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THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN GERMANIC LANDS

IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

AS REFLECTED IN SELECTED HEBREW AND
JUDEO-GERMAN SOURCES

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are for the Jews the last two centuries of their Middle Ages. The pronoun "their" is important in this sentence; for in the non-Jewish world around the ghetto, the Middle Ages ended, and a new period dawned at the turn of the Fifteenth century. The great discoveries in the physical realm, the Reformation in the spiritual realm, broke down already weakened limiting enclosures which had been erected during the Dark Ages. They opened the way for ever growing expansion, for greater freedom, in the fields of philosophy, economics, and politics. Only one wall was not breached at that time - the wall of the ghetto. For the Jews, the Middle Ages were not yet over. The disabilities were not taken away from them. They remained subject to laws belonging to the reign of feudalism. They were a special class of human beings, lower than the regular subjects of the various principalities. They were "owned" by their masters. They could be sold, leased, pawned. They could be exploited by special taxes. They had to "buy" their "protection" from all authorities under whose sway they came.

The light of the new era, however, could not be shut out completely from the ghetto. Though set apart from the rest of the world legally by distinctive laws, socially - by force of conventions and of religious differences, the Jews' contact with their environment in the realm of commerce was an intimate one. Together with their manifold merchandise, they traded more intangible wares, such as forms of thought, of speech,

and of behavior. These outside influences were by no means strong enough to overthrow the ruling forces of Medieval regulations and of a Jewish self-government guided by Jewish law. Still they were of sufficient intensity to make themselves felt, and to set up a tension, as between opposite poles, which is typical of Jewish life in these two centuries of transition, between the beginning of the Modern Era for the world at large and the start of Jewish emancipation at the end of the eighteenth century. This tension can be seen in the development of Jewish history during these two centuries. It can be found, perhaps even more distinctly, in the small single events which make up that history, and which show more clearly than the bold outlines drawn in history books the spirit of the communities and the individuals of that time.

It is our task, in this essay, to deal with just such single events and single documents dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We are to examine and evaluate Takanoth, Memorbooks, S'lichoth, writings dealing with fires, persecutions, plagues, miraculous salvations, weddings. We are to treat events and documents linked together only loosely in time, and not related to one another at all by connections of subject matter, place, or cause. There seems to be, therefore, but one way of solving this task: to deal with all sources given in the referee's bibliography separately. Each of the books, articles, or documents shall be treated in a separate study, in the order of the original bibliography (culled from Moritz Steinschneider: Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden,

I. Abteilung: Bibliographie der Hebräischen Schriften, Frankfurt, 1905, pp.124-154.) Wherever it seems of value, the Hebrew orJudeo-German text shall be translated literally. In other cases, it may be translated in excerpt, or paraphrased, orthe contents may merely be retold in English. Each document shall be prefaced by a short literary introduction and commented on by notes within the text and, if necessary, by a short concluding evaluation. (For technical reasons, the square brackets setting off notes from the text shall be replaced by double brackets: - (()) -)

1. Tikunim m'yusharim y'sadam chachamim d'kehilathenu Prag,
Prague, 1702. (Steinschneider, No. 175b)

The Prague takanoth consist of 24 pages, 8^o, i.e. an introduction of two pages in square letters and the rest in Rashi script. The text is Judeo-German, but a distinction is made between the German and the Hebrew words by printing the Hebrew words in square letters, in the midst of the Rashi script text. The distinction is, however, frequently made incorrectly, and Hebrew words are written in Rashi script, and German words - in square letters. The heading promises information "about the pardon and all that belongs to it". ((Concerning the word and the concept of pardon cf. Lewin, Geschichte der Juden in Lissa, Pinne, 1904, pp. 103ff. The etymology of the word is uncertain. The meaning will become clear from the takanoth.)
The pardon-regulations are drawn up in the fashion of a contract, subject to ratification by the King and Emperor, between the Royal court of Prague and the Pretor ((i.e. legal representative)) of the Jewish community of Prague, Samuel Isaac Saechsel (?). Named as further representatives of the Jews are: HH Harosh w'hakazin hashtadlan uprimus R Samuel Tausik, and his companions Ha'aluf R Israel Dushnith, ha'aluf Wolf Fraenkel, hakazin R Leiser RM of Vienna, ha'aluf R Anshel Ginzburg, hakazin R ~~Moses~~ Jüdchen, ha'aluf R Salman Bondi, hana'aleh R Leib Rosenberg, hakazin R Hirsch Klaber, hakazin R Moses Nachod, hana'aleh R Lipman Turna. ^{Turnaw!} ((Notice that all these men have family names and are not names as p'loni ben p'loni.)

The following conditions preface the takanoth proper:

The parnasim have to admonish all those whom they suspect as transgressors of the rules of the pardon. The suspected taxpayer and his wife have to take an oath to the effect that they have not made any false statements in order to evade tax payment.

"This pardon contract was announced publicly, with all its articles and conditions, by authority of the Royal judges, in all synagogues of the Old City of Prague, on Shabbath, parshath tazri'a um'tsorah 5462 (April 29, 1702). Everybody shall behave in accordance with the printed contract and thus guard himself against damage. If anybody has transgressed against the contract of the pardon by keeping information from the authorities, and somebody denounces him, leading to conviction of the culprit, the denunciator shall receive one third of the tax collected." ((The encouragement of denunciation is typical of medieval law-enforcement as it is now coming back into force in totalitarian countries.))

The heading on p.5a (according to the penciled pagination in the HUC copy) "statutes upright, firm and wise, of our Kehillah of Prague YZW" forms an achrostic with the numerical value 462, the date of the takanoth.

This page 5a, composed in Hebrew, expresses the pious wish that all may follow the rules of the Pardon-takanah, that all those who transgress it may be punished, and all those who uphold it may succeed and be blessed.

The takanoth proper begin on p.5b:

"ARTICLE I. Similar decrees existed before, but this

decree shall establish all the details of the regulations. A new tax, called pardon, shall be levied on all kinds of goods to be named in the following. It must be paid, when a Prague Jew, whether as an individual or in company with others, whether young or old, married or unmarried, man or woman, buys ~~merchand-~~ise, whether personally or through an agent, whether from Jews or non-Jews, whether in Prague, in Bohemia, or in another province, whether on markets or on other days, whether by cash payment, on credit, through exchange, or by means of documents in Hebrew or Latin, with the purpose of reselling it, whether in bulk, or gradually in parts. The goods may be old or new, wool, linen, silk, hides, leather, whether raw materials or anything made of these materials; likewise new or used clothes; silver, gold, whether in good objects or as old metal or as coins to be molten in the mint or by the gold- or silversmith; ornamental clips or ribbons, precious stones or pearls, whether loose or set or strung; copper, brass, lead, iron, and all kinds of metal whether good or broken. Documents ((drafts)) ^{fully in exchange?} in Hebrew or Latin, bought for investment or for resale; all kinds of food or drink, and spices; likewise livestock, such as horses, oxen, cows, calves, goats, sheep, geese, chickens; honey, wax, fat, oil, candles, pure fat (?), wood - if bought to be resold. This shall include everything - whether named here or not - which is bought with the purpose of resale, whether in small or large quantities, to anybody, anywhere. Of all this merchandise, the buyer has to pay pardon at the rate of 3 Wiener ((a coin of the Pfennigg family with low value,

probably the smallest piece of currency, with 4 or 6 Wiener to the kreutzer.) for every fl, the fl counted at 15 Batzen ((i.e. 60 kr)). If the first buyer sells his merchandise, after having paid pardon properly, to a second buyer, who also sells it at a profit, the second buyer also must pay pardon on the merchandise on the price at which he purchases it. This holds true, even if 100 people should buy the merchandise, one after another.

Pardon need not be paid on merchandise purchased for one's own or for one's family's needs, except for kosher meat and live poultry, for which pardon must be paid. Cf. articles XII, XVI. ((The pardon as defined in this article, resembles in general a tax on turnover, such as the Umsatzsteuer levied in Germany, but in some particulars it is like a sales tax paid by the consumer, such as the one levied in Ohio.))

ART. II. Butchers likewise must pay on every piece of large or small cattle 3 Wiener on every fl of the purchase price. Likewise beer-restaurant owners - on the beer which they purchase for resale. Wine-restaurant owners likewise. The same rate is applicable to sellers of hard liquor. ((Apparently not all restaurants sold all kinds of liquor.))

ART. III. Pardon must be paid on a purchase by any purchaser within eight days from the time when the deal is closed. Whosoever does not pay pardon within these eight days is subject to the cherem. ((An almost modern way of taxation - although there seems to be something timelessly medieval and undesirable about taxation - is linked up with a primitive

system of bookkeeping which necessitates collection of taxes for short terms and single transactions instead of the transactions made over a longer period.))

ART.IV. In order that nobody should forget his obligation, or claim that he forgot, the shamashim in all synagogues shall announce daily in the service that everybody shall remember to pay pardon on all deals closed within the previous eight days. ((The synagogue as a community house serves the political functions of the community as well as the religious functions, as may be seen even more clearly from the following.))

ART. V. A box shall be set up at the almemar of the New Synagogue ((Alt-neuschul ?)), with suitable slots, in order that the tax money may be deposited there. It shall be locked with four locks. The keys shall be in the hands of twelve ba'ale tebah ((Masters of the Box)) four of whom shall hold office for a month at a time, taking turns. However, the four holding office shall always call in the other eight, so that all twelve shall always be present at the opening of the box.

ART.VI. A sofer ((secretary)) shall be appointed over the box. He shall be provided with a key to the New Synagogue, in order that he may have access to the box, ~~at~~ all times. He also shall be given a pinkas which shall contain the names of all householders in Prague as well as those of all women, unmarried men and girls and orphans who do business of any sort or quantity. The taxpayers have to declare before the sofer that they have done so and so much business, and the

sofer must enter the amount of pardon paid and the date of payment. Then the taxpayer must personally put the money into the box. If a tax payment is not entered into the pinkas, the amount allegedly paid is considered forfeit and must be paid once more. Restaurant owners have to pay pardon as soon as beer, wine, or hard liquor is delivered to their place of business, under threat of the cherem. If anybody buys small items one by one, he shall keep careful account in order not to evade the tax.

ART. VII. When two or more people do business together, all are equally responsible for the payment of the pardon ((it is evident that pardon must be paid only once on such a transaction)); none may say that he thought his companion paid the tax, and all are subject to cherem in case of non-payment of the pardon.

ART. VIII. If a person knows that a certain other person has transacted some business, and he suspects that no pardon has been paid on that transaction, he shall write on a slip the name of the suspect and the kind of transaction and drop the slip into the pardon box, in order that the case may be examined, as to whether tax has been paid or not. ((This seems to be a clear instance where Jewish self-government is influenced more by the system of government of the outside world than by Jewish tradition.))

ART. IX. Concerning local money lenders who loan money on interest whether on pawns of silver or gold or precious stones or pearls or any movable goods or sh'taroth yah'doth w'galchith

((IOUs in Hebrew and Latin ?)) or sh'tare iskoth ((documents establishing the lender as a sleeping partner in the business aided by the loan)) or b'al peh ((on oral promise)) or wechselszettel ((draft)). On such transactions, the lender has to pay 4 kr 3 PK ((pashut katan = small Pfennig ?)) per fl interest. Out-of-town money lenders loaning money to a resident of Prague have to pay 6 kr per fl interest, and the borrowing Prague resident is responsible for the correct payment of this tax. ((Undoubtedly this higher rate of tax is to protect the local money lenders.)) The borrower has to pay the tax correctly, under threat of the cherem, and he shall deduct it from his payments to the money lender.

ART. X. An unmarried young man doing business for himself, whether living with his father or by himself, has to pay 1 kr per fl of purchased goods ((compared with the usual rate of 3 Wiener which is 1/2 kr or 3/4 kr)) because he is not otherwise taxed on his business ((while regular householders evidently must pay other taxes also)). Likewise, after such young men's marriage, and after the marriage of children of householders, as long as they have not been charged with any s'kdm ((property tax paid by householders. cf. below)) these people have to pay 1 kr on every fl of goods purchased.

ART. XII Anybody who buys, either personally or through any agent, kosher meat has to pay 3 Wiener on every pound of large cattle. On meat of small cattle, which is not sold by weight ((but probably by quarters)) he shall pay 3 Wiener on every 4 kr worth of purchase. ((This shows that the price of

beef was about 4 kr per pound, for it may be assumed that the tax rate for both beef and veal, etc. is the same. This rate is about 12 1/2 %)). Likewise, of dried ((or smoked)) meat - 3 Wiener on every 4 kr worth of purchase.

ART. XI. Anybody in the Kehillah, man or woman, widow or orphan, who are exempt from taxes of the Kehillah, are not, by virtue of this, exempt from the pardon. They have to pay pardon in all points like any other inhabitant of the Kehillah as abovementioned and they are not exempt.

ART. XIII. If a man conducts two kinds of business, such as owners of beer, wine, or hard liquor restaurants who carry on some other kind of business at the same time, they have to report to the Sofer for which branch of their business they are paying tax at every particular time, in order that there shall be no confusion or evasion.

ART. XIV. A person who has any financial claims against the Kehillah, whether in writing or orally, may not deduct these claims from his pardon but must pay the pardon correctly to the last p!rutah.

ART. XV. The pardon on meat, i.e. 3 Wiener per pound, shall be paid to the butcher. ((Probably this tax was handled like a sales tax, with the butcher functioning as collecting agent for the Kehillah.))

ART. XVI. Nobody shall fight with a butcher on account of the meat pardon under severe penalty.

ART. XVII. Concerning geese, ducks, big and small chickens, and doves: If a person has them slaughtered either

for his or his family's needs, or to resell them slaughtered or fried, he has to pay pardon as follows: On English chickens ((turkeys?)) and geese - 1 kr per piece; on ducks and large chickens - 3 PK; on small chickens and doves - 1 Wiener. The pardon on poultry shall be paid by the person who wants to have the fowl slaughtered to the collector before the slaughtering.

ART. XVIII. Householders from KK Libna ((probably Lieben, North of Prague)) who sell meat of small cattle here in Prague must pay pardon on the small cattle which they slaughter in Libna and sell in Prague, under threat of the cherem - for the inhabitants ((of Libna)) have taken upon themselves, under oath, not to evade the payment of pardon in Prague - as they also pay for the small cattle which they slaughter here in Prague, under threat of a heavy fine, both to the authorities of Libna YRH, and to charity here in Prague. The shochet in Libna shall give to the sofer in Prague every Friday a list of the people for whom he slaughtered animals during that week, and these householders shall pay their pardon ~~correctly~~ and immediately.

ART. XIXI When a householder in Prague buys a live animal, either big or small, and has it slaughtered for the use of his own family, or in companionship with a butcher or with another householder, he shall also pay pardon in the above manner, i.e. 3 Wiener on every fl of the purchase price plus 3 Wiener on every pound of meat, as though he had bought it at the butcher's. ((From the point of view of the Kehillah

this double taxation is understandable. For they get this twofold tax on every pound of meat sold through a butcher. If they would charge only one of the two taxes on meat slaughtered privately, they would not only lose a good deal of their tax income, but the saving would be so great that the people would prefer slaughtering cattle themselves and the butchers would suffer an enormous loss in business.))

