thought (2:13; 8:4-5,9). Repentance before prayer is a great asset (12:9; 49:1; 55:2; 48:5-6; 1:11; 88:6; 77:3). This matter of repentance is quite important to Kaidanover, and he goes to great lengths to point out various forms of penitence such as fasting (12:5), and mock executions (48:5-6). There are other helps to prayer: not to sit next to a wicked person (11:16, 20; 49:8), washing the hands before praying and having one's body clean (20:3; 11:1-12, 15), reciting the names of God's unities before praying (5:13, 16), lifting up one's hands at the time of prayer (63:4), mentioning the merits of the fathers (20:3; 86:5; 79:6-8), and praying at a favorable time -- the morning

when one puts on his tallit katan (11:5; 31:1-5; 85:2-4).

So, too, there are many hindrances toward proper praying. One should not eat or drink before the morning prayers (61:2,4). Overeating and overdrinking (61:3; 87:5; 49:4-5; 75:1-3), reciting one's prayers rapidly and without concentration (8:11-12; 34:1-21; 37:13-15), uncleanness (46:1-2; 13:2-5), pride and cursing one's fellow (66:2-4; 7:30), pollution (68:3), being too greatly interested in business matters (11:4; 66:20) hiding one's sins and not doing repentance for them (49:6-7), speaking a great deal (2:13), theft, and robbery (46:4; 38:19), shatnez in one's clothes (46:3), not studying before prayer (99:7), interrupting one's prayer, and foreign thoughts while praying (8:2; 50:6; 100:3; 41:9-10; 37:13-15; 75:1-3); In fact, there are 24 things which prevent repentance and thereby make prayer unacceptable (43:1-2).

The act of prayer itself must be properly performed. If one is in the synagogue, he should turn his face toward one of the walls while praying. On a journey, he should turn to a tree (50:6-8). One should remove empty vessels from the table at the time that one says the grace (64:15, 18). During the Shemona Esre, one should lower his head and stand with his feet together (57:3-4; 50:6; 8:1). One should be sure to recite the "Oh Lord, open my lips" before the Shemona Esre (38:1). While reciting the Kedusha, one should lift one's eyes to heaven (41:1). One should recite the 13 words of the Vishtabbah in one utterance (50:5-6). One should be careful to recite every one of the 248 words of the Shema (51:2-3). At the time that one recites a Piyyut, it is good to have in

mind the name of its author (86:4). At the Shema Kolenu one must confess his sins and repent for them. One must recite the Song of Thanksgiving every day (18:1-2). One must recite three times daily the section dealing with incense (59:10). One should mention the destruction of the Temple (82:3-4). One should stand on his feet while he recites the Kiddush (75:1-3). One should be very careful to recite "Amen, may His great name, etc.", when one says the Kaddish (4:6; 80:9; 45:5-13, 15; 93:4,6-9; 80:8-9). One should never take prayer lightly for there are no substitutes for it (8:6-8). When one begins to pray, he should stand with fear and trembling (38:2-3).

There are many things that people can pray for: to ward off the evil inclination and every sort of sin (1:23; 77:8), for the quality of humility (7:16; 43:20), for repentance (58:9), for deliverance for himself and all Israel (94:2; 13:11; 71:13), for safe journey (24:2,4-5), for an easy death (57:4-7), for one's child that he should be righteous (17:9), for the joining of his soul with God when one goes to sleep, and for the return of it in the morning (57:2), for deliverance from a plague (59:9), over the destruction of the Temple (94:4), over the particular qualities and personalities of a religious holiday (97:1-4,6; 98:5), for his dead parents and Rabbi (19:4; 71:1; 65:6; 86:4-5), for the martyrs who died in the year 5000 (37:8). In short, whenever a good thought occurs to a man, he should know that it is a favorable time for prayer (71:8-11).