ART. XX. An additional tax and pardon on white beer and bitter beer, in addition to the pardon which has been paid heretofore: ((As mentioned above, the pardon was not newly instituted in 1702, but it was raised and details unknown previously were published.)) The innkeeper shall charge on every pint ((the german pint or pinte referred to here is synonymous with mass, a vessel containing almost 1 quart.)) of white beer 1 Wiener more than the former price, and at the end of every week he shall pay this pardon of 1 Wiener on every pint of white beer sold during the week. ((Here, and in all transactions of the innkeeper, the pardon takes a form between the direct salestax paid by the customer and the indirect tax on turnover paid by the retailer, inasmuch as the raise on the retail price is prescribed, as in a sales tax, but the retailer is not merely the collecting agent, but pays the tax from his own, on the basis of his turnover, as in an indirect tax.)) There is no grace period. Since, however, the innkeeper sells beer not only by the pint, but also by the half-pint and by the small glass, on which he cannot charge any pardon ((this seems to prove that the Wiener

was the smallest currency)) it shall be established that an innkeeper shall pay on a barrel of four eimer for no more than 80 pints, i.e. for 20 pints per eimer, i.e. he need not pay more than 20 Wiener per eimer. ((1 eimer, according to Adelung, = 40 mass; thus the innkeeper pays pardon on only half of the beer sold.)) Likewise, bitter beer shall be sold at 3 PK more than the usual price. Thus the innkeeper has to pay every week 3 PK pardon on every pint of bitter beer sold in this week. The eimer bitter beer shall be counted for the innkeeper as 18 pints, for the above mentioned reason, that he sells many half-pints and small glasses. ((Bitter beer seems to be a stronger beer than white beer, selling at approximately three times the price of the latter beverage, and hence sold more frequently in smaller quantities.)) Thus on a barrel of eight eimer, the innkeeper has to pay no more than 1 fl 12 kr. ((i.e. 72 kr. hence 1 kr = 6 PK. 1 PK seems to have the same value as 1 Wiener))

ART. XXI. A person who has Daknitzer (?) or Yarker (?) beer ((the places of origin of these special, and probably more expensive, kinds of beer could not be identified)) bought for him and brought from outside the Jewish quarter, has to pay 1 kr pardon per pint; for ordinary beer bought outside of the Jewish quarter - 3 PK per pint under threat of the cherem.

ART. XXII. The rate of pardon on all kinds of wine is 3 PK per seidel ((= 1/2 mass, i.e. 1/2 pint - Adelung)) with the innkeeper as the collecting agent. The innkeeper has to

register with the sofer in charge of the pardon, at the time when he receives wine, how much wine he is putting into his cellar. As soon as he starts selling the wine ((they take in account that the innkeeper either makes his own wine, or buys it at such an age that it requires aging)) he has to start paying pardon at the above rate. He has to pay every month one eighth of the amount due on all the wine of which he is selling, so that the whole debt is paid in eight months. If, however, he sells all the wine in a shorter period than eight months, he has to pay the whole amount immediately. ((This means probably that if, for instance, he sells a barrel in five months, after having paid only five eighths of the pardon due on it, he has to pay the remaining three eighths at the end of the fifth month.)) The eimer wine shall be counted at no more than 25 pints, for the above mentioned reason. ((Wine seems to have been sold in larger quantities than beer.))

ART. XXIII. The pardon on hard liquor is raised by 7 kr 3 PK per eimer to be paid by the retailer of hard liquor every week ((for what he sold during that week.)) The drinker has to pay 1 Wiener tax forevery seidel. If a householder buys hard liquor from non-Jews, he must likewise pay 1 Wiener tax per seidel.

ART. XXIV. For fish, a tax of 1 Wiener for every 6 kr worth of fish must be paid by the buyer at the time of purchase, into a special fish tax box ((possibly located close to the market where the fish is sold.)) Fish valued less than 6 kr is taxfree.

ART. XXV. Concerning people who buy goods on contract, i.e. they contract to buy goods worth a certain amount, and they pay part of that amount at the time the contract is made. They then draw the articles one by one, paying as they go along, the full worth of the goods taken out, and the amount given in the beginning as surety is accounted for, in the end. Whether the goods are bought in Prague or outside, the purchaser must pay pardon for the goods as they come into his hands in Prague.

ART. XXVI. Businessmen who have workmen process the merchandise they buy, have to pay pardon at the rate of 3 PK for every fl paid out by them in salaries, i.e. at the same rate as that paid for the merchandise ((in other words: 1 Wiener = 1 PK cf. ART.I.)), for it is assumed that the labor increases the value of the merchandise in the ratio of the salary paid for the labor.

ART. XXVIII.((there is no XXVII)) Middlemen have to pay 4 kr 3 PK on every fl of their commission, and in the same ratio, if they are paid less than 1 fl commission, e.g. for 10 kr: - 3 Wiener. ((Here the pardon is an income tax of 7.5 %.)) A commission of less than 10 kr is tax exempt. If the middleman does not only bring the customer to the merchant but actually gets the goods from the merchant and sells them independently, he has to pay pardon at the rate of 3 Wiener per fl ((i.e. as an independent dealer, according to Art.I, end)) even if nothing should remain of his profit in this deal. They must pay the pardon within two days after the receipt of their profits. Likewise, agents who receive commission on

sales of houses, of space ((for stalls)) in the market place, on the sale, use, or rent of synagogue pews; and shadchanim who receive shadchanuth ((fee for arranging a marriage)) shall pay pardon at the rate of 4 kr 3 PK per fl.

ART. XXIX. Concerning artisans, such as shoemakers, tailors, furriers, ropemakers, goldsmiths, etc.: They have to pay pardon at the rate of 4 kr 3 PK per fl on salaries paid to them. If artisans buy material to manufacture from it articles for sale, they have to figure out, how much salary they would have made on those articles, had they been ordered by a customer furnishing his own material. He has to pay pardon at the rate of 3 Wiener per fl on this amount, in addition to 3 Wiener per fl. on the purchase price of his material. ((cf. above Art. XXVI.))

ART. XXX. Apprentices are tax exempt. Boys in service who receive salary in excess of 5 Rt per half year have to pay pardon at the rate of 3 kr per fl ((i.e. an income tax of 5%)) and the householder is responsible for the payment of his servants' pardon and shall deduct it from their pay. Boys receiving less than 5 Rt per period of payment ((i.e. 6 months)) are tax exempt.

ART. XXXI. Householdors who sell goods in gewölbe ((fixed stores for all kinds of goods - Adelung)) or in kraem ((plural of kram - market stall covered by tent cloth - Grimm)) and who receive fixed weekly salaries have to pay weekly pardon at the rate of 4 kr 3 PK per fl.

ART. XXXII. Householdors who rent out houses, rooms,

gewölbe, or krām on the market street or in the Tändel-market-square ((market for miscellaneous goods)) have to pay pardon at the rate of 4 kr 3 PK on every fl of rent received.

ART. XXXIII. Every bridegroom has to pay into the pardon box 5 Rt before the wedding, and the shamashim of the Kehillah may not put up the chupah for him, unless he shows them a receipt from the parnas hachodesh for these 5 Rt paid into the pardon box. These 5 Rt shall be counted toward taxes falling due after the wedding. ((The purpose of this payment of 5 Rt is not quite clear. Could it be in order that only financially responsible people can marry? Since the 5 Rt were counted toward taxes falling due later, and hence brought no extra income to the community, it can hardly be understood in any different way. Certainly this unromantic generation did not have the groom pay his taxes in advance, before the wedding, merely in order to save him from thinking about financial matters during his honeymoon.))

ART. XXXIV. All fines and fees collected by the officers set over the market street and the Tändel-market shall be paid into the pardon box which stands in the Alt-Neu-Schul. Every parnas hachodesh of these m'munim ((this may mean either that a parnas hachodesh was in charge of these market officers, or that the officers themselves were called parnase hachodesh because they took turns every month)) has to promise by hand-clasp to pay these fines and fees into the box, and have them registered in his name, within 48 hours from the time when they were forfeited. The parnas hachodesh is likewise respon-

sible for paying into the box, and having registered all fines and fees falling due in other offices of the K~~eh~~illah.

ART. XXXIV. ((counted twice)) The m'munim, both in the market and outside of the market, shall receive in every instance ((where they have to enforce a law ?)) 3 kr, and for a big matter 6 kr, and no more. If a p'sharah is made before the m'munim ((i.e. if they solve a legal difficulty between two litigants)) they shall receive 9 kr p'sharah-geld, and no more. If somebody setzt with the meat-m'munim, both in and outside the market ((if he is cited for a court session before the m'munim for a transgression against the meat rules?)) he has to pay 36 kr setzgeld, and no more. These and other fees and fines have to be paid into the box, and registered by the parnas hachodesh.

ART. XXXV. Concerning the money for the Six Masters ((secular authorities?)) which has to be collected on the Tandel-market every three months, and from which nobody, even present, future, or past officers of the Kehillah, is exempt: This money shall no longer be collected by the m'munim of the Tandel-market, but by a man appointed by the twelve officers responsible for the pardon-box, from their own midst. He shall collect this money to the last p'rutah based on the erech of all inhabitants ((i.e. in proportion with their wealth)) and shall pay it into the pardon box. The twelve officers shall audit the result of the collector's action, and when the time comes to pay the quartal ((tax for three months)) to the Six Masters, they shall pay it, without

delay, from the pardon box.

ART. XXXVI. There shall be only two m'shorthim ((market helpers)) on the Tandel-market who shall do their work honestly. They shall not be paid by the m'munim, but shall receive merely what they get ((from the holders of market stalls for helping them)). The amount paid previously to the m'shor⁺thim as salary shall now be paid, without fail, into the pardon box.

ART. XXXVII. When a m'shor⁺eth attaches the property of a stall-holder ((apparently the m'shorthim help to execute the police power of the m'munim)) on the Tandel-market, he shall be paid 6 kr, and no more. The parnasim shall keep no more than 3 m'shorthim ((i.e. only one outside of the two in the market ?)). They also may keep a caterer in the beth hawa'ad, as usual heretofore, ((to serve at meetings and obligatory meals of the Kahal.))

ART. XXXVIII. The gaba'im are granted a weekly allowance of 60 fl at 15 Batzen each ((i.e. the usual fl of 60 kr)) from the pardon box, for the feeding of the poor of our city. Of the money collected at a funeral, the gaba'im may keep for the needs of the poor 10 Rt. The rest must be paid into the pardon box, and recorded, the parnas hachodesh of the gaba'im being responsible for the correct transaction of this. ((Again there is the question whether parnas hachodesh is the designation for the gabai holding office in that month, or of a parnas supervising the gaba'im during that month.))

ART. XXXIX. The gaba'im may not admit ((probably to

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new! into the city!!

practise their profession at the Hekdesh)) any more barbers. The ones who have already been admitted must pay correctly what they have been assessed in the pinkas s'kom ((tax-register)). Likewise, they must pay pardon on their food and drink and on any business which they might do, just like any other citizen of our Kehillah. The teitsch schreiber ((secretaries for correspondence and writing documents in German)) engaged by the parnasim shall have a weekly salary of 1 fl. In turn, they must pay correctly what they have been assessed in the pinkas s'kom. Likewise, they must pay pardon on their food and drink, and on all business they do.

ART. XL. If a person gets merchandise on commission, i.e. if the merchandise is stored with him in order that he may sell it at a price set by the owner, he has to pay pardon on it, just as on all merchandise kept in store, i.e. 3 Wiener on each fl of the fixed price of sale. All fees, and all kinds of income must be paid into the pardon box ((this probably means that tax on all kinds of income must be paid there)) and not at any other place, except the s'kom ^{General tax} ((tax assessed on basis of wealth, to which no reference could be found in JE, JL, or BJ)), which every inhabitant of the Kehillah must pay; likewise the 4 sack (?) per annum; likewise, the house tax ((real estate tax)) which everybody must pay. All this must be paid to the gobeh called rechtmeister. ((Rechenmeister - "accountant" - would probably be more correct.))

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ART. XLI. At the opening of the pardon box for

business taxes, and of the fleisch-triole and fisch-triole ((special boxes for the pardon on meat and fish)) all twelve men in charge of the pardon must be present. They shall count the contents of the three containers separately. The amount in the box for business taxes shall be checked against the amount registered by the sofer in charge of this box. After the amount is found correct, it shall be entered into a special book, for the three boxes separately, together with the date of the opening. The twelve men in charge of the boxes shall sign their names under the entry. This books shall be locked into the box for the business taxes. The men in charge of the pardon must give a written report on the amount of income through the pardon to the parnasim and gobim. They shall decide what shall be done with the money. A written order signed by the five roshim and the five tobim shall be submitted to the twelve men, who immediately shall pay out the money according to these instructions. They shall get receipts as proof for the correctness of their transactions. They may not pay out anything without the written and signed order of the ten Roshim and tobim.

ART. XLII. The twelve men in charge of the pardon box must report on all income from pardon, etc. in the above manner, every three months. They have to report on what they received, and what they paid out, for what purposes, on order of the ten parnasim ((synonymous with roshim)) and tobim. All expenses have to be documented by signed orders

of these ten men. Likewise, receipts for all these disbursements must be shown.

ART. XLIII. Six melam'dim ((teachers)) shall be engaged for the klaus ((yeshibah for Talmud study)) with a salary of no more than 12 fl per week ((i.e. 2 fl per melamed)). The talmud torah gaba'im ((who are in charge of the klaus)) may engage no more than one shamash and one man who occupies himself with the boys in the kupah ((probably synonymous with klaus, i.e. designating the place which is kept up from the money of the kupah, the treasury of the talmud torah gaba'im)). The shamash and that man together shall receive salaries not exceeding 1 Rt per week. The talmud torah gaba'im shall not engage a sofer. The talmud torah gaba'im shall be insistent on having pidyon shabathoth money collected from those men who do not have shabbath bachurim. ((The householders either had to take a yeshibah student into their house for every Shabbath or pay a certain sum to the talmud torah gaba'im in lieu of giving board to the student.)) Nobody shall be exempt from this duty. The talmud torah gaba'im shall have a special book to list in it all income and all expenditures. Every parnas hachodesh of the kupah gaba'im ((synonymous with talmud torah gaba'im by means of association of meanings, cf. above. The same problem exists here as in the case of the m'murim in charge of the market, whether the parnas hachodesh is the gabai serving his month, or a parnas in charge of a certain set of gaba'im or m'murim)) is responsible for entering in detail all income and expense of his month in

the pinkas.

ART. XLIV. Only three shochtim shall be elected to slaughter and examine small and large cattle in Prague. Besides them, nobody may slaughter. In turn, each of the three shochtim must pay 1 fl per week, to be paid punctually every Thursday, to the darshan living here in Prague. And in the weeks of the Three Festivals, when it is usual to pay double salary to the darshan, the three shoch'tim must pay 2 fl each, i.e. 6 fl. If a shochet fails to give his fl to the darshan, he shall immediately be removed and another shall be elected in his place.

ART. XLVI. If in a month the m'munim in charge of the market and the Tandel-market have more expense than income, and an amount remains owed to them, the parnasim and tobim may not pay them from the money of the kahal. Nor may they repay them by a signed order of the ten parnasim and tobim ((issued to the twelve men in charge of the pardon box)).

ART. XLVII. The interest due on the merchats ^{merchats} ((bath)) to the Six Masters every six months shall be collected in the following manner: The parnasim and tobim shall elect a trustworthy man to sit at the entrance of the bath with a locked box. Everybody who enters the bath to take a bath, whether man or woman, shall have to pay 3 ~~fl~~ ^{fl} From this money, the interest shall be paid to the Six Masters every six months.

ART. XLVIII. When householders of Prague travel to

a fair, the parnasim and tobim shall elect no more than three of them as roshim ((apparently deputies to watch over their fellow-townsmen and to collect taxes on what they sell ~~on~~ the fair out of town)). The men who are elected for one fair may not be re-elected in the same year for any fair. When they return from the fair to Prague, and they have collected from those who went to the fair more than their own expenses, the roshim must pay the excess into the pardon box and have it listed there.

ART. IL. If a householder wants to complain that he cannot pay his s'kom in full, and he requests of the parnasim and tobim a stay of his s'kom, this stay may be granted only in the following manner; the k'tzinim roshim w'tobim manhige ir YZ ((the administrative body of the Kahal, including the ten mentioned before)) who are twenty men shall co-opt another twenty who are the biggest s'kom payers, regardless whether the latter are closely related to the former. These forty men shall call the plaintiff before them and judge whether his complaints are just, and whether he shall be granted a moratorium, or on what part of his tax he shall be granted one. The decision is final. The vote must be taken secretly, and twenty-one affirmative votes are necessary to grant the moratorium.

5 Rosh
5 Tobim
+ 10??

ART. L, If a householder has a small or large piece of cattle slaughtered for the needs of his family, or for a b'rith milah, or for a wedding, he must pay pardon on this before the animal is slaughtered, like one of the butchers.

Furthermore, he must pay pardon into the box for meat pardon at the rate of 3 Wiener on every pound of meat, as explained in Art. XIX.

ART. LII. Neither the alufim k'tzinim nor the other officers of the Kehillah may honor a sofer, shamash, or m'shoreth of the Kehillah at a wedding or b'rith milah with more than 3 fl of the Kahal's money. Nor may they give of the Kahal's money to buy drink or anything else for such an occasion.

TAKANOTH CONCERNING ATTIRE

ART. LIII. For five years from today, no undergarments, or even less, top garments may be made or worn, of taffeta, damask, atlas, velvet, or silk. This law is binding for everybody, men and women, old and young, boys and girls, adults and children, and even more so for servants, under threat of the cherem and heavy fine. A man paying s'kom who marries off his maiden daughter may make for her wedding ((a dress of)) double taffeta, however none of damask, atlas, velvet, However, a man who does not pay s'kom, or a servant, may not even make one of double taffeta. Likewise, brüstlach ((bodices)) for women and girls may be made of damask, atlas, velvet, taffeta, and other kinds of silk, and vortlicher ((aprons)) for women and girls of taffeta and damask may also be made, but aprons of velvet and atlas are forbidden to be made within five years, under threat of the above punishment. Thus clothes of taffeta, damask, atlas, velvet, and the other kinds of silk, which a person has, may well be worn in the

manner provided in the old takanoth concerning clothes. Likewise, one Jew may buy from another Jew within these five years, clothes of damask, taffeta, atlas, velvet which have been worn by the seller, and they may be worn by the purchaser. However, no Jew may, within five years, buy from a non-Jew even worn silk clothes to be worn by Jews, under threat of the cherem. Likewise, no man or woman, boy or girl, bride or groom may buy any kind of silk thread or lace worth 15 kr to wear it, under threat of cherem and heavy fine. Likewise, women may not buy hats of shiny silk worth more than 4 Rt under threat of cherem and heavy fine. There shall be no cheating in all these matters.

TAKANOTH CONCERNING MEALS

ART. LIV. There shall be no more than 40 men at a wedding meal, including the shushbanim ((best men or ushers)), i.e. 20 of each side, but transients are not included in this number. The family of every man who is invited counts as one man. If there are two weddings at the same time, ten extra people may be invited to the ((joint)) meal, together with ((in addition to ?)) their shushbanim. There shall be no cheating in this matter under threat of the cherem and heavy fine.

ART. LV. For a b'rith milah no more than 20 people shall be invited, including the mohel and the sandek, but not including transients. There shall be no cheating in this matter under threat of the cherem and heavy fine.

ART. LVI. At the time when a shiduch is made binding,

in the first night, at the time of kinyan sudar ((i.e. part of the engagement ceremony, when a cloth, held by both contracting parties serves as symbol of a binding contract)) only the p'sule eduth ((close relatives who cannot testify before court together)) and the shadchanim. *they be present*
On the first ~~Sh~~abbath night after the shiduch has become final, no more than twenty men may be invited.

ART. LVII. Concerning the waste of money prevailing in gifts to transients, it has been decided that nobody shall give a present to a transient ((who is staying with a householder)) unless he is a close relative of either the householder or the transient. This goes for private individuals, and it goes without saying that no officers shall give him anything ((probably from the Kahal's money)). A householder who has a transient staying with him may not have an announcement made in the synagogues that anybody who has given a present to his transient shall come to his home for the Third Meal ((on Shabbath)), under threat of the cherem and heavy fine on the householder and the shamash who makes the announcement. However, if a householder has a rabbi staying with him who has a yeshibah in some place, or who is a great scholar of the Torah and a leader in some community, even people who are not closely related may give presents to him and all officials may give him presents, and the householder may have an announcement made in all synagogues that whosoever has honored him and his visitor shall come to his house for the Third Meal.

TAKANOTH CONCERNING SHIDUCHIM

ART. LVIII. Within five years, no shiduch with an out-of-town person shall be permitted, except under the following conditions: A young man of the province of Bohemia who has served here in Prague for six years, and who is known to have lived honestly, may be permitted to marry into the community; however, permission is necessary from the alufim k'tzinim, who must vote secretly on the matter, and 15 ((of the twenty)) ballots must be cast for him.

ART. LIX. An out-of-town virgin from outside the province of Bohemia who has served in Prague for five years and has behaved well may be permitted to marry into the community, but 15 ((of the twenty)) alufim k'tzinim must vote for her in secret ballot.

ART. LX. An out-of-town virgin of the province of Bohemia who has served in Prague for five years, and has behaved well, may be permitted to marry into the community if she gets a simple majority of the votes of the alufim k'tzinim, in secret ballot.

ART. LXI. A widow from outside the province of Bohemia who has served in Prague for six years and has behaved well may marry into the community if she gets a simple majority of votes in the secret balloting of the alufim k'tzinim, and only after ~~she~~ ~~has~~ given good surety that she will pay s'kom on 300 fl for 2 consecutive years after the marriage.

ART. LXII. A widow from the province of Bohemia

who has served here for four years and has behaved well and who gives good surety that she will pay s'kom on 200 fl for two consecutive years after the marriage may marry into the community if she gets a simple majority in the secret balloting of the alufim k'tzinim.

ART. LXIII. An out-of-town divorcee, whether from the province of Bohemia or not, may not marry into the community on any condition.

ART. LXIV. If a local householder wants to marry off his daughter to a young man who is respectable and learned but who did not study in the Prague yeshibah, the law is as follows: if that young man is from the province of Bohemia, the marriage may be permitted by majority vote of the alufim k'tzinim, by secret ballot; and if he is from outside of the province of Bohemia, the marriage may be permitted by 15 ((of the twenty)) alufim k'tzinim voting for him in secret ballot. If, however, the young man has studied in the Prague yeshibah for two consecutive years ((the print reads instead of sh'te shanim - sh'te nashim, but it is rather obvious that this is a printer's error and not a requirement for previous sexual experience)), and if the Rabbi rosh m'athibta testifies to his respectability, his marriage may be permitted by simple majority vote, even if he is from outside of the province of Bohemia. ("Our boys" get the first pick.))

ART. LXV. If a local householder wants to marry off his daughter to the son of a householder from the province

of Bohemia the marriage may be permitted by majority vote of the alufim k'tzinim provided that he can give good surety that he will pay s'kom on 300 fl for two consecutive years after the marriage. If a local householder wants to marry off his daughter to the son of a householder from outside of the province of Bohemia, the marriage may be permitted by majority vote of the alufim k'zinim provided that he can give good surety that he will pay s'kom on 600 fl for two consecutive years after the marriage.

ART. LXVI. If a local householder wants to marry his son to a virgin of the province of Bohemia, the marriage may be permitted by majority vote of ~~the~~ roshim w'tobim ((it is not quite clear, whether this refers to the body of ten men mentioned above in connection with the market rules, or whether it is an inexact reference to the body of twenty usually responsible for "marriage problems"; the latter seems more probable)) provided that he can give good surety that he will pay s'kom on 200 fl for two consecutive years.

ART. LXVII. If a local householder wants to marry his son to a virgin from outside of the province of Bohemia, the marriage may be permitted by majority vote of the K'tzinim roshim w'tobim ((inexactness of terminology - cf. previous note)) provided that he can give good surety that he will pay s'kom of 400 fl for two consecutive years.

ART. LXVIII. If a householder of the province of Bohemia or from outside the province of Bohemia has given his wife a divorce, especially if that householder was, at

the time, in Prague and sent the divorce to his wife at his place of residence, he may not marry into the Prague community on any condition, under threat of the cherem. ((Though mentioning divorced man and woman in different articles - cf. above ~~LXIII~~ - the rules applying to both are absolutely the same, an example of single standard usually not expected in Jewish legislation.))

ART. LXIX. If a householder who used to live in Prague moved away from here but kept on paying his chazakah ((tax on the privilege of residence)) correctly, he and his children count, in matters of marriage, as residents of Prague. If such a man who has changed his residence wishes to make a shiduch with a householder here in Prague, or even with a householder from the province of Bohemia or outside of the province of Bohemia, all the above laws apply in his case - both the marriage laws, and the pardon, clothes, and meal laws, for they were issued as one unit. The takanoth are valid for every resident of the Kehillah, except the Rabbi, who stands outside of these laws. ((Apparently the main consequence of this rule is that the Rabbi is tax exempt; but also that he follows different rules in clothes and possibly in the marrying off of his children.)) All these laws were passed with the agreement of the ga'on hagadol MHORR Simon ABD WRM of KK Prague. The Rabbi had a cherem abhounced both in the Alt-Neu-Schul and in the Meisel-Schul over all those who transgress against these laws, against any part or article thereof, whosoever it may be, whether resident in

the Kehillah at this time or to move in at a later time, etc."

These takanoth deserve a monograph. Certainly they merit more attention than can be given them within the scope of this essay which aims more at breadth than at depth of material. Hence the wealth of information contained in the print can merely be hinted at.

Since the takanoth are arranged in as clear a system as can be expected of an early 18th century document, nothing need be said beyond the comments already made about the tax laws, the sumptuary laws, and the marriage regulations. However, there is information about at least two other fields of interest which is not at once expected from the purpose of the takanoth: about the economic life of the Prague Jews and about their communal administration.

We learn, that not only married householders were in business, but also unmarried young men, and women, and people whose main occupation was outside of the business world, such as barbers and secretaries of the community. There were not only Jewish butchers and innkeepers - vocations expected among the Jews on account of the ritual laws and of the ghetto segregation - but also "shoemakers, tailors, furriers, rope-makers, goldsmiths". These artisans work both on hire, for people who bring their own material to them, and as manufacturers, on their own risk. Merchants also function as manufacturers by having laborers turn their raw material into articles of use. There were Jewish apprentices who worked for little if anything more than room and board in

gubern
their masters' homes, and artisans just beyond the stage of apprenticeship, also living with their masters, who worked at salaries ranging about 10 Rt per annum, a pattern fashioned exactly after that of the German artisans. Business was done in a variety of ways: by straight sale and resale, cash or by various kinds of credit, on contract, on commission, through agents. There were agents negotiating all possible transactions from the sale of a house to the rent of a synagogue pew.

The takanoth are not quite as clear on the picture of the administration. There was a supreme group of five parnasim. For minor financial transactions, such as the payment of communal debts, they decided together with the five tobim, as a body of ten. For decisions involving the weal and woe of persons or the increase of the community, such as marriages, a body of twenty men, whose exact name and composition is not clear from the takanoth was responsible. For decisions on taxation, twenty tax-payers were co-opted by this body. On the executive side of the organization, there was the gobeh or rechtmeister, in charge of collecting certain fixed taxes; there was the board of twelve men in charge of the pardon and similar income and sales taxes, with a sofer in their employ; there were the talmud torah gaba'im in charge of collecting money for and administering the yeshibah or klaus, with its teachers, its shamash, and its special helper; there were the hekdesch gaba'im or gaba'im proper, administering all charity from funds partly collected

by them, partly originating from the community's tax income; there were the m'munim with police power over the markets, with two m'shor'thim as their subordinates; there were the three shoch'tim, licensed but not salaried by the community; there was the dar'shan, paid partly from the tax paid by the shoch'tim; there was, standing above the communal law, wielding the highest spiritual power in the community, the Chief Rabbi. This picture is by no means complete, but is only part of the complex administration of this large community. However, the takanoth give a good idea of how the various parts of the administrative machinery fitted into each other.

2. Jellinek, Adolf: Kuntras Ham'konen

Vienna, 1881. (Steinschneider No.178b)

Kuntras Ham'konen is a composite work, containing several memorbooks. It contains the names of the martyrs of several communities of 1349, from the Deutz memorbook collated with the one of Düsseldorf, and from the one in Coblenz (pp.70-72), and a list of martyrs of 1096 ((pp.9-11) Both these sections are outside of our territory. The old Deutz memorbook, however, (pp.11-69) covers the years 1581-1784, and some of the entries are of interest for us and shall therefore be excerpted.

First a group of physicians who made a name for themselves in Deutz:

p.19: "May God remember R Judah Leib bar Nathan Rofe, expert physician whose healing came quickly ((he made people healthy quickly)). His house was open to all. He was always of those who were insulted, but not of those insulting others. He would stand up both before children and old men. He honored God both by his fortune and by his throat, by sweet songs. He rose early to go to the gate of the Lord's house, and he was among those who rise early and lie down late. His son gives charity in his memory, and therefore He died on motsa'e shabbath and was buried on Sunday on the cemetery of Cologne, on 26 Elul (5)430 (1670) LPK here in Deutz, and his surname was R Leib Rofe AH ((may he rest in peace))."

This entry translated literally and in its entirety may

serve as a sample for all other entries. For the style is almost the same throughout. The descriptive terms of praise give only the most general characteristics of the departed persons. They are stereotyped.

The death of the daughter Yutle of this same Leib Rofe, in (5)483 (1723) is registered on p.34.

Another physician, Hezekiah Jacob Rofe ben HHR David Isaac, called Jacob Rofe, also an expert in his profession and a charitable man, died on 17 Tamuz (5)447 (1687) ((p.22)) His daughter Keile died in (5)481 (1721) ((p.31))

Joseph Solomon, called Salman Rofe, of Eoblenz had a son Jeremiah Menachem who died in Deutz. ((p.23))

Isaac Rofe had a daughter Miriam whose death is registered, p.30.