One should pray every day, and should recite the evening

and morning Shemona Esre, and the evening and morning Shema (50:4; 67:3). Some of the prayers which he should recite are: Psalm 78:38 -- three times daily (33:1-3), a special prayer for confession of sins (27:15), a morning prayer (1:19; 55:3-6; 11:1-3), a prayer that one's prayer may be received properly (5:12), a prayer upon leaving the house (1:23), one should pray daily Psalms 103 and 104, and afterwards a prayer for forgiveness (39:18). Everyone should recite "May Thou bring us from peace to peace, etc." (19:10). One should recite the Ten Commandments of Deuteronomy at night, and those of Exodus during the day (55:2-3). There are certain biblical passages which should be remembered between the daily prayers (60:2-3).

The matter of the acceptance or rejection of prayers by God gives Kaidanover great concern. One should pray that God receive his prayer (45:2). Prayers for repentance (5:14; 7:30; 1:10), the morning prayers (35:5), confession of sin (11:6-10), are acceptable to God. A poor man's prayer is greatly valued (5:8), as is that of a saint (5:10, 6-7). If one's prayers are accepted, God makes a crown out of them for His head (3:7), and God shows His great kindness in that with one prayer, an individual may make acceptable all of his formerly unacceptable prayers (8:6). One whose prayer is not accepted should not be discouraged (63:2), but if his prayer is rejected because of his bad deeds, it is better that he die (38:2). One whose prayers are accepted and answered should not be haughty or think that this is proof of the fact that he is a righteous man (63:1).

C. The Necessity for Mizwot

Mizwot are very important for the individual because man is judged on the basis of his deeds (65:3; 66:21; 39:6-8; 35:22; 71:15). God created man on earth for the sake of doing mizwot (1:17; 45:4), and therefore, they are beloved by God (21:7; 50:4; 16:10). Every mizwah should be performed for the sake of God (18:15); every member of the body depends upon one of the 248 positive mizwot (60:1); the veins depend upon the 365 negative mizwot (51:3). If one has not fulfilled all of the taryag mizwot, one will have to suffer transmigration (40:1; 60:3). Many of the wicked in Gehinom are there because they despised certain mizwot (66:16-18). One's single mizwah may determine the fate of Israel and the world (5:18; 65:2). God watches over the person and the property of those who go to perform a mizwah (45:15; 27:22-27), and one even receives miracles for doing them (8:15). There are many rewards for performing mizwot: they deliver one from an evil decree (36:12-21), they decorate the soul and testify to one's righteousness before the heavenly Bet Din (1:2; 74:7-8; 14:6-7; 10:2,11; 19:2; 96:5; 71:15), they are transformed into angels that testify in one's behalf (14:6-7; 42:3; 96:5), they become a holy spirit and lead one into the Garden of Eden (14:8; 71:15), they make the doer to be joined by many souls and to be shielded from evil (6:1-5; 45:15, 4; 14:1), they join one's soul with the soul of the saint and they make a cloak for his soul (21:11; 20:4), they humble Lillit (95:2-3), they cause a letter to sparkle upon one's forehead (22:5), they cause the spread of heavenly holiness (100:3; 6:5). One who

performs a mizwah doubles his reward (62:5).

The neglect of a mizwah may cause little children to die (46:11), cause the heavenly Bet Din to put one in Herem (34:1-21), and other heavy punishments (96:7). One must not despise the mizvot of preparing the mazot (90:2), the mizwah of kindling the Hanukah lamps (96:7), or that of preparing the Sukka properly (95:4).

When a man thinks of a mizwah to perform, he should perform it (40:4; 35:11; 18:14; 21:7; 64:16). One should do the mizwah with concentration (18:15; 53:1; 90:5-6). But the mizwah must be performed properly. One who rejoices on a holiday must give a portion to the poor (87:2-3). One should rejoice over a mizwah but should not overdo it (68:7; 73:15; 93:4). At a circumcision, one should have prepared a vessel full of earth in which to cast the foreskin, and have a chair ready for Elijah (73:8,15). At a meal celebrating a mizwah, one must recite Torah, and have a poor person present (87:4). One must not begrudge the food which he gives to that poor man (10:14). People who are engaged in doing mizvot should not speak slanderously, blasphemously, or scornfully (3:4).