The rabbis mentioned in the memorbook, being more closely connected with the Jewish community as such, are of greater interest for us:

MHRH Naftali bar Kalonymos, called Hirz Braeul ((Breyell?)) who was for many years ABB in the District of Cologne, died on Tuesday, 12 Tamuz (5)417 LPK (1657). He is given the conventional praises as a learned, devout, and charitable man. ((p.16))

Chide in Koblenz

Jeremiah Menachem, called Menlen, was both a scholar in the Jewish field, a writer, a physician, and an expert in medical books. He was the son of the Coblenz physician Josef Solomon, called Salman. He died in Shebat (5)446 (1686) ((p.23))

Alexander bar Jacob Hakohen was rabbi of the District of Cologne, Jülich, and Berg, and before that, of Coblenz. He was renowned for his pilpul. He was a mohel and filled this office with great courage into his old age. He died on Tuesday, 26 Tamuz (5)464 (1704) and the chebrah kadishah delivers a d'rush on his grave very year on the Monday of par'shath sh'moth. ((p.27))

Not a rabbi, but outstanding for his piety was Parnas Solomon ben Eliezer who died on 11 Adar II (5)502 (1742). He is pictured as an extremely charitable man. Once, meeting a poorly dressed beggar in the rain, he descended from his horse, took off one of his garments and gave it to the beggar, together with some money. ((The similarity of this story with the legend of St. Martin, favorite saint of the Netherlands and the Rhine Province, makes us suspect a slight exaggeration in favor of the good Parnas Solomon, and a decided influence on Jewish imagination from the literary property of their Christian environment.)) In his old age, he moved to Deutz from Moers, because there was no daily but only a weekly Minyan in Moers. He was well liked among the non-Jews and was therefore very successful as a shtadlan. ((pp.41f))

The date of death of Aaron Samuel, ^{Kamdenov} author of the books Eminath Sh'muel, Tif'ereth Sh'muel, Birkath Hazebach, and Birkath Sh'muel, is not mentioned; but it must have been about 1740. He was formerly rabbi of Ferta ((Fürth?)), Frankfurt on the Main, Cracow, and Brisk. ((pp.45f))

Judah ben Hachaber R Josef ben ABD MEOR Judah (who

was ABD in Bingen and environs, and in Hanau and Fürth?) ben PU KHRR Samuel SZL, brother of Haga'on MHORR Lewa bar B'zalel SZL ABD WRM in KK Prague ((in other words, Judah was the great-grandson of Rabbi Löw's brother Samuel)), called Judah Mehler, was Rabbi of Cologne, and the District of the Rhine for 48 years, with jurisdiction over the districts of Arnsburg, Mark, and Münster, and a reputation reaching throughout the dispersion. Before being Rabbi in Cologne, he was Rabbi in Cleve. He was the unnamed author of t'shubah # 32 in the t'shuboth of Chacham Zebi. His sh'eloth and t'shuboth are collected in Sh'buth Ya'akob, Shob Ya'akob, and in David Oppenheim's Nish'al David. There are in his library ((in mss.??)) collections of his t'shuboth and the Arba Turim in four parts, also a collection of sermons on the Five Books of Moses. He fasted for forty years, often from Shabbath to Shabbath. He was born on 7 Kislev (5)421 (1660) and died on 12 Nisan (5)511 (1751). ((pp.47f))

Rabbi Samuel ben HChR Judah, called Rabbi Sanwil Ashkenasi, Rabbi in Cologne, Westphalia, and the district of Münster, resided in Bonn. He died, on a trip, in Bukholt, in the District of Münster, in Tamuz (5)526 (1766) ((p.58)).

Rabbi Uri Feibush ben Haga'on Hagadol MHORR Samuel Helman: He was first Rabbi in Hanau, then in Lissa, then in Berlin, finally in Bonn, with the districts of Cologne, Westphalia, and Münster. In his first year of office here, he went to see his father's grave in Metz, and also to find healing there from an ailment in his legs. He died there on

7 Elul (5)530 (1770) and was buried next to his father. ((p.60))

Rabbi Simchah Bunim Kahana Rapoport ben Harab MHORR Z'vi Kahana, Rabbi of Wallerstein, grandson of the great Rabbi Baruch Kahana, Rabbi in Fürth. After his wedding, Simcha Bunim settled in Heidingsfeld where he was engaged in business. Not having any success in business, he practised as a rabbi in the District of Würzburg, taking the place of his uncle Rabbi Aryeh Leib Kahana ((cf. Wolf, Pinkas Heidingsfeld, pp.244f)). From there, he was elected rabbi in Marktbreit in the district of Schwarzburg. After that, he took his father's place in Wallerstein, which had been filled in the meantime by his brother Isaac Kahana. There he remained until he was called to the Rabbinate of Bonn, of the Upper and Lower Districts of Cologne, again following his brother Isaac. Under him, the name of the district was changed to Niederrhein. ((Probably when the Confederation of the Rhine was formed under Napoleon, in 1806, or when the Rhine Province went to Prussia, in the Congress of Vienna, 1815.)) He edited the book of ((sh'eloth and t'shuboth ? of)) RShBZ ((Rabbi Simon ben Zemach)) and the book Parpereth RShBZ. He died on 11 Nisan (5)576 (1816), mourned by his son Samuel Rapoport of Cologne. ((p.63))

If anything, the history of these rabbis reflects the development of the district organization. Originally Deutz seems to have been the seat of the Rabbinate for the diocese of Cologne. According to the reputation of the incumbent, the rabbinate included more or fewer of the neighboring in-

dependent principalities, such as the Duchies of Jülich and Berg, and the diocese of Münster. From the middle of the 18th century on, the seat of the Rabbinate seems to have been in Bonn, while the district itself assumed more definite form. With the end of the small principalities under Napoleon, at the latest with the acquisition of the whole territory by Prussia, in 1815, the District Niederrhein, with the Rabbi in Bonn, became fixed.

Finally, two events of local history are recorded in the memorbook:

"On Monday, 22 Tamuz (5)425 (1665), more than 1,000 students came from Cologne to Deutz ((Deutz is situated across the Rhine from Cologne)). They made much noise against the Jews here in Deutz, and they intended to ruin and to slay all the householders here in Deutz,. Therefore, MR Hirz AH ((i.e. Naftali bar Isaac, called Hirz Überrhein, Parnas Umanhig of the District of Cologne, who died on 26 Cheshwan (5)426 (1665))) intervened with the priests, and risked his life to avert the decree. He negotiated with all his power, until the priests came and spoke to the students to the effect that anyone who would lay hands on the Jews would die. Thus the evil decree became void, and the students fled from here, going back to Cologne. At that time, the ABD. MR Meir SZL , decreed a fast which shall be observed until the coming of the Messiah. In the shacharith prayer, the following s'lichoth shall be said: Yisra'el Am'cha, ch.6; Tha'a'rog Elecha, 7; Elecha nikra,27;

Yisra'el Nosha, 14; Ewilim Miderech, 104."((pp.18f))

Löwenstein, in a note in his Juden in der Kurpfalz (Frankfort, 1895, p.164, note 1) refers to this incident and makes a slight correction to the effect that the first fast was decreed for Thursday, 26 Tamuz. He also mentions several similar happenings, where students attacked the Jews: In 1649 and 1688, students in Vienna entered the ghetto and mistreated the Jews. (Kaufmann, Letzte Vertreibung, pp.46, 105ff). Likewise, in 1706 (Monatsschrift, X,357). In Trier - in 1666, 1687, 1713 (Israelit 1881, p.1123) and 1723 (Monatsschrift, X,357). In 1717, there was a fight between Jewish and Gentile students in Prague (Literaturblatt, 1877, No.47). Prague Jews were threatened by students in 1741, according to a ms. (Hamaskir XV,46), likewise in 1793 (Geiger's Zeitschrift, 1891, p.151)

On p.33 of Kuntras Ham'konen, it is reported that Moses Yechiel ben Eliezer Hakohen, Parnas of the Medinah, had the s'lichoth used in the district printed at his own expense. Up to then, the s'lichoth had been written in various books. From then on, they were to be found in one volume arranged for the whole year. He died on 13 Ab (5)482 (1722).

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3. Kaufmann, David: Magazin, vol. XVII, 1890, p.239, note 1:
Jacob Koppel: "Ein Schön Lied von Wien", Prague about 1670.

Only the third stanza is of importance, for it is the only one referring to the subject of the destruction of the Klaus Synagogue of Vienna. It reads:

"There is much weeping and crying
As they destroy MHRN Zechariah's ((Levi)) shul.
They ((the Jews)) ask one another: Where shall we
say Amen y'he sh'me rabba,

And there is no consoler.

Apparently, the destruction was limited to the Jewish objects in the building, for the synagogue was turned into a church at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna, in 1670.

4. Lewin: "Ein junger Fasttag" in Das Jüdische Literaturblatt (with Israelitische Wochenschrift), vol.X, 1881, p.156 (Steinschneider No.185)

The synagogue of Trier was destroyed - either by local rabble or strangers - on 15 Elul 5435 (1675). Torah scrolls were torn and trampled on. Jews were beaten and wounded, but nobody was killed. A s'lichah was composed and entered in the memorbook (only two lines of it are cited by Lewin), and the 15 Elul was ordained as a local fastday.

There is no need for commentary on this item.

5. Kaufmann, David: "Die Verheerung von Ungarisch-Brod durch den Kuruzzenüberfall", in Monatsschrift, vol.37, Breslau, 1893, pp.270-282, 319-339.

Supplementary source: Literaturblatt, vol.IV, 1843, pp.270f.

Before printing the actual sources, Kaufmann gives a summary of the attack of the Kuruzz-soldiers on the city of Brod. Since he used some sources which he did not reprint, this summary shall preface the translation of the sources.

On July 14, 1683, the Kuruzzen of Count Tököly rode into Ungarisch-Brod, where a sizable Jewish community was flourishing. The Jews, gathered in the synagogue for the morning prayer on that 20 Tamuz, were murdered, the Torah scrolls were torn and trampled on. Among the dead was R Nathan Nata Hanover, son of the martyr R. Moses of Ostrogh, author of a poem on the Chmelniecky persecutions, and of a book of prayers Sha'are Zion (Prague 1662). The second rabbi of the community, Abraham ben Naftali was likewise among the dead. Jews who had open stores were killed, and their houses burnt. Women committed suicide to protect their honor, some by jumping from the city wall, some by jumping into a well, many by drowning themselves in the mikwah. Others were caught and killed cruelly. The same fate met young children. Only the chief rabbi was spared. He tried to pay the soldiers, in order that they might spare the community, to no avail. One of the Parnasim

also survived. Kaufmann quotes an official document which estimates loss in life and property, lists 57 with property and 56 without property as killed. 65 houses were burnt, i.e. probably the whole Jewish quarter. The whole damage was estimated at 53,563 fl. Four of the surviving Jews signed this document. The 20 Tamuz was appointed as a memorial day for this event. It was also remembered by the Jewish community of Waag Neustadtl (i.e. Neustadt on the Waag) which was founded by migrants from the devastated city.

Kaufmann also relates the story of the leader of the marauders, the rebel Count Tököly, who carried out this undertaking to spite the Austrian overlords.

Kaufmann's first source is a Latin manuscript of the Dominican monastery of Ungarisch-Brod, reprinted in "Notizenblatt der historisch-statistischen Section der k.k. mährisch-schlesischen Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Ackerbaues, der Natur- und Landeskunde", 1857, No. 1. p. 8.

Kaufmann's source No. II. is of interest to us. It is called Churban gadol sh'hayah b'KK Ungarisch-Brod. (Steinschneider, No. 191; Cat. Bod. p. 546, No. 3526, dates it Prague, 1683) This document is a poem, predominantly Judeo-German, with some Hebrew. It is written in rhyming stanzas. The length neither of the lines nor of the stanzas is uniform. Frequently there is an odd number of lines in a stanza, in which case the unpaired line does not rhyme with any of the rest. In the style of the slichoth and

and kinoth literature, each stanza begins with the same Hebrew refrain: oy lanu ki chatanu. The facts of the attack are couched in conventional, wordy phrases of mourning, and of desire for revenge. Beauty or art cannot be detected in the "poem". The first few lines shall be translated literally, and the facts shall be extracted from the remaining stanzas, in the order of the original poem.

"Listen, gentlemen, to what I shall say:

Let us weep and mourn about the g'zerah ((evil decree))
of Brod.

What misery has happened there !

Unfortunately, we had to see it with our own eyes.

Woe to us, for we have sinned !

On 20 Tamuz, a few hours before dawn,

The people became very fearful.

The pakid ((magistrate)) did not want to let anybody
out of the city,

Nobody was able to give any advice.

Woe to us, for we have sinned!

Haga'on hagadöl morenu rab R Nata whose like is not in
the whole world

Unfortunately did not know an escape for the first time.

Unfortunately they shot him in the head."

As he gave up his spirit, he made his friends promise that they would bury him. The dayan ((associate rabbi)) of the Kehillah, Abraham, was beheaded, then his body was pierced by a spear, roasted over a fire, and cruelly mutilated.

Mordecai ben Moses Goldes likewise was beheaded. R Isaac, the hazan, his brother-in-law, and his singer, Moses, were "hit in the head", i.e. probably shot. R. Abraham Reinz, who all his life was a gabai zedakah, gave 100 Rt to the soldiers in order to protect his life, but he was killed just the same. R Josef Kohen and his son Meir lost 500 fl and then were killed. R Yekuthiel M'lamed and R Itzig who were stern teachers and pious men were killed. The honest hazan Itzig ((repetition of Isaac, above)) and the shamash, R Wolf, were badly mutilated. Many people fled to the synagogue, but there, too, they were not safe from the rebels. The barbers Isaiah and Chayim, who were experienced healers, were among the victims. R Mordecai NSh ((Nikolsburg? Neustadt?)), a gabai z'dakah, was shot through the heart. The sifre torah were torn and cut to pieces. The survivors who witnessed this tore the k'riah and fasted for several days. The soldiers caught a Jewish boy, hung him by the feet, cut his belly open, took out his lung and liver ((imitating sh'chitah and b'dikah)) took them into Jewish homes telling the terrified Jews that it was kosher and that they should salt it. Many people jumped down from the Aebtei ((possibly the high walls of the above mentioned Dominican monastery)) and broke their limbs. It would have been better if they had been slain. A woman who, three days previously, had given birth to a child, jumped from the city wall. Two or three of the rebels ran after her and killed her. ((All this was done by the

cavalry who entered the city shortly after dawn and left it late in the morning.)) We already thought we had escaped the misery, when the footsoldiers arrived ((about noon)). Unfortunately nobody could escape them, and they slew whomever they found hidden in the attic or running away. The second group acted even worse than the first. They searched until they found either a boy or a man. Though they would be given money and property, they would not spare anyone's life. The butchers Baruch, Moses Mirels, Berman, Yosel; Wolf Cheit and his son Baer, Leible Shamash - all of them inhabitants of the Kehillah - were killed. "Blood ran like water in the millstream." They carried many of the corpses into the room of R Hersch Teble. Even though there was no great yelling and crying (?) the bitterness of the weeping certainly penetrated to the Seventh Heaven. Many children were hidden with their parents, and they were worried lest they should be betrayed ((by the children's crying)). Mothers were forced by the soldiers to kill their own children. Many women and girls were outraged, and left alive, while others drowned themselves in the Mikwah. Neighboring kehilloth were so scared that they left their homes and became poverty stricken through their flight. Some people tried to save their lives by hiding in the cellars, but they suffocated in the ensuing fire. Many were cut to pieces. Many lay for days in agony. Morenu w'rabenu moreni harab w'ABD of our Kehillah carried 200 fl to them. They beat him so hard that he had to crawl away on hands and feet. Sohnle Kohen who did much good during the pestilence and

who was a very pious person was slain in front of his door, together with three or four other men. A woman had 100 fl sewed in her dress. She jumped into a well to escape the mob. The husband who thought himself safe ((perhaps he did not know that his wife hid in the well, or he thought that she was dead)) said that his wealth was in the well, and thus betrayed her hiding place. When they found her, they pulled her out by her hair. They took away her money and they killed her husband. Many children were trampled to death. R Leib Koppel who had many princes among his customers, hid in the granary all day; but in the evening they found him and killed him. Abraham Klesmer had come from Vienna a few days earlier, and he had much money and property with him. They took it all and killed him. The only son of Jacob Glaser had come home to visit his wife, on the day before. He was killed. R Wolf Wiener was an honest man who could have been trusted with governing a whole country. Unfortunately he fell into their hands, and even though they got much of his property, they killed him. Leible Shamash had seven little children. Together with their mother, the children begged for their father's life. They fell down and let the horses trample on them - all to no avail. They killed him anyway. They cut off R Mordecai SGL's hand. They cut off Baruch ben Samuel Baruch's feet and then his head. R Itzig Isserles was a pious man, and he had a hard death: they shot him three times through the head, and then ran away. When they still found

him alive upon returning to the place, they slaughtered him. His daughter had to look at this from afar. She climbed up on the wall and leaped down breaking her legs. R Itzig Gabai, Hirschel Yakir, Moses Kahn were beaten up so severely that it was doubtful whether they would live. The misery lasted one whole day, and those who held themselves hidden were trembling for their lives. Seven Jews were taken as hostages to save the lives of the others. Even though they((the hostages?)) promised the rebels much money, they ((the rebels)) put fire to the town. They played on trumpets, clarinets, and drums, and enjoyed the whole misery very much. Wherever one looks, he finds widows and orphans in utmost poverty, without anything to eat. O God, bring an end to our trouble, and send the Messiah soon!"