One must never prevent another individual from doing a mizwah, for this is one of the 24 things which prevent repentance (42:6-43; 43:23-24). Instead, one should stir up others to perform that mizwah (64:16). This seems to have been Kaidanover's purpose in having emphasized many of the little known and little done mizvot (Introduction).

Some of the mizvot which Kaidanover emphasizes are: accompanying a Jewish girl among non-Jews (75:4-6), having

a mezuzah and keeping it clean (46:10-11), paying attention to the matter of zizit and the proper kind of tephillin (66:16-18; 63:10; 46:11), observing circumcision (73:8, 15, 10-11; 93:4-16), studying Torah (53:5; 60:1), sanctification of the new moon (60:1), taking part in a burial (31:10), rebuking sinners (5:1; 62:6-11; 20:6; 62:12-13, 1-3; 3:8; 80:11; 20:9), rejoicing on the Sabbath and observing it properly (75:1), burdening oneself with all of the aspects of: Passover (89:3-5; 90:1-3, 5-8, 10; 91:1), Hanukah (96:2-6), Purim (99:7-10), Sukkot (95:3-4). Cleansing one's hands and body is a very important mizwah, particularly in connection with eating and sleeping (13:1, 6, 9; 12:9; 87:6-7; 85:2,8,10; 57:1; 90:5). The recitation of a section dealing with sacrifices is important (59:7-9). It is a mizwah to distinguish the graves of the saints in the cemetery (71:1), and to make a feast at which the poor are invited for circumcision, betrothal, marriage, and bar mizwah (10:1-2; 21:8-10). The Kaddish and Yahrzeit are important mizwot (35:1-3; 80:8). It is a mizwah to have children and the birth of a child should stimulate the parents to do further mizwot (36:5; 20:8). The act of intercourse is a mizwah (67:2; 17:6-9). One who gives charity to the poor, or shelters them, feeds travellers and aids those who give charity is performing a mizwah (10:13; 9:3-10, 13-14; 64:2; 26:8-9; 18:12-14; 43:25). It is a great mizwah to study the unitives (45:1), and when one goes out on the street after the morning prayers, he should always think about mizwot (85:4). Fasting is a mizwah (49:2-3). When one puts on his clothes, he should concentrate upon

the mizwah of not wearing kilayim and shatnez (63:10).

One for whom God has done something wonderful should hasten to perform a mizwah (18:5-10). Those who stay up at night to perform a mizwah are shown wonderful things (73:3). One should consume his time in performing "gemilut hasadim" (83:12), and should hasten to perform any mizwah which people are loath to do (64:5). One should accustom himself to study the taryag mizwot (53:6), and should constantly admonish his children and his household to fulfill them (58:7).

D. Emphasis upon Piety

Kaidanover is interested in making people pious, and that, he states, is why he wrote the Kab ha-Yashar (Introduction). The perfect man is one who does good deeds, pursues righteousness and kindness, who believes in God, who does repentance promptly, and who prepares himself for judgment day (22:10-11; 47:1; 4:1; 24:12-13; 60:10; 1:6; 48:6; 8:16; 77:8; 82:1; 16:4). He is the one whose whole life and heart serves God (53:1; 4:1; 21:12; 1:16; 40:2). He accustoms himself to look upon holy things and upon the works of heaven (40:6; 2:11; 74:5). He fears punishment for sin (61:11), and will keep away from everything which makes one unclean (17), and from the wicked (6:10; 20:8-9). To him fasting is an aid (49:5; 12:5-7). All laws and mizwot are important to him (43:12). He delights in holiness and cleanliness (12:9), and turns himself away from the sin of pride (7:3). Every pious man prays that when his time comes to die, hands of the righteous may come for him (79:5). He is even interested in making others meritorious,

and he constantly prays that the wicked should repent (5:11; 20:6).