It must not be forgotten, that these publications were the newspapers of those days. Hence there was a journalistic interest in the sensational, in the most awesome details of such a catastrophe. It is only for this reason that the details of the attack are preserved to us, together with the stereotyped expressions of religious sentiments, mainly of a feeling that all this misery befell the Jews on account of their sins.

There is no such detail at all in Kaufmann's source No.III, the el mole rachamim of Brdd. Couched in the conventional language of the el mole rachamim prayer, this Hebrew composition naturally expresses less the facts about the death of the martyrs than the hope that they may find

eternal rest for their willingness to die for kiddush hashem, and that their deaths may be avenged by the Lord.

The following data are mentioned in this prayer:

The date, 20 Tamuz. The fact that R Nathan ben hakadosh morenu harab R Moses died with his t'filin on arm and head. The names of Hazan Isaac, of Mordecai NSh and Abraham Reinitz, "tobe umanhige hak'hillah"; of morenu harab Josef Kahana; of morenu harab R Abraham ben ~~IMORR~~ Naftali, Dayan; of morenu harab R Moses ben hachaber R Mordecai; of Yitzchak ben HRR Isaac Hazan; of Wolf Shamash, Yekuthiel ben Yecheskel, Yitzchak, Wolf ben morenu harab R David; Meir ben Solomon, R Itzig ChARI; R Jacob M'lamed, R Meir bRP, Solomon ChRKSh, Paltiel, Yecheskel bRHM, Chanan, Leibel bRSh, Sanwil Cohen, R Josef bR Judah, R Josef bR Aryeh, Wolf Welsh, Moses M'shorer, Baruch bR Judah, Wolf Cheit, Yechiel the Elder, the brothers Jacob and Laser, sons of R Meir Cohen, Leibel Genendels, Moses Hirels, Mordecai Cohen, Meir bR Judah, Yosel bRA, Isaiah the physician, The fact that seven hostages were taken when the town was burnt.

Thus this source is valuable only for genealogical studies. Nor has Kaufmann's source NO.IV much more value. It consists of two tombstone inscriptions:

a) R Nathan Nata bM Moses of Ostrogh who died on "20 Tamuz, the month which was turned from sadness to misery".

b) ~~MHO~~ Abraham bM Naftali "slain for kiddush hashem".

Source No.V. is a contract between the principality of Beczko with the Jews of Vag.Ujhelyi (Neustadt on the Waag) concerning an annual tax of 60 fl. The Jews settled in

Neustadt, standing under the protection of the church of Neustadt, have to pay 60 fl per annum, in two instalments of 30 fl each, for the permission of doing all kinds of business in the principality of Beczko. Both Jewish privileges and obligations are listed in this contract, written in legal German. The document is dated of July 11, 1689, and it mentions that most of the Neustadt Jews come from Ungarisch-Brod, the only note linking this community with its mother community and its catastrophe, except the one consisting in source No.VI: The el mole rachamim from the memorbook of Neustadt on the Waag. This prayer is much shorter than that of Ungarisch/Brod. It contains only a short introduction and conclusion, in the usual style of the prayer, and a list of names, uninterrupted by poetry, with the same names as the prayer of Brod, but only up to the name of Meir ben Solomon. The others are mentioned collectively as "the other sacred and pure ones."

6. The Destruction of Worms, the Expulsion of the Jews
and their Re-immigration (Steinschneider, No.199)

a) Löwenstein, Leopold: Blätter für jüdische Geschichte
und Literatur, vol.I., Mayence, 1900, pp.3-5,12-14.

Löwenstein draws a general picture of the destruction of Worms in 1689, using Soldau, Die Zerstörung der Stadt Worms im Jahre 1689, p.9. The Jews had been included in the conditions of the capitulation of the city of Worms before the troops of Louis XIV. of France, and they remained under the jurisdiction of the city council. However, members of the city council complained that the Jews, though presents to the French officers, had bought favors for themselves. Just the same, the whole Jewish quarter was destroyed in the conflagration, which began Tuesday, May 31, 1689 ((should be June 2)). The decision had been announced on May 22, and the valuable belongings of the congregation, such as Torah scrolls had been taken out of the city, to Metz. The inhabitants also found refuge in other communities. They were not allowed, however, to move across the Rhine into German territory. Before the destruction, the Jews had to pay contributions to the French amounting to 900 Rt per week.

Löwenstein reprints references to the conflagration in letters of Eliakim Gütz, Rabbi in Hildesheim, David Oppenheim of Worms, Rabbi in Nikolsburg, Ya'ir Chayim Bacharach, Rabbi of Worms. Rabbi Ya'ir Chayim Bacharach fled first to Metz, together with his wife, daughter of Eliezer

Sussmann Brilin, Rabbi of Fulda. Leaving his wife in Metz, he went to Frankfurt, where he met his friend and relative, Rabbi David Oppenheim, in the home of the latter's uncle, Hirz Wahl, in the summer of 1690. In January 1691, he was in Heidelberg, where he spent some time in the home of his relative Moses Oppenheim. ((Löwenstein mistranslates m'chutan by "father-in-law", a very obvious error, since a few lines before, Eliezer Sussman Brilin SL is mentioned as father-in-law.)) In one responsum of Chut Yair Bacharach decided that the exiles of Worms have to preserve the local minhagim, especially as to fasts. Since the Torah scrolls and the communal books are preserved, the exile should only be regarded as temporary, and a restoration of the ancient community should be expected in the near future. This decision, and the whole attitude of all the witnesses quoted by Löwenstein ((cf. also the following sources)) demonstrate the astounding faithfulness of the Jews toward their hometown, in spite of the hatred of their Christian fellow-citizens.

b) "Ein neu klaglied fun churban KK Worms", originally printed with Ma'aseh Nisim, by Eliezer ben Jeftah, Amsterdam, 1696, 1723; Frankfurt on the Oder, 1702; Hamburg 1725 (Cat.Bod.p.960, No.3671) reprinted by Löwenstein, loc.cit.

The Klaglied is composed by an eye witness of the destruction, Seckle ben KERR Liberman SGL of Worms. The poem consists of 34 stanzas of four lines each. The lines are of unequal length and rhyme aa bb. The fourth line is always a quotation from Lamentations; the quotations, however,

are not in the same order as in the Book of Lamentations. Wherever the name Jerusalem occurs in Lamentations, the name Worms is substituted in the quotation. The poem is in Judeo-German, the quotations, of course, in Hebrew.

The first three stanzas shall be translated, the rest of the poem - excerpted and paraphrased:

A New Song of Mourning on the Destruction of KK Worms

In the Nigun of Rabbi Simon of Prague ((The same nigun Cat.Bod.No.3644.- Löwenstein))

1. I wish to begin a mourning song concerning Worms,
What has happened to the kehillah kédoshah,
How the French devastated it,
"And there is no helper for her"

2. On the morning of Shabbath T'shubah, when we sat
at the ((luncheon)) table
And just started to eat,
We heard people crying: 'The French are here'.
"Streams of water flow from mine eyes because of my people's
plight."

3. The local government of Worms met them ((the French))
carrying the key to the city.

They hoped to silence them in this manner.

We therefore believed that we could remain in our Kehillah.

"He hath made the ramparts and wall to mourn, they languish
together."

After the French were in Worms for three months, they issued

a command that the citizens themselves should raze the city wall. The Jews had to help in this work. The corner towers of the wall were so solid, that they had to blow them up with powder, thus endangering the Jewish quarter which was built close to the wall. There were, however, no casualties, on account of falling stones. The city then had to be considered as a defenseless open town. The French plundered the province / cattle in the country, and money and valuables in the city. Neither rich nor poor were spared. The Jews had hoped "to eat our cake on Shabuoth without disturbance". But a few days before Shabuoth, about nine o'clock at night, they heard the bad news. They had to leave immediately. They could not take along any furniture or houseware, for it was impossible to get a driver, for all those who had carts had to take care of their own belongings. Nor was it possible to get transportation facilities from the farmers. For, hearing that the French were going to annihilate the whole province, the farmers also fled. Taking along only what they could carry on their shoulders, they left Worms. (The Worms synagogue had room for 400 men.) A few days after Shabuoth, the French set fire to the city. The fire could be seen three hours' walking distance away. The Jews of Worms were scattered into foreign lands, many of them impoverished.

This "newsitem" speaks for itself and needs no further commentary.

c) Neubauer, A. in Israelitische Letterbode, vol. XI, Amsterdam, 1885-6, p.170.

Neubauer reprints a note which is written into a copy of the Shebet Yehuda (ed. Amsterdam 1655, Cat.Bod.2395) concerning the Jewish quarter of Worms, in Hebrew.

"On Tuesday, 12 Siwan 5049 ((should read 5449 - June 2, 1689)) in the sidrah b'ha'alothea: "And the Lord heard, and his anger was kindled; and the fire of the Lord burnt among them and devoured in the uttermost part of the camp." ((Mum.11:1)).... At noon of the above mentioned day, they set fire to the great city, which is filled with wise men and scribes, i.e. the holy Kehillah, the pride of the Kehilloth, Worms, with the synagogue which was there and Rashi's beth hamidrash. In a short time, the whole place was burnt, and this Kehillah, which was settled there before the destruction of the First Temple (!) was devastated. "

The author goes on to sell - couching his facts in a mass of conventional expressions of mourning - that the shtadlan Abraham who owned 6 houses in the Jews' street, in addition to some other houses in the town and gardens and orchards , lost all of them. He names especially his house "Zur Sonne". The author himself must have been born in Worms for he decries the destruction of "the land of my birth and my father's house". His sister Recheln had to flee three days after giving birth to a son. She lost three houses, and their uncle, Moses, four houses. Altogether, 110 houses were destroyed. The author curses the French who caused this misery, and he mourns the impoverishment

of his family who were forced to leave their homes and to wander on foreign soil.

d) Lewysohn, L.: "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Worms", in Kobak's Jeschurun, vol.IV, Fürth, 1864, pp.99-107.

Lewysohn reprints a contract, in German, between Worms Jewry and the city of Worms, confirmed by the Emperor. The contract was made by the Jews returning to Worms, on June 7, 1699, i.e. just ten years after the destruction of Worms, under Emperor Leopold I., and it was renewed subsequently under all following emperors, last under Joseph II., March 10, 1766. The latter is the copy reprinted by Lewisohn.

The conditions of the contract:

1. Inasmuch as the Jews suffered much damage in the war, they must not pay any further claims dating from that war.

2. The Jews are no longer serfs of the city ((Leib-eigene, Leibesangehörige)) as they had been since 1348, but protected Jews (("untherthänigst-gehorsamste Juden, oder Schutzverwandter, oder auch hinterlassen"))).

3. They are free of real estate tax for ten years dating from the Peace of Ryswik ((1697)), and after these ten years, they are to pay only half of the tax assessed on the same houses before the fire. Within these ten years, they shall be granted the same exemptions and privileges as any other citizen. ((This reads almost like an emancipation proclamation, were it not for the following special

taxes, and for disabilities which were self-understood.))

4. All taxes shall be decreased, in proportion with the growing number of Jews. In return, the Jews promise to acknowledge the City as their sole authority, outside of the Emperor. The Bishop of Worms and the Freyherren von Dalberg shall keep their traditional rights, ((which are not specified here.)) The Jews have to pay 500 fl at the writing of the contract, another 500 fl within six month, another 200 fl within two years, plus every year, on Pente-cost, 60 fl. Failure to pay these 60 fl within three months of Pentecost causes cancellation of the contract and loss of all privileges.

Signed by Mayor and Council of the City of Worms, by the Parnasim of the Jewish community, confirmed by the Emperor.

e) Kaufmann, David: in Ha'asif, vol. VI., Warsaw, 1894, pp.179 - 187.

In spring of 1697, the Jews began to return to Worms, after the Peace of Ryswick. The scattered Worms Jews being too poor to rebuild the synagogue properly, they asked other communities for assistance. Frankfurt headed the list of contributors with 1600 fl. Six outstanding men of the Worms community traveled all through Germany, in pairs, to collect money. The only one of the collectors whose name is preserved is a certain Seckel. Kaufman believes that this is either Seckel Neuburg, son-in-law of Judah Leib Aue, or Isaac Seckel ben Moses Baruch, also

called R Seckel Michael. He does not mention the possibility of this many being Seckel ben Lieberman, the author of the song mentioned above under (b).

The pinkas of the collectors is reprinted by Kaufmann. The pinkas consistinf of 75 folios was started in Frankfort on the Main on Synday, 8 Siwan 5458 (1698). Its first page indicates, in short, its purpose. The first entry announces the gift of 1600 fl of KK Frankfort, and includes the note that the messengers were to travel on three different routes. The gifts entered in the pinkas include: 4 fl from the Kehillah of Grünstadt plus little over 2 fl from individuals of that town; Neu/Leiningen - 4 fl, plus more than 12 fl from individuals; Trier, city and district - 50 Rt; Pürth - 300 Rt; Ansbach promises to send a donation; Öttingen - 50 Rt; Dinkelsbühl - 4 fl; Erlangen - 4 Rt; Wallerstein - 12 Rt; Mannheim - 3 fl; Pappenheim - 25 fl; Ellingen - 12 fl; Baiersdorf - 20 Rt; Bamberg promises to send a donation. ((It is interesting to compare the ratio of the donations with the size of the communities in modern times. Most striking is the instance of Mannheim, before the expulsion of 1940 a community of 6,000 Jews, which contributed then only 3 fl, while Ellingen, in modern times a mere village, was able to give 12 fl.)) There are many smaller pledges entered besides the ones mentione above. Many of the pledges are couched in lengthy poems of piut style.

7. Kaufmann, David: "S'lichah: eth adonay nodeh" in Gräber's Otzar Nasafruth, vol.II, Cracow, 1838, pp.112-113.

This article deals with s'lichoth to be said in Lundenburg on 11 Tebeth. The name of the author can be gleaned from the beginning of the verses: Ani El'azar ((Kaufmann calls him Eliezer)) Halawi ABD LB ((i.e. Lundenburg)) Chazak Ratzah Chasdi. On 11 Tebeth, 1698, a fire destroyed the whole community, killing many. When the whole congregation was assembled in the synagogue - built in 1676 - its walls suddenly began to crumble and fall. When the people heard the noise, they prayed to God and vowed to keep this day as a fast day. They build a new synagogue in the place of the destroyed one. When they dug the foundations of the new house of worship, they found bones. They asked the Rabbi of the district, R David Oppenheim who corresponded on the question with R Yair Chayim Bacharach. ((Chut Yair, fols. 239-249))

The s'lichoth to be said on 11 Tebeth include four standard s'lichoth and the one composed by R. El'azar especially for the occasion. It has the refrain: Chatanu tsurenu s'lach lanu yotsrenu. It reads ((first stanza translated, the rest paraphrased)):

"Let us thank the Lord with our mouth, and let us praise Him in the midst of many. Thy truth and Thy grace always protect us. Thy righteousness is to be believed in, for in Thee do we trust. What shall we say, and how can we justify ourselves before our God. We have transgressed, O our Rock, forgive us, our Creator! ((Rhyming on -nu))

We have appointed this day as a day of fast and prayer to praise God for the miracles He wrought. On the 11 Tebeth, 5458, when we entered the synagogue for the minchah prayer, we were suddenly caught in an evil trap. We were saved by the Lord. Suddely stones fell into the synagogue, but, for the sake of our wives and children, the Lord spared us. Therefore we took upon ourselves and our offspring to keep a fast on this day until the time of the Messiah.