The greatest form of piety, however, is one's carrying on his business honestly (52:8; 100:3). Because of pressure of life itself, in order to be pious, following God's path is considered sufficient (21:7).

The truly pious man is called a saint (78:8; 20:6), and he is happy because God watches over him (60:10; 8:16; 21:15). The quality of perfection is the best rank of all, and one who possesses this quality will be worthy of sitting in the tent of heaven after death (100:1-2).

Kaidanover gives us a word of caution about people who are too pious. One should not deduce that an individual is a pious man from the fact that he prays with concentration and goes about all day wearing tephillin, because one does not know what is actually in his heart (52:1-8).

E. Emphasis upon Morality

As we have seen, piety entails morality. One's relations with one's fellow-man must be moral. One should not quarrel (15:2), think or speak bad things about his fellow (55:1), make trouble, hate, or slander his fellow (7:14). One should not even trouble any living creature (63:1-10; 18:4; 60:8-9). He must be humble (20:12; 7:15; 65:8; 1:6), and be careful not to speak blasphemously (60:2). He should never flatter the wicked (62:11-12). He should deal kindly with the poor (24:13). He should not utter vain oaths and oaths in general (56:4,9). His mouth and heart should speak the same thing (61:6; 5:16). In sexual matters, he should be modest (17:4,6), should not

look upon unclean things or strange women (2:2-3, 7, 9-10, 13), turn away from whoring (69:10; 24:10), and should endeavor to keep free from pollution (22:1; 68:4-5, 6, 8-10; 58:1; 2:4-6; 17:4; 69:10). He must be very moral in money matters (8:17). He should pay close attention to every one of his transgressions because no transgression is a light matter since it leads to the commission of further transgressions (55:1; 1:12; 42:1-2; 16:2-3; 7:18; 24:5; 80:7). A part of morality is the study of Torah, paying attention to one who teaches the path of righteousness, and the fear of God (66:25; 80:7). In one's religious morality, every action of his living day plays a part. The guide, therefore, to true morality is this rule: "One should always think to himself that God sees everything; therefore, one should not do any shameful act, even if no one is watching him" (79:9).

F. Some Interesting Religious Customs

Kaidanover gives us a picture of some of the interesting religious customs and ceremonies which were performed in his day. One of these was to blow the shofar 30 days before Rosh Hashanah, on the first of Elul, as a signal that the heavenly Bet Din is giving the individual time to repent, and thereby to remove the evil decree. When the shofar was blown, pious people would turn themselves toward a wall, and recite "Lora, King who sits, etc." and the "Thirteen Attributes." Then each individual would seek to stir up the hearts of his fellows in order to get them to repent, and to correct those whom they had seen err (48:1,4).

In Poland, it was the custom for the congregation to rise before their Rabbi. He, in turn, would raise a book before them so that the congregation should be rising before the book, and not before him (54:5).

The children and wife and the close relatives were removed from the room of a dying man (18:7).

On Purim, many lamps were kindled in the synagogue so that it should be full of light (99:6). People practised the custom of beating a Haman-clapper whenever the name of Haman was mentioned (99:10). In Poland people would put on a white shirt and white pants before reading the Megilla (99:6).

In preparation for Passover, everyone whether he was the Rabbi or the leader of the community, had to draw water for his mazot himself. Some would count out 22 letters representing the letters of the Torah, as they poured the water used for making the mazot from a small vessel into a larger vessel. If one were old or weak, he waited at his door until people brought him the water for the mazot, and then he would carry it into his own house. The drawing of water for mazot contained many other elaborate preparations (89:4-5). Jews would scrape their tables, chairs, and walls in preparation for Passover, so that there would be no leavened stuff in their houses (89:3). One never recited the Shema during the first nights of Passover (90:10). When one reached the place in the Haggada: "And that which stood for our fathers and for us," he lifted up his cup until the reading of: "And the Holy One, blessed be He, delivered us from their hands" (90:9).

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