8. Löwenstein, Leopold: "Eine Frankfurter Hochzeit for 200 Jahren" in Blätter für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur, vol.II, pp.44-45. (Steinschneider, No.209)

On 6 Elul (September 9) 1701, a wedding took place in Frankfort on the Main, between Michael Baer Oppenheim, Rabbi of Offenbach, and Blümle, daughter of R David Oppenheim of Frankfort. Aaron Baer Oppenheim, father of the groom had a document printed relating the rules concerning weddings in Frankfort on the Main. Printer was Johan Wust, of Offenbach. (Cat. Bod. No.3968).

The heading reads, in translation:

"The Order and Conduct of the Wedding Ceremonies ((Breilaft, i.e. Brautlauf, cf. Grimm)) According to the Minhag of KK Frankfort on the Main."

The document contains thirteen articles, besides a short introduction and an even shorter conclusion:

"Inasmuch as hakatzinim parnase hak'hillah here, in conjunction with the Rabbi here in Frankfort on the Main have rendered great honor, the like of which has not been rendered in our days, to the bridegroom, the youth as highly esteemed as cedars ((synonymous with tsadik)), who, though young, is wise, namely HH KHRR Michael ben hamforsam w'hamromem rosh PU shtadlan hagadol KHRR Aaron Baer, in that he ((the chathan)) was honored by being allowed to make a public d'rashah in the synagogue on the Shabbath before his schenkwein ((the party on the wedding night)). This was done in his own honor, in the honor of the congregation,

and in honor of his father-in-law, haga'on hagadol harab
hamufla butzina k'doshah ((holy lamp)) m'norah hat'horah
((pure light)) whose net is stretched out ((whose juris-
diction extends)) over many communities in the dispersion
and in Palestine III ha'ish hagadol KMHORR David NRU of NSH
((Nikolsburg, Moravia)). Therefore, the above mentioned
hakatzin ham'forsam ((Aaron Baer)) offered to see to it
that for the wedding of his above mentioned esteemed son
to the daughter of his contemporary, the praised maiden
Blümle, there should be a breilaft ((wedding - cf.above))
celebration. Inasmuch as it has already been approximately
forty years since there has been a simchath shushbanith
((wedding celebration)) here in our community (even the
older generation does not remember any such celebration,
and, on this account, many customs were forgotten, as
well as the arrangement of such a celebration) and for
fear lest the whole matter be forgotte, it occured to
said hakatzin ham'forsam ((Aaron Baer)) to have these
ceremonies printed, that they might last for many years
and many generations. They ((the printed descriptions))
should be distributed throughout Israel, in order that
these customs may not fail to be observed by whomsoever
God, in his grace, will honor with a wedding ceremony.
May we merit to see the joy of the restoration of our glo-
rious Temple, that we may bring our burnt offerings and
obligatory offerings with songs and music. ((It should
be noted how rarely, according to this text, such an

elaborate wedding - often considered typical of the ghetto - took place in the wealthy community of Frankfort. The reason may be, that the whole of Western Germany was impoverished, in the last quarter of the 17th century through the wars of Louis XIV.))

1. From the second day ((Monday)) after the spinnholz ((party given by the parents and relatives of the groom on the Saturday before the marriage - for ethymology cf. Weill, p.80)) and onward until the day of the wedding, the fathers of the bride and groom must make a meal at noon and invite the kinsmen and relatives, so that there should be at least ten guests present, in order that the birkath n'su'in ((wedding blessings included in the birkath hamazon - but usually only after the wedding ceremony cf. Kitzur Shulchan Aruch, 149)) may be said in the presence of ten men.

2. From the the third day ((Tuesday)) onward, i.e. one day before manns maul ((word with uncertain ethymology. Schudt suggests m'unash mahl, as a reminiscence of the princes' privilege of sleeping with the bride before the wedding. In the ceremony, grain is sprinkled over the head of the groom covered with the tallith)) the groom must go to the synagogue attired in Shabbath clothes and holiday cloak, every morning and evening with his servants, and he must occupy his father's pew in the synagogue until the day of the wedding. From the third day on, they do not say tach'nun ((prayer of supplication always omitted on days of joy)) in the synagogue.

3. The meal of manns maul, and the siblonoth ((presents, originally born on the shoulders by fathers of bride and groom)) and the meal of the wedding night ((Friday night)), and the meal connected with the schenkwein ((Saturday night)) shall be carried out as in other weddings, and shall not be altered in the least.

4. The wedding shall take place on Friday, and on Friday evening, at the time of kabbalath shabbath, two relatives from both sides, one from the groom's side and the other from the bride's, shall stand at the entrance to the synagogue and they shall give to all those who are to be shushbin ((ushers)) some myrtle branches or such fruits as lemons, with a good odor, to honor them, and speak to them: 'Be ready tomorrow to be a shushbin to read the sefer torah!' ((Note of how little importance the wedding proper is. The chupah ceremony is not mentioned once, and it is merely to be assumed that it took place some time on Friday.))

5. On the Shabbath, in the morning, when people go to the synagogue, the shushbinim, to whom the marital parties have given collars and shirts for breitstick ((Brautstück - present of clothes to be worn at the wedding, Grimm)) are obligated to get up early and to go to the door of the chathan's house with their new collars, and to accompany the groom to the entrance of the synagogue. All kinds of instruments shall precede the groom, to play and to make merry. ((It is not clear, how on ritual grounds any but wind instruments can be played on Shabbath, and how

even these may be carried, since they probably did have Jewish musicians. The only explanation is that they were limited to wind instruments, and that a t'chum shabbath permitted carrying in the Frankfort ghetto.)) The shushbanim must accompany the groom until he reaches his pew in the synagogue, and must stand beside him. Furthermore, the people who occupy pews adjacent to that of the bridegroom must leave their places so that the shushbanim may stand there until the time to leave the synagogue. The shushbanoth ((bridesmaids)) and relatives on both sides should likewise get up early and go to the door of the bride's house to accompany her to her pew in the synagogue with instruments, as mentioned above. The shushbinoth and the female relatives should stand beside the bride until after the people have left the synagogue, and they should likewise accompany her back to her home. They should also say the yotzer as it is printed in the prayer books. ((Evidently they refer to a special yotzer to be recited between bar'chu and hakol yoducha on the Shabbath after the wedding. However, there is no such prayer either in Baer's or in Heidenheim's sidur)).

6. At the time when the sefer torah is taken out of the ark, all the cantors and singers shall chant al hakol and w'ya'azor in pleasant, musical tone.

7. When the cantor calls 'amod, amod' ((rise)), all the shushbanim shall accompany the groom to the bimah and stand beside him there until he returns from the bimah, and accompany him back to his pew. All the cantors and

singers shall chant echad yachid. ((This prayer likewise is not to be found either in Baer or Heidenheim)) *G. Davidson*

8. Inasmuch as it is an old custom that the cantors should not make a mi sh'berach in the synagogue, except in the case of a wedding celebration, hence the reader shall make no more than three mi shéberach ((per person or altogether ?)). He may include in the blessing as many people as he wishes, and he may donate as much as his heart prompts him to do, and the donation for the first mi shéberach shall be unspecified, for charity. ((This means that the donor can give the donation to any cause he desires without mentioning the cause at the time of the mi sh'berach))

9. On that Shabbath, all the mitzwoth, such as s'gan ((the privilege of deciding who shall be called to the Torah)), hotza'ah w'hachnasah ((taking the scroll from the ark and returning it)), and the rest of the mitzwoth belong to the groom. He has the permission to honor whomsoever he pleases with these mitzwoth.

10. The following is the arrangement and order of the reading of the Torah. The groom may have as many people called to the Torah as he pleases ((i.e. more than the eight usually called)). First, a kohen, next, a Levite, then, the groom. The Rabbi of the community is next, thereafter the relatives of the groom who take precedence over those of the bride. The closest relative shall read first. No distinction shall be made between a morenu and a chaber ((chaber is the first, morenu the second degree granted to

students of the Talmud)). The chaber who is more closely related takes precedence over the morenu who is less closely related. All this arrangement is applicable specifically to the shushbinim and the relatives. However, if someone reads the Torah not because he is a shushbin or a relative, the arrangement and the order is as usual, i.e. a morenu takes precedence over a chaber, and a chaber takes precedence over other people. The last reader ((acharon may refer either to the man who is to say the haftarah or the one called right before him)) shall be an esteemed bachelor, who is liked both before God and men.

11. After leaving the synagogue, the groom should accompany the Rabbi of Frankfort and all the shushbinim and relatives, those who have been called to the Torah, and those who desire to honor the groom, with musical instruments, just as they went to the synagogue, thus they shall go to the bride's home. There, the bride should sit, with the b'thuloth kaloth ((either young women shortly to be married, or a literal translation of the German: Brautjungfern - bridesmaids)) and the rest of the unmarried young women leaning against the table. The Rabbi shall take a tallith from the groom and toss it to the bride. Then the young women shall take that tallith and toss it under the table. There, under the table, a poor woman shall sit to receive the tallith. Thereupon, the groom must redeem the tallith from this poor woman and give her a proper present in exchange for the tallith. Afterwards all the young women must go to a banquet to partake of the

schenkwein ((free wine, which gave the name to the whole party)), and likewise, all the bridegrooms shall come and sit each beside his bride and enjoy themselves by expressing their affections. ((Apparently all young couples shortly to be married had to take part in this section of the ceremony, and the term b'thuloth kaloth above refers to these brides.))

12. On the first day ((Sunday)) after the schenkwein, the marital parties' parents should make a banquet called s'udah g'dolah k'robim maul ((literally: the big banquet meal of the relatives - note the tautology caused by the use of a Hebrew and a corrupt German word of identical meanings)), and all the shushbinim and relatives must take part. Even though one may have vowed not to eat outside of his own home ((to make the dietary laws even stricter)) he must yet come and eat. Whosoever wants to honor the parents of bride and groom must come and eat and rejoice with bride and groom. The proper procedure is not to invite people through the town beadle with a list of invitations, or to send out servants inviting people to come to the banquet. Rather the beadle should make an announcement in the middle of the square, ~~that~~ whosoever wants to honor the parents of bride and groom shall come to the banquet. At that time, the whole community, old and young, should be fully prepared to come to the banquet which has been prepared, without any delay. ((The wedding thus becomes a time of joy for the whole community, and any undemocratic discrimination by in-

viting a selected group, in social register fashion, is discouraged.))

13. Whosoever makes a wedding celebration must give a small spinnholz party, and from the time of this party onward, until the completion of the wedding, it is permissible to rejoice with the bride and groom, with all manners of musical instruments. This shall be done in a limited way, not to go to extremes nor to be wasteful. The women related to the bride and the groom should wear their Shabbath and holiday attire until the completion of the wedding. The bhushbinoth also should partake of the great banquet called k'robim maul without fail.

All this was done in the celebration of the wedding of the above mentioned esteemed youth with the daughter of his contemporary mentioned above, on this Friday, 6 Elul, 5461 (1701), in Frankfort."

9. M'gilath Yuch'sin, Warsaw, 1864 and 1889. (Steinschneider, No.214)

Of the two editions, the 1889 edition is somewhat fuller than the 1864 edition, inasmuch as it has a few additional notes, and the text of the tombstones of some of the men mentioned in the M'gilath Yuch'sin proper. The title page promises a true genealogy of the great Rabbi, etc. Judah Lewa ZLHH of Prague, called MHRL Prague, "of the offspring of Jesse and the family of King David; also a genealogy of his father-in-law, Rabbi Isaac Cohen ZLHH, and of other great men in the land.

Author of the book is Meir Perles, sofer and dayan in Prague, a relative of Judah Lewa. He wrote the genealogy on request of Rabbi Isaiah Katz, dayan of Brod, and his brother, Rabbi Naphtali Katz, grandsons of MHRL. He edited it together with the book Match Mosheh of Isaiah Kat's son, Rabbi Moses Katz of Premiszlau.

The 1864 edition is a reprint of this original edition (date ?) with additions under the title G'buroth Ari, by Noah Chayim ben Moses Lewin of Kobrin. The 1889 edition likewise consists of these two parts.

G'buroth Ari mentions that the Rabbi's full name was Judah ben R Bezalel, that he was called in short MHRL of Prague. His wisdom was great, especially in the field of mysticism. Even the clearest of his pronouncements revealed his concentration on things hidden from the average man. He studied g'mara, midrashim, the Zohar, and other

Kabbalistic works, but he shunned philosophy. He fought against disunity in Israel, especially among the rabbis. He was strict in his interpretation of the Rabbinic law and fought against certain laxnesses, e.g. in the question of kashruth of wine.

His works:

Gur Aryeh - commentary on Rashi to the Pentateuch.

G'buroth Adonay - an account of the miracles during the migration of the Israelites to Egypt and their exodus from Egypt, based on the accounts of the Bible and of the Rabbis.

Tif'ereth Yisrael - concerning the giving of the Torah and a discussion of the merits of the fulfilment of mitzwoth.

Be'er Hagolah - a commentary on agadoth of the Talmud which are not at once understood by the average mind.

Netsach Yisrael - a discussion of the destruction of both Temples, of the length of the galuth, of the days of the Messiah, and the restoration of Israel.

Derech Hachayim - commentary on Pirke Aboth.

N'thiboth Olam - an ethical work: 33 paths of good behavior, one of them the path of the Torah, and 32 others, according to the Talmud, together 33, in accordance with the 33 midoth.

Or Chadash - commentary on M'gilath Esther, based on Talmud Tractate M'gilah.

Ner Mitzwah - concerning the miracle of Chanukkah.

D'rush al Hatorah - preached on Shabuoth 5352 (?) in Posen.

D'rush al Hamitzwah - preached on the same day, concerning the law of s'tam yaynom.

D'rush Na'eh - preached on Shabbath Shubah 5344, in Prague, expounding par'shath ha'azinu.

D'rush Na'eh - preached on Shabbath Hagadol 5349, in Prague, concerning the Pesach sacrifice.

Hesped on the Ga'on Akiba of Frankfort.

T'shubah concerning an Agunah.

Et Yad - novellae on Tur Yoreh De'ah.

Chidushe Gur Aryeh - novellae on the Tractates Shabbath and Erubin, and part of P'sachim.

P'suke Ditchonoth - traditions handed down from his grandfather to abolish all evil decrees.

An explanation of the importance of the Shabbath.

An explanation of the commandments concerning the Sukkah and the Four Kinds ((Lulab and Ethrog)),

Shamayim W'aretz - concerning Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kipur.

A book on the Priestly Vestments.

Seder Talmud - commentary on Z'ra'im and Taharoth.

Sh'eloth Ut'shuboth.

G'buroth Ari is followed by M'gilath Yuch'sin proper.

It furnishes first of all the genealogy of the Rabbi, which for the sake of lucidity shall be reduced to a chart (cf. next page) with the most distant relatives omitted. The biography of the miracle worker follows: At the age of thirty-two, Judah Lewa was engaged to a daughter of Samuel ben Jacob, a rich man with the surname Reich Schmelke, who sent him to study in Premeszlau where his son Joshua Schmelkes - founder of the Schmelkes family - lived. When Schmelke suddenly

JUDAH LEWA HAZAKEN
(learned man, descendent of
King David, d. 5200 (1440)
in Prague)

X

CHAYIM WORMS of Worms

B'ZALEL (studies with father) JACOB (goes to Poland) HELLMANN (to Poland)

CHAYIM (Rabbi of Friedberg) SINAI (Rosh Yes. Prague, Rabbi Nikolsbg.) SAMSON (Rabbi Kre-
menitz) JUDAH LEWA (Rabbi Prague d.1609)

BEZALEL (Rabbi Cologne)

FEINLE (Married to Isaac Katz)

GITLE (Married to Simon Brandes Halewi)

REICHEL

TILA

REALINA

lost his fortune, and could no longer support his studying son-in-law, he told him that he was free to marry some other woman. Judah, however, declared that he would marry the daughter of the impoverished Schmelke, Pearl. Soon, by a miracle, Pearl became very rich, and they married.

MHRL was Chief Rabbi over all of ~~Mehavna~~ ^{Mahava}, Posen, and Prague, for more than fifty years, and the land prospered in his time. He was highly honored by Emperor Rudolph, because he was wider than all men of the East. He had an audience with the Emperor in which they talked together like friends.

The author mentions the works of MHRL, yet not as systematically as G'buroth Ari. Some of the works, especially his notes on the Talmud, written by hand on the margin of a Venice edition of the Talmud, of 1520, were lost in a fire, in 1689. Only the Tractates Sukkah and Erubin were preserved. ((cf. above p.75 under Chidushe Gur Aryeh, where the Tractates Shabbath (!) and Erubin are mentioned besides part of P'sachim.))

MHRL died on 18 Elul 5369 (1609) at the age of 97 years, in Prague. The M'gilah goes on to give the detailed genealogy of the MHRL's son B'zalel and his five daughters, Feinle, Gitle, Reichel, Tila, and Reali na. A detailed study of this genealogy would fall beyond the scope of this essay. The only fact of cultural significance shown by the genealogy is the close marital connection between the famous families of rabbis, scholars, and financiers.

10. Kinah and S'lichah, in Schudt, J.J.: Jüdische Merckw
ürdigkeiten, vol.III., Frankfurt on the Main, 1714,
pp.63-73,74-76.

Schudt entitles this composition "Das Hebräisch-
Teutsche Juden Lied", concerning the great fire by which,
on January 14, 1711, the whole Jewish quarter burnt down.
(cf. Schudt, pt. II, book VI, ch. VI. # 18). Schudt judges
that it is no great literary composition "indem es ein un-
gelaehrter Jud ausgefertigt". But he includes it in his
collection because it gives the most detailed account of
the great fire. He prints both the original and a German
translation. The text:

"A New Song of Mourning - concerning the great fire
in KK Frankfort, after the melody of Haman in the Achash-
werosh play. ((There are two lengthy paragraphs before
the real beginning of the poem. These paragraphs are com-
posed in short couplets. Then follow 37 stanzas of five
lines each. Four lines rhyme aaaa, and the fifth line is
a Hebrew refrain. The first 22 stanzas, forming an achrostic
from aleph to taw, have the refrain oy~~lanu~~lanu ki chatanu.

The other fifteen stanzas, which show no system of arrangement,
have the refrain: adonay hayah ozer lany.))

"Dear people, sing this song of mourning, concerning
the fire which took place in Frankfort, city and mother in
Israel, in our days; let the great misery touch your hearts,
be pious and be glad that you may live before the Lord, praised

be He. Be as careful as you can be ((in handling fire)), in order that the Lord, praised be He, may leave to you what you possess. Repent, pray, and be righteous, in good time, and the Lord, praised be He, will give you your reward. Pray to the Lord, praised be He, that he may protect all Israel from another such misery."

In the second paragraph, entitled "Hakdamah oder Vorred", the author gives his name: David ben HTT Shamaï ((Schudt translates it as Simeon)) Sogers of Prague, living in KK Kronenburg. He reports that he had the song printed in Frankfort, with the purpose of giving the people a warning example, and he expressed the hope, that on account of its low price, the people will come running to buy it.

The song proper bears the undertitle: Esa Nehi W'kinah, ((I shall begin the song of mourning and sadness.))

"1. Alas, how can I begin to sing and say of the great
happening,

How there was, in Frankfort on the Main a great conflagration,
No house or stick remained standing in the whole quarter.
Such a destruction did not take place since the destruction of
the Temple,

Woe unto us, for we have sinned!

"2. In the night of Wednesday, 24 Tebeth, the Lord lit a fire
from Heaven in the Rabbi's house.

Before it could be seen from the street,
the other houses were likewise in flames,
Likewise the Schul, as though they were bound together.

Woe unto us, for we have sinned!"

People tried to save houses from the fire, but the fire moved from house to house, sparing neither poor nor rich. As the fire increased, the Ghetto gates were opened, and many people from outside came in to help, but some came with the purpose of stealing. "We must have committed many sins, that our livelihood in the KK Frankfort should be destroyed". ((It is a common characteristic of all these "songs" about catastrophes that the authors can only explain them as God's punishment for committed sins.)) Everybody's welfare depended on Frankfort, and even the poor had a good time there. There was much learning there. The k'le kodesh ((the sacred utensils used in the synagogue)) and much silver and powder was destroyed in the fire, little could be salvaged. Clothes, linen, furniture, worth several hundred thousand Rt burned. Many residents became very poor. Much new merchandise was destroyed in the stores. The sifre torah were carried from the synagogue into the home of R Elchanan Metz, but they burned there, as well as many other sacred books. The people who lost their homes found refuge with friends all over the neighborhood, and it was impossible to find them all at once. Several people were burnt to death, some of them were completely burned. The rabbis lost all their books, the schools of the Law burned to the ground. Thus all teaching had to stop. The fire lasted for 22 hours. The authorities of the city tried to help the Jews by releasing them from all taxes and by commanding that anything taken from the burning Jewish

quarter should be restored to the Jews.

The S'lichah concerning the same fire, likewise printed by Schudt, was composed by Rabbi Samuel Schotten for the annual day of mourning commemorating the fire. Schudt thinks that this work merits a place in his collection even more than the preceding one "als darinnen einige Particularitäten vom Brand, nemlich wie viele Menschen un heilige Gesätz-Bücher in selbigem unkommen und verdorben enthalten sind; obwohl einige harte Expressiones wieder die Christen allhier darin vorkommen deren er sich billich hätte enthalten sollen."

The s'lichah is preceded by a few biblical quotations. It is written in the usual s'lichah style, rhyming aa bb cc, etc. Each couplet begins with another letter of the aleph beth, so that the poem contains a double acrostich from aleph to taw. The last two couplets contain the name of the author in roshe teboth: Samuel Schotten, and the date (5)471.

The data mentioned in the s'lichah are: The fire began Wednesday evening, 24 Tebeth. ~~For~~ 41 persons were killed. 36 Torah scrolls burned.

((Though not of historical importance, it is interesting to note how Schudt sees in the words r'sha'im ozbe torathecha "the wicked who have forsaken Thy law", a reference to the Christians who caused the Jews' misery, while in reality it is only the recurring motif of self-accusation. He is, however, right in assuming that the word zedim in the following couplet refers to the non-Jewish environment. Schudt speaks disgustedly of the ingratitude of the Jews. After all, did not the

Christian inhabitants of Frankfort, with few exceptions, help the Jews to put out the fire, and did they not take the homeless into their houses. ((Of course it does not occur to Schudt that the fire might have spread to the town outside of the ghetto walls, and that the economic welfare of the city would have been damaged if they would have allowed the Jews to emigrate.)) And why do the Jews always pray for deliverance from galuth? Why do they cry out on Passover "l'shanah haba'ah biy'rushalayim"? After all, nobody keeps them here, and the Christians would like only too well to get rid of them. But the Jews like it better in Frankfort than in Jerusalem. The latter observation seems to be correct to judge from the affection with which the Jews of that time speak of their home cities. Still the whole line of reasoning is the typical, ever recurring, anti-Semitic argument.

11. Eisenstadt, Moses: Ein Neu Klaglied, originally printed Amsterdam, 1714, reprint: Hamburg, 1896 (Steinschneider, No. 219)

The title page reads: "A New Song of Mourning, in the melody of the song on the martyrs of Prostitz, concerning the great, terrible plague which began here, in Prague, on 28 Tamuz 5473 (1713), and held sway until Rosh Chodesh Tebeth of this year, 5474 (1714)." The author promises a detailed account of the plague, words of mourning, and remedies for the plague, which, says he, have saved several hundred lives in Prague. He identified himself as Moses Eisenstadt, more detailed by an acrostic in the middle of the son: Moses ben ha'aluf MHRR Chayim Eisenstadt ribeth Katzenellbogen chazak. This acrostic is preceded by two others, one from aleph to taw, one from taw to aleph, and followed by two, one from aleph to taw, and one from aleph to yod. Each of the letters of all the acrostics begins a stanza of four lines of uneven lengths, rhyming aa bb. The poem is interrupted before the last acrostic by a list of the number of victims of the plague, day by day. It is composed entirely in Judeo-German.

- "1. Almighty God in Thy heavens,
Thou helpest us at all times, when we are in need.
Thou hast redeemed us from the Egyptian exile,
And in the Babylonian exile, Thou hast protected us from evil.
2. Merciful God, in the third exile also Thou has fought for us.

Likewise in the fourth exile Thou art protecting us.

((It is not clear what he means by third and fourth galuth))

Thus we hope at this time,

That Thou wilt not punish us with undue hardship.

3. Great terror and trembling comes over me.

My soul within me weeps and groans,

That I should tell what happened in our Holy Community,

When, on account of our transgressions, the misery started,

on 28 Elul."

It was in 5463. Before this, there was no sickness, nor any evil air, in the community. A change began on Monday, 26 of Tamuz, when six people in one house suddenly took ill. Four of them died three days later, the other two days after that. When the news of this spread through the community, a panic arose. Everybody wanted to leave town. Many Jews were given refuge by rural principalities, and there was a general exodus. The poor who could not afford to move away felt very bitter against the rich. ((To judge from the spirit of the poem, the class differences in Jewry were very wide. Only the wealthy Jews had the necessary money, and the necessary business- and political connections to leave the city. This, of course, was resented by the poorer section of the population. On the other hand, as can be seen from the later parts of the poem, the community, led by those same wealthy Jews, had social institutions which tried their best to care for the poor during the plague.)) No rich man was to be seen any more in the city, and many of the

city, and many of the scholars and of the most highly respected persons were suddenly out of sight. The chief rabbi also moved away, and the community felt that their protection had left them. All the students, who had come to Prague from all parts of the world, went home at the first sign of the plague. While Prague had been known as a city of learning, all the Torah seemed suddenly gone from the town. On 22 Ab, the streets of the Jewish quarter were closed off. The Darshan and Rosh Methibta R Elijah was one of the first to die. In spite of all precautions, the plague spread. The leaders of the community made a takanah that, as soon as a person felt signs of the sickness, he should be carried from his house to the beit~~il~~ich ((unknown word)). Children were among the first victims. Likewise pregnant women, for the sickness caused abortions and premature births. The community had to make more than twenty new biers to carry the dead. Many people slept and ate in the streets hoping to escape the infection which dwelt in the houses. A person thought himself lucky if he found a place in the streets, for nobody would let anybody else sleep next to him. The closest relatives behaved like enemies to one another. The number of deaths grew in a measure not heard of before. There were up to 118 deaths in one day. There was much evidence of charity. Hundreds of thaler were distributed among the poor every week. The money was used to cook meals for the poor. They prepared these meals over open fires in the streets, both on weekday and on Shabbath. ((The emergency

was stronger than the religious law)) They carried meals to the sick in the Badhof ((narrow square where the bath was situated, probably the location of one of the buildings of the hekdesch)) and the beitlich. But many of them died. Since there were up to a thousand sick at a time, neither the room was sufficient nor were there enough nurses and barbers. ((The barbers were also medical practitioners.)) The civil authorities forbade burial in the cemetery. ((The cemetery evidently was within the city limits, and they were afraid of polluting either the water or the air by burying the plague victims there.)) They had to buy trucks to cart the dead to the lazarett, ((lazarett means hospital; but here it must be the name of a tract of land outside the city limits.)) to bury them there. They carted the dead, twenty per cart, out of the gate every night, and even then some bodies had to lie for days, because they could not get them on the carts. When a person died, he was carried to the cemetery by two carriers, but he was not buried there, and lay until he could be carted away. ((This condition of course made a farce of the precaution not to bury the dead there.)) In three nights, they carried away 750 dead. Up to fifty carriers were busy at the same time. Shabbaths and holidays were disturbed, because they had to keep on cooking and carting away the dead just as on weekdays. A hundred men were busy sawing wood for the coffins, and several hundred women were always sewing tachrichin ((even in the emergency, a Jew would not be buried without the

traditional burial clothes.)) For lack of coffins, they used cupboards and chests to bury the dead in. More than a hundred men were digging graves at the lazarett. They asked the poor to help in the work, but could not get them to do it, until they promised very high pay. ((Perhaps an indication of how the Jewish poor even at that time were spoiled by the high standard of communal charity organization.

- The author describes the transportation of the dead with dreadful, primitive realism:)) Since the bodies had to lie for many days, they were swollen up, often rotted to pieces, and full of worms by the time they were carted away. "The drivers who carted away the dead, had to clean the worms out of their pockets." Most of the dead could not be identified. Among the dead was the pious rabbi Sinai Neustadt. On Sunday, the day after Yom Kippur, R Moses Leider died. On Sunday, 25 Tishri, his brother Simon also died. The Ghazanim Wolf and Nachum were also among the victims. All the holidays were days of sadness. About Simchath Torah R Leib ben R Nathan Rausgen (?) and R Noah Karpeles died. Abraham Lichtenstadt, tobe hakahal, also died. There were prayers in the synagogue every morning and evening. The author claims to have it on good authority, that people heard unborn children cry in the wombs of their dead mothers as they were carried to the grave. They even carried people to the cemetery before they were yet dead. The financial strain was terrible, for barbers, nurses, and drugs had to be paid for. The Kahal took care of beds, medicines, food, and at-

tendants for up to 200 sick poor at one time. Even more money was spent on the digging of the graves. Since the Jewish quarter was barred, there was no way of making a livelihood. The apothecary was so overru that customers had to wait for more than half an hour to be waited on. Besides, the prices for drugs were very high. The primus, shtadlan Samuel Tausik (?), apparently showed himself a gracious benefactor during the plague. The list of deaths shows that the plague began on 28 Tamuz, with one victim, reached its climax on 6 Tishri with 120 deaths, and ended on Rosh Chodesh Tebeth after having killed 3441 persons. The rest of the poem consists of ten remedies against the plague.

12. The Birth of Archduke Leopold, April 13, 1716, in
Schudt, J.J., Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten, part.IV.
Continuation III., Frankfort, on the Main, 1718.
(Steinschneider, No.222)

a) Jehudah Loeb Wagllich ben Abraham, Dankfest, pp.121-139

Schudt deals here with an event which was recent history in his days. The Fourth Part of his book appeared in 1718, and this piece of literature was written after the birth of Archduke Leopold, firstborn son of the Emperor Karl, April 13, 1716. The first two parts of the composition are laudatory poems concerning the young prince, his father Karl, and his grand-father Joseph, comparing them to eagles and suns. This is written in comparatively pure German, not Judeo-German, though in Hebrew script. Following this, the author finds it necessary to give an explanation, like the poems written in German, of the figurative language of the first two parts. After this, there is an appendix devoted to the description of the public celebration, with ringingbells and fireworks, and gun shooting, and church services, in Frankfort, on Saturday, May 16, and Sunday, May 17. So far, the composition would have only literary value - if any - and would be of historical interest only inasmuch as it tells us that the Jews, or at least one Jew, felt moved to memorialize the birth of an heir to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire.

The next part of the work, however, mentions the part which the Jews played in celebrating the birth of their prince.

On Sunday, May 17, 1716, i.e. 25 Iyar (5)476, the Jews celebrated a festival of thanksgiving. They lined up in double file, in their holiday attire, preceded by their servants, and by the Jewish musicians of Offenbach, and they marched to the synagogue. There, the two rabbis, Abraham Brod, and Samuel Schotten, delivered a prayer of thanksgiving, and a benediction over the newborn prince and the Emperor~~ony~~ upon which the congregation answered with a threefold "Amen". The poor of the community were given liberal allowances of wine, white bread, and alms. The parnasim gathered in the Convent- oder Sprech-Stuben ((the meeting room of the kahal)) for a meal, and they stayed till late at night, drinking toasts to the Emperor and the Prince.

The last part is perhaps the most interesting one of the composition. According to Schudt, it was printed only with part of the edition of the little work. It is a Hebrew apology, in which the author, Dr. Loeb Wallich, explains that he wrote the poem in high German in order to prove to the public that the Jews could understand and speak good German. Both the German poem and the celebration in German style which it describes are proofs of the existence of a perfect assimilationist psychology in German Jewry, 13 years before Mendelssohn's birth. At the same time, Dr. Wallich declares on oath that he has not furnished information about the Jews to Christian writers who have come out with books against the Jews. Schudt remarks concerning this that Wallich certainly did not help him, and that he resents any

saying that he, Schudt, would need Jewish help for his anti-Jewish writings.

b) Neue Zeitung und Jüdischer Aufzug von denen Männern der H. Versammlung der Stadt und Mutter in Israel, Prag. ibid. pp.140-175

This description of the procession, arranged in Prague to celebrate the birth of Archduke Leopold, is composed in Judeo-German prose. The birth is dated in May 1716 ((erroneously; it actually took place on April 13.))

Two weeks before the procession, they provided quarters for all the sarim w'duchsim ((apparently the Jews arranged the main celebration in the city, and they took care of the numerous noble out-of-town guests)) who were to take part in it. R Mordecai Maerla was quartermaster. All market stalls in the Judengasse were demolished in order to widen the room. The houses were cleaned, inside and outside. The street was paved newly. From one gate of the Jewish quarter to the other ((on the opposite side)) they built covered walks, made of damask. At each gate, there were eight trumpeters, and four kettle drummers. In the middle of the gasse, in the breitschafft ((name for a certain part of the gasse, where it was breit, i.e. wide, a sort of square)) a new portal was made, the like of which has not been seen, and which cost at least 2,000 fl. It cannot be described, how many workmen and painters worked there. On either side of the gate, they painted all kinds of pictures. Each picture was two cubits high, including the painting and its

ornaments. On the portal, they placed many pictures, also each two cubits high, and next to the pictures, they put two boxes, one smaller than the other. On one side stood a lion with a golden crown, and on the other side, a big black eagle, also with a golden crown. At the four corners of the portal, there were four men's statues, gilded. In the middle of the walk, at its highest point, there was a tower, as high as a house, with all kinds of paintings, and on the top of the tower, there was a globe, so big that a shoemaker could straighten out his wire on it. A map was painted on it, indicating how far the sovereignty of the Emperor reached. On the globe, there stood an angel, twenty cubits high, holding a tablet in his hand on which the young prince was standing. And above the tablet was a dove, symbol of good tidings. ((Notice the imagery so foreign to Jewish tradition, especially the Christian symbols of the angel and the dove.)) In one hand, the angel held a trumpet, trumpeting the good tidings. On the highest tablet ((the one carrying the image of the prince)) another board was hanging with the Latin inscription: Vivat, vivat! On the walk, under the two boxes, ((in connection with the portal)) there were two barrels which were emptied on the day of procession, ((probably of free wine or beer)). All along the walk, and under the tower, there were 19 trumpeters, 8 violins, 4 horns, 4 kettle drums. The portal itself was inscribed with all kinds of songs taken from the Prophets and the rest of Sacred Scriptures in praise of a

God-fearing government. They were written both in Judeo-German and in Latin, in order that everybody might understand it. Every moment, many great nobles and princes came riding from afar. They all noticed the inscriptions. Also, how barriers were made on both sides, in order that everything should remain clean. There were so many noblemen looking out of the windows, that the Jews themselves did not have room to look. ((Apparently the noblemen were quartered right in the Jewish quarter, if not to sleep there, at least to spend the day and to watch the procession from the windows.))

((Now follows the description of the procession:))

First, a man came riding along, carrying a long staff ((horizontally)) in order that everybody should give gangway.

Then came Wolf Nestler, the Kahal's fool ((also called Pickel-Häsel according to Schudt)) with glittering headgear and a red veil of the kind women wear in Prague, a blue topcoat fastened around his neck, which reached down even over the horse. His garment was adorned with hörnlich ((baked rolls in the form of a horn)) on which he kept on playing signals before he ate them. After him, they wheeled a terribly big barrel of beer which eight men had to pull. On top of it a man was sitting holding a spigot. After this, there walked four geese, no smaller than calves, as though they were alive. ((Probably plaster models. Bohemia was famous for its geese, and the Jews were both in the meat and the feather business.)) After them marched eight blackamoors, naked with exception of pants, holding black staves in their hands, and wearing feather crowns on their heads. Behind them rode the king

Kirk
in
Prague

of the moors ((modeled)) in plaster, a crown on his head, wearing a robe of yellow silk, and for pairs of blackamoors carried the tail ((of his robe)). After them walked six cannibals, and after them eight wool-sacks with people in them, which was a rare sight even to the noblemen. After them rode Harosh W'hakazin Hashtadlan Hagadol HRR Samuel Tausik primus parnas harishon of KK Prague ((the same one mentioned above p.88)) carrying in his right hand a golden scepter, wearing a velvet schaub ((cape), white or colored, adorned with fur, reaching down to the loins in the back, but long as the undergarment in front, usually worn by rabbis, according to Schudt.)) and a velvet oberend ((top-coat to be worn over the clothes, but underneath the schaub. Schudt)) as well as a wide velvet hat. Next to him, Harosh w'hakazin HRR Selig Lifchawia YZW parnas sheni, clothed like him. Before the k'zinim there went twenty Jewish hussars in velvet coats and furs, and beautiful high hats on their heads. Next to the k'zinim there ran four Heyducks ((either foot soldiers or servants in Hungarian costume)), 6 runners, and 2 pages. ((Note how the Jews ride horses, serve as soldiers, have uniformed attendants just as noble Gentiles)) After them there rode 6 rows of men in velvet capes, and 20 rows in camel hair capes, three to each row, every man wearing a gilded hat, and a gilded scarf across the chest. Afterwards came many people in velvet attire, with gilded collars, a gilded scarf on one arm, and a gold chain on the other, wearing Hüllröck ((wide kaftans without

buttons, like those worn by Poles above their other clothes. Schudt)) and gilded breite hauben ((flat berrets worn by Jews, called Schabbes-Deckel in Frankfort. Schudt)). After them marched 20 rows of young men of KK Prague, wearing damask coats, with new fills and silver and gold lace, and gold collars, a scarf on one arm, a gold chain on the other. All riders carried black and yellow staves in their hands, the men on foot carried some other kind of coat of arms, and after them they carried abbig magen david, made by ha'aluf MOHR Sinai ben hakazin ha'aluf ERR Sinai Klabers, the local Chazan. It was inlaid with pearls and covers of the Meisel Schul. On the one side, in the center of the magen david, there was the mi sheberach for the Emperor which need not be described. The first mi sheberach was recited in front of the home of David Apotheker, and it was spoken in German in order that the Gentiles might understand it. When the mi sheberach was finished, everybody answered Amen. At the same time, four cannon were fired in the juden-gasses. The second mi sheberach was spoken at the new portal, and then, too, four cannon were fired. After the magen david they carried the chupah and many rare curtains, swered of velvet, adorned with gold all around, on top a cdwn, richly adorned. Four men with long black beards, Maier Günsels, Abner Wale, and two others wearing Kittel and häubel ((the white garments worn on Yom Kippur)) carried the chupah, and under the chupah walked harab hagadol MOHR/Michael ben Haga'on ham'forsam MOHR Wolf Spiro NO ((nero omed))

carrying a Sefer Torah. ((Obviously copied from Catholic processions, where the priest walks under a canopy carrying the host.)) Before the sefer torah, they went with an organ ((obviously a small hand organ. Schudt mentions that even at that time, they had, in the Altneuschul, an organ which was played weekly for kabbalath shabbath.) and two young men played the harp and the trumpet. Behind the chupah followed Moshe Rabbenu and Aaron Hakohen in the priestly garments. They were figures seven or eight cubits high, hollow inside, and carried by two men. Everybody believed that they were walking by themselves, and many ran after them, shedding tears, especially gentiles. Then there marched 12 rows of old men in kittel and häubel, wrapped in p'rocheser ((corrupt plural of p'rotheth, curtain of the ark in the synagogue)) then trumpeters and ((musicians with)) other musical instruments. After them, they carried the banner of the Meiselschul. On it sat Ben Israel Tänzer. 20 butchers in kittel and häubel carried it. ((Schudt describes this banner as being copied of the Gentile trades? banners, which were often of tremendous size, using a whole tree trunk, as high as a house, as a staff. They had to be carried by as many as twenty strong men, and it was not impossible for a man to sit on top of such a banner. The Prague Jews had the permission to have banners in their synagogues from their brave assistance in the defense of the town against heathen robbers in 995. They also fought against the invading Swedes, in 1648. Since the butchers

showed especial valor, they were assigned the privilege of carrying the banner.)) When they came to the new portal, said Ben Israel jumped from the banner onto the roof of the portal. The banner had to be inclined, for it was too high to go through the portal. When they righted the banner on the other side of the portal, he jumped back on the banner, and thus he did at the other gates. After the banner marched the butchers' servants, wearing green caps, red vests, all new and adorned with silver, green pants, red stockings, white aprons, with red embroidery, each carrying in one hand a sign, with an ox painted on one side, and butchers' tools on the other, and in the other hand he carried a meat ax. There were nine rows of them.

((In other words, there were at that time at least 20 butchers and 27 butcher's helpers in Prague.)) After them, there came two trumpeters, followed by R Chayim Eger, wearing black velvet coat, vest, trousers, and a staff in his hand. After him, the learned doctor of medicine, R Salman Rofe YZW with his son, also clothed in black velvet, carrying in both hands medical books, and the coats-of-arms of their doctorates. After them, David Apotheker, dressed in black garments, with a green apron, carrying a silver balm box. After him, all the barbers, dressed in the German manner, in long garments reaching to the ground, and with collars in the German ~~manner~~, four rows of them. After them the barbers' helpers in colored garments, carrying shaving basins tied to their hands with yellow and black bows. The ne'emanim ((notaries)), the sofrim ((secretaries)), shamashim ((sextons))

the secretaries of the financial administration, the secretaries of the judges, and of the m'munim ((overseers of business)), each carrying a book of paper bound in turkish leather, a paintbrush (?) stuck in on top. Rabbi Moses Ginsburg went before all of them. There were many in velvet and damask clothes, each wearing a beret with a bow. There were twelve rows of them. ((i.e. 36 employees of the kahal)) After them, there marched the out-of-town students, each wearing a damask topcoat, a gold scarf over one arm, a gold chain over the other, and wearing a collar with silver lace. They did not wear kaftans but berets on which a double magan david was sewn, of yellow and black ribbon. Before them, there went eight ((possibly also students)) with musical instruments. Then, they carried a large poster on which there was written a song composed of verses of the tanach. The same song was printed on yellow paper ((i.e. black print on yellow, the colors of the Emperor, which also prevailed in clothes and ornaments all through the procession. There is no copy of the song in existence, according to Schudt.)) and each student carried a copy of it, and they sang it beautifully with the accompaniment of musical instruments. 4,000 copies of the song were also printed in Latin, and whenever a nobleman or lady arrived, their quarter master, Mordecai Merla, gave them one, to explain to them what the students were singing. After them marched R Asherl Prostitz ((the first of the Torah teachers, according to Schudt.)) wearing kittel and häubel, carrying a whip in one hand, an hourglass in the other. ((symbol s

of discipline and punctuality, according to Schudt)) After him there marched 25 children, 9 and 10 years old, wearing kittle and häublich ((diminutive forms to indicate that they wore small white gowns and caps)). They carried bigde kodesh ((Torah covers, etc. from the synagogues)) and silver belts. Other teachers also marched with their pupils.

After them there came a new organ which R. Meir Mahler manufactured, and which cost more than 400 fl. There were six musicians. Then the old banner which was in the Altneuschul, and which the gaba'im Isaac Knina, R Baer Tsoref ((gold-mith)) and R Ezekiel Karpel had allow to rot. The date (5)107 ((1347 - i.e. 368 years old at that time)) was on it. The commission ((probably the kahal's administration)) pronounced a heavy fine over them ((for letting the banner be spoiled.)) Then the whole gass really started to come ((i.e. all the inhabitants of the judengasse)), led by two trumpeters in the clothes of the Jews. They wore schauben with gold collars, and staves, damasc and velvet topcoats, 20 rows of them. After them again two trumpeters, then a troop of Hungarians on foot, wearing red velvet vests, red furs ((fur collars?)), trousers and caps, and a scarf over the arm. They all were householders. Again two trumpeters, leading the young children of householders ((probably the unmarried sons)) riding as hussars, 20 rows of them, dressed in black velvet clothes, and 20 rows dressed in green velvet clothes. They had grenen ((false beards in the fashion of the hussars)) around their mouths, and whosoever saw them, became deathly afraid. All the great noblemen were more

astonished than ever before, and they wished that hamalchuth YRM ((the Emperor)) himself were present. The musicians wore black linen clothes. Isaac Bass sang a German song which he composed himself, and which caused much astonishment among the nobles. It is impossible to describe the illuminations. The Jews bought all possible lights and loaned them to the Gentiles. The night was illumined like day. The rest cannot be described in writing. May God lengthen the days of their Majesties. May He raise them higher and higher. May their foes fall under them. May the Lord give us grace in their eyes and in the eyes of their princes and advisers. May Judah and Jerusalem be redeemed in their days. Amen."

Schudt (pp.165-175) reprints from a pamphlet published by the Prague community all those details which are not contained in the report received in Frankfort. But the additional names and the closer descriptions of the costumes worn by those in the procession are of little interest. The more detailed account only awakens even more the impression that the whole celebration was as exact as possible an imitation of similar celebrations in the non-Jewish world. It was a mixture of a typical parade of the trades ((Zünfte)) such as they were held in most German cities on certain days, and of a religious procession, such as the one held on Corpus-Christi-day. It is a fine illustration of the degree of assimilation prevailing in German Jewry previous to their emancipation